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PVRCHAS
HIS
PILGRIMES.

IN FIVE BOOKES.

The first, Containing Peregrinations and Discoueries, in the remotest North and East parts of *ASIA*; called TARTARIA *and* CHINA.

The second, *Peregrinations, Voyages, Discoueries, of* CHINA, TARTARIA, RVSSIA, *and other the North and* East parts of the World, by *English-men* and others.

The third, Voyages and Discoueries of the North parts of the *World, by Land and Sea, in* ASIA, EVROPE; *the* Polaire Regions, and in the North-west of *AMERICA.*

The fourth, English *Northerne Navigations, and Discoueries*: Relations of *Greenland, Groenland*, the North-west passage, and other Arctike Regions, with later RVSSIAN OCCVRRENTS.

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The fifth, *Voyages and Travels to and in the New World*, called AMERICA: Relations of their Pagan Antiquities *and of the Regions and Plantations in the North and* South parts thereof, and of the Seas *and Ilands adiacent.*

The Third Part.

Vnus Deus, Una Veritas.

LONDON
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1625.

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PURCHAS

HIS

PILGRIMES.

IN FOUR PARTS.

The First, Containing ...

The Second, ...

The Third, ...

The Fourth, ...

The Fifth ...

The Third Part.

...

LONDON

Printed ... for Henrie Fetherstone ...

... the Princes Arms ...

1625.

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TO

THE RIGHT HONORABLE, AND RIGHT REVEREND FATHER IN GOD:

IOHN,

Lord Bishop of LINCOLNE, Lord *Keeper of the* GREAT SEALE *of* ENGLAND, &c.

Right Reuerend and Honourable,

THese PILGRIMS deliuering a Historie of the World in their owne Trauels by Sea and Land, not onely needed authoritie from the Admiralie, but fearing suspition of *Riot* without warrantable assemblie, become humble Suters for your Lordships fauour. So shall they sin the approbation of both (to apply by a warrant of *Ego dixi, dij estis*, the Patriarchs mysticall Dreame to our Historicall purpose) finde a *Scala Cœli* to ascend from the ground where they are prostrate Petitioners, to the Princes Highnesse, whence authorised they may againe *descend* and become the Commons of Common Readers. Order requires a *Medium* betwixt Princely Height and his Lowlinesse, whose function is also warmed *Holy Orders*, as further tying him to that equall inequalitie, wherein hee beseecheth your Lordship as by speciall Office and in Proprietie to owne that which hee hath Gen.28.12.

pre-

presumed to offer to the Prince in *Capite*, *Quemadmodum sub optimo rege omnia Rex imperio possidet, Domini dominio. Ad reges potestas pertinet, ad singulos proprietas.*

Senec. Benef. l. 7. cap. 4. 5.

Many are the reasons which moued the Author to obtrude his PILGRIMS on your Lordship; because he is deeply obliged Yours for former fauours, euen then when you were initiated in the Mysteries of Honour (learning by seruice to Command) in the Discipline of that Honorable Worthy, Lord Chancellor EGERTON! because some conceptions of this Worke were in your Honourable Iurisdiction of *Westminster*, whither lest some traduce *Trauellers* for *Vagrants*, they returne in hope of *Sanctuarie*, not so much trusting to the ancient Liberties, as to your Lordships liberall respect to literate endeauours: because these Trauellers aduenturing the world, seeke like *Iacob* at his going and returne, a Reuerend Fathers *Blessing* and *Confirmation*. The Author likewise being called on for his promised *Europe*, submits himselfe to your Lordships Order, heere tendring of that debt, what hee is able, in readie payment. The worke it selfe also being a Libraric in this kind, presents it selfe to your Honour, the Founder of two famous Libraries; one in *Westminster*, (where the Stones & renued Fabrikes speake your Magnificence) the other in that famous Nurserie of Arts and Vertue Saint IOHNS Colledge in *Cambridge*, which sometime knew you a hopefull Sonne, but now acknowledgeth your Lordship a happie Father, where also the Author first conceiued with this Trauelling *Genius*, whereof (without trauelling) he hath trauelled euer since. Learning, the Aduancer of your Honour, hath secured her welwillers not to bee reiected in whatsoeuer indeauours (*Scribimus indocti, doctiq;*) to aduance Learning. The greatnesse of Nature to goodnesse of Nature, varietie of Estates to a prime Pillar of State, the Historie of Religions to a Religious Prelate, of Antiquities to an Antiquarie, cannot bee altogether vnwelcome; that I mention not the dependance of *London* Ministers Liuings (*fined* by the Times iniquitie) on your Lordships equall Sentence. These Causes haue moued; One hath inforced; these PILGRIMES are your *Seruants*, fitly so called *à Seruando*, saued by your Lordships hand when they were giuing vp the ghost, despairing through a fatall stroke of euer seeing light.

Gen. 28. & 32. 20.

Aug. de C. D. li. 19. cap. 5.

Most humbly therefore, sue vnto your Honour, these PILGRIMES for acknowledgement, esteeming your Lordships Name in fore-front a cognisance of blest Libertie and best Seruice; Now when *Ianus* sends many with gratefull emulations to present their acclamations of a *New Yeere*, presenting (a wordie rather then worthy Present) a *World*, yea, a New world, in great part one Age younger to mens knowledge then *America*, sometimes stiled by that Name. I had written other Causes of my addresse to your Honour, but dare not proceed to interrupt Others more weightie. In all humble earnestnesse beseecheth, now in this Festiuall time, the Author with his PILGRIMES to finde Hospi-

tall

tall entertainment, not at your Honours table, where Great affaires of Church and State are feasted (except some recreation some times permit) but with Schollers and Gentlemen in the Hall, which will welcome such Guests as your Lordship shall Countenance. So shall you encourage euer to pray for the increase of your Lordships happinesse in the Happie Seruice of his MAIESTIE,

Your Lordships

most bounden,

SAMVEL PVRCHAS.

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PEREGRINATIONS AND DISCOVERIES; IN THE REMOTEST NORTH AND EAST PARTS OF *ASIA*, CALLED *TARTARIA* AND CHINA.

THE FIRST BOOKE.

CHAP. I.

The Iournall of Frier WILLIAM DE RVBRVQVIS, *a* French-man, *of the Order of the* Minorite *Friers, vnto the East parts of the World*, Anno Dom. 1253.

TO the most Excellent and most Christian Lord, *Lewis*, by Gods grace the Renowmed King of *France*, Frier *William de Rubruk*, * the meanest of the *Minorites* Order, wisheth health and continuall Triumph in Christ.

It is written in the Booke of *Ecclesiasticus*, concerning the Wiseman: *He shall trauell into forreine Countries, and good and euill shall hee try in all things.* The very same Action (my Lord and King) haue I atchieued: howbeit, I wish, that I haue done it like a wise man, and not like a Foole. For many there bee, that performe the same Action which a wise man doth, not wisely but more vndiscreetly: of which number I feare my selfe to bee one. Notwithstanding, howsoeuer I haue done it, because you commanded mee, when I departed from your Highnesse, to write all things vnto you, which I should see among the *Tartars*, and you wished me also that I should not feare to write long Letters, I haue done as your Maiestie enioyned me: yet with feare and reuerence, because I want words and Eloquence sufficient to write vnto so great a Maiestie. Bee it knowne therefore vnto your Sacred Maiestie, that in the yeare of our Lord 1253. about the Nones of May, wee entred into the Sea of *Pontus*, which the *Bulgarians* call the great Sea. It containeth in length (as I learned of certayne Merchants) one thousand and eight miles, and is in a manner, diuided into two parts. About the midst thereof are two Prouinces, one towards the North, and another towards the South. The South Prouince is called *Synopolis*, and it is the Castle and Port of the *Soldan* of *Turkie*: but the North Prouince is called of the *Latines*, *Gasaria*: of the *Greekes*, which inhabit vpon the Sea shoare thereof, it is called *Cassaria*, that is to say, *Cesaria*. And there are certayne headlands stretching forth into the Sea towards *Synopolis*, Also, there are three hundred miles of distance

* Master *Hak.* had published part of this Author, but the whole worke being found in *Benet* Colledge Library in *Cambridg*, I thought fit to communicate it to the World; it being neuer published, as I thinke, in any Language. I begin with the *Tartars*, as being knowne to these parts before the *Chinois*: yea, *China* or *Mangi* became knowne by them.

Ecclus 39. *v.* 3. *Cassaria*, or *Gasaria*.

ſtance betweene *Synopolis* and *Caſſaria*. Inſomuch that the diſtance from thoſe points or places to *Conſtantinople*, in length and breadth is about ſeuen hundred miles: and ſeuen hundred miles alſo from thence to the Eaſt, namely, to the Countrey of *Hiberia*, which is a Prouince of *Georgia*. At the Prouince of *Gaſaria* or *Caſſaria*, wee arriued, which Prouince is, in a manner, three ſquare, hauing a Citie on the Weſt part thereof called *Kerſoua*, wherein Saint *Clement* ſuffered Martyrdome. And ſayling before the ſaid Citie, wee ſaw an Iland, in which a Church is ſaid to be built by the hands of Angels. But about the midſt of the ſaid Prouince toward the South, as it were, vpon a ſharpe Angle or Point, ſtandeth a Citie called *Soldaia*, directly againſt *Synopolis*. And there doe all the *Turkie* Merchants, which Traffique into the North Countries, in their Iourney outward, arriue, and as they returne home-ward alſo from *Ruſſia*, and the ſaid Northerne Regions, into *Turkie*. The foreſaid Merchants tranſport thither Ermines and gray Furres, with other rich and coſtly Skinnes. Others carrie Clothes made of Cotton or Bombaſt, and Silke, and diuers kinds of Spices. But vpon the Eaſt part of the ſaid Prouince ſtandeth a Citie called *Matriga*, where the Riuer *Tanais* diſchargeth his ſtreames into the Sea of *Pontus*, the mouth whereof is twelue miles in breadth. For this Riuer, before it entreth into the Sea of *Pontus*, maketh a little Sea, which hath in breadth and length ſeuen hundred miles, and it is in no place thereof aboue ſixe paces deepe, whereupon great Veſſels cannot ſaile ouer it. Howbeit the Merchants of *Conſtantinople*, arriuing at the foreſaid Citie of * *Matarta*, ſend their Barkes vnto the Riuer of *Tanais* to buy dryed fiſhes, Sturgeons, Thoſſes, Barbils, and an infinite number of other fiſhes. The foreſaid Prouince of *Caſſaria*, is compaſſed in with the Sea on three ſides thereof: namely, on the Weſt-ſide, where *Kerſoua*, the Citie of Saint *Clement* is ſituate: on the South-ſide the Citie of *Soldaia*, whereat we arriued: on the Eaſt-ſide *Maricandis*, and there ſtands the Citie of *Matriga*, vpon the mouth of the Riuer *Tanais*. Beyond the ſaid mouth ſtandeth *Zikia*, which is not in ſubiection vnto the *Tartars*: alſo the people called *Sueui* and *Hiberi*, towards the Eaſt, who likewiſe are not vnder the *Tartars* Dominion. Moreouer, towards the South, ſtandeth the Citie of *Trapeſunda*, which hath a Gouernour proper to it ſelfe, named *Guydo*, being of the Linage of the Emperours of *Conſtantinople*, and is ſubiect vnto the *Tartars*. Next vnto that is *Synopolis*, the Citie of the *Soldan* of *Turkie*, who likewiſe is in ſubiection vnto them. Next vnto theſe lyeth the Countrey of *Vaſtacius*, whoſe Sonne is called *Aſtar*, of his Grand-father by the Mothers ſide, who is not in ſubiection. All the Land from the mouth of *Tanais* Weſt-ward as farre as *Danubius* is vnder their Iuriſdiction. Yea, beyond *Danubius* alſo, towards *Conſtantinople*, *Valakia*, which is the Land of *Aſſanus*, and *Bulgaria minor*, as farre as *Solania*, doe all pay Tribute vnto them. And beſides the Tribute impoſed, they haue alſo, of late yeares, exacted of euery houſhold an Axe, and all ſuch Corne as they found lying on heapes. We arriued therefore at *Soldaia*, the twelfth of the Kalends of Iune. And diuers Merchants of *Conſtantinople*, which were arriued there before vs, reported that certayne Meſſengers were comming thither from the Holy Land, who were deſirous to trauell vnto *Sartach*. Notwithſtanding, I my ſelfe had publikely giuen out vpon Palme Sunday within the Church of *Sancta Sophia*, that I was not your nor any other mans Meſſenger, but that I trauelled vnto thoſe Infidels according to the Rule of our Order. And being arriued, the ſaid Merchants admoniſhed me to take diligent heed what I ſpake: becauſe they hauing reported mee to bee a Meſſenger, if I ſhould ſay the contrary, that I were no Meſſenger, I could not haue free paſſage granted vnto me. Then I ſpake after this manner vnto the Gouernours of the Citie, or rather vnto their Lieutenants, becauſe the Gouernours themſelues were gone to pay Tribute vnto *Baatu*, and were not as yet returned. We heard of your Lord *Sartach* (quoth I) in the Holy Land, that he was become a Chriſtian: and the Chriſtians were exceeding glad thereof, and eſpecially the moſt Chriſtian King of *France*, who is there now in Pilgrimage, and fighteth againſt the *Saracens*, to redeeme the holy places out of their hands: wherefore I am determined to goe vnto *Sartach*, and to deliuer vnto him the Letters of my Lord the King, wherein hee admoniſheth him concerning the good and commoditie of all Chriſtendome. And they receiued vs with gladneſſe, and gaue vs entertaynment in the Cathedrall Church. The Biſhop of which Church was with *Sartach*, who told me many good things concerning the ſaid *Sartach*, which afterward I found to be nothing ſo. Then put they vs to our choice, whether wee would haue Carts and Oxen, or packe-horſes to tranſport our Carriages. And the Merchants of *Conſtantinople* aduiſed me, not to take Carts of the Citizens of *Soldaia*, but to buy couered Carts of mine owne, (ſuch as the *Ruſſians* carry their Skinnes in) and to put all our Carriages, which I would daily take out, into them: becauſe, if I ſhould vſe Horſes, I muſt be conſtrayned at euery baite to take downe my Carriages, and to lift them vp againe on ſundry Horſes backes: and beſides, that I ſhould ride a more gentle pace by the Oxen drawing the Carts. Wherefore, contenting my ſelfe with their euill counſell, I was trauelling vnto *Sartach* two monethes, which I could haue done in one, if I had gone by Horſe. I brought with me from *Conſtantinople* (being by the Merchants aduiſed ſo to doe) pleaſant Fruits, Muskadell Wine, and delicate Bisket bread to preſent vnto the Gouernours of *Soldaia*, to the end I might obtayne free paſſage: becauſe they looke fauourably vpon no man which commeth with an empty hand. All which things I beſtowed in one

Gaſaria.

Soldaia.

The Citie of *Matriga.*

* *Matriga.*

Zikia.

of

of my Carts (not finding the Gouernours of the Citie at home) for they told me, if I could carry them to *Sartach*, that they would be most acceptable vnto him. Wee tooke our Iourney therefore about the Kalends of Iune, with foure couered Carts of our owne, and with two other which we borrowed of them, wherein we carried our bedding to rest vpon in the night, and they allowed vs fiue Horses to ride vpon. For there were iust fiue persons in our company: namely, I my selfe and mine associate Frier *Bartholomew* of *Cremona*, and *Goset* the Bearer of these Presents, the man of God *Turgemannus*, and *Nicolas* my Seruant, whom I bought at *Constantinople*, with some part of the Almes bestowed vpon me. Moreouer, they allowed vs two men, which draue our Carts and gaue attendance vnto our Oxen and Horses. There bee high Promontories on the Sea shoare from *Kersona* vnto the mouth of *Tanais*. Also there are fortie Castles betweene *Kersona* and *Soldaia*, euery one of which almost haue their proper Languages: amongst whom there were many *Gothes*, who spake the *Dutch* Tongue. Beyond the said Mountaynes towards the North, there is a most beautifull Wood growing on a Plaine full of Fountaynes and Freshets. And beyond the Wood there is a mightie plaine Champian, continuing fiue dayes Iourney vnto the very extreamitie and borders of the said Prouince North-ward, and there it is a narrow *Isthmus* or neck Land, hauing Sea on the East and West sides thereof, insomuch that there is a Ditch made from one Sea vnto the other. In the same Plaine (before the *Tartars* sprang vp) were the *Comanians* wont to inhabit, who compelled the fore-said Cities and Castles to pay Tribute vnto them. But when the *Tartars* came vpon them, the multitude of the *Comanians* entred into the fore-said Prouince, and fled all of them, euen vnto the Sea shoare, beeing in such extreme Famine, that they which were aliue, were constrayned to eate vp those which were dead: and (as a Merchant reported vnto me who saw it with his owne eyes) that the liuing men deuoured and tore with their teeth, the raw flesh of the dead, as Dogges would gnaw vpon Carrion. Towardes the Borders of the said Prouince there bee many great Lakes: vpon the Bankes whereof are Salt-pits or Fountaynes, the water of which so soone as it entreth into the Lake, becommeth hard Salt like vnto Ice. And out of those Salt-pits *Baatu* and *Sartach* haue great Reuenues: for they repayre thither out of all *Russia*, for Salt: and for each Cart loade they giue two Webbes of Cotton, amounting to the value of halfe an *Yperpera*. There come by Sea also many Shippes for Salt, which pay Tribute euery one of them according to their burthen. The third day after wee were departed out of the Precincts of *Soldaia*, wee found the *Tartars*. Amongst whom beeing entred, me thought I was come into a new World. Whose life and manners I will describe vnto your Highnesse as well as I can.

Frier *Bartholomew de Cremona.*

The necke of *Taurica Chersonesus.*

The *Tartars.*

Chap. 2. Of the *Tartars*, and of their houses.

THey haue in no place any setled Citie to abide in, neither know they of the Celestiall Citie to come. They haue diuided all *Scythia* among themselues, which stretcheth from the Riuer *Danubius* euen vnto the rising of the Sunne. And euery of their Captaines, according to the great or small number of his people, knoweth the bounds of his Pastures, and where hee ought to feed his Cattell Winter and Summer, Spring and Autumne. For in the Winter they descend vnto the warme Regions South-ward. And in the Summer they ascend vnto the cold Regions North-ward. In Winter when Snow lyeth vpon the ground, they feed their Cattell vpon Pastures without water, because then they vse Snow in stead of water. Their houses wherein they sleepe, they ground vpon a round foundation of Wickers artificially wrought and compacted together: the Roofe whereof consisteth (in like sort) of Wickers, meeting aboue into one little Roundell, out of which Roundell ascendeth vpward a necke like vnto a Chimney, which they couer with white Felt, and oftentimes they lay Morter or white Earth vpon the said Felt, with the powder of bones, that it may shine white. And sometimes also they couer it with blacke Felt. The said Felt on the necke of their house, they doe garnish ouer with beautifull varietie of Pictures. Before the doore likewise they hang a Felt curiously painted ouer. For they spend all their coloured Felt, in painting Vines, Trees, Birds, and Beasts thereupon. The said houses they make so large, that they contayne thirtie foot in breadth. For measuring once the breadth betweene the wheele-ruts of one of their Carts, I found it to bee twentie feet ouer: and when the house was vpon the Cart, it stretched ouer the wheeles on each side fiue feet at the least. I told two and twentie Oxen in one Teame, drawing an house vpon a Cart, eleuen in one order according to the breadth of the Cart, and eleuen more before them: the Axle-tree of the Cart was of an huge bignesse like vnto the Mast of a Ship. And a fellow stood in the doore of the house, vpon the fore-stall of the Cart driuing forth the Oxen. Moreouer, they make certayne foure square Baskets of small slender Wickers as bigge as great Chests: and afterward, from one side to another, they frame an hollow lidde or couer of such like Wickers, and make a doore in the fore-side thereof. And then they couer the said Chest or little House with black Felt, rubbed ouer with Tallow or Sheeps Milke to keep the rain from soking through, which they deck likewise with painting or with feathers. And in such Chests they put their whole Houshold-stuffe and Treasure. Also the same Chests they doe strongly binde vpon other Carts, which are drawne with Camels, to the end they may wade through Riuers. Neither doe they at any time take downe the said Chests from off their Carts. When they,

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take downe their dwelling houſes, they turne the doores alwayes to the South: and next of all they place the Carts laden with their Cheſts, here and there, within halfe a ſtones caſt of the Houſe: inſomuch that the Houſe ſtandeth betweene two rankes of Carts, as it were, betweene two Walles. The Matrones make for themſelues moſt beautifull Carts, which I am not able to deſcribe vnto your Maieſty but by Pictures only: for I would right willingly haue painted all things for you, had my Skill beene ought in that Art. One rich *Moal* or *Tartar* hath two hundred, or one hundred ſuch Carts with Cheſts. Duke *Baatu* hath ſixteene Wiues, euery one of which hath one great houſe, beſides other little houſes, which they place behind the great one, being as it were Chambers for their Maidens to dwell in. And vnto euery of the ſaid houſes doe belong two hundred Carts. When they take their houſes from off the Carts, the principall Wife placeth her Court on the Weſt Frontier, and ſo all the reſt in their order: ſo that the laſt Wife dwelleth vpon the Eaſt Frontier: and one of the ſaid Ladies Courts is diſtant from another about a ſtones caſt. Whereupon the Court of one rich *Moal* or *Tartar* will appeare like vnto a great Village, very few men abiding in the ſame. One woman will guide twenty or thirty Carts at once, for their Countries are very plaine, and they binde the Carts with Camels or Oxen, one behind another. And there ſits a Wench in the fore-moſt Cart driuing the Oxen, and all the reſidue follow on a like pace. When they chance to come at any bad paſſage, they let them looſe, and guide them ouer one by one: for they goe a ſlow pace, as faſt as a Lambe or an Oxe can walke.

The benefit of a Painter in ſtrange Countries.

Chap. 3. Of their Beds, Puppets, Images and drinking Pots.

HAuing taken downe their houſes from off their Carts, and turning the doores South-ward, they place the bed of the Maſter of the houſe, at the North part thereof. The womens place is alwayes on the Eaſt-ſide, namely, on the left hand of the good man of the houſe ſitting vpon his bed with his face South-wards: but the mens place is vpon the Weſt-ſide, namely, at the right hand of their Maſter. Men when they enter into the houſe, will not in any caſe hang their Quiuers on the womens ſide. Ouer the Maſters head there is alwayes an Image, like a Puppet, made of Fealt, which they call the Maſters Brother: and another ouer the head of the good Wife or Miſtris, which they call her Brother, being faſtened to the wall: and aboue betweene both of them, there is a little leane one, which is, as it were the keeper of the whole houſe. The good Wife or Miſtris of the houſe placeth aloft at her beds feet, on the right hand, the Skinne of a Kid ſtuffed with Wooll or ſome other matter, and neere vnto that a little Image or Puppet looking towards the Maidens and women. Next vnto the doore alſo on the womens ſide, there is another Image with a Cowes Vdder, for the women that milke the Kine. For it is the dutie of their women to milke Kine. On the other ſide of the doore next vnto the men, there is another Image with the Vdder of a Mare, for the men which milke Mares. And when they come together to drinke and make merrie, they ſprinkle part of their Drinke vpon the Image which is aboue the Maſters head: afterward vpon other Images in order: then goeth a Seruant out of the houſe with a cup full of Drinke ſprinkling it thrice towards the South, and bowing his knee at euery time: and this is done for the honour of the Fire. Then performeth he the like Superſtitious Idolatry towards the Eaſt, for the honour of the Ayre: and then to the Weſt for the honour of the water: and laſtly, to the North in the behalfe of the Dead. When the Maſter holdeth a cup in his hand to drinke, before hee taſteth thereof, hee powreth his part vpon the ground. If he drinketh ſitting on Horſe-backe, he powreth out part thereof vpon the necke or mane of his Horſe before he himſelfe drinketh. After the Seruant aforeſaid hath ſo diſcharged his cups to the foure quarters of the World, hee returneth into the houſe: and two other Seruants ſtand ready with two cups, and two baſons, to carrie Drinke vnto their Maſter and his Wife, ſitting together vpon a bed. And if hee hath more Wiues then one, ſhee with whom he ſlept the night before, ſitteth by his ſide the day following: and all his other Wiues muſt that day reſort vnto the ſame houſe to drinke: and there is the Court holden for that day: the gifts alſo which are preſented that day, are layd vp in the Cheſts of the ſaid Wife. And vpon a bench ſtands a Veſſell of Milke, or of other Drinke and drinking cups.

Idols.

Chap. 4. Of their drinkes, and how they prouoke one another to drinking.

IN Winter time they make excellent drinke of Rice, of Mill, and of Honey, being well and high coloured like Wine. Alſo they haue Wine brought vnto them from farre Countries. In Summer time they care not for any drinke, but Coſmos. And it ſtandeth alwayes within the entrance of his doore, and next vnto it ſtands a Minſtrell with his Fiddle. I ſaw there no ſuch Citernes and Vials as ours commonly bee, but many other Muſicall Inſtruments which are not vſed among vs. And when the Maſter of the houſe begins to drinke, one of his ſeruants crieth out with a loude voyce, *Ha*, and the Minſtrell playes vpon his Fiddle. And when they make any great ſolemne feaſt, they all of them clap their hands, and dance to the noyſe of Muſicke, the men before their Maſter, and the women before their Miſtris. And when the Maſter hath drunke, then cryes out his ſeruant as before, and the Minſtrell ſtayeth his Muſicke. Then drinke they all round both men and women, and ſometimes they carowſe for the victorie very filthily and drunkenly. Alſo when they will prouoke any man, they pull him by the Eares to the drinke, and ſo lug and draw him ſtrongly to ſtretch out his throat clapping their hands, and dancing

They vſe the like cuſtome in *Florida*.

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dancing before him. Moreouer, when some of them will make great feasting and reioycing, one of the compame takes a full Cup, and two other stand, one on his right hand, and another on his left, and so they three come singing to the man who is to haue the Cup reached vnto him, still singing and dancing before him: and when he stretcheth forth his hand to receiue the Cup, they leape suddenly backe, returning againe as they did before, and so hauing deluded him thrice or foure times by drawing backe the Cup, vntill he be merrie, and hath gotten a good appetite, then they giue him the Cup, singing and dancing, and stamping with their feet, vntill he hath done drinking.

Chap. 5. Of their food and victuals.

CONcerning their food and victuals, be it knowne vnto your Highnesse, that they doe, without all difference or conception, eate all their dead Carions. And amongst so many droues it cannot be, but some Cattell must needs die. Howbeit in Summer, so long as their Cosmos, that is, their Mares milke lasteth, they care not for any food. And if they chance to haue an Oxe or an Horse die, they drie the flesh thereof: for cutting it into thinne slices, and hanging it vp against the Sunne and the wind, it is presently dried without Salt, and also without stench or corruption. They make better Puddings of their Horses then of their Hogs, which they eate being new made: the rest of the flesh they reserue vntill Winter. They make of their Oxe skins great bladders or bags, which they doe wonderfully drie in the smoake. Of the hinder part of their Horse hides, they make very fine Sandals and Pantofles. They giue vnto fiftie or an hundred men, the flesh of one Ramme to eate. For they mince it in a bowle with Salt and Water (other Sauce they haue none) and then with the poynt of a Knife, or a little Forke which they make for the same purpose (such as we vse to take roasted Peares and Apples out of Wine withall) they reach vnto euery one of the companie a morsell or twaine, according to the multitude of Guests. The Master of the house, before the Rams flesh be distributed, first of all himselfe taketh thereof, what he pleaseth. Also, if he giueth vnto any of the companie a speciall part, the receiuer thereof must eate it alone, and must not impart ought thereof vnto any other. Not being able to eate it vp all, hee carries it with him, and deliuers it vnto his boy, if hee be present, to keepe it: if not, hee puts it vp into his Saptargat, that is to say, his foure square Budget, which they vse to carrie about with them, for the sauing of all such prouision, & wherein they lay vp their bones, when they haue not time to gnaw them throughly, that they may burnish them afterward, to the end that no whit of their food may come to nought.

Drying of flesh in the wind.

Chap. 6. How they make their drinke, called Cosmos.

THeir drinke, called Cosmos, which is Mares milke, is prepared after this manner. They fasten a long line vnto two posts standing firmly in the ground, and vnto the same line they tye the young Foales of those Mares, which they meane to milke. Then come the Dammes to stand by their Foales gently suffering themselues to be milked. And if any of them be too vnruly, then one takes her Foale, and puts it vnder her, letting it sucke a while, and presently carrying it away againe, there comes another man to milke the said Mare. And hauing gotten a good quantitie of this Milke together (being as sweet as Cowes milke) while it is new they powre into a great bladder or bag, and they beat the said bag with a piece of wood made for the purpose, hauing a Club at the lower end like a mans head, which is hollow within: and so soone as they beat vpon it, it begins to boyle like new Wine, and to be sowre and sharpe of taste, and they beate it in that manner till Butter come thereof. Then taste they thereof, and being indifferently sharpe they drinke it: for it biteth a mans tongue like the Wine of Raspes, when it is drunke. After a man hath taken a draught thereof, it leaueth behind it a taste like the taste of Almond-milke, and goeth downe very pleasantly, intoxicating weake braynes: also it causeth vrine to be auoyded in great measure. Likewise Caracosmos, that is to say, Blacke Cosmos, for great Lords to drinke, they make on this manner. First, they beat the said Milke so long till the thickest part thereof descend right downe to the bottome like the lees of white Wine, and that which is thinne and pure remayneth aboue, being like vnto Whay or white Must. The said lees and dregs being very white, are giuen to seruants, and will cause them to sleepe exceedingly. That which is thinne and cleere their Masters drinke: and in very deede it is maruellous sweet and wholsome liquor. Duke *Baatu* hath thirtie Cottages or Granges, within a dayes iourney of his abiding place: euery one of which serueth him daily with the Caracosmos of an hundred Mares milke, and so all of them together euery day with the Milke of three thousand Mares, besides white Milke which other of his Subiects bring. For euen as the Husbandmen of *Syria* bestow the third part of their fruits, and carrie it vnto the Courts of their Lords, euen so doe they their Mares milke euery third day. Out of their Cowes milke they first churne Butter, boyling the which Butter vnto a perfect decoction, they put it into Rams skins, which they reserue for the same purpose. Neither doe they salt their Butter: and yet by reason of the long seething, it putrifieth not: and they keepe it in store for Winter. The churn-milke which remayneth of the Butter, they let alone till it be as sowre as possibly it may be, then they boyle it, and in boyling it is turned all into Curds, which Curds they drie in the Sun, making them as hard as the drosse of Iron: and this kind of food also they store vp in Sachels

Caracosmos.

Duke *Baatu*.

Store of Mares, and Mares milke.

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againſt Winter. In the Winter ſeaſon when Milke fayleth them, they put the foreſaid Curds (which they call *Gry-vt*) into a bladder, and powring hot water thereinto, they beat it luſtily till they haue reſolued it into the ſaid Water, which is thereby made exceedingly ſowre, and that they drinke in ſtead of Milke. They are very ſcrupulous, and take diligent heed that they drinke not faire Water by it ſelfe.

Chap. 7. Of the beaſts which they eat of their garments, and of their manner of hunting.

GReat Lords haue Cottages or Granges towards the South, from whence their Tenants bring them Millet and Meale againſt Winter. The poorer ſort prouide themſelues of ſuch neceſſaries, for the exchange of Rams, and of other beaſts skins. The *Tartars* ſlaues fill their bellies with thicke water, and are therewithall contented. They will neither eate Miſe with long tayles, nor any kind of Miſe with ſhort tayles. They haue alſo certaine little beaſts, called by them, *Sogur*, which lie in a Caue twentie or thirtie of them together, all the whole Winter ſleeping there for the ſpace of ſixe moneths: and theſe they take in great abundance. There are alſo a kind of Conies hauing long tayles like vnto Cats: and on the outſide of their tayles grow blacke and white haires. They haue many other ſmall beaſts good to eat, which they know and diſcerne right well. I ſaw no Deere there, and but a few Hares, but a great number of Roes. I ſaw wild Aſſes in great abundance, which be like vnto Mules. Alſo I ſaw another kind of beaſt, called *Artak*, hauing in all reſemblance the bodie of a Ram, and crooked hornes, which are of ſuch bigneſſe, that I could ſcarce lift vp a paire of them with one hand: and of theſe hornes they make great drinking cups. They haue Faulcons, Girfaulcons, and other Hawkes in great plentie: all which they carrie vpon their right hands: and they put alwaies about their Faulcons neckes a ſtring of Leather, which hangeth downe to the midſt of their gorges, by the which ſtring, when they caſt them off the fiſt at the game, with their left hand they bow downe the heads and breaſts of the ſaid Hawkes, leſt they ſhould be toſſed vp and downe, and beaten with the wind, or leſt they ſhould ſoare too high. Wherefore they get a great part of their victuals by hunting and hawking. Concerning their garments and attire, be it knowne vnto your Maieſtie, that out of *Cataya*, and other Regions of the Eaſt, out of *Perſia* alſo, and other Countries of to South, there are brought vnto them Stuffes of ſilke, Cloth of gold, and Cotton cloth, which they weare in time of Summer. But out of *Ruſſia*, *Moxell*, *Bulgaria* the greater, and *Paſcatir*, that is, *Hungaria* the greater, and out of *Kerſis* (all which are Northerne Regions, and full of Woods) and alſo out of many other Countries of the North, which are ſubiect vnto them, the Inhabitants bring them rich and coſtly skins of diuers ſorts (which I neuer ſaw in our Countries) wherewithall they are clad in Winter. And alwaies againſt Winter they make themſelues two Gownes, one with the furre inward to their skinne, and another with the furre outward, to defend them from wind and ſnow, which for the moſt part are made of Wolues skins, or Foxe skins, or elſe of Papions. And when they ſit within the houſe, they haue a finer Gowne to weare. The poorer ſort make their vpper Gowne of Dogs or of Goats skins. When they goe to hunt for wild beaſts, there meets a great companie of them together, and enuironing the place round about, where they are ſure to find ſome game, by little and little they approach on all ſides, till they haue gotten the wild beaſts into the midſt, as it were into a circle, and then they diſcharge their Arrowes at them. Alſo they make themſelues Breeches of skins. The rich *Tartars* ſometimes furre their Gownes with pelluce or ſilke ſhag, which is exceeding ſoft, light, and warme. The poorer ſort doe line their clothes with Cotton cloth, which is made of the fineſt wooll they can picke out, and of the courſer part of the ſaid wooll, they make Felt to couer their houſes, and their chiſts, and for their bedding alſo. Of the ſame wooll, being mixed with one third part of Horſe haire, they make all their cordage. They make alſo of the ſaid Felt couerings for their ſtooles, and caps to defend their heads from the weather: for all which purpoſes they ſpend a great quantitie of their wooll. And thus much concerning the attire of the men.

Our Falconers vſe the left fiſt. Another ſtrange cuſtome, which I leaue to bee ſcanned by Falconers themſelues.

Great expenſe of Wooll.

Chap. 8. Of the faſhion which the *Tartars* vſe in cutting their haire, and of the attire of their women.

THe men ſhaue a plot foure ſquare vpon the crownes of their heads, and from the two formoſt corners they ſhaue, as it were, two ſeames downe to their temples: they ſhaue alſo their temples, and the hinder part of their head, euen vnto the nape of the necke: likewiſe they ſhaue the fore-part of their ſcalpe downe to their foreheads, and vpon their foreheads they leaue a locke of haire reaching downe vnto their eye-browes: vpon the two hindermoſt corners of their heads, they haue two lockes alſo, which they twine and braid into knots and ſo bind and knit them vnder each eare one. Moreouer, their womens garments differ not from their mens, ſauing that they are ſomewhat longer. But on the morrow after one of their women is married, ſhee ſhaues her ſcalpe from the middeſt of her head downe to her forehead, and weares a wide garment like vnto the hood of a Nunne, yea larger and longer in all parts then a Nunnes hood, beeing open before, and girt vnto them vnder the right ſide. For heerein doe the *Tartars* differ from the *Turkes*: becauſe the *Turkes* faſten their garments to their bodies on the left ſide: but the *Tartars* alwaies on the right ſide. They haue alſo an ornament for their heads, which they call, *Botta*, beeing made of the barke of a Tree, or of ſome ſuch other lighter

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ter matter as they can finde, which by reaſon of the thickneſſe and roundneſſe thereof cannot be holden but in both hands together: and it hath a ſquare ſharpe ſpire riſing from the top thereof, being more then a cubite in length; and faſhioned like vnto a Pinacle. The ſaid *Botta* they couer all ouer with a piece of rich Silke, and it is hollow within: and vpon the midſt of the ſaid ſpire or ſquare top, they put a bunch of Quils, or of ſlender Canes a cubite long and more: and the ſaid bunch on the top thereof, they beautifie with Peacockes Feathers, and round about all the length thereof, with the Feathers of a Malards taile, and with precious ſtones alſo. Great Ladies weare this kind of ornament vpon their heads, binding it ſtrongly with a certaine Hat or Coyfe, which hath a hole in the crowne, fit for the ſpire to come through it: and vnder the foreſaid ornament they couer the haires of their heads, which they gather vp round together from the hinder part thereof to the crowne, and ſo lap them vp in a knot or bundell within the ſaid *Botta*, which afterward they bind ſtrongly vnder their throats. Hereupon when a great company of ſuch Gentlewomen ride together, and are beheld a farre off, they ſeeme to be Souldiers with Helmets on their heads, carrying their Lances vpright: for the ſaid *Botta* appeareth like an Helmet with a Lance ouer it. All their Women ſit on horſe-backe, beſtriding their Horſes like men: and they binde their hoods or gownes about their waſtes with a ſky-coloured Silke Skarfe, and with another Skarfe they gird it aboue their breaſts: and they binde alſo a piece of white Silke like a Mufler or Maske vnder their eyes, reaching downe vnto their breaſts. Theſe Gentlewomen are exceeding fat, and the leſſer their noſes be, the fairer they are eſteemed: they dawbe ouer their ſweet faces with greaſe too ſhamefully: and they neuer lye in bed for their trauell of child-birth.

Chap. 9. Of the duties inioyned vnto the Tartarian Women, and of their labors, and alſo of their marriages.

THe duties of Women are to driue Carts: to lay their houſes vpon Carts, and to take them downe againe; to milke Kine; to make Butter and *Gry-vt*, to dreſſe skinnes, and to ſew them, which they vſually ſew with thread made of ſinewes, for they diuide ſinewes in ſlender threads, and then twine them into one long thread. They make Sandals and Socks, and other Garments. Howbeit they neuer waſh any apparell: for they ſay, that God is then angry, and that dreadfull thunder will enſue, if waſhed garments be hanged forth to dry; yea, they beate ſuch as waſh, and take their garments from them. They are wonderfully afraid of thunder: for in the time of thunder they thruſt all ſtrangers out of their houſes, and then wrapping themſelues in blacke Felt, they lye hidden therein, till the thunder be ouer-paſt. They neuer waſh their diſhes or bowles: yea, when their fleſh is ſodden, they waſh the platter wherein it muſt be put, with ſcalding hot broath out of the pot, and then powre the ſaid broath into the pot againe. They make Felt alſo, and couer their houſes therewith. The duties of the Men are, to make Bowes and Arrowes, Stirrops, Bridles and Saddles: to build Houſes and Carts, to keepe Horſes, to milke Mares, to churne Coſmos and Mares Milke, and to make bags wherein to put it: they keepe Camels alſo, and lay burthens vpon them. As for Sheepe and Goats, they tend and milke them, as well the Men as the Women. With Sheeps Milke thicked and ſalted, they dreſſe and tan their Hides. When they will waſh their hands or their heads, they fill their mouthes full of Water, and ſpowting it into their hands by little and little, they ſprinkle their haire, and waſh their heads therewith. As touching marriages, your Highneſſe is to vnderſtand, that no man can haue a Wife among them till he hath bought her: whereupon ſometimes their Maids are very ſtale before they be married, for their Parents alwaies keepe them till they can ſell them. They keepe the firſt and ſecond degrees of Conſanguinitie inuiolable, as wee doe: but they haue no regard of the degrees of Affinitie: for they will marrie together, or by ſucceſſion, two Siſters. Their Widowes marrie not at all, for this reaſon; becauſe they beleeue, that all who haue ſerued them in this life, ſhall doe them ſeruice in the life to come alſo. Whereupon they are perſwaded, that euery Widow after death ſhall returne vnto her owne Husband. And here-hence ariſeth an abominable and filthy cuſtome among them; namely, that the Sonne marrieth ſometimes all his Fathers Wiues except his owne Mother: For the Court or Houſe of the Father or Mother, falleth by inheritance alwaies to the younger Sonne. Whereupon he is to prouide for all his Fathers Wiues, becauſe they are part of his Inheritance as well as his Fathers poſſeſſions. And then if he will, he vſeth them for his owne Wiues: for he thinkes it no iniurie or diſparagement vnto himſelfe, although they returne vnto his Father after death. Therfore when any man hath bargained with another for a Maid, the Father of the ſaid Damoſell makes him a feaſt: in the meane while ſhe fleeth vnto ſome of her Kinſfolkes to hide her ſelfe. Then ſaith her Father vnto the Bridegroome: *Loe, my Daughter is yours, take her whereſoeuer you can finde her.* Then he and his friends ſeeke for her till they can find her, and hauing found her, he muſt take her by force and carry her (as it were) violently vnto his owne houſe.

Chap. 10. Of their execution of Iuſtice and Iudgment: and of their deaths and burials.

COncerning their Lawes, or their Execution of Iuſtice, your Maieſtie is to bee aduertiſed, that when two men fight, no third man dare intrude himſelfe to part them. Yea, the Father dare not help his owne Sonne. But he that goes by the woſt, muſt appeale vnto the Court of his Lord. And whoſoeuer elſe offereth him any violence after appeale, is put to death. But he

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he must goe presently without all delay: and he that hath suffered the iniury, carrieth him (as it were) captiue. They punish no man with sentence of death, vnlesse he bee taken in the deed doing, or confesseth the same. But being accused by the multitude, they put him vnto extreame torture, to make him confesse the truth. They punish murther with death, and Carnall copulation also with any other besides his owne. By his owne, I meane his Wife or his Maid Seruant, for he may vse his Slaue as hee listeth himselfe. Hainous theft also or felony they punish with death. For a light theft, as namely, for stealing of a Ram, the partie (not being apprehended in the deed doing, but otherwise detected) is cruelly beaten. And if the Executioner layes on an hundred strokes, hee must haue an hundred staues; namely, for such as are beaten vpon sentence giuen in the Court. Also counterfeit Messengers, because they feine themselues to be Messengers, when as indeed they are none at all, they punish with death. Sacrilegious persons they vse in like manner (of which kind of Malefactors your Maiestie shall vnderstand more fully hereafter) because they esteeme such to bee Witches. When any man dyeth, they lament and howle most pittifully for him: and the said Mourners are free from paying any tribute for one whole yeare after. Also, whosoeuer is present at the house where any one growne to mans estate lyeth dead, he must not enter into the Court of *Mangu-Can*, till one whole yeare be expired. If it were a child deceased, hee must not enter into the said Court till the next moneth after. Neere vnto the graue of the partie deceased, they alwaies leaue one Cottage. If any of their Nobles (being of the stocke of *Chingis*, who was their first Lord and Father) deceaseth, his Sepulchre is vnknowne. And alwaies about those places where they interre their Nobles, there is one house of men to keepe the Sepulchres. I could not learne that they vse to hide Treasures in the graues of their dead. The *Comanians* build a great Toombe ouer their dead, and erect the Image of the dead partie thereupon, with his face towards the East, holding a drinking Cup in his hand before his Nauell. They erect also vpon the Monuments of rich men, Pyramides, that is to say; little sharpe houses or pinacles: and in some places I saw mightie Towers made of Bricke, in other places Pyramides made of stones, albeit there are no stones to be found thereabout. I saw one newly buried, in whose behalfe they hanged vp sixteene Horse-hides, vnto each quarter of the world foure, betweene certaine high posts: and they set besides his Graue Cosmos for him to drinke, and flesh to eate: and yet they said that he was baptized. I beheld other kinds of Sepulchres also towards the East: namely, large floores or pauements made of stone, some round, and some square, and then foure long stones pitched vpright, about the said pauement towards the foure Regions of the world. When any man is sicke, he lyeth in his bed, and causeth a signe to be set vpon his house, to signifie that there lyeth a sicke person there, to the end that no man may enter into the said house: whereupon none at all visit any sicke partie but his seruant onely. Moreouer, when any one is sicke in their great Courts, they appoint Watch-men to stand round about the said Court, who will not suffer any person to enter within the Precincts thereof. For they feare least euill spirits or winds should come together with the parties that enter in. They esteeme of Soothsayers, as of their Priests.

Sepulchres.

Chap. 11. Of our first entrance among the *Tartars*, and of their ingratitude.

AND being come amongst those barbarous people, me thought (as I said before) that I was entred into a new world: for they came flocking about vs on horse-backe, after they had made vs a long time to awaite for them sitting in the shadow, vnder their blacke carts. The first question which they demanded, was, whether we had euer beene with them heretofore, or no? And giuing them answere that we had not, they began impudently to beg our victuals from vs. And we gaue them some of our Bisket and Wine, which wee had brought with vs from the Towne of *Soldaia*. And hauing drunke off one Flagon of our Wine, they demanded another; saying, That a man goeth not into the house with one foote. Howbeit we gaue them no more, excusing our selues that we had but a little. Then they asked vs, whence we came, and whither we were bound? I answered them with the words aboue mentioned: that wee had heard concerning Duke *Sartach*, that hee was become a *Christian*, and that vnto him our determination was to trauell, hauing your Maiesties Letters to deliuer vnto him. They were very inquisitiue to know whether I came of mine owne accord, or whither I were sent? I answered, that no man compelled me to come, neither had I come, vnlesse I my selfe had beene willing: and that therefore I was come according to mine owne will, and to the will of my Superior. I tooke diligent heed neuer to say that I was your Maiesties Embassadour. Then they asked what I had in my Carts; whether it were Gold or Siluer, or rich Garments to carrie vnto *Sartach*? I answered, that *Sartach* should see what we had brought, when we were once come vnto him, and that they had nothing to doe to aske such questions, but rather ought to conduct me vnto their Captaine, and that he, if he thought good, should cause me to be directed vnto *Sartach*: if not, that I would returne. For there was in the same Prouince one of *Baatu* his Kinsmen, called *Scacati*, vnto whom my Lord the Emperour of *Constantinople* had written Letters of request, to suffer me to passe through his Territorie. With this answere of ours they were satisfied, giuing vs Horses and Oxen, and two men to conduct vs. Howbeit, before they would allow vs the foresaid necessaries for our iourney, they made vs to awaite a long while, begging our bread for their

Duke *Sartach*.

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their young Brats, wondring at all things which they ſaw about our Seruants, as their Kniues, Gloues, Purſes and Points, and deſiring to haue them. I excuſed my ſelfe that wee had a long way to trauell, and that we muſt in no wiſe ſo ſoone depriue our ſelues of things neceſſary, to finiſh ſo long a iourney. Then they ſaid, that I was a very varlet. True it is, that they tooke nothing by force from me: howbeit they will beg that which they ſee very importunatly and ſhameleſly. And if a man beſtow ought vpon them, it is but coſt loſt, for they are thankleſſe wretches. They eſteeme themſelues Lords, and thinke that nothing ſhould be denyed them by any man. If a man giues them nought, and afterwards ſtands in need of their ſeruice, they will do right nought for him. They gaue vs of their Cowes Milke to drink, after the Butter was churned out of it, being very ſowre, which they call *Apram*. And ſo we departed from them. And in very deed it ſeemed to me that we were eſcaped out of the hands of Diuels. On the morrow we were come vnto the Captaine. From the time wherein we departed from *Soldaia*, till wee arriued at the Court of *Sartach*, which was the ſpace of two moneths, we neuer lay in Houſe or Tent, but alwaies vnder the ſtarry Canopie, and in the open Aire, or vnder our Carts. Neither yet ſaw we any Village, nor any mention of building where a Village had beene, but the graues of the *Comanians*, in great abundance. The ſame euening our guide which had conducted vs, gaue vs ſome Coſmos. After I had drunke thereof, I ſweat moſt extreamely for the noueltie and ſtrangeneſſe, becauſe I neuer dranke of it before. Notwithſtanding, me thought it was very ſauory, as indeed it was.

ON the morrow after we met with the Carts of *Scacatai* laden with houſes, and me thought that a mightie Citie came to meete me. I wondred alſo at the great multitude of huge Droues of Oxen, and Horſes, and at the Flockes of Sheepe. I could ſee but a few men that guided all theſe matters: whereupon I inquired how many men hee had vnder him, and they told me that he had not aboue fiue hundred in all, the one halfe of which number we were come paſt, as they lay in another Lodging. Then the Seruant which was our Guide told mee, that I muſt preſent ſomewhat vnto *Scacatai*: and ſo he cauſed vs to ſtay, going himſelfe before to giue notice of our comming. By this time it was paſt three of the clocke, and they vnladed their houſes neere vnto a certayne water: And there came vnto vs his Interpreter, who being aduertiſed by vs that we were neuer there before, demanded ſome of our victuals, and wee yeelded vnto his requeſt. Alſo hee required of vs ſome garment for a Reward, becauſe hee was to interpret our Sayings vnto his Maſter. Howbeit, we excuſed our ſelues as well as we could. Then hee asked vs, what we would preſent vnto his Lord: And we tooke a flagon of Wine, and filled a Maund with Bisket, and a Platter with Apples and other Fruits. But he was not contented therewith, becauſe we brought him not ſome rich garment. Notwithſtanding, wee entred ſo into his preſence with feare and baſhfulneſſe. Hee ſate vpon his bed holding a Citron in his hand, and his Wife ſate by him: who (as I verily thinke) had cut and pared her Noſe betweene the Eyes, that ſhe might ſeeme to be more flat and ſaddle-noſed: for ſhe had left her ſelfe no Noſe at all in that place, hauing anoynted the very ſame place with a blacke Oyntment, and her Eye-browes alſo: which ſight ſeemed moſt vgly in our Eyes. Then I rehearſed vnto him the ſame words, which I had ſpoken in other places before. For it ſtood vs in hand to vſe one and the ſame ſpeech in all places. For we were well-fore-warned of this circumſtance by ſome which had beene amongſt the *Tartars*, that we ſhould neuer vary in our Tale. Then I beſought him, that he would vouchſafe to accept that ſmall gift at our hands, excuſing my ſelfe that I was a Monke, and that it was againſt our profeſſion to poſſeſſe Gold, or Siluer, or precious Garments, and therefore that I had not any ſuch thing to giue him, howbeit he ſhould receiue ſome part of our victuals in ſtead of a bleſſing. Hereupon he cauſed our Preſent to be receiued, and immediately diſtributed the ſame among his men, who were met together for the ſame purpoſe, to drinke and make merry. I deliuered alſo vnto him the Emperour of *Conſtantinople* his Letters (this was eight dayes after the Feaſt of Aſcenſion) who ſent them forth-with to *Soldaia*, to haue them interpreted there: for they were written in *Greeke*, and he had none about him that was skilfull in the *Greeke* Tongue. He asked vs alſo whether we would drinke any Coſmos, that is to ſay, Mares Milke: (For thoſe that are Chriſtians among them, as namely, the *Ruſſians*, *Grecians*, and *Alanians*, who keepe their owne Law very ſtrictly, will in no caſe drinke thereof, yea, they account themſelues no Chriſtians after they haue once drunke of it, and their Prieſts reconcile them vnto the Church, as if they had renounced the Chriſtian Faith.) I gaue him anſwere, that wee had as yet ſufficient of our owne to drinke, and that when our drinke fayled vs, we muſt be conſtrayned to drinke ſuch as ſhould bee giuen vnto vs. Hee enquired alſo what was contayned in our Letters, which your Maieſtie ſent vnto *Sartach*? I anſwered: that they were ſealed vp, and that there was nothing contayned in them, but good and friendly words. And he asked what words wee would deliuer vnto *Sartach*? I anſwered: the words of Chriſtian Faith. Hee asked againe what theſe words were? For he was very deſirous to heare them. Then I expounded vnto him as well as I could, by mine Interpreter, (who had no wit nor any vtterance of ſpeech) the Apoſtles Creed. Which after hee had heard, holding his peace, he ſhooke his head. Then hee aſſigned vnto vs two men, who

Chap. 12. Of the Court of *Scacatai*, & how the Chriſtians drinke no Coſmos.

A caueat right worthy the noting.

Superſtition, the Kingdome of God is not meate and drinke.

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who should giue attendance vpon our selues, vpon our Horses, and vpon our Oxen. And hee caused vs to ride in his company, till the Messenger whom he had sent for the Interpretation of the Emperours Letters, was returned. And so wee trauelled in his company till the morrow after Pentecost.

Chap. 13. How the *Alanians* came vnto vs on Pentecost or Whitson Eeue.

VPon the Eeuen of Pentecost, there came vnto vs certayne *Alanians*, who are there called * *Acias*, being Christians after the manner of the *Grecians*, vsing *Greeke* Bookes and *Grecian* Priests: howbeit, they are not Schismatikes as the *Grecians* are, but without acception of persons, they honour all Christians. And they brought vnto vs sodden flesh, requesting vs to eat of their meate, and to pray for one of their company beeing dead. Then I said, because it was the Eeuen of so great and so solemne a Feast Day, that wee would not eate any flesh for that time. And I expounded vnto them the Solemnitie of the said Feast, whereat they greatly reioyced: for they were ignorant of all things appertayning to Christian Religion, except only the Name of Christ. They and many other Christians, both *Russians*, and *Hungarians* demanded of vs, whether they might be saued or no, because they were constrayned to drinke Cosmos, and to eate the dead carkasses of such things, as were slaine by the *Saracens*, and other Infidels? Which euen the *Greeke* and *Russian* Priests themselues also esteeme as things strangled or offered vnto Idols: because they were ignorant of the times of Fasting, neither could they haue obserued them albeit they had knowne them. Then instructed I them aswell as I could and strengthened them in the Faith. As for the flesh which they had brought, wee reserued it vntill the feast day. For there was nothing to be sold among the *Tartars* for Gold and Siluer, but onely for Cloath and Garments, of the which kind of Merchandize wee had none at all. When our Seruants offered them any Coyne, called *Yperpera*, they rubbed it with their fingers, and put it vnto their noses, to try by the smell whether it were Copper or no. Neither did they allow vs any food but Cowes Milke onely, which was very sowre and filthy. There was one thing most necessary greatly wanting vnto vs. For the water was so foule and muddy, by reason of their Horses, that it was not meete to be drunke. And but for certaine Bisket, which was by the goodnesse of God remaining vnto vs, we had vndoubtedly perished.

* Or, *Akas.*

Cloth is the chiefe Merchandise in *Tartarie.*

Chap. 14. Of a *Saracen* which said that he would be baptized: and of certaine men which seemed to bee Lepers.

VPon the day of Pentecost there came vnto vs a certaine *Saracen*, vnto whom, as he talked with vs, we expounded the Christian Faith. Who (hearing of Gods benefits exhibited vnto mankind, by the Incarnation of our Sauiour Christ, and the Resurrection of the dead, and the Iudgement to come, and that in Baptisme was a washing away of sinnes) said, that hee would be baptized. But when wee prepared our selues to the baptizing of him, hee suddenly mounted on horse-back, saying, that he would go home and consult with his wife what were best to be done. And on the morrow after he told vs, that he durst in no case receiue Baptisme, because then he should drinke no more Cosmos. For the Christians of that place affirme, that no true Christians ought to drinke thereof: and that without the said liquor hee could not liue in that Desart. From which opinion, I could not for my life remoue him. Wherefore be it knowne of a certaintie vnto your Highnesse, that they are much estranged from the Christian Faith, by reason of that opinion which hath beene broached and confirmed among them by the *Russians*, of whom there is a great multitude in that place. The same day *Scacatai* the Captaine aforesaid gaue vs one man to conduct vs to *Sartach*, and two other to guide vs vnto the next Lodging, which was distant from that place fiue dayes Iourney for Oxen to trauell. They gaue vnto vs also a Goate for victuals, and a great many Bladders of Cowes Milke, and but a little Cosmos, because it is of so great estimation among them. And so taking our Iourney directly toward the North, mee thought that wee had passed through one of Hell gates. The Seruants which conducted vs began to play the bold Theeues with vs, seeing vs take so little heed vnto our selues. At length hauing lost much by there Theeuery, harme taught vs wisdome. And then wee came vnto the extremitie of that Prouince, which is fortified with a Ditch from one Sea vnto another: without the bounds whereof their Lodging was situate. Into the which, so soone as wee had entred, all the Inhabitants there seemed vnto vs to be infected with Leprosie: for certayne base fellowes were placed there to receiue Tribute of all such as tooke Salt out of the Salt-pits aforesaid. From that place they told vs that we must trauell fifteene dayes Iourney, before we should find any other people. With them we dranke Cosmos, and gaue vnto them a basket full of Fruits and of Bisket. And they gaue vnto vs eight Oxen and one Goate, to sustayne vs in so great a Iourney, and I know not how many bladders of Milke. And so changing our Oxen, we tooke our Iourney which wee finished in tenne dayes, arriuing at another Lodging: neither found we any water all that way, but onely in certayne Ditches made in the Valleyes, except two Riuers. And from the time wherein wee departed out of the foresaid Prouince of *Gasaria*, we trauelled directly East-ward, hauing a Sea on the South-side of vs, and a waste Desart on the North, which Desart, in some places, reacheth twentie dayes Iourney in breadth, and there is neither Tree, Mountayne, nor Stone therein. And it is most excellent Pasture. Here the *Comanians*, which were called *Capthac*, were wont to feed their Cattell. Howbeit by the *Dutch-*

Salt-pits. Ten dayes Iourney.

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men they are called *Valani*, and the Prouince it selfe *Valania*. But *Isidore* calleth all that tract of Land stretching from the Riuer of *Tanais* to the Lake of *Meotis*; and so along as farre as *Danubius*, the Countrey of *Alanes*. And the same land continueth in length from *Danubius* vnto *Tanais* (which diuideth *Asia* from *Europe*) for the space of two moneths iourney, albeit a man should ride post as fast as the *Tartars* vse to ride: and it was all ouer inhabited by the *Comanians*, called *Capchat*: yea, and beyond *Tanais*, as farre as the Riuer of *Edil*, or *Volga*: the space betweene the two which Riuers is a great and long iourney to bee trauelled in ten daies. To the North of the same Prouince lyeth *Russia*, which is full of wood in all places, and stretcheth from *Polonia* and *Hungaria*, euen to the Riuer of *Tanais*: and it hath beene wasted all ouer by the *Tartars*, and as yet is daily wasted by them.

Valani.

The length of Comania.

Russia.

THey preferre the *Saracens* before the *Russians*, because they are Christians; and when they are able to giue them no more gold nor siluer, they driue them and their Children like flocks of Sheepe into the wildernesse, constraining them to keepe their Cattell there. Beyond *Russia*, lyeth the Countrey of *Prussia*, which the *Dutch* Knights of the order of Saint *Maries* Hospitall of *Ierusalem*, haue of late wholly conquered and subdued. And in very deede, they might easily win *Russia*, if they would put to their helping hand. For if the *Tartars* should but once know that the great Priest, that is to say, the Pope did cause the Ensigne of the Crosse to be displaied against them, they would flie all into their Desart and solitarie places. Wee therefore went on towards the East, seeing nothing but Heauen and Earth, and sometimes the Sea on our right hand, called the Sea of *Tanais*, and the Sepulchres of the *Comanians*, which appeared vnto vs two leagues off, in which places they were wont to burie their kindred altogether. So long as we were trauelling through the Desart, it went reasonably well with vs. For I cannot sufficiently expresse in words the irkesome and tedious troubles which I sustained, when I came at any of their places of abode. For our Guide would haue vs goe in vnto euery Captaine with a present, and our expences would not extend so farre. For we were euery day eight persons of vs spending our wayfaring prouision, for the *Tartars* seruants would all of them eate of our victuals. We our selues were fiue in number, and the seruants our Guides were three, two to driue our Carts, and one to conduct vs vnto *Sartach*. The flesh which they gaue vs was not sufficient for vs; neither could we find any thing to be bought for our money. And as we sate vnder our Carts in the coole shadow, by reason of the extreame and vehement heate which was there at that time, they did so importunately and shamelesly intrude themselues into our company, that they would euen tread vpon vs, to see whatsoeuer things we had. Hauing list at any time to ease themselues, the filthie Lozels had not the manners to withdraw themselues farther from vs, then a Beane can be cast. Yea, like vile slouens they would lay their tailes in our presence, while they were yet talking with vs: many other things they committed, which were most tedious and loathsome vnto vs. But aboue all things it grieued me to the very heart, that when I would vtter ought vnto them, which might tend to their edification, my foolish interpreter would say; you should not make me become a Preacher now; I tell you, I cannot nor I will not rehearse any such words. And true it was which he said, for I perceiued afterward, when I began to haue a little smattering in the language, that when I spake one thing, hee would say quite another, whatsoeuer came next vnto his witlesse tongues end. Then seeing the danger I might inqurre in speaking by such an Interpreter, I resolued much rather to hold my peace, and thus we trauelled with great toile from lodging to lodging, till at the length, a few daies before the Feast of Saint *Marie Magdalene*, we arriued at the banke of the mightie Riuer *Tanais*, which diuideth *Asia* from *Europa*, euen as the Riuer *Nilus* of *Ægypt* diuideth *Asia* from *Africa*. At the same place where we arriued, *Baatu* and *Sartach* did cause a certaine Cottage to be built vpon the Easterne banke of the Riuer, for a companie of *Russians* to dwell in, to the end, they might transport Ambassadours and Merchants in Ferrie-boates ouer that part of the Riuer. First, they ferried vs ouer, and then our Carts, putting one wheele into one Liter, and the other wheele into another Liter, hauing bound both the Liters together, and so they rowed them ouer. In this place our Guide played the foole most extreamely. For he imagining that the said *Russians*, dwelling in the Cottage, should haue prouided vs Horses, sent home the Beasts which wee brought with vs, in another Cart, that they might returne vnto their owne Masters. And when we demanded to haue some beasts of them, they answered, that they had a priuiledge from *Baatu*, whereby they were bound to none other seruice, but onely to ferrie ouer Goers and Commers: and that they receiued great tribute of Merchants in regard thereof. Wee staied therefore by the said Riuers side three daies. The first day they gaue vnto vs a great fresh Turbut: the second day, they bestowed Rye bread, and a little flesh vpon vs, which the Purueyer of the Village had taken vp at euery house for vs: and the third day dryed Fishes, which they haue there in great abundance. The said Riuer was euen as broade in that place, as the Riuer of *Sein* is at *Paris*. And before wee came there, wee passed ouer many goodly waters, and full of Fish: howbeit the barbarous and rude *Tartars* know not how to take them: neither doe they make any reckoning of any Fish, except it bee so great, that they may prey vpon the flesh thereof, as vpon the flesh of a Ram.

Chap. 15. Of our afflictions which wee sustained: and of the Comanians manner of burial.

Prussia.

Extreame heate in Summer.

Tanais.

The breadth of Tanais.

Thus

He is much deceiued.

This Riuer is the limit of the East part of *Russia*, and it springeth out of the Fennes of *Maotis*, which Fennes stretch vnto the North Ocean. And it runneth Southward into a certaine great Sea seuen hundred miles about, before it falleth into the Sea called *Pontus Euxinus*. And all the Riuers which we passed ouer, ran with full streame into those quarters. The foresaid Riuer hath great store of wood also growing vpon the West side thereof. Beyond this place the *Tartars* ascend no farther vnto the North: for at that season of the yeere, about the first of August, they begin to returne backe vnto the South. And therefore there is another Cottage somewhat lower where Passengers are ferried ouer in Winter time, and in this place we were driuen to great extremitie, by reason that we could get neither Horses, nor Oxen for any money. At length, after I had declared vnto them, that my comming was to labour for the common good of all Christians, they sent vs Oxen and Men; howbeit wee our selues were faine to trauell on foot. At this time they were reaping their Rye. Wheate prospereth not well in that soile. They haue the seed of Millium in great abundance. The *Russian* women attire their heads like vnto our women. They embroider their Safegards or Gownes on the outside, from their feet vnto their knees with partie-coloured or grey stuffe. The *Russian* men weare Caps like vnto the *Dutch* men. Also they weare vpon their heads certaine sharpe and high-crowned Hats made of Felt, much like vnto a Sugar-loafe. Then trauailed we three daies together, not finding any people. And when our selues and our Oxen were exceeding wearie and faint, not knowing how farre off we should find any *Tartars*, on the sudden there came two Horses running towards vs, which we tooke with great ioy, and our Guide and Interpreter mounted vpon their backs, to see how farre off they could descrie any people. At length, vpon the fourth day of our iourney, hauing found some Inhabitants, we reioyced like Sea faring men, which had escaped out of a dangerous Tempest, and had newly recouered the Hauen. Then hauing taken fresh Horses, and Oxen, we passed on from lodging to lodging, till at the last, vpon the second of the Kalends of August, we arriued at the habitation of Duke *Sartach* himselfe.

About the beginning of August, the *Tartars* returne Southward.

Chap. 16. Of the Dominion of *Sartach*, and of his Subiects.

THe Region lying beyond *Tanais*, is a very goodly Countrey, hauing store of Riuers and Woods toward the North part thereof. There are mightie huge Woods which two sorts of people doe inhabit. One of them is called *Moxel*, being meere Pagans, and without Law. They haue neither Townes nor Cities, but onely Cottages in the Woods. Their Lord and a great part of themselues were put to the Sword in high *Germanie*. Whereupon they highly commend the braue courage of the *Almans*, hoping as yet to be deliuered out of the bondage of the *Tartars*, by their meanes. If any Merchant come vnto them, hee must prouide things necessary for him, with whom hee is first of all entertained, all the time of his abode among them. If any lyeth with another mans wife, her husband, vnlesse he be an eye-witnesse thereof, regardeth it not: for they are not iealous ouer their wiues. They haue abundance of Hogs, and great store of Honie and Waxe, and diuers sorts of rich and costly Skins, and plentie of Faulcons. Next vnto them are other people called *Merclas*, which the *Latines* call *Merdui*, and they are *Saracens*. Beyond them is the Riuer of *Etilia*, or *Volga*, which is the mightiest Riuer that euer I saw. And it issueth from the North part of *Bulgaria* the greater, and so trending along Southward, disimboqueth into a certaine Lake, containing in circuit the space of foure moneths trauell, whereof I will speake hereafter. The two foresaid Riuers, namely, *Tanais* and *Etilia*, otherwise called *Volga*, towards the Northerne Regions, through the which we trauailed, are not distant asunder aboue ten daies iourney, but Southward they are diuided a great space one from another. For *Tanais* descendeth into the Sea of *Pontus*: *Etilia* maketh the foresaid Sea or Lake, with the helpe of many other Riuers, which fall thereinto out of *Persia*. And wee had to the South of vs huge high Mountaines, vpon the sides thereof towards the said Desart, doe the people called *Cergis*, and the *Alani* or *Acas* inhabit, who are as yet Christians, and wage warre against the *Tartars*. Beyond them, next vnto the Sea or Lake of *Etilia*, there are certaine *Saracens* called *Lesgi*, who are in subiection vnto the *Tartars*. Beyond these is *Porta ferrea*, or the Iron gate, now called *Derbent*, which *Alexander* built to exclude the barbarous Nations out of *Persia*. Concerning the situation whereof, your Maiestie shall vnderstand more about the end of this Treatise: for I trauailed in my returne by the very same place. Betweene the two foresaid Riuers, in the Regions through the which we passed, did the *Comanians* of old time inhabit, before they were ouerrun by the *Tartars*.

The people of *Moxel* are *Pagans*.

The people called *Merdui* being *Saracens*.

The circuit of the *Caspian* Sea.

Kergis or *Aas*.

The *Saracens* called *Lesgi*.

He returneth by *Derbent*.

Chap. 17. Of the Court of *Sartach*, and of the magnificence thereof.

ANd wee found *Sartach* lying within three daies iourney of the Riuer *Etilia*: whose Court seemed vnto vs to be very great. For he himselfe had six wiues, and his eldest sonne also had three wiues: euery one of which women hath a great house, and they haue each one of them about two hundred Carts. Our guide went vnto a certaine *Nestorian* named *Coiat*, who is a man of great authoritie in *Sartachs* Court. He made vs to goe very farre vnto the Lords gate. For so they call him who hath the Office of entertayning Ambassadours. In the euening, *Coiat* commanded vs to come vnto him. Then our Guide began to enquire what wee would present him withall, and was exceedingly offended, when hee saw that wee had nothing ready to present.

Coiat, the *Nestorian*.

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We stood before him, and he sate maiestically, hauing musick and dancing in his presence. Then I spake vnto him in the words before recited, telling him for what purpose I was come vnto his Lord, and requesting so much fauour at his hands, as to bring our Letters vnto the sight of his Lord, I excused my selfe also, that I was a Monke, not hauing, nor receiuing, nor vsing any gold, or siluer, or any other precious thing, saue onely our Bookes, and the Vestments wherein wee serued God: and that this was the cause why I brought no present vnto him, nor vnto his Lord. For I that had abandoned mine owne goods, could not be a transporter of things for other men. Then he answered very courteously, that being a Monke, and so doing, I did well; for so I should obserue my vow: neither did himselfe stand in need of ought that we had, but rather was ready to bestow vpon vs such things as we our selues stood in need of: and hee caused vs to sit downe, and to drinke of his Milke. And presently after, hee requested vs to say our deuotions for him: and wee did so. Hee enquired also who was the greatest Prince among the *Francks*? And I said, the Emperour, if he could enioy his owne Dominions in quiet. No (quoth hee) but the King of *France*. For hee had heard of your Higneſſe by Lord *Baldwine* of *Henault*. I found there also one of the Knights of the Temple who had beene in *Cyprus*, and had made report of all things which he saw there. Then returned we vnto our Lodging. And on the morrow we sent him a flaggon of Muscadell Wine (which had lasted verie well in so long a iourney) and a boxe full of Bisket, which was most acceptable vnto him. And hee kept our Seruants with him for that Euening. The next morning hee commanded mee to come vnto the Court, and to bring the Kings Letters and my Vestments, and Bookes with mee: because his Lord was desirous to see them. Which we did accordingly, lading one Cart with our Bookes and Vestments, and another with Bisket, Wine, and Fruits. Then hee caused all our Bookes and Vestments to bee layd forth. And there stood round about vs many *Tartars*, *Christians*, and *Saracens* on Horseback. At the sight whereof, hee demanded whether I would bestow all those things vpon his Lord or no? Which saying made mee to tremble, and grieued mee full sore. Howbeit, dissembling our griefe as well as we could, we shaped him this Answere: Sir, our humble request is, that our Lord your Master would vouchsafe to accept our Bread, Wine, and Fruits, not as a Present, because it is too meane, but as a Benediction, least we should come with an emptie hand before him. And hee shall see the Letters of my Souereigne Lord the King, and by them hee shall vnderstand for what cause we are come vnto him, and then both our selues, and all that wee haue, shall stand to his courtesie: for our Vestments bee holy, and it is vnlawfull for any but Priests to touch them. Then he commanded vs to inuest our selues in the said Garments, that we might goe before his Lord: and we did so. Then I my selfe putting on our most precious Ornaments, tooke in mine armes a very faire Cushion, and the Bible which your Maiestie gaue mee, and a most beautifull Psalter, which the Queenes Grace bestowed vpon mee, wherein there were goodly Pictures. Mine Associate tooke a Missall and a Crosse: and the Clerke hauing put on his Surplice, tooke a Censer in his hand. And so we came vnto the presence of his Lord: and they lifted vp the Felt hanging before his doore, that hee might behold vs. Then they caused the Clerke and the Interpreter thrice to bow the knee: but of vs they required no such submission. And they diligently admonished vs to take heed, that in going in, and in comming out, wee touched not the threshold of the house, and requested vs to sing a Benediction for him. Then we entred in, singing *Salue Regina*. And within the entrance of the doore stood a bench with Cosmos, and drinking cups thereupon. And all his Wiues were there assembled. Also the *Moals* or rich *Tartars* thrusting in with vs pressed vs sore. Then *Coiat* carryed vnto his Lord the Censer with Incense, which hee beheld very diligently, holding it in his hand. Afterward he carryed the Psalter vnto him, which he looked earnestly vpon, and his Wife also that sate beside him. After that he carryed the Bible: then *Sartach* asked if the Gospell were contayned therein? Yea (said I) and all the holy Scriptures besides. He tooke the Crosse also in his hand, and demanded concerning the Image, whether it were the Image of Christ or no? I said it was. The *Nestorians* and the *Armenians* doe neuer make the figure of Christ vpon their Crosses. Wherefore either they seeme not to thinke well of his Passion, or else they are ashamed of it. Then hee caused them that stood about vs, to stand aside, that hee might more fully behold our Ornaments. Afterward I deliuered vnto him your Maiesties Letters, with the Translation thereof into the *Arabicke* and *Syriacke* Languages. For I caused them to bee translated at *Acon*, into the Character and Dialect of both the said Tongues. And there were certayne *Armenian* Priests, which had skill in the *Turkish* and *Arabian* Languages. The aforesaid Knight also of the Order of the Temple had knowledge in the *Syriake*, *Turkish*, and *Arabian* Tongues. Then wee departed forth, and put off our Vestments, and there came vnto vs certayne Scribes together with the foresaid *Coiat*, and caused our Letters to bee interpreted. Which Letters being heard, hee caused our Bread, Wine and Fruits to bee receiued. And hee permitted vs also to carrie our Vestments and Bookes vnto our owne Lodging. This was done vpon the Feast of *S. Peter ad vincula*.

No good consequence.

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Chap. 18. How they were giuen in charge to goe vnto *Baatu* the Father of *Sartach*.

THe next morning betimes came vnto vs a certayne Priest, who was brother vnto *Coiat*, requesting to haue our boxe of Chrisme, because *Sartach* (as he said) was desirous to see it: and so we gaue it him. About Euentyde *Coiat* sent for vs, saying: My Lord your King wrote good words vnto my Lord and Master *Sartach*. Howbeit there are certayne matters of difficultie in them, concerning which he dare not determine ought, without the aduice and counsell of his Father. And therefore of necessitie you must depart vnto his Father, leauing behind you the two Carts, which you brought hither yesterday with Vestments and Bookes, in my custodie: because my Lord is desirous to take more diligent view thereof. I presently suspecting what mischiefe might ensue by his couetousnesse, said vnto him: Sir, we will not onely leaue those with you, but the two other Carts also, which we haue in our possession, will wee commit vnto your custodie. You shall not (quoth he) leaue those behind you, but for the other two Carts first named, wee will satisfie your request. I said that this could not conueniently bee done: but needs we must leaue all with him. Then he asked, whether we meant to tarrie in the Land? I answered: If you throughly vnderstand the Letters of my Lord the King, you know that we are euen so determined. Then he replyed, that we ought to bee patient and lowly: and so wee departed from him that Euening. On the morrow after he sent a *Nestorian* Priest for the Carts, and wee caused all the foure Carts to be deliuered. Then came the foresaid brother of *Coiat* to meet vs, and separated all those things, which we had brought the day before vnto the Court; from the rest, namely, the Bookes and Vestments, and tooke them away with him. Howbeit *Coiat* had commanded, that we should carrie those Vestments with vs, which we wore in the presence of *Sartach*, that we might put them on before *Baatu*, if need should require: but the said Priest tooke them from vs by violence, saying: thou hast brought them vnto *Sartach*, and wouldest thou carrie them vnto *Baatu*? And when I would haue rendred a reason, hee answered: bee not too talkatiue, but goe your wayes. Then I saw that there was no remedie but patience: for wee could haue no accesse vnto *Sartach* himselfe, neither was there any other, that would doe vs Iustice. I was afraid also in regard of the Interpreter, least he had spoken other things then I said vnto him: for his will was good, that wee should haue giuen away all that we had. There was yet one comfort remayning vnto mee: for when I once perceiued their couetous intent, I conueyed from among our Bookes the Bible, and the Sentences, and certayne other Bookes which I made speciall account of. Howbeit, I durst not take away the Psalter of my Souereigne Ladie the Queene, because it was too well knowne, by reason of the Golden Pictures therein. And so we returned with the two other Carts vnto our Lodging. Then came hee that was appointed to be our Guide vnto the Court of *Baatu*, willing vs to take our Iourney in all poste-haste: vnto whom I said, that I would in no case haue the Carts to goe with me. Which thing he declared vnto *Coiat*. Then *Coiat* commanded, that wee should leaue them and our Seruant with him: And we did as he commanded. And so trauelling directly East-ward towards *Baatu*, the third day we came to *Etilia* or *Volga*: the streames whereof when I beheld, I wondred from what Regions of the North such huge and mightie waters should descend. Before we were departed from *Sartach*, the foresaid *Coiat*, with many other Scribes of the Court said vnto vs: doe not make report that our Lord is a *Christian*, but a *Moal*. Because the name of a *Christian* seemeth vnto them to be the name of some Nation. So great is their pride, that albeit they beleeue perhaps some things concerning Christ, yet will they not be called *Christians*, being desirous that their owne name, that is to say, *Moal* should be exalted aboue all other names. Neither will they be called by the name of *Tartars*. For the *Tartars* were another Nation, as I was informed by them.

They are come as farre as *Volga*.

The *Tartars* will be called *Moal*.

Chap. 19. How *Sartach*, and *Mangu-Can*, and *Ken-Can* doe reuerence vnto Christians. This Historie of *Presbyter Iohn* in the North-east, is alleaged at large by *Gerardus Mercator* in his generall Map. From whence the *Turkes* first sprang. An Ocean Sea. *Nayman*. *Presbyter Iohn*.

AT the same time when the *Frenchmen* tooke *Antioch*, a certayne man named *Con Can*, had Dominion ouer the Northerne Regions, lying thereabouts. *Con* is a proper name: *Can* is a name of authoritie or dignitie, which signifieth a Diuiner or Sooth-sayer. All Diuiners are called *Can* amongst them. Whereupon their Princes are called *Can*, because that vnto them belongeth the gouernment of the people by Diuination. We doe read also in the Historie of *Antiochia*, that the *Turkes* sent for ayde against the *Frenchmen*, vnto the Kingdome of *Con Can*. For out of those parts the whole Nation of the *Turkes* first came. The said *Con* was of the Nation of *Kara-Catay*. *Kara* signifieth blacke, and *Catay* is the name of a Countrey. So that *Kara-Catay* signifieth the blacke *Catay*. This name was giuen to make a difference betweene the foresaid people, and the people of *Catay* inhabiting East-ward ouer against the Ocean Sea: concerning whom your Maiestie shall vnderstand more hereafter. These *Catayans* dwelt vpon certayne Alpes, by the which I trauelled. And in a certaine plaine Countrey within those *Alpes*, there inhabited a *Nestorian* shepheard, being a mightie Gouernour ouer the people called *Nayman*, which were Christians, following the Sect of *Nestorius*. After the death of *Con Can*, the said *Nestorian* exalted himselfe to the Kingdome, and they called him King *Iohn*, reporting ten times more of him then was true. For so the *Nestorians* which come out of those parts, vse to doe. For they blaze abroad great rumours, and reports vpon iust nothing. Whereupon they gaue out concerning *Sartach*, that he was become a Christian, and the like also they reported

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ted concerning *Mangu Can*, and *Ken Can*: namely, because these *Tartars* make more account of Christians, then they doe of other people, and yet in very deed, themselues are no Christians. So likewise there went forth a great report concerning the said King *Iohn*. Howbeit, when I trauelled along by his Territories, there was no man that knew any thing of him, but onely a few *Nestorians*. In his Pastures or Territories dwelleth *Ken Can*, at whose Court Frier *Andrew* was. And I my selfe passed by it at my returne. This *Iohn* had a Brother, being a mightie man also, and a Shepheard like himselfe, called *Vut*, and he inhabited beyond the *Alpes* of *Cara Catay*, being distant from his Brother *Iohn*, the space of three weekes iourney. He was Lord ouer a certaine Village, called *Cara Carum*, hauing people also for his Subiects, named *Crit*, or *Merkit*, who were Christians of the Sect of *Nestorius*. But their Lord abandoning the worship of Christ, following after Idols, retaining with him Priests of the said Idols, who all of them are Worshippers of Deuils and Sorcerers. Beyond his Pastures, some tenne or fifteene dayes iourney, were the Pastures of *Moal*, who were a poore and beggerly Nation, without Gouernor, and without Law, except their Sooth-sayings, and their Diuinations, vnto the which detestable studies, all in those parts doe apply their minds. Neere vnto *Moal* were other poore people, called *Tartars*. The foresaid King *Iohn* dyed without Issue Male; and thereupon his Brother *Vut* was greatly inriched, and caused himselfe to be named *Can*: and his Droues and Flockes raunged euen vnto the Borders of *Moal*. About the same time there was one *Cyngis*, a Blacke-Smith, among the people of *Moal*. This *Cyngis* stole as many Cattell from *Vut Can*, as he could possibly get: insomuch, that the Shepheards of *Vut* complained vnto their Lord. Then prouided he an Armie, and marched vp into the Countrey of *Moal*, to seeke for the said *Cyngis*. But *Cyngis* fled among the *Tartars*, and hid himselfe amongst them. And *Vut* hauing taken some spoiles both from *Moal*, and also from the *Tartars*, returned home. Then spake *Cyngis* vnto the *Tartars*, and vnto the people of *Moal*, saying: Sirs, because we are distitute of a Gouernor and Captaine, you see how our Neighbours doe oppresse vs. And the *Tartars* and *Moals* appointed him to be their Chieftaine. Then hauing secretly gathered together an Armie, hee brake in suddenly vpon *Vut*, and ouercame him, and *Vut* fled into *Cataya*. At the same time was the Daughter of *Vut* taken, which *Cyngis* married vnto one of his Sonnes, by whom she conceiued, and brought forth the great *Can*, which now reigneth, called *Mangu-Can*. Then *Cyngis* sent the *Tartars* before him in all places where he came: and thereupon was their name published and spread abroad: for in all places the people would cry out: *Loe, the* Tartars *come, the* Tartars *come*. Howbeit, through continuall warres, they are now, all of them in a manner, consumed and brought to nought. Whereupon the *Moals* indeuour what they can, to extinguish the name of the *Tartars*, that they may exalt their owne name. The Countrey wherein they first inhabited, and where the Court of *Cyngis Can* as yet remaineth, is called *Mancherule*. But because *Tartaria* is the Region, about which they haue obtained their Conquests, they esteeme that as their royall and chiefe Citie, and there for the most part doe they elect their great *Can*.

The place of *Ken Kan* his aboad.
Vut Can, or *Vnc Can*.
The Village of *Cara Carum*.
Crit & *Merkit*.
Moal in old time a beggerly people.
The place of the *Tartars*.
Cyngis.
Mangu-Can.
Mancherule.

NOw, as concerning *Sartach*, whether hee beleeues in Christ or no, I know not. This I am sure of, that he will not be called a Christian. Yea, rather he seemeth vnto mee to deride and skoffe at Christians. He lyeth in the way of the Christians, as namely, of the *Russians*, the *Valachians*, the *Bulgarians* of *Bulgaria* the lesse, the *Soldaianes*, the *Kerkis*, and the *Alanians*: who all of them passe by him, as they are going to the Court of his Father *Baatu*, to carrie gifts: whereupon he is more in league with them. Howbeit, if the *Saracens* come, and bring greater gifts then they, they are dispatched sooner. He hath about him certaine *Nestarian* Priests, who pray vpon their Beades, and sing their deuotions. Also, there is another vnder *Baatu*, called *Berta*, who feedeth his Cattell toward *Porta Ferrea*, or *Derbent*, where lyeth the passage of all those *Saracens* which come out of *Persia*, and out of *Turkie* to goe vnto *Baatu*, and passing by, they giue rewards vnto him. And he professeth himselfe to be a *Saracen*, and will not permit Swines flesh to be eaten in his Dominions. Howbeit, at the time of our returne, *Baatu* commanded him to remooue himselfe from that place, and to inhabite vpon the East side of *Volga*: for he was vnwilling that the *Saracens* Messengers should passe by the said *Berta*, because he saw it was not for his profit. For the space of foure daies while wee remained in the Court of *Sartach*, wee had not any victuals at all allowed vs, but once onely a little Cosmos. And in our iourney betweene him and his Father, wee trauelled in great feare. For certaine *Russians*, *Hungarians*, and *Alanians*, being Seruants vnto the *Tartars*, (of whom they haue great multitudes among them) assemble themselues twentie or thirtie in a company, and so secretly in the night conueying themselues from home, they take Bowes and Arrowes with them, and whomsoeuer they finde in the night season, they put him to death, hiding themselues in the day time. And hauing tyred their Horses, they goe in the night vnto a company of other Horses feeding in some Pasture, and change them for new, taking with them also one or two Horses besides, to eate them when they stand in neede. Our guide therefore was sore afraid, least we should haue met with such companions.

Chap. 20. Of the *Russians, Hungarians*, and *Alanians*: and of the *Caspian* Sea.
Or, *Berta*.

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In this Iourney we had dyed for Famine, had wee not carryed some of our Bisket with vs. At length we came vnto the mightie Riuer of *Etilia*, or *Volga*. For it is foure times greater, then the Riuer of *Sein*, and of a wonderfull depth: and issuing forth of *Bulgaria* the greater, it runneth into a certayne Lake or Sea, which of late they call the *Hircan* Sea, according to the name of a certaine Citie in *Persia*, standing vpon the shoare thereof. Howbeit *Isidore* calleth it the *Caspian* Sea. For it hath the *Caspian* Mountaynes and the Land of *Persia* situate on the South-side thereof: and the Mountaynes of *Musibet*, that is to say, of the people called *Assassini* towards the East, which Mountaynes are conioyned vnto the *Caspian* Mountaynes: but on the North-side thereof lyeth the same Desart, wherein the *Tartars* doe now inhabit. Howbeit heretofore there dwelt certayne people called *Changla*. And on that side it receiueth the streames of *Etilia*, which Riuer increaseth in Summer time, like vnto the Riuer *Nilus* in *Egypt*. Vpon the West part thereof, it hath the Mountaynes of *Alani*, and *Lesgi*, and *Porta ferrea*, or *Derbent*, and the Mountaynes of *Georgia*. This Sea therefore is compassed in on three sides with the Mountaynes, but on the North-side with plaine ground. Frier *Andrew* in his Iourney trauelled round about two sides thereof, namely, the South and the East-sides: and I my selfe about other two, that is to say, the North-side in going from *Baatu* to *Mangu-Can*, and in returning likewise: and the West-side in comming home from *Baatu* into *Syria*. A man may trauell round about it in foure moneths. And it is not true which *Isidore* reporteth, namely, that this Sea is a Bay or Gulfe comming forth of the Ocean: for it doth, in no part thereof, ioyne with the Ocean, but is enuironed on all sides with Land.

Changla.

Frier *Andrew.*

Chap. 21. Of the Court of *Baatu*: and how we were entertayned by him.

ALL the Region extending from the West shoare of the foresaid Sea, where *Alexanders* Iron-gate, otherwise called the Citie of *Derbent*, is situate, and from the Mountaynes of *Alania*, all along by the Fennes of *Meotis*, whereinto the Riuer of *Tanais* falleth, and so forth, to the North Ocean, was wont to be called *Albania*. Of which Countrey *Isidore* reporteth, that there bee Dogges of such an huge stature, and so fierce, that they are able in fight to match Buls, and to master Lions. Which is true, as I vnderstand by diuers, who told me, that there towards the North Ocean, they make their Dogges to draw in Carts like Oxen, by reason of their bignesse and strength. Moreouer, vpon that part of *Etilia* where we arriued, there is a new Cottage built, wherein they haue placed *Tartars* and *Russians* both together, to ferrie ouer, and transport Messengers going and comming, to and fro the Court of *Baatu*. For *Baatu* remayneth vpon the farther side towards the East. Neither ascendeth hee in Summer time more Northward then the foresaid place where we arriued, but was euen then descending to the South. From Ianuary vntill August, both he and all other *Tartars* ascend by the banks of Riuers, towards cold and Northerly Regions, and in August they begin to returne backe againe. Wee passed downe the streame therefore in a Barke, from the foresaid Cottage vnto his Court. From the same place vnto the Villages of *Bulgaria* the greater, standing toward the North, it is fiue dayes Iourney. I wonder what Deuill carried the Religion of *Mahomet* thither. For, from *Derbent*, which is vpon the extreme borders of *Persia*, it is aboue thirtie dayes Iourney to passe ouerthwart the Desart, and so to ascend by the banke of *Etilia*, into the foresaid Countrey of *Bulgaria*. All which way there is no Citie, but onely certayne Cottages neere vnto that place where *Etilia* falleth into the Sea. Those *Bulgarians* are most wicked *Saracens*, more earnestly professing the damnable Religion of *Mahomet*, then any other Nation whatsoeuer. Moreouer, when I first beheld the Court of *Baatu*, I was astonied at the sight thereof: for his Houses or Tents seemed as though they had beene some huge and mightie Citie, stretching out a great way in length, the people ranging vp and downe about it for the space of some three or foure leagues. And euen as the people of *Israel* knew euery man, on which side of the Tabernacle to pitch his Tent: euen so euery one of them knoweth right well, towards what side of the Court hee ought to place his house when he takes it from off the Cart. Whereupon the Court is called in their Language *Horda*, which signifieth, the midst: because the Gouernour or Chieftaine among them dwels alwayes in the middest of his people: except onely that directly towards the South no subiect or inferiour person placeth himselfe, because towards that Region the Court gates are set open: but vnto the right hand, and the left hand they extend themselues as farre as they will, according to the conueniencie of places, so that they place not their houses directly opposite against the Court. At our arriuall wee were conducted vnto a *Saracen*, who prouided not for vs any victuals at all. The day following, we were brought vnto the Court: and *Baatu* had caused a large Tent to bee erected, because his house or ordinary Tent could not containe so many men and women as were assembled. Our Guide admonished vs not to speake, till *Baatu* had giuen vs commandement so to doe, and that then we should speake our minds briefly. Then *Baatu* demanded whether your Maiestie had sent Ambassadors vnto him or no? I answered, that your Maiestie had sent Messengers to *Ken-Can*: and that you would not haue sent Messengers vnto him, or Letters vnto *Sartach*, had not your Highnesse beene perswaded that they were become Christians: because you sent not vnto them for any feare, but onely for congratulation, and courtesies sake, in regard that you heard they were conuerted to Christianitie. Then led he vs vnto his Pauilion: and we were

The North Ocean.

He descendeth downe the Riuer *Volga* in a Barke.

Astracan.

The description of *Baatu* his Court.

Horda, signifieth the midst.

charged

charged not to touch the cords of the Tent, which they account in stead of the threshold of the house. There we stood in our habit bare-footed, and bare-headed, and were a great and strange spectacle in their eyes. For indeed Frier *Iohn de Plano Carpini*, had beene there before my comming: howbeit, because he was the Popes Messenger, he changed his habit that hee might not be contemned. Then wee were brought into the very midst of the Tent, neither required they of vs to doe any reuerence by bowing our knees, as they vse to doe of other Messengers. Wee stood therefore before him for the space wherein a man might haue rehearsed the Psalme, *Miserere mei Deus*: and there was great silence kept of all men. *Baatu* himselfe sate vpon a seat long and broad like vnto a Bed, gilt all ouer, with three staires to ascend thereunto, and one of his Ladies sate beside him. The men there assembled, sate downe scattering, some on the right hand of the said Lady, and some on the left. Those places on the one side which the women filled not vp (for there were only the Wiues of *Baatu*) were supplyed by the men. Also, at the very entrance of the Tent, stood a bench furnished with Cosmos, and with stately great cups of Siluer and Gold, being richly set with Precious Stones. *Baatu* beheld vs earnestly, and wee him: and he seemed to me to resemble in personage, *Monsieur Iohn de Beaumont*, whose soule resteth in peace. And he had a fresh ruddie colour in his countenance. At length hee commanded vs to speake. Then our Guide gaue vs direction, that we should bow our knees and speake. Whereupon I bowed one knee as vnto a man: then he signified that I should kneele vpon both knees: and I did so, being loth to contend about such circumstances. And againe, hee commanded me to speake. Then I thinking of Prayer vnto God, because I kneeled on both my knees, beganne to pray on this wise: Sir, we beseech the Lord, from whom all good things doe proceed, and who hath giuen you these earthly benefits, that it would please him hereafter to make you partaker of his heauenly blessings: because the former without these are but vaine and improfitable. And I added further, Be it knowne vnto you of a certaintie, that you shall not obtayne the ioyes of Heauen, vnlesse you become a Christian: for God saith, *Whosoeuer beleeueth and is baptized, shalbe saued: but he that beleeueth not, shalbe condemned.* At this word he modestly smiled: but the other *Moals* began to clap their hands, and to deride vs. And of my silly Interpreter, of whom especially I should haue receiued comfort in time of need, was himselfe abashed and vtterly dasht out of countenance. Then, after silence made, I said vnto him, I came vnto your Sonne, because we heard that he was become a Christian) and I brought vnto him Letters on the behalfe of my Soueraigne Lord the King of *France*: and your Sonne sent me hither vnto you. The cause of my comming therefore is best knowne vnto your selfe. Then he caused me to rise vp. And he enquired your Maiesties Name, and my name, and the name of mine Associate and Interpreter, and caused them all to be put downe in writing. He demanded likewise (because hee had beene informed, that you were departed out of your owne Countries with an Armie) against whom you waged warre? I answered: against the *Saracens*, who had defiled the House of God at *Ierusalem*. He asked also, whether your Highnesse had euer before that time sent any Messengers vnto him, or no? To you Sir? (said I) neuer. Then caused he vs to sit downe, and gaue vs of his Milke to drinke, which they account to be a great fauour, especially when any man is admitted to drinke Cosmos with him in his owne house. And as I sate looking downe vpon the ground, he commanded me to lift vp my countenance, being desirous as yet to take more diligent view of vs, or else perhaps for a kind of Superstitious obseruation. For they esteeme it a signe of ill lucke, or a prognostication of euill vnto them, when any man sits in their presence, holding downe his head, as if he were sad: especially, when hee leanes his cheeke or chin vpon his hand. Then we departed forth, and immediately after came our Guide vnto vs, and conducting vs vnto our Lodging, said vnto mee: Your Master the King requesteth that you may remayne in this Land, which request *Baatu* cannot satisfie without the knowledge and consent of *Mangu-Can*. Wherefore you, and your Interpreter must of necessitie goe vnto *Mangu-Can*. Howbeit your associate, and the other man shall returne vnto the Court of *Sartach*, staying there for you, till you come backe. Then began the man of God mine Interpreter to lament, esteeming himselfe but a dead man. Mine Associate also protested, that they should sooner chop off his head, then withdraw him out of my company. Moreouer, I my selfe said, that without mine Associate I could not goe: and that we stood in need of two Seruants at the least, to attend vpon vs, because, if one should chance to fall sick, we could not be without another. Then returning vnto the Court, he told these Sayings vnto *Baatu*. And *Baatu* commanded, saying, let the two Priests and the Interpreter goe together, but let the Clerke returne vnto *Sartach*. And comming againe vnto vs, hee told vs euen so. And when I would haue spoken for the Clerke to haue had him with vs, he said: No more words; for *Baatu* hath resolued, that so it shall bee, and therefore I dare not goe vnto the Court any more. *Gosset* the Clerke had remayning of the Almes money bestowed vpon him, twentie sixe *Yperpera*, and no more; ten whereof he kept for himselfe and for the Lad, and sixteene hee gaue vnto the man of God for vs. And thus were we parted asunder with teares: he returning vnto the Court of *Sartach*, and our selues remayning still in the same place.

Iohn de Plano Carpini.

The Letters of the *French* King.

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Chap. 22. Of our iourney towards the Court of *Mangu-Can.*

VPon Assumption Euen our Clerke arriued at the Court of *Sartach.* And on the morrow after, the *Nestorian* Priests were adorned with our Vestments in the presence of the said *Sartach.* Then wee our selues were conducted vnto another Host, who was appointed to prouide vs house-roome, victuals, and Horses. But because wee had not ought to bestow vpon him, hee did all things vntowardly for vs. Then wee rode on forward with *Baatu*, descending along by the bancke of *Etilia*, for the space of fiue weekes together: Sometimes mine Associate was so extreamly hungry, that hee would tell mee in a manner weeping, that it fared with him as though hee had neuer eaten any thing in all his life before. There is a Faire or Market following the Court of *Baatu* at all times: but it was so farre distant from vs, that wee could not haue recourse thereunto. For wee were constrained to walke on foote for want of Horses. At length certaine *Hungarians* (who had sometime beene after a sort Clergie men) found vs out: and one of them could as yet sing many Songs without booke, and was accounted of other *Hungarians* as a Priest, and was sent for vnto the Funerals of his deceased Countrey-men. There was another of them also pretily well instructed in his Grammar: for he could vnderstand the meaning of any thing that we spake, but could not answere vs. These *Hungarians* were a great comfort vnto vs, bringing vs Cosmos to drinke, yea, and sometimes flesh for to eate also: who, when they requested to haue some Bookes of vs, and I had not any to giue them (for indeed we had none but onely a Bible, and a Breuiary) it grieued me exceedingly. And I said vnto them: Bring me some Inke and Paper, and I will write for you so long as we shall remaine here: and they did so. And I copied out for them *Horas beatæ Virginis*, and *Officium defunctorum*. Moreouer, vpon a certaine day, there was a *Comanian* that accompanied vs, saluting vs in Latine, and saying: *Saluete Domini*. Wondering thereat, and saluting him againe, I demanded of him, who had taught him that kind of salutation? He said, that he was baptized in *Hungaria* by our Friers, and that of them he learned it. Hee said moreouer, that *Baatu* had enquired many things of him concerning vs, and that he told him the estate of our Order. Afterward I saw *Baatu* riding with his company, and all his Subiects that were housholders or Masters of families riding with him, and (in mine estimation) they were not fiue hundred persons in all. At length about the end of *Holy-rood*, there came a certaine rich *Moal* vnto vs (whose Father was a Millenary, which is a great Office among them) saying, I am the man that must conduct you vnto *Mangu-Can*, and we haue thither a iourney of foure moneths long to trauell, and there is such extreame cold in those parts, that stones and trees doe euen riue asunder in regard thereof. Therefore I would wish you throughly to aduise your selues, whether you be able to indure it or no. Vnto whom I answered: I hope by Gods helpe, that we shall be able to brooke that which other men can indure. Then hee said: if you cannot indure it, I will forsake you by the way. And I answered him: it were not iust dealing for you so to do, for we go not thither vpon any businesse of our owne, but by reason that we are sent by our Lord. Wherefore, sithence we are committed vnto your charge, you ought in no wise to forsake vs. Then he said; all shall be well. Afterward he caused vs to shew him all our garments: and whatsoeuer he deemed to bee lesse needfull for vs, he willed vs to leaue it behind in the custodie of our Host. On the morrow they brought vnto each of vs a furred Gowne, made all of Rams skinnes, with the Wooll still vpon them, and breeches of the same, and boots also or buskins according to their fashion, and shooes made of felt, and hoods also made of skins after their manner. The second day after *Holy-rood*, we began to set forward on our iourney, hauing three guides to direct vs: and we rode continually East-ward, till the feast of *All-Saints*. Throughout all that Region, and beyond also did the people of *Changle* inhabite, who were by parentage discended from the *Romans*. Vpon the North side of vs wee had *Bulgaria* the greater, and on the South, the foresaid *Caspian* Sea.

They trauell fiue weekes by the banke of *Etilia.*

Hungarians.

A *Comanian.*

A iourney of foure moneths from *Volga.*

The fixteenth of September.

Forty six daies Or, *Kangitta.*

Chap. 23. Of the Riuer of *Iagac*: Or, *Iaic*, and of diuers Regions or Nations.

HAuing trauelled twelue daies iourney from *Etilia*, we found a mightie Riuer called *Iagac*: which Riuer issuing out of the North, from the land of *Pascatir*, descended into the foresaid Sea. The language of *Pascatir*, and of the *Hungarians* is all one, and they are all of them Shepheards, not hauing any Cities. And their Countrey bordereth vpon *Bulgaria* the greater, on the West frontier. From the North-East part of the said Countrey, there is no Citie at all. Out of the said fore-named Region of *Pascatir*, proceeded the *Hunnes* of old time, who afterward were called *Hungarians*. Next vnto it is *Bulgaria* the greater. *Isidore* reporteth, concerning the people of this Nation, that with swift Horses they trauersed the impregnable walls and bounds of *Alexander*, (which, together with the Rockes of *Caucasus*, serued to restraine those barbarous and blood-thirstie people from inuading the Regions of the South) insomuch that they had tribute paid vnto them, as farre as *Ægypt*. Likewise they wasted all Countries euen vnto *France*. Whereupon they were more mightie then the *Tartars* as yet are. And vnto them the *Blacians*, the *Bulgarians*, and the *Vandals* ioyned themselues. For out of *Bulgaria* the greater, came those *Bulgarians*. Moreouer, they which inhabite beyond *Danubius*, neere vnto *Constantinople*, and not farre from *Pascatir*, are called *Ilac*, which (sauing the pronunciation) is all one with *Blac*, (for the *Tartars* cannot pronounce the Letter *B*) from whom also discended

Iaic, twelue daies iourney from *Volga.*

Pascatir.

The *Hungarians* descended from the *Bascirdes.*

Valachians.

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the people which inhabite the Land of *Aſſan*. For they are both of them called *Ilac*, (both theſe and the other) in the languages of the *Ruſſians*, the *Polonians*, and the *Boheimians*. The *Sclauonians* ſpeake all one language with the *Vandals*, all which banded themſelues with the *Hunnes*: and now for the moſt part, they vnite themſelues vnto the *Tartars*: whom God hath raiſed vp frō the vtmoſt parts of the earth, according to that which the Lord ſaith: *I will prouoke them to enuy* (namely ſuch as keepe not his Law) *by a people, which is no people, and by a fooliſh Nation will I anger them.* This prophecy is fulfilled, according to the literall ſenſe thereof, vpon all Nations which obſerue not the Law of God. All this which I haue written concerning the Land of *Paſcatir*, was told me by certaine Friers *Predicants*, which trauelled thither before euer the *Tartars* came abroad. And from that time they were ſubdued vnto their neighbours the *Bulgarians* being *Saracens*, whereupon many of them proued *Saracens* alſo. Other matters concerning this people, may be knowne out of Chronicles: For it is manifeſt, that thoſe Prouinces beyond *Conſtantinople*, which are now called *Bulgaria*, *Valachia*, and *Sclauonia*, were of old time Prouinces belonging to the *Greekes*. Alſo *Hungaria* was heretofore called *Pannonia*. And wee were riding ouer the Land of *Cangle*, from the feaſt of *Holy-rood*, vntill the feaſt of *All-Saints*: trauelling almoſt euery day (according to mine eſtimation) as farre, as from *Paris* to *Orleans*, and ſometimes farther, as we were prouided of Poſt-horſes: for ſome daies we had change of horſes twice or thrice in a day. Sometimes we trauelled two or three daies together, not finding any people, and then we were conſtrained not to ride ſo faſt. Of twentie or thirtie Horſes we had alwaies the worſt, becauſe we were Strangers. For euery one tooke their choice of the beſt Horſes before vs. They prouided me alwaies of a ſtrong Horſe, becauſe I was very corpulent and heauy; but whether he ambled a gentle paſe or no, I durſt not make any queſtion. Neither yet durſt I complaine, although he trotted full ſore. But euery man muſt bee contented with his lot as it fell. Whereupon we were exceedingly troubled; for oftentimes our Horſes were tyred before we could come at any people. And then we were conſtrained to beate and whip on our Horſes, and to lay our Garments vpon other emptie Horſes: yea, and ſometimes two of vs to ride vpon one Horſe.

Deut. 32. v. 21. Rom. 10. v. 19.

Cangle an huge plaine Countrey.

OF hunger and thirſt, cold and wearineſſe, there was no end. For they gaue vs no victuals, but onely in the euening. In the morning they vſed to giue vs a little drinke, or ſome ſodden Millet to ſup off. In the euening they beſtowed fleſh vpon vs, as namely, a ſhoulder and breaſt of Rams Mutton, and euery mans meaſured quantitie of broath to drinke. When wee had ſufficient of the fleſh-broath, we were maruellouſly well refreſhed. And it ſeemed to mee moſt pleaſant, and moſt nouriſhing drinke. Euery Saturday I remained faſting vntill night, without eating or drinking of ought. And when night came, I was conſtrained, to my great griefe and ſorrow, to eate fleſh. Sometimes we were faine to eate fleſh halfe ſodden, or almoſt raw, and all for want of Fewell to ſeethe it withall; eſpecially, when we lay in the fields, or were benighted before we came at our iourneys end: becauſe we could not then conueniently gather together the dung of Horſes or Oxen: for other fewell we found but ſeldome, except perhaps a few thornes in ſome places. Likewiſe vpon the banckes of ſome Riuers, there are woods growing here and there. Howbeit they are very rare. In the beginning our guide highly diſdained vs, and it was tedious vnto him to conduct ſuch baſe fellowes. Afterward, when he began to know vs ſomewhat better, he directed vs on our way by the Courts of rich *Moals*, and we were requeſted to pray for them. Wherefore, had I carried a good Interpreter with me, I ſhould haue had opportunitie to haue done much good. The foreſaid *Chingis*, who was the firſt great *Can* or Emperour of the *Tartars*, had foure Sonnes, of whom proceeded by naturall diſcent many children, euery one of which doeth at this day enioy great poſſeſſions: and they are daily multiplyed and diſperſed ouer that huge and vaſt Deſart, which is in dimenſions, like vnto the Ocean Sea. Our guide therefore directed vs, as we were going on our iourney, vnto many of their habitations. And they maruelled exceedingly, that wee would receiue neither Gold nor Siluer, nor precious and coſtly garments at their hands. They inquired alſo, concerning the great Pope, whether he was of ſo laſting an age as they had heard? For there had gone a report among them, that hee was fiue hundred yeares old. They inquired likewiſe of our Countries, whether there were abundance of Sheepe, Oxen, and Horſes, or no? Concerning the Ocean Sea, they could not conceiue of it, becauſe it was without limits or bankes. Vpon the Euen of the feaſt of *All-Saints*, wee forſooke the way leading towards the Eaſt, (becauſe the people were now deſcended very much South) and wee went on our iourney by certaine *Alpes*, or Mountaines directly South-ward, for the ſpace of eight daies together. In the foreſaid Deſart I ſaw many Aſſes (which they call *Colan*) being rather like vnto Mules: theſe did our guide and his companions chaſe very eagerly: howbeit, they did but loſe their labour, for the beaſts were two ſwift for them. Vpon the ſeuenth day there appeared to the South of vs huge high Mountaynes, and we entred into a place which was well watered, and freſh as a Garden, and found Land tilled and manured. The eight day, after the feaſt of *All-Saints*, wee arriued at a certaine Towne of the *Saracens*, named *Kenchat*, the Gouernour whereof met our Guide at

Chap. 24. Of the hunger and thirſt, and other miſeries, which we ſuſtained in our iourned.

Certaine Riuers.

Eight daies iourny Southward.

Aſſes ſwift of foot.

High Mountaines.

Manured grounds.

Kenchat, a Village of the *Saracens.*

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at the Townes end with Ale and Cups. For it is their manner at all Townes and Villages, subiect vnto them, to meete the messengers of *Baatu* and *Mangu-Can* with meate and drinke. At the same time of the yeere, they went vpon the Ice in that Countrey. And before the feast of Saint *Michael*, we had frost in the Desart. I enquired the name of that Prouince: but being now in a strange Territorie, they could not tell mee the name thereof, but onely the name of a very small Citie in the same Prouince. And there descended a great Riuer downe from the Mountaynes, which watered the whole Region, acccording as the Inhabitants would giue it passage, by making diuers Chanels and Sluces: neither did this Riuer exonerate it selfe into any Sea, but was swallowed vp by an hideous Gulfe into the bowels of the earth, and it caused many Fennes or Lakes. Also I saw many Vines, and dranke of the Wine thereof.

The seuenth day of November.
A great Riuer.
Many Lakes.
Vines.

Chap. 25. How *Ban* was put to death: and concerning the habitation of the *Dutch* men.

THe day following, we came vnto another Cottage neere vnto the Mountaynes. And I enquired what Mountaynes they were, which I vnderstood to bee the Mountaines of *Caucasus*, which are stretched forth, and continued on both parts to the Sea, from the West vnto the East: and on the West part they are conioyned vnto the foresaid *Caspian* Sea, where into the Riuer of *Volga* discharged his streames. I enquired also of the Citie of *Talas*, wherein were certaine *Dutch* men, seruants vnto one *Buri*, of whom Frier *Andrew* made mention. Concerning whom also I enquired very diligently in the Courts of *Sartach* and *Baatu*. Howbeit I could haue no intelligence of them, but onely that their Lord and Master *Ban* was put to death vpon the occasion following: This *Ban* was not placed in good and fertile Pastures. And vpon a certaine day being drunken, hee spake on this wise vnto his men. Am not I of the stocke and kindred of *Chingis Can*, as well as *Baatu*? (for in very deede he was brother or Nephew vnto *Baatu*.) Why then doe I not passe and repasse vpon the banke of *Etilia*, to feede my Cattell there, as freely as *Baatu* himselfe doth? Which speeches of his were reported vnto *Baatu*. Whereupon *Baatu* wrote vnto his seruants to bring their Lord bound vnto him. And they did so. Then *Baatu* demanded of him whether he had spoken any such words? And he confessed that he had. Howbeit (because it is the *Tartars* manner to pardon drunken men) he excused himselfe that he was drunken at the same time. How durst thou (quoth *Baatu*) once name mee in thy drunkennesse? And with that hee caused his head to be chopt off. Concerning the foresaid *Dutch* men, I could not vnderstand ought, till I was come vnto the Court of *Mangu-Can*. And there I was informed that *Mangu-Can* had remoued them out of the iurisdiction of *Baatu*, for the space of a moneths iourney from *Talas* Eastward, vnto a certaine Village, called *Bolac*: where they are set to dig gold, and to make armour. Whereupon I could neither goe nor come by them. I passed very neere the said Citie in going forth, as namely, within three daies iourney thereof: but I was ignorant that I did so: neither could I haue turned out of my way, albeit I had knowne so much. From the foresaid Cottage we went directly Eastward, by the Mountaines aforesaid. And from that time we trauailed among the people of *Mangu-Can*, who in all places sang and danced before our Guide, because he was the messenger of *Baatu*. For this curtesie they doe afford each to other: namely, the people of *Mangu-Can* receiuing the messengers of *Baatu* in manner aforesaid: and so likewise the people of *Baatu* entertaining the messengers of *Mangu-Can*. Notwithstanding, the people of *Baatu* are more surly and stout, and shew not so much curtesie vnto the subiects of *Mangu-Can*, as they doe vnto them. A few daies after we entered vpon those *Alpes* where the *Cara Catayans* were wont to inhabit. And there we found a mightie Riuer: insomuch that we were constrained to imbarke our selues, and to saile ouer it. Afterward we came into a certaine Valley, where I saw a Castle destroyed, the walls whereof were onely of mudde: and in that place the ground was tilled also. And there wee found a certaine Village, named *Equius*, wherein were *Saracens*, speaking the *Persian* language: howbeit they dwelt an huge distance from *Persia*. The day following, hauing passed ouer the foresaid *Alpes*, which descended from the great Mountaynes Southward, wee entred into a most beautifull Plaine, hauing high Mountaynes on our right hand, and on the left hand of vs a certaine Sea or Lake, which containeth fifteene daies iourney in circuit. All the foresaid Plaine is most commodiously watered with certaine Freshets, distilling from the said Mountaynes, all which doe fall into the Lake. In Summer time we returned by the North shoare of the said Lake, and there were great Mountaines on that side also. Vpon the fore-named Plaine there were wont to bee great store of Villages: but for the most part they were all wasted, in regard of the fertile Pastures, that the *Tartars* might feede their Cattell there. We found one great Citie there, named *Coilac*, wherein was a Mart, and great store of Merchants frequenting it. In this Citie wee remained fifteene daies, staying for a certaine Scribe or Secretarie of *Baatu*, who ought to haue accompanied our Guide for the dispatching of certaine affaires in the Court of *Mangu*. All this Countrey was wont to bee called *Organum*: and the people thereof had their proper language, and their peculiar kind of writing. But it was altogether inhabited of the people, called *Contomanni*. The *Nestorians* likewise in those parts vse the very same kind of language and writing. They are called *Organa*, because they were wont to bee most skilfull in playing vpon the Organs or Citherne, as it was reported vnto mee. Here first did I see worshippers of Idols, concerning

A Cottage.
The Mountaynes of *Caucasus* are extended vnto the Easterne Sea.
The Citie of *Talas*, or *Chincitalas*.
Frier *Andrew*.
The Village of *Bolac*.
He entreth into the Territories of *Mangu-Can*.
Certaine *Alpes*, wherein the *Cara Catayans* inhabited.
A mightie Riuer.
Ground tilled.
Equius.
A Lake of fifteene daies iourney in compasse.
Coilac a great Citie and full of Merchants.
Contomanni.

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cerning whom, bee it knowne vnto your Maieſtie, that there bee many ſects of them in the Eaſt Countries.

Chap. 26. How the *Neſtorians, Saracens*, and Idolaters are ioyned together.

THe firſt ſort of theſe Idolaters are called *Ingures*: whoſe Land bordereth vpon the foreſaid Land of *Organum*, within the ſaid Mountaines Eaſtward: and in all their Cities *Neſtorians* doe inhabit together, and they are diſperſed likewiſe towards *Perſia*, in the Cities of the *Saracens*. The Citizens of the foreſaid Citie of *Cailac* had three Idol-temples; and I entred into two of them, to behold their fooliſh ſuperſtitions. In the firſt of which, I found a man hauing a Croſſe painted with Inke vpon his hand, whereupon I ſuppoſed him to be a Chriſtian: for he anſwered like a Chriſtian vnto all queſtions which I demanded of him. And I asked him, Why therefore haue you not the Croſſe with the Image of Ieſu Chriſt thereupon? And he anſwered, We haue no ſuch cuſtome. Whereupon I coniectured that they were indeed Chriſtians: but, that for lacke of inſtruction they omitted the foreſaid ceremonie. For I ſaw there behind a certaine Cheſt (which was vnto them in ſtead of an Altar, whereupon they ſet Candles and Oblations) an Image hauing wings, like vnto the Image of Saint *Michael*, and other Images alſo, holding their fingers, as if they would bleſſe ſome body. That euening I could not find any thing elſe. For the *Saracens* doe onely inuite men thither, but they will not haue them ſpeake of their Religion. And therefore, when I enquired of the *Saracens* concerning ſuch Ceremonies, they were offended thereat. On the morrow after were the Kalends, and the *Saracens* feaſt of Paſſeouer. And changing mine Inne or lodging the ſame day, I tooke vp mine aboade neere vnto another Idol-Temple. For the Citizens of the ſaid Citie of *Cailac* doe curteouſly inuite, and louingly entertaine all meſſengers, euery man of them according to his abilitie and portion. And entring into the foreſaid Idol-temple, I found the Prieſts of the ſaid Idols there. For alwaies at the Kalends they ſet open their Temples, and the Prieſts adorne themſelues, and offer vp the peoples Oblations of Bread and Fruits. Firſt therefore, I will deſcribe vnto you thoſe rites and ceremonies which are common vnto all their Idol-temples: and then the ſuperſtitions of the foreſaid *Ingures*, which be, as it were, a ſect diſtinguiſhed from the reſt. They doe all of them worſhip towards the North, clapping their hands together, and proſtrating themſelues on their knees vpon the earth, holding alſo their foreheads in their hands. Whereupon the *Neſtorians* of thoſe parts will in no caſe ioyne their hands together in time of prayer: but they pray diſplaying their hands before their breaſts. They extend their Temples in length Eaſt and Weſt; and vpon the North ſide they build a Chamber, in manner of a Veſtrie, for themſelues to goe forth into. Or ſometimes it is otherwiſe. If it be a foure ſquare Temple, in the midſt of the Temple towards the North ſide thereof, they take in one Chamber in that place where the Quire ſhould ſtand. And within the ſaid Chamber, they place a Cheſt long and broade like vnto a Table, and behind the ſaid Cheſt towards the South, ſtands their principall Idoll: which I ſaw at *Caracarum*, and it was as big as the Idoll of Saint *Chriſtopher*. Alſo a certaine *Neſtorian* Prieſt, which had beene in *Catay*, ſaid that in that Countrey there is an Idoll of ſo huge a bigneſſe, that it may be ſeene two daies iourney before a man come at it. And ſo they place other Idols round about the foreſaid principall Idoll, being all of them finely gilt ouer with pure gold: and vpon the ſaid Cheſt, which is in manner of a Table, they ſet Candles and Oblations. The doores of their Temples are alwaies open towards the South, contrary to the cuſtomes of the *Saracens*. They haue alſo great Bels like vnto vs. And that is the cauſe (as I thinke) why the Chriſtians of the Eaſt will in no caſe vſe great Bells. Notwithſtanding, they are common among the *Ruſſians*, and *Gracians* of *Gaſaria*.

The people called *Ingures* Idolaters.

Frier *William* was at *Caracarum*.

Chap. 27. Of their Temples and Idols, and how they behaue themſelues in worſhipping their falſe gods. Bookes.

ALl their Prieſts had their heads and beards ſhauen quite ouer: and they are clad in Saffron coloured garments: and being once ſhauen, they leade an vnmarried life from that time forward: and they liue an hundred or two hundred of them together in one Cloiſter or Couent. Vpon thoſe daies when they enter into their Temples, they place two long Formes therein: and ſo ſitting vpon the ſaid Formes like Singing-men in a Quire, namely, the one halfe of them directly ouer againſt the other, they haue certaine bookes in their hands, which ſometimes they lay downe by them vpon the Formes: and their heads are bare ſo long as they remaine in the Temple. And there they reade ſoftly vnto themſelues, not vttering any voice at all. Whereupon comming in amongſt them, at the time of their ſuperſtitious deuotions, and finding them all ſitting mute, in manner aforeſaid, I attempted diuers waies to prouoke them vnto ſpeech, and yet could not by any meanes poſſible. They haue with them alſo whitherſoeuer they goe, a certaine ſtring, with an hundred or two hundred Nut-ſhels thereupon, much like to our bead-roll which wee carrie about with vs. And they doe alwaies vtter theſe words: *Ou mam Hactani*; God thou knoweſt: as one of them expounded it vnto me. And ſo often doe they expect a reward at Gods hands, as they pronounce theſe words in remembrance of God. Round about their Temple they doe alwaies make a faire Court, like vnto a Church-yard, which they enuiron with a good wall: and vpon the South part thereof, they build a great Portall, wherein they ſit and conferre together. And vpon the top of the ſaid Portall, they pitch a long Pole right vp, exalting

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ting it, if they can, aboue all the whole Towne besides. And by the same Pole all men may know that there stands the Temple of their Idols. These rites and ceremonies aforesaid, be common vnto all Idolaters in those parts. Going vpon a time towards the foresaid Idoll-temple, I found certaine Priests sitting in the outward Portall. And those which I saw, seemed vnto mee, by their shauen beards, as if they had beene *French* men. They wore certaine ornaments vpon their heads, made of Paper. The Priests of the foresaid *Iugures* doe vse such attire whithersoeuer they goe. They are alwaies in their Saffron coloured Iackets, which bee very straight, being laced or buttened from the bosome right downe, after the *French* fashion, and they haue a Cloake vpon their left shoulder, descending before and behind vnder their right arme, like vnto a Deacon carrying the houssel-box in time of Lent. Their letters or kind of writing the *Tartars* did receiue. They begin to write at the top of their paper, drawing their lines right downe: and so they reade and multiply their lines from the left hand to the right. They doe vse certaine papers and characters in their Magicall practices. Whereupon their Temples are full of such short scrolls hanged round about them. Also *Mangu-Can* hath sent letters vnto your Maiestie, written in the language of the *Moals* or *Tartars*, and in the foresaid hand or letter of the *Iugures*. They burne their dead according to the ancient custome, and lay vp the ashes in the top of a Pyramis. Now, after I had sate a while by the foresaid Priests, and entred into their Temple, and seene many of their Images, both great and small, I demanded of them what they beleeued concerning God? And they answered: *Wee beleeue that there is onely one God.* And I demanded farther: Whether doe you beleeue that he is a Spirit, or some bodily substance? They said: *Wee beleeue that hee is a Spirit.* Then said I: Doe you beleeue that God euer tooke mans nature vpon him: Then they answered; *No.* And againe I said: Sithence yee beleeue that hee is a Spirit, to what end doe you make so many bodily Images to represent him: Sithence also you beleeue not that hee was made man: why doe you resemble him rather vnto the Image of a man then of any other creature? Then they answered, saying: we frame not those Images whereby to represent God. But when any rich man amongst vs, or his sonne, or his wife, or any of his friends deceaseth, he causeth the Image of the dead partie to be made, and to be placed here: and we in remembrance of him doe reuerence thereunto. Then I replyed. You doe these things onely for the friendship and flatterie of men. No (said they) but for their memorie. Then they demanded of mee, as it were in scoffing wise: *Where is God?* To whom I answered: Where is your soule? they said, In our bodies. Then said I, Is it not in euery part of your bodie, ruling and guiding the whole bodie, and yet notwithstanding is not seene or perceiued? Euen so God is euery where, and ruleth all things, and yet is he inuisible, being vnderstanding and wisedome it selfe. Then being desirous to haue had some more conference with them, by reason that mine Interpreter was wearie, and not able to expresse my meaning, I was constrained to keepe silence. The *Moals* or *Tartars* are in this regard of their sect; namely, they beleeue that there is but one God: howbeit, they make Images of felt, in remembrance of their deceased friends, couering them with fiue most rich and costly garments; and putting them into one or two Carts, which Carts no man dare once touch: and they are in the custodie of their Sooth-sayers, who are their Priests, concerning whom, I will giue your Highnesse more at large to vnderstand hereafter. These Sooth-sayers or Diuiners, doe alwaies attend vpon the Court of *Mangu*, and of other great personages. As for the poorer or meaner sort, they haue them not, but such onely as are of the stocke and kindred of *Chingis*. And when they are to remoue or to take any iourney, the said Diuiners goe before them, euen as the cloudie Pillar went before the Children of *Israel*. And they appoint ground where the Tents must be pitched, and first of all they take downe their owne houses: and after them the whole Court doth the like. Also vpon their festiuall daies or Kalends, they take forth the foresaid Images, and place them in order, round or circle wise within the house. Then come the *Moals* or *Tartars*, and enter into the same house, bowing themselues before the said Images and worship them. Moreouer, it is not lawfull for any stranger to enter into that house. For vpon a certaine time I my selfe would haue gone in, but I was chidden full well for my labour.

Paper. So doe the people of *China* vse to write, drawing their lines perpendicularly downeward, and not as we doe, from the right hand to the left.

Chap. 28. Of diuers and sundry Nations: and of certaine people which were wont to eate their owne parents. The Countrey of *Presbyter Iohn*. *Tangut*.

BVt the foresaid *Iugures* (who liue among the *Christians* and *Saracens*) by their sundry disputations, as I suppose, haue beene brought vnto this, to beleeue that there is but one onely God. And they dwelt in certaine Cities, which afterward were brought in subiection vnto *Chingis Can*: whereupon hee gaue his daughter in marriage vnto their King. Also the Citie of *Caracarum* it selfe, is in a manner within their Territorie, and the whole Country of King or *Presbyter Iohn*, and of his brother *Vut*, lyeth neere vnto their Dominions: sauing that they inhabit in certaine Pastures Northward, and the said *Iugures* betweene the Mountaynes towards the South. Whereupon it came to passe, that the *Moals* receiued letters from them. And they are the *Tartars* principall Scribes: and all the *Nestorians* almost can skill of their Letters. Next vnto them, betweene the foresaid Mountaynes Eastward, inhabiteth the Nation of *Tangut*, who are a most valiant people, and tooke *Chingis* in battell. But after the conclusion of a league, he was set at libertie by them, and afterward subdued them. These people of *Tangut* haue Oxen of great strength, with tailes like vnto Horses, and with long shag haire vpon their backs and

Strange Oxen.

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and bellies. They haue legs greater then other Oxen haue, and they are exceeding fierce. These Oxen draw the great houses of the *Moals*: and their hornes are slender, long, streight, and most sharpe pointed: insomuch that their owners are faine to cut off the ends of them. A Cow will not suffer her selfe to be coupled vnto one of them, vnlesse they whistle or sing vnto her. They haue also the qualities of a Buffe: for if they see a man cloathed in red, they runne vpon him immediately to kill him. Next vnto them are the people of *Tebet*, men which were wont to eate the carkasses of their deceased parents: that for pities sake, they might make no other Sepulchre for them, then their owne bowels. Howbeit of late they haue left off this custome, because that thereby they became abominable and odious vnto all other Nations. Notwithstanding, vnto this day they make fine Cups of the Skulls of their parents, to the end, that when they drinke out of them, they may amidst all their iollities and delights, call their dead parents to remembrance. This was told mee by one that saw it. The said people of *Tebet* haue great plentie of gold in their Land. Whosoeuer therefore wanteth gold, diggeth til he hath found some quantitie, and then taking so much thereof as will serue his turne, hee layeth vp the residue within the earth: because, if he should put it into his Chest or Store-house, he is of opinion that God would withhold from him all other gold within the earth. I saw some of those people, being very deformed creatures. In *Tangut* I saw lusty tall men, but browne and swart in colour. The *Ingures* are of a middle stature, like vnto our *French* men. Among the *Ingures* is the originall and roote of the *Turkish*, and *Comanian* Languages. Next vnto *Tebet* are the people of *Langa* and *Solanga*, whose messengers I saw in the *Tartars* Court. And they had brought more then ten great Carts with them, euery one of which was drawne with six Oxen. They bee little browne men like vnto *Spaniards*. Also they haue iackets, like vnto the vpper Vestiment of a Deacon, saue that the sleeues are somewhat streighter. And they haue Miters vpon their heads like Bishops. But the fore-part of their Miter is not so hollow within as the hinder part: neither is it sharpe pointed or cornered at the top: but there hang downe certaine square flaps compacted of a kind of Straw, which is made rough and ragged with extreame heate, and is so trimmed, that it glittereth in the Sunne-beames, like vnto a Glasse, or an Helmet well burnished. And about their Temples they haue long bands of the foreland matter, fastened vnto their Miters, which houer in the winde, as if two long hornes grew out of their heads. And when the wind tossed them vp and downe too much, they tie them ouer the middest of their Miter, from one Temple to another: and so they lie circle wise ouerthwart their heads. Moreouer, their principall messenger comming vnto the *Tartars* Court, had a table of Elephants tooth about him, of a cubit in length, and a handfull in breadth, being very smoothe. And whensoeuer he spake vnto the Emperor himselfe, or vnto any other great personage, he alwaies beheld that table, as if hee had found therein those things which hee spake: neither did hee cast his eyes to the right hand, nor to the left, nor vpon his face with whom he talked. Yea, going too and fro before his Lord, hee looketh no where but onely vpon his table. Beyond them (as I vnderstand of a certaintie) there are other people called *Muc*, hauing Villages, but no one particular man of them appropriating any Cattell vnto himselfe. Notwithstanding, there are many flocks and droues of Cattell in their Countrey, and no man appointed to keepe them. But when any one of them standeth in neede of any beast, hee ascendeth vp vnto a hill, and there maketh a shoute, and all the Cattell which are within hearing of the noyse, come flocking about him, and suffer themselues to be handled and taken, as if they were tame. And when any messenger or stranger commeth into their Countrey, they shut him vp into an house, ministring there things necessary vnto him, vntill his businesse be dispatched. For if any stranger should trauell through that Countrey, the Catttell would flie away at the very sent of him, and so would become wilde. Beyond *Muc* is great *Cataya*, the Inhabitants whereof (as I suppose) were of old time, called *Seres*. For from them are brought most excellent stuffes of silke. And this people is called *Seres*, of a certaine Towne in the same Countrey. I was credibly informed, that in the said Countrey, there is one Towne hauing Walls of siluer, and Bulwarkes or Towers of gold. There bee many Prouinces in that Land, the greater part whereof are not as yet subdued vnto the *Tartars*. And the * Sea lyeth betweene them and *India*. These *Catayans* are men of a little stature, speaking much through the nose. And this is generall, that all they of the East haue small eyes. They are excellent workemen in euery Art: and their Physicians are well skilled in the Vertues of Herbs, and iudge exactly of the Pulse; But vse no Vrinals, nor know any thing concerning Vrine. This I saw, for there are many of them at *Caracarum*. And they are alwaies wont to bring vp all their children in the same trade whereof the father is. And therefore they pay so much tribute; for they giue the *Moallians* euery day one thousand and fiue hundred Cessines or Iascots: (Iascot is a piece of siluer weighing ten Markes) that is to say, euery day fifteene thousand Markes, beside silkes and certaine victuals, which they receiue from thence, and other seruices which they doe them. All these Nations are betweene the Mountaynes of *Caucasus*,

The people of *Tebet*.

Abundance of gold.

The stature of the people of *Tangut*, and of the *Ingures*.

Langa and *Solanga*.

The people of *Solanga* resemble *Spaniards*.

A table of Elephants tooth.

The people called *Muc*.

Great *Cataya*.

* From hence is supplyed by Master *Hakluits* industrie (as he told me) out of a Manuscript in *Bennet* Colledge in *Cambridge*: the other part hee had out of an imperfect Copie of my Lord *Lumlies*. The Chapters disagree, as being (I thinke) rather some Transcribers diuision then the Authors. Yet haue I followed the numbers I found, euen where they are obscurest. The Friers Latin for some barbarous words and phrases, hath beene troublesome to translate. The worke I hold a Iewell of Antiquitie, now first entirely publike.

on

Idolatry.

on the North side of those Mountaines to the East Sea, on the South part of *Scythia*, which the Shepheards of *Moal* doe inhabit: All which are tributarie vnto them, and all giuen to Idolatry, and report many fables of a multitude of gods, and certaine Deified men, and make a pedigree of the gods as our Poets doe.

Nestorians.

The *Nestorians* are mingled among them as Strangers; so are the *Saracens* as farre as *Cathay*. The *Nestorians* inhabit fifteene Cities of *Cathay*, and haue a Bishopricke there, in a Citie called *Segin*. But further, they are meere Idolaters. The Priests of the Idols of the said Nations, haue all broad yellow hoods. There are also among them (as I vnderstood) certaine Hermits liuing in the Woods and Mountaines, of an austere and strange life. The *Nestorians* there know nothing, for they say their Seruice, and haue holy Bookes in the *Syrian* tongue, which they know not. So that they sing as our Monkes doe, who are ignorant of Grammar; and hence it commeth, that they are wholly corrupted. They are great Vsurers and Drunkards, and some of them also who liue among the *Tartars*, haue many Wiues, as the *Tartars* haue. When they enter into the Church, they wash their lower parts, as the *Saracens* doe. They eate flesh on Friday of the weeke, and hold their Feasts that day, after the manner of the *Saracens*. The Bishop comes seldome into those Countries, perchance, scarse once in fiftie yeares. Then they cause all their little Children (which are Males) to be made Priests, euen in the Cradell; so that all their men almost are Priests: and after this they marrie Wiues, which is directly against the decrees * of the Fathers: they are also *Bigami*, for the Priests themselues, their first Wife being dead, marrie another. They are all Simonists, for they giue no holy thing freely. They are very carefull for their Wiues and Children, whereby they apply themselues to gaine, and not to the spreading of the Faith. Whence it commeth to passe, while some of them bring vp some of the Nobilities children of *Moal* (although they teach them the Gospell, and the Articles of the Faith) yet by their euill life and couetousnesse, they driue them further from Christianitie; Because the life of the *Moallians*, and *Tuinians* (who are Idolaters) is more harmelesse then theirs.

Segni a Citie of *Cathay*.

They are so at this day.

The euill qualities of the *Nestorians*.

Hence by corruption of manners and ignorance of faith, seemeth the Apostasy of the greatest part of *Asia* to haue happened, furthered by *Tartarian* inuasions and Saracenicall.

All Priests.

* Consider our Author a Frier, whose trauels we rather embrace, then (in such passages) his diuinitie. They were later Fathers which made such Decrees, contrary to the Father of truth which ordained marriage in *Leuies* Priest-hood, and chose married men to the Apostleship: and forewarned of another Father, who with Doctrines of Deuils should prohibite meate and marriage, vnder colour of Priests chastitie, making the Temple stewes to carnall and spirituall whoredome.

Chap. 26.

Of such things as befell them, departing from *Cailac*, to the Country of the *Naymannes*.

Nouemb. 30.

WE departed from the foresaid Citie of *Cailac* on Saint *Andrewes* day. And there wee found almost within three leagues, a whole Castle or Village of *Nestorians*. Entring into their Church, we sang, *Salue Regina, &c.* with ioy, as loud as we could, because it was long since we had seene a Church. Departing thence, in three daies we came to the entrance of that Prouince, in the head of the foresaid Sea, which seemed to vs as tempestuous as the Ocean, and we saw a great Iland therein. My Companions drew neere the shoare, and wet a Linnen cloath therein, to taste the Water, which was somewhat salt, but might bee drunke. There went a certaine Valley ouer against it, from betweene the great Mountaines, betweene South and East: and betweene the hils, was another certaine great Sea; and there ranne a Riuer through that Valley, from the other Sea into this. Where came such a continuall winde through the Valley, that men passe with great danger, least the wind carrie them into the Sea. Therefore wee left the Valley and went towards the North, to the great hilly Countries, couered with deepe Snow, which then lay vpon the Earth: so that vpon Saint *Nicholas* day we beganne now to haste our iourny much, and (because we found no people, but the *Iani* themselues (to wit) men appointed from daies iourney to daies iourney together, the Messengers together. Because in many places in the hilly Countries) the way is narrow, and there are but few fields, so that betweene day and night we met with two *Iani*, whereupon of two daies iourneys we made one, and trauelled more by night then by day. It was extreame cold there, so that they lent vs their Goats skins, turning the haire outward.

Decemb. 6.

Extreme cold.

Decemb. 7.

The second Sunday of *Aduent* in the euening, we passed by a certaine place betweene very terrible Rockes: and our Guide sent vnto me, intreating me to speake some good words, wherewith the Deuils might be driuen away; because in that passage, the Deuils themselues were wont suddenly to carrie men away, so that it was not knowne what became of them. Sometimes they violently snatched a Horse and left the man: sometimes they drew out a mans bowels, and left the emptie carkasse vpon the Horse. And many such things did often fall out there. Then we sang with a loud voyce, *Credo in Deum, &c.* And by the Grace of God, wee passed through (with all our company) vnhurt. After that, they beganne to intreat me, that I would write them Papers to carrie on their heads: and I told them, I would teach them a word which they should carrie in their hearts, whereby their soules and bodies should be saued euerlastingly. But alwaies when I would teach them, I wanted an Interpreter: Yet I wrote them the Creede and the Lords Prayer; saying, Heere it is written whatsoeuer a man ought to beleeue concerning God. Here also is that prayer, wherein we begge of God whatsoeuer is needfull for a man: Whereupon beleeue firmely that which is written here, although you cannot vnder-

A dangerous passage.

vnderſtand it, and aske of God that he do that for you which is contained in this written Prayer: becauſe with his owne mouth he taught it his friends, and I hope he will ſaue you. I could not doe any thing elſe, becauſe it was very dangerous to ſpeake the words of doctrine by ſuch an Interpreter, nay almoſt impoſſible, becauſe he was ignorant.

Chap. 27. Of the Country of the Naymans, and what befell the ſtock of Ken-chan his ſonne & wiues.

AFter this, wee entred into that plaine where the Court of *Ken-Cham* was, which was wont to be the Countrey of the *Naymans*, who were the peculiar Subiects of *Preſbyter Iohn*: but at that time I ſaw not that Court, but in my returne. Yet heere I declare vnto you what befell his Anceſtry, his Soone and Wiues. *Ken-Cham* being dead, *Baatu* deſired that *Mangu* ſhould be *Chan*. But I could vnderſtand in certaintie of the death of *Ken*. Frier *Andrew* ſaid, that he dyed by a certaine medicine giuen him: and it was ſuſpected that *Baatu* cauſed it to be made. Yet I heard otherwiſe, for he ſummoned *Baatu*, to come and doe him homage. And *Baatu* tooke his iourney ſpeedily with great preparation; but he and his Seruants were much afraid, and ſent one of his Brothers before, called *Stichin*: who when he came to *Ken*, and ſhould waite vpon his Cup, contention ariſing betweene them, they ſlue one another. The Widow of *Stichin* kept vs a whole day, to goe into her houſe and bleſſe her, that is, pray for her. Therefore *Ken* being dead, *Mangu* was choſen by the conſent of *Baatu*. And was then choſen when Frier *Andrew* was there. *Ken* had a certaine Brother, called *Siremon*, who by the counſell of *Kens* Wife and her Vaſſals, went with great preparation towards *Mangu*, as if he meant to doe him homage, and yet in truth he purpoſed to kill him, and deſtroy his whole Court. And when he was neere *Mangu*, within one or two daies iourney, one of his Wagons remained broken in the way. While the Wagoner laboured to mend it, in the meane ſpace came one of the Seruants of *Mangu*, who helped him: he was ſo inquiſitiue of their iourney, that the Wagoner reuealed vnto him what *Siremon* purpoſed to doe. Then turning out of the way, as if hee little regarding it, went vnto the herd of Horſes, and tooke the beſt Horſe hee could chooſe, and poſting night and day, came ſpeedily to the Court of *Mangu*, reporting vnto him what he had heard. Then *Mangu* quickly aſſembling all his ſubiects, cauſed foure rings of Armed men to compaſſe his Court, that none might goe in or out: the reſt he ſent againſt *Siremon*, who tooke him, (not ſuſpecting his purpoſe had beene diſcouered) and brought him to the Court with all his followers. Who when *Mangu* lay the matter to his charge, ſtrait-way confeſſed it. Then he and his eldeſt Sonne *Ken Chan* were ſlaine, and three hundred of the Nobilitie of the *Tartars* with them. The Noble Women alſo were ſent for, who were all beaten with burning fire-brands to make them confeſſe: and hauing confeſſed, were put to death. His youngeſt ſonne *Ken*, who could not be capable or guiltie of the conſpiracy, was left aliue: And his Fathers Palace was left vnto him, with all belonging vnto it, as well Men as Chattels: and we paſſed by it in our returne. Nor durſt my Guides turne in vnto it, neither going nor comming. For the Lady of the Nations ſate there in heauineſſe, and there was none to comfort her.

Baatu.

Stichin and Ken kill one another.

Chap. 28. Of their comming to the Court of Mangu Chan.

THen went wee vp againe into the high Countries, going alwaies towards the North. At length on Saint *Stephens* day we entred into a great Plaine like the Sea, where there was not ſo much as a Mole-hill. And the next day, on the feaſt of S. *Iohn* the Euangeliſt, we came vnto the Palace of that great Lord. But when we were neere it, within fiue daies iourney, our Hoſt where we lay, would haue directed vs a way farre about, ſo that wee ſhould yet trauaile more then fifteene daies. And this was the reaſon (as I vnderſtood) that wee might goe by *Onam Kerule* their proper Countrey, where the Court of *Chingis-Chan* is. Others ſaid, that he did it for this purpoſe, that he might make the way longer, and might ſhew his power the more. For ſo they are wont to deale with men comming from Countries not ſubiect to them. And our Guide obtained with great difficultie, that we might go the right way. For they held vs vpon this from the morning till three of the clocke. In that way alſo, the Secretarie (whom we expected at *Cailac*) told me, that it was contained in the Letters which *Baatu* ſent to *Mangu-Chan*, that wee required an Army and ayde of *Sartach* againſt the *Saracens*. Then I began to wonder much, and to be greatly troubled: for I knew the Tenor of the Letters, and that no mention therof was made therein: ſaue that yee aduiſed him to be a friend to all Chriſtians, and ſhould exalt the Croſſe, and be an enemy to all the enemies of the Croſſe: and becauſe alſo the Interpreters were *Armenians*, of the greater *Armenia*, who greatly hated the *Saracens*; leſt perhaps they had interpreted any thing in euill part to make the *Saracens* more odious and hatefull at their pleaſure, I therefore held my peace, not ſpeaking a word with them, or againſt them; for I feared to gainſay the words of *Baatu*, leaſt I ſhould incurre ſome falſe accuſation without reaſonable cauſe. We came therefore the foreſaid day vnto the ſaid Court. Our Guide had a great houſe appointed him, and we three a little Cottage, wherein wee could ſcarſe lay our ſtuffe, make our beds, and haue a little fire. Many came to viſit our Guide, and brought him drinke made of Rice, in long ſtrait mouthed bottles, in the which I could diſcerne no difference from the beſt *Antiſſiodorenſian* Wine, ſaue that it had not the ſent of Wine. We were called, and ſtraightly examined vpon what buſineſſe we came: I anſwered, that we heard of *Sartach* that he was a Chriſtian: we came

Onam Kerule the proper Country of the Tartars. Chap. 15.

therefore vnto him; the *French* King sent him a Packet by vs, he sent vs to *Baatu* his Father: & his Father hath sent vs hither, hee should haue written the cause, wherevpon they demanded whether we would make peace with them? I answered, he hath sent Letters vnto *Sartach* as a Christian: and if he had knowne, he were not a Christian, hee would neuer haue sent him Letters, to treate of peace: I say, he hath done you no wrong: if he had done any, why should you warre vpon him, or his people? he, willingly (as a iust man) would reforme himselfe, and desire peace. If yee without cause will make warre with him, or his Nation, we hope that God (who is iust) will helpe them. And they wondred, alwayes repeating, why came yee, seeing yee came not to make peace? For they are now so puffed vp with pride, that they thinke the whole World should desire to make peace with them. And truly, if I might bee suffered, I would preach Warre against them to the vttermost of my power) throughout the whole World. But I would not plainly deliuer the cause of my comming, lest I should speake any thing against that which *Baatu* commanded. I told them therefore the whole cause of my comming thither, was because he sent me.

Tartars pride.

Decemb. 28. The day following we were brought vnto the Court, and I thought I could goe bare-foot, as I did in our Countrey: whereupon, I layd aside my shooes. But such as come to the Court, alight farre from the house where the Great *Chan* is, as it were a Bow-shot off: where the Horses abide, and a Boy to keepe them. Whereupon, when wee alighted there, and our Guide went with vs to the house of the Great *Chan*, a *Hungarian* Boy was present there, who knew vs (to wit) our Order. And when the men came about vs, and beheld vs as Monsters, especially because we were bare-footed, and demanded whether we did not lacke our feet, because they supposed we should strait-way haue lost them, that *Hungarian* told them the reason, shewing them the condition of our Order. Then the chiefe Secretary (who was a *Nestorian* and a *Christian*, by whose counsell and aduice almost all is done) came vnto vs, to see vs, and looked earnestly vpon vs, and called the *Hungarian* vnto him, of whom he demanded many Questions. Then we were willed to returne vnto our Lodging.

Chap. 29. Of a Christian chappell, and of the conference with *Sergius* the counterfeit *Armenian* Monke, and of the sharpnes and continuance of the Winter.

An *Armenian* Monke.

Their conference with the *Armenian* Monke.

Monkish Re(ue)lation.

AND when we returned, at the end of the Court towards the East, farre from the Court, as much as a Crosse-bow could shoot at twice, I saw a house, vpon the which there was a little Crosse, then I reioyced much, supposing there was some Christianitie there. I went in boldly and found an Altar very well furnished, for there in a Golden cloth were the Images of Christ and the blessed Virgin, and Saint *Iohn Baptist*, and two Angels, the lineaments of their bodies and garments distinguished with Pearle, and a great siluer Crosse hauing precious stones in the corners, and the middle thereof, and many other Embroyderings: and a Candle burning with Oyle before the Altar, hauing eight Lights. And there sate an *Armenian* Monke, some-what blacke and leane, clad with a rough hairen Coate to the middle legge, hauing vpon it a blacke Cloke of bristles, furred with spotted Skinnes, girt with Iron vnder his haire-cloth. Presently after wee entred in, before we saluted the Monke, falling flat vpon the ground, we sang, *Aue Regina Cœlorum, &c.* and he rising, prayed with vs. Then saluting him, we sate by him hauing a little fire before him in a Pan. Therefore we told him the cause of our comming. And he began to comfort vs much, saying, that we should boldly speake, because we were the Messengers of God, who is greater then all men. Afterwards he told vs of his comming, saying, he came thither a moneth before vs, and that he was a Heremite of the Territorie of *Hierusalem*, and that the Lord appeared to him three times, commanding him to goe to the Prince of the *Tartars*: And when he deferred to goe, the third time God threatned him, and ouerthrew him vpon the ground, saying, he should dye, vnlesse he went; and that he told *Mangu Chan*, that if he would become a Christian, the whole World should be obedient vnto him; and the *French* and the Great Pope should obay him: and he aduised me to say the like vnto him. Then I answered, brother, I will willingly perswade him to become a Christian: (For I came for this purpose, to preach thus vnto all) I will promise him also, that the *French*, and the Pope will much reioyce thereat, and account him for a brother and a friend: but I will neuer promise, that they shall become his Seruants, and pay him Tribute, as these other Nations; because in so doing I should speake against my conscience, then he held his peace. We went therefore together to our Lodging, which I found a cold Harbour: and we had eaten nothing that day, so we boyled a little flesh and Millet in the broth of flesh to sup. Our Guide and his companions were drunken at the Court: and little care was had of vs. At that time the Messengers of *Vastace* were there hard by vs, which wee knew not: And the men of the Court made vs rise in great haste, at the dawning of the day. And I went bare-foot with them a little way, vnto the house of the said Messengers. And they demanded of them, whether they knew vs. Then that *Grecian* Souldier calling our Order and my companion to remembrance, because he had seene him in the Court of *Vastace*, with Frier *Thomas*, our Minister, and all his fellowes, gaue great testimony of vs. Then they demanded whether wee had peace or war with *Vastace*? we haue (said I) nor war nor peace. And they demanded, how that might be? Because (said I) their Countries are far remoued one from the other, and meddle not together. Then the Messenger of *Vastace* said wee had peace, giuing mee a caueat: so I held my tongue. That morning, my toes ends were frozen, so that I could no longer goe bare-foot: for

Toes frozen. S. *Francis* Order not Catholike; *Vniuersally* fitting all places and seasons.

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in those Countreyes the cold is extreame sharpe: and from the time when it beginneth to freeze it neuer ceaseth vntill May: nay, in the moneth of May it freezed euery morning; but in the day time it thawed through the heate of the Sunne: but in the Winter it neuer thawes, but the Ice continues with euery winde. And if there were any winde there in the Winter, as it is with vs, nothing could liue there, but it is alwaies milde weather vntill Aprill, and then the winds arise, and at that time when wee were there (about Easter) the cold arising with the winde killed infinite creatures. In the Winter little snow fell there: but about Easter, which was in the latter end of Aprill, there fell so great a snow, that all the streets of *Caracarum* were full; that they were fayne to carrie it out with their Carts. Then they first brought vs (from the Court) Ramskin Coats, and Breeches of the same, and Shooes; which my Companion and Interpreter receiued. But I thought I had no need of them, because I supposed my Pelt-garment (which I brought from *Baatu*) was sufficient for me.

Frost vntill the moneth of May.

Easter in the end of the end of Aprill. And great Snow in the end of Aprill.

Then the fift of Ianuarie we were brought vnto the Court: and there came *Nestorian* Priests vnto me, (I not knowing they were Christians) demanding which way we worshipped? I said, vnto the East. And this they demanded because wee had shauen our beards by the aduice of our Guide, that wee might appeare before *Chan* according to the fashion of our Countrey: whereupon, they thought wee had beene *Tuinians* (to wit) Idolaters. They made vs also expound out of the Bible. Then they demanded what reuerence wee would doe to *Chan*, whether after our owne fashion, or theirs? To whom I made answere. Wee are Priests, giuen to the seruice of God; Noblemen in our Countrey will not suffer Priests to bow their knees before them, for the honour of God; neuertheless, wee will humble our selues to all men, for the Lords sake. Wee came from a farre Countrey. If yee please, wee will first sing prayses vnto God, who hath brought vs safe hither from afarre; and after, wee will doe whatsoeuer pleaseth the Lord; with this exception, that he command vs nothing which may bee against the worship and honour of God. Then they entring into the house, deliuered what wee had said. So their Lord was contented. And they set vs before the gate of the house, lifting vp the Felt which hung before the gate. And because it was, Christmas wee began to sing,

Shauing.

Respect of Priests.

A Solis ortus cardine,	From the first Easterne Land,
Et vsque Terræ limitem,	To furthest Westerne Strand,
Christum canamus Principem,	Let vs Christ laud and sing
Natum Maria Virgine.	Blest Virgins Sonne, our King.

Chap. 30. Of the Admitting of the Friars to *Mangu chan*, and his description, and their conference with him.

AND when wee had sung this Hymne, they searched our legs, and our bosoms, and our armes, whether wee had Kniues about vs. They made our Interpreter vngird himselfe, and leaue his Girdle and his Knife, without in the custodie of a Doore-keeper.

Then we came in. And in the entrance there stood a Bench with Cosmos, by the which they make our Interpreter stand; and caused vs to sit vpon a Forme before the Ladies. The whole house within was hanged with Cloth of Gold: and on a certaine Hearth in the middle of the house, there was a fire made of thornes and Wormewood roots (which grow there very bigge) and Oxe dung. But he sate vpon a Bed clothed with a spotted skin or Furre, bright, and shining like a Seales skin. Hee was a flat-nosed man, of a middle stature, about the age of fiue and fortie yeeres: and a little pretie young woman (which was his wife) sate by him, and one of his daughters, *Cirina* by name, (a hard-fauoured woman) marriageable, with other little ones, sate next vnto them vpon a Bed. For that was the house of a certaine Christian Ladie, whom he dearely loued, by whom he had the foresaid daughter: and hee married that young wife beside: but yet the daughter was Mistresse of all that Court, which was her Mothers. Then he made them aske vs, what we would drinke, whether Wine, or *Ceracina*, that is, drinke made of Rice, or Caracosus, that is, cleere Cowes milke, or Ball, that is, Mede made of Honey: for they vse these foure kinds of Drinkes in the Winter. Then I answered, Sir, wee are not men who take pleasure in drinke. What pleaseth you shall content vs. Then he commanded drinke of Rice to be giuen vs, cleere and sauoury, as white Wine: whereof I tasted a little for reuerence of him. And our Interpreter (to our misfortune) stood by the Butlers: who gaue him much drinke, and hee was quickly drunke. Then *Chan* caused Falcons, and other birds to bee brought vnto him, which he tooke vpon his fist, and lookes vpon them: and after a long time he commanded vs to speake. Then we were to bow the knees. And hee had his Interpreter, a certaine *Nestorian*, whom I knew not to bee a Christian; and wee had our Interpreter, such an one as he was, who now also was drunke. Then I said, *Wee first giue thankes and praise to God, who hath brought vs from so remoued parts of the World, to see* Mangu Chan, *to whom God hath giuen so great power vpon Earth: and wee beseech our Lord, by whose command wee liue and die, that he would grant him a long and a prosperous life.* (For this they desire, that men pray for their liues.) Then I told him: *Sir, Wee haue heard of* Sartach *that he was a Christian; and the Christians who heard it, but specially the* French *King, reioyced: wherefore wee came vnto him, and our Lord and King hath sent him Letters by vs wherein were words of peace: and amongst other things, hee testifieth of vs, whose seruants wee are, and intreated him to suffer vs to abide in his Countrey. For it is our office to teach men to liue according to the Law of God. And hee sent vs to* Baatu *his father: and*

Of the Description of *Mangu chan*, and their conference with him.

The description of *Mangu chan*.

Drinke of Rice is cleere and sauoury, and like to white Wine. The *Indians* call it Racke.

The Oration of Frier *William* to *Mangu Chan*.

The like Letters you haue of King *Edw.* 1. before l. 8. c. 7. for another Friar.

Baatu *hath ſent vs hither vnto you. You are they to whom God hath giuen great Dominion vpon earth; We therefore intreat your Highneſſe, to giue vs leaue to continue in your Countrey to doe the ſeruice of God for you, your Wiues and Children. Wee haue neither Gold nor Siluer, nor precious ſtones to preſent vnto you, but our ſelues, whom we preſent to ſerue, and pray vnto God for you. At the leaſt, giue vs leaue to continue while the cold be paſt. My Companion is ſo weake, that hee cannot by any meanes trauaile on Horſe-backe without hazzard of his life. For my Companion willed me, and adiured me, to craue leaue to ſtay. For we ſuppoſed we muſt returne to* Baatu, *vnleſſe of his ſpeciall Grace he gaue vs leaue to ſtay.* Then he began to anſwer: *Euen as the Sunne ſpreads his beames euery where, ſo our power and* Baatues *ſpreads it ſelfe euery where: ſo that wee haue no needs of your Siluer and Gold.* Hitherto I vnderſtood my Interpreter: but further, I could not perceiue any perfect ſentence. Whereby I eaſily found hee was drunke, and *Mangu Chan* himſelfe was drunke alſo, as I thought. Yet with this, (as it ſeemed to mee, hee ended his ſpeach) that he was diſpleaſed that we came firſt to *Sartach*, before wee came to him. Then ſeeing the defect of my Interpreter, I held my peace, this onely excepted, that I intreated his Highneſſe hee would not be diſpleaſed, for that which I ſpoke of Gold and Siluer; becauſe I ſpoke it not that he had need of ſuch things, or deſired them, but becauſe we would willingly honour him with temporall and ſpirituall things.

The anſwer of *Mangu Chan*, not wel vnderſtood and deliuered by a drunken Interpreter.

Then he made vs riſe, and ſit downe againe; and after ſome few words, doing our dutie to him, we went out, and his Secretaries, and that Interpreter of his (who had the bringing vp of one of his Daughters) went together with vs. And they began to bee very inquiſitiue of the Kingdome of *France*, whether there were many Rams, Oxen and Horſes there, as if preſently they ſhould enter and take all. And oftentimes I was faine to bridle my ſelfe much, in diſſembling anger and indignation. And I anſwered, There are many good things there which yee ſhall ſee, if yee happen to come thither. Then they appointed vs one, who ſhould haue care of vs. And we went vnto the Monke: and when we came out againe, ready to goe to our lodging, the foreſaid Interpreter came vnto vs; ſaying, *Mangu Chan* hath compaſſion on you, and giues you two moneths time to ſtay. Then the extreame cold will be paſt, and he ſends to you: Here within ten daies iourney there is a good Citie, called *Caracarum*, if yee will go thither, he will cauſe neceſſarie things to be giuen you: but if yee will abide heere, yee may, and yee ſhall haue neceſſaries: yet it will be a troubleſome thing for you to follow the Court. And I anſwered: The Lord preſerue *Mangu Chan*, and grant him a good and long life. We haue found this Monk heere, whom we thinke to be an holy man, and that by the good pleaſure of God he came into theſe parts, wherefore we would willingly ſtay with him, becauſe wee are Monkes, and wee would pray together for the life of *Chan*. Then he held his peace and departed. And we went vnto our houſe, which we found very cold, and without any Fuell, as yet faſting, and it was night. Then he, to whom we were recommended, prouided vs Fuell, and a little meate. Our Guide was now to returne to *Baatu*, who deſired a Carpet of vs, which (by his Commandement) we left in the Court of *Baatu*: which we gaue him, and he peaceably departed ſo, kiſſing our right hand; and confeſſing his fault, if he ſuffered vs to indure hunger and thirſt vpon the way. We pardoned him, crauing pardon of him and his whole Family, if we had giuen them any euill example.

Caracarum ten daies iourney from the Courts of *Mangu Chan*, toward the North, as appeareth, *Ch.* 36.

Chap. 31. Of *Paſcha*, of *Mentz* in *Lotharingia*, and *William Bouchier* the Goldſmith, a *Pariſian*.

Building in requeſt.

ACertaine Woman of *Mentz* in *Lotharingia*, called *Paſcha*, found vs, who made vs great cheere, according to her power, who belong to the Court of that Lady, which was a Chriſtian, of whom I ſpoke before: who told vs of her ſtrange pouertie which ſhe indured before ſhe came to the Court; but now ſhe was well to liue, for ſhe had a young Husband, a *Rutenian*, (by whom ſhe had three very faire Children) who was skilfull in building, which amongſt them is an excellent Art. Moreouer, ſhe told vs, that at *Caracarum*, there was a certaine Goldſmith, called *William*, borne at *Paris*; whoſe ſurname was *Bouchier*, and his Fathers name *Lawrence Bouchier*, and ſhe thinketh he hath a Brother yet vpon the *Great Bridge*, called *Roger Bouchier*. And ſhe told me, that he had a certaine young man which he brought vp, whom hee accounted as his Son, who was an excellent Interpreter. But *Mangu Chan* deliuered to the foreſaid Gold-ſmith, three hundred Iaſcots, that is, three thouſand Markes, and fiftie Worke-men to make a piece of worke, ſo that ſhe feared he could not ſend his Sonne vnto me. For ſhe heard ſome ſay vnto her in the Court, The men which came from your Countrey are good men, and *Mangu Chan* would willingly ſpeak vnto them, but their Interpreter is nothing worth: therefore ſhe was carefull for an Interpreter. Then I writ vnto the foreſaid Gold-ſmith, certifying him of my comming hither, and requeſting him, that if he could, he would ſend me his ſonne. And he wrote me anſwere, that he could not that Moone, but the next, his worke ſhould bee perfected, and then he would ſend him vnto me. We ſtayed therefore with other Meſſengers. And it is otherwiſe with Meſſengers in *Baatu's* Court, then in the Court of *Mangu Chan*. For in the Court of *Baatu*, there is one *Iani* on the Eaſt ſide, who receiueth all ſuch as come from the Weſt, and ſo of other Countries of the world: But in the Court of *Mangu*, they are all together vnder one *Iani*, and they may ſee and viſit one another. In *Baatu's* Court they know not

They alſo reckon by Moones in Eaſt *India*.

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one another, and know not one of another, whether hee be a Messenger or no; because they know not one anothers lodging, nor see one another but in the Court: and when one is called, perchance another is not called. For they goe not to the Court, vnlesse they bee sent for. Wee found there a certaine Christian of *Damascus*, who said he came in behalfe of the *Soldan* of *Mons Regalis*, and of *Crac*; who desired to become friend and tributarie to the *Tartars*.

Crac is a strong fortresse of the Templars in the holy Land.

THE yeare also before I came thither, there was a certaine Clerke of *Acon*, who called himselfe *Raimund*, but in truth his name was *Theodolus*; and he tooke his iourney from *Cyprus* with Frier *Andrew*, and went with him into *Persia*, and got him certaine Instruments of *Armenicus* there in *Persia*, who abode there after Frier *Andrew*. Frier *Andrew* returning, hee went forward with his Instruments, and came to *Mangu Chan*: who being demanded wherefore he came, said, That he was with a certaine holy Bishop, to whom the Lord sent Letters from heauen, written in golden Characters, and commanded him to send them to the Emperour of the *Tartars*, because he should bee Lord of the whole Earth, and that he should perswade men to make peace with him. Then *Mangu* said vnto him; If thou hadst brought those Letters which came from heauen, and the Letters of thy Lord, then hadst beene welcome. Then he answered, That he brought Letters, but they were with other things of his, vpon a certaine wilde and pampered Gelding, which escaping fled from him through the Woods and Mountaines, so that he had lost all. And it is very true, that many such chances often happen: wherefore a man must very warily hold his Horse when he alighteth for necessitie. Then *Mangu* demanded the name of the Bishop. He said, he was called *Odo*. Whereupon he told him of *Damascus*, and Master *William*, who was Clerke of the Lord Legat. Then *Chan* demanded in whose Kingdome it was? To whom he made answer, That it was vnder a certaine King of the *Frankes*, called *Moles*: (for he had heard of that which happened at *Mallora*; and he would haue said, that they were of your Seruants) moreouer, hee told *Chan* that the *Saracens* were betweene the *Frankes* and him, who hindred his way. But if the way had beene open, he would haue sent Messengers, and willingly haue made peace with him. Then *Mangu Chan* asked him, If hee would bring his Messengers to that King, and that Bishop? He told him he would, and also to the Pope. Then *Mangu* caused an exceeding strong Bow to bee made, which two men could scarse bend, and two Arrowes, whose heads were of Siluer, full of holes, which sing when they are shot like a whistle. And he inioyned *Moal* whom hee should send with the said *Theodolus*; Thou shalt goe to that King of the *Frankes*, to whom this man shall bring thee, and thou shalt present him with these in my behalfe, And if he will haue peace with vs, we will winne the Countrey vpon the *Saracens*, euen home to him, and will grant him the rest of the Countrey vnto the West: If otherwise, bring backe the Bow and Arrowes vnto vs, and tell him we shoot farre, and smite strongly with such Bowes. Then he caused *Theodolus* to goe forth, whose Interpreter Master *Williams* Sonne was, and in his hearing, he said vnto *Moal*. Thou shalt go with this man, marke well the Waies, the Countries, and their Castles, Men and Munition. Then the young man blamed *Theodolus*, saying, He had done ill, in conducting the Messengers of the *Tartars* with him, for they went for no other cause, but to spy. Then hee answered, That he would set them on the Sea, that they should not know whence they came, or which way to returne. *Mangu* gaue also vnto *Moal* his golden Bull, or Tablet, to wit, a plate of Gold of an hand-breadth, and halfe a cubit long, wherein his commandement is ingrauen: Who so carrieth that, may command what he will, and it is done without delay. So then *Theodolus* came to *Vastacius*, determining to passe ouer to the Pope, that he might deceiue the Pope, as he had deceiued *Mangu Chan*. Then *Vastacius* demanded of him, whether he had Letters to the Pope, because he was a Messenger, and should conduct the Messengers of the *Tartars*? But, not being able to shew the Letters, he tooke him and spoiled him of all that hee had gotten, and cast him in prison. And *Moal* fell sicke and dyed there. But *Vastacius* sent backe the golden Tablet to *Mangu Chan*, by the seruants of *Moal*: whom I met at *Assaron* in the entrance into *Turkie*, who told mee what happened to *Theodolus*. Such Cosners runne through the world, whom the *Moalians* kill when they can take them. Now the *Epiphany* was at hand, and that *Armenian* Monke, *Sergius* by name, told me, That he should baptize *Mangu Can* vpon the Holy-day. I intreated him to labour by all meanes that I might be present, that I might beare witnesse that I saw it: and hee promised he would.

Chap. 32. Of *Theodolus* the Clerke of *Acon*, how hee deceiued *Mangu Chan*, and was imprisoned of *Vastacius*.

Frier *Andrew* went from *Cyprus* by *Persia*.

Blasphemous flattery.

The Golden Tablet of the Emperor of the *Tartars*.

Vastacius King of *Pontus*.

Or, *Erserum*.

Sergius an *Armenian* Monke.

THE feastiuall day came, and the Monke called me not, but at sixe of the clocke I was sent for to the Court, and I saw the Monke with the Priests returning from the Court with his Crosse, and the Priests with the Censer and the Gospell. For that day *Mangu Chan* made a feast. And his custome is, that vpon such daies as his Sooth-sayers doe appoint vnto him feastiuall, or with the *Nestorian* Priests sometimes make Holy-daies, that then he holds his Court: And vpon such daies the Christians come first with their furniture, and pray for him and blesse his Cup. They then departing, the *Saracen* Priests come and doe the like. Next after them, come the Idolatrous Priests and doe the same. And the Monke told me, that he onely beleeues the

Chap. 33. Of *Mangu Chans* holyday, and how his principall wife and his eldest sonne came to the Diuine ceremonies of the *Nestorians*, and of their filthy bowsings

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the Christians, yet will haue all to pray for him; but he lyed, for he beleeueth none, as you shall hereafter heare, yet all follow his Court, as flyes doe Honey. And he giueth vnto all, and all men thinke they are his Familiars; and all prophesie prosperitie vnto him. Then wee sate before the Court a long space, and they brought vs flesh to eate. To whom I made answere, that we would not eate there, but if they would prouide vs meate, they should prouide it for vs at our house. Then they said, get yee home to your house; because you were inuited for no other cause but to eate. Therefore we returned by the Monkes, who blushed at the Lye hee told me, wherefore I would not speake a word of that matter. Yet some of the *Nestorians* would affirme vnto mee, that he was baptized: to whom I said, that I would neuer beleeue it, nor report it to others, seeing I saw it not.

We came to our cold and emptie house, they prouided vs bedding and Couerlets, they brought vs also fuell, and gaue vs three the carkasse of one little leane Ramme, meate for sixe dayes; and euery day a little Platter full of Millet, and lent vs a Caldron and a Triuet to boyle our flesh: which being sodden, we sod our Millet in the broath of the flesh. This was our meate, and it had well sufficed vs, if they had suffered vs to eate in peace. But there are so many hunger-starued, who are not prouided of meate: that, as soone as they saw vs dresse meate, they thrust in vpon vs, and must eate with vs. There I found by experience, how great a Martyrdome liberalitie is in pouertie. Then the cold began much to preuaile: and *Mangu Chan* sent vs three Pelt-coates of the Skinnes of Papions (*Papionum*), whose haire they turne outward; which we thankfully receiued. They demanded also, how we were prouided of necessary food? To whom I answered, that little meate sufficed vs, but we haue not an house wherein to pray for *Mangu Chan*. For our Cottage was so little, that we could scarce stand vpright in it, nor open our Bookes, as soone as wee made fire. Then they brought him word: and hee sent vnto the Monke to know, if hee would haue our company? who gladly answered, that hee would. From that time wee were prouided of a better house: and we went downe with the Monke before the Court, where none lodged but we, and their Sooth-sayers: but they lodged neerer, before the Palace of the greatest Lady: and wee in the furthest end towards the East, before the Palace of the last Lady. And that was done the day before *Octabis Epiphaniæ*. On the morrow (to wit) in *Octauis Epiphaniæ*, all the *Nestorian* Priests came together before day at the Chappell, and smote vpon a board, and sang Matines solemnely, and put on their Ornaments, preparing the Censer and the Incense.

The cold much preuayleth.

The 13. of Ian.

Cotota Caten the principall Wife of *Mangu Chan*.
Baltu the Son of *Mangu Chan*.

And while they stayed wayting thus, behold, in the morning, the principall Wife *Cotota Caten* by name, (*Caten* is as much as *Ladie*, and *Cotota* her proper name) came into the Chappell with many other Ladies, and with her eldest Sonne, called *Baltu*, and other little ones of hers: And they cast themselues downe vpon the Earth, ducking after the manner of the *Nestorians*, and after this, they touched all the Images with their right hands, alwayes kissing their hands after they had touched, and after that, they gaue their right hands to all that stood about them in the Church. For this is the custome of the *Nestorians* when they come into the Church. Then the Priests sang many things, giuing the Lady Incense in her hand, and she put it vpon the fire: then they perfumed her. After this, when the day was cleere, shee began to put off the Ornament of her head, which is called *Baccha*: and I saw her bare scull, then shee commanded vs to goe forth, and as I went out, I saw a siluer Bason brought: whether they baptized her or no, I know not: but I know, they celebrate not Masse in a Tent, but in a standing Church. And in the Easter I saw them baptize, and hallow Fount with great Solemnitie, which now they did not.

And while we went into our house, *Mangu Chan* himselfe came, and went into the Church, or Oratory, and a Golden Bed was brought, on which hee sate by his Queene, ouer against the Altar. Then were we sent for, not knowing that *Mangu* was come. And the Doore-keepers searched vs, lest we should haue Kniues about vs. But comming into the Oratory, hauing a Bible, and a Breuiary in my bosome, I first bowed downe vnto the Altar, and after to *Mangu Chan*: and so passing by, we stood betweene the Monke and the Altar. Then they made vs sing a Psalme after our manner, and chaunt it. But we sang of that prose, *Veni Sancte Spiritus, &c.* And *Cham* caused our Bookes to be brought vnto him, the Bible, and the Breuiarie: and diligently inquired concerning the Images, what they signified. The *Nestorians* answered him at their pleasure, because our Interpreter came not in with vs. And when I was first before him, I had the Bible in my bosome, which he commanded to be brought vnto him, who looked earnestly vpon it. Then he departed, and his Ladie remayned there, and distributed gifts to all the Christians there, shee gaue the Monke a *Iascot*, and to the Archdeacon of the Priests another: she caused a *Nassic* to be spread before vs (to wit) a piece of Cloth, as broad as a Couerlet of a Bed, very large, and a * Buckeram, which when I would not receiue, they sent them to my Interpreter, who had them to himselfe. He brought the *Nassic* to *Cyprus*, which he sold for eightie Sultanines of *Cyprus*; but it was much the worse for the carriage. Then drinke was brought (to wit) drinke made of Rice and red Wine, like Wine of *Rochell*, and Cosmos. * Then the Ladie holding the cup full in her hand, desired blessing vpon her knees, and all the Priests sing with a loud voyce, and shee drunke

* *Vnum bucheranum.*

* Cosmos of Mares Milke, *Vid. sup.*

it

and I and my companion muſt ſing. Another time, when all of them were almoſt drunke, their meate was brought (to wit) the carkaſſe of one Ramme which was preſently deuoured: and after that, great fiſhes, which are called Carpes, without Salt, or Bread: whereof I eate a little, ſo they paſſed the day, vntill the Euening. And when the Lady her ſelfe was drunke, ſhe tooke her Chariot (the Prieſts ſinging) and went her way. The next Sunday, when (*There was a Marriage in* Cana *of* Galily) is read for the Goſpell; *Chans* Sonne came (whoſe Mother was a Chriſtian) and did the like, but not with ſo great Solemnitie. For he gaue no gifts, but made the Prieſts drinke, till they were drunke, and gaue them parched Millet to eate. January 20.

Before the firſt Sunday in Lent, the *Neſtorians* faſt three dayes, which they call *the Faſt of Ionas, which he preached to the* Niniuites. And the *Armenians* faſt fiue dayes, which they call the Faſt of Saint *Sorkis*, which is the greateſt Saint amongſt them. Of the Faſt of the *Neſtorians*, and *Armenians*, and of their Proceſſions vnto the Court of *Mangu Chan* his eldeſt Son, and Wiues. Saint *Sarkis*. Lent.

The *Neſtorians* beginne their Faſt vpon Tueſday, and end it vpon Thurſday; ſo that vpon Friday they eate fleſh. And all that time I ſaw the Chancelor (to wit, the great Secretarie of State called *Bulgai*) make them a pittance of fleſh vpon the Friday; and they bleſſed the fleſh with great Solemnitie, as the Paſchall Lambe is bleſſed: but he eate none with them, and this I learned of *Willielmus Pariſienſis*, who was his very familiar friend. The Monke ſent to *Mangu* to faſt that weeke, which (as I heard) hee did: ſo that on the Sabbath of *Septuageſima* (at which time it is as it were Eaſter to the *Armenians*) wee went on Proceſſion to the houſe of *Mangu*: and the Monke, and we two (being firſt ſearched whether wee had Knives) went in with the Prieſts, before him. And while we went in, one of the Seruants went forth, carrying out the ſhoulder bones of Rammes, burnt to the blackneſſe of Coales. Whereupon I maruelled greatly, what it ſhould meane, whereof after I had inquired, I vnderſtood, that hee neuer doth any thing, before he haue conſulted with thoſe bones. Whereupon hee doth not ſo much as ſuffer a man to enter his houſe, but firſt conſulteth with that bone, which kind of Diuination, is thus done. *Mangu Chans* Court viſited with Proceſſions.

When he purpoſeth to doe any thing, he cauſeth three of thoſe bones to be brought vnto him vnburnt; and holding them he thinketh of the thing, whereof he will conſult, whether he may doe it or not: and then deliuereth the bones to bee burnt, and there are alwayes two little Roomes, hard by the houſe where he lyes, where thoſe bones are burnt; which are diligently ſought for euery day thorow all the Leskar or Tent-dwelling. When they are burnt blacke, they bring them vnto him, then hee lookes vpon them, whether the bones (by the heate of the fire) be cleft right length-wayes: then the way is open, that he may do it. But if the bones be cracked athwart, or round pieces flye out of them, then he doth it not; for the bone is alwayes cleft in the fire, or the thinne skin which ouer-ſpreadeth it. And if one of the three be cleft forth right, yet he doth it. When therefore wee went in before him (aduiſed before, that wee ſhould not touch the threſhold) the *Neſtorian* Prieſts brought him Incenſes, and he put it vpon the Cenſor, and they cenſed him. Then they ſung, bleſſing his cup, and after them the Monke pronounced his bleſſing, and we muſt bleſſe laſt. And when he ſaw vs holding the Bible before our breſt, he cauſed it to be brought vnto him, that he might ſee it, which hee diligently looked vpon. Then after he had drunke, and the chiefe Prieſt had wayted on his Cup, they gaue the Prieſts drinke: After that, we went forth, and my companion ſtayed laſt. And when wee were without, my companion (when hee ſhould haue gone out after vs) turned his face to *Chan*, bowing himſelfe vnto him: and then, haſtily following vs, he ſtumbled at the threſhold of the houſe. How they diuine by the ſholder blades of Rammes burnt blacke. In M. *Ienkinſons* Voyage among the *Tartars*, ye may reade of ſuch a Diuination. Threſhold-Superſtition. They doe the like in *Florida*.

And when we went in haſte toward the houſe of *Baltu* his eldeſt Sonne, they that obſerued the threſhold, layd hands on my companion, and made him ſtay, that hee ſhould not follow vs; calling one, and commanding him to carrie him to *Bulgai*, who is the great Secretary of the Court, and iudgeth thoſe that are arraigned of life and death. But I knew it not, yet when I looked backe, and ſaw him not comming, I thought they detayned him, to giue him ſome lighter garments: For he was weake, and ſo laden with Pelt-garments that he could ſcarce goe. Then they called our Interpreter, and made him ſit with him: but wee went to *Chans* eldeſt Sonnes houſe, who had two Wiues, and was lodged at the right ſide of his Fathers Court: who as ſoone as he ſaw vs comming, leaping from his bed whereon he ſate, caſt himſelfe vpon the earth, ſmiting his fore-head againſt the ground, worſhipping the Croſſe, and ariſing, cauſed it to be ſet vpon a new cloth, in an high place by him, very honourably. He hath a Schoolemaſter, a *Neſtorian* Prieſt called *Dauid*, a very Drunkard, who teacheth him. Then he made vs ſit, and giue the Prieſts drinke, and hee alſo dranke, receiuing the bleſſing from them. Then wee went vnto the Court of the ſecond Lady, which was called *Ceta*, who followed Idolaters: whom wee found lying ſicke a bed. Then the Monke made her riſe out of her bed, and worſhip the Croſſe, bowing her knees thrice, and ducking toward the ground: he ſtanding with the Croſſe at the Weſt-ſide of the houſe, and ſhe on the Eaſt: this being done, they changed places, and the Monke went with the Croſſe vnto the Eaſt, and ſhee vnto the Weſt. And hee boldly commanded her (although ſhe were ſo weake, that ſhe could ſcarce ſtand vpon her feet) that ſhee ſhould caſt herſelfe downe thrice againe, and worſhip the Croſſe, toward the Eaſt after the manner of the Chriſtians: which ſhe did, and he taught her to make the ſigne of the Croſſe vpon her forehead. *Baltues* Court who was eldeſt Son of *Mangu Chan*.

After

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After ſhe lay downe vpon her bed, and praying for her, we went vnto the third houſe, where a Chriſtian Lady vſed to be: who being dead, a young woman ſucceeded her, who together with the Daughter of her Lord, ioyfully receiued vs: and all that whole houſe reuerently worſhipped the Croſſe. And ſhe ſet it vpon a Veluet cloth in an high place, and ſhee cauſed meate to bee brought (to wit) the carkaſſe of one Ramme, which being ſet before the Ladie, ſhee cauſed it to be diſtributed to the Prieſts. But I and the Monke were very warie of the meate and drinke, for the meate being eaten, and much drinke drunke, wee were to goe to the Damoſell *Cerina*, who lodged behind that great houſe, which was her Mothers: who at the comming in of the Croſſe, caſt her ſelfe vpon the Earth, and worſhipped it very deuoutly, becauſe ſhee had beene well taught ſo to doe, and ſhee ſet it in a high place, vpon a piece of ſilke. And all thoſe clothes whereon the Croſſe was ſet, were the Monkes.

A certaine *Armenian* brought this Croſſe who came with the Monk (as he ſaid) from *Hieruſalem*; and it was of ſiluer, weighing about ſome foure markes; and it had foure Precious Stones in the corners, and one in the middle. It had not the Image of our Sauiour (becauſe the *Armenians* and the *Neſtorians* are aſhamed, that Chriſt ſhould appeare nayled to the Croſſe) and hee had preſented it (by the Monke) to *Mangu Chan*. And *Mangu* demanded of him what hee deſired? to whom he anſwered, That he was the Sonne of an *Armenian* Prieſt, whoſe Church the *Saracens* had deſtroyed, and craued his helpe for the building againe of that Church. Then hee aſked him, for how much it might be built againe: he anſwered, for two hundred Iaſcots (that is) for two thouſand markes: and he commanded Letters to be giuen him, to him who receiued the Tribute in *Perſia*, and *Armenia* the greater, that they ſhould pay him the ſaid ſumme of ſiluer. This Croſſe the Monke carried with him euery where. And the Prieſts ſeeing the gaine thereof, began to enuie him. Wee were therefore in the houſe of the ſaid Damoſell, and ſhee gaue the Prieſts much drinke. From hence wee went vnto the fourth houſe, which was the laſt in number and honour. For he vſed not to come often to that Ladie, and her houſe was very old, and her ſelfe nothing gracious. But after Eaſter *Chan* made her a new houſe, and new Chariots. She likewiſe as the ſecond knew little or nothing of Chriſtianitie, but followed Soothſayers, and Idolaters. Yet at our comming in, ſhee worſhipped the Croſſe, as the Monke and the Prieſts taught her. There alſo the Prieſts dranke againe. And from that place wee returned to our Oratorie, which was neere thereabouts: the Prieſts accompanying vs with great howling and out-cryes in their drunkenneſſe, which there is reprehenſible neither in man nor woman. Then my fellow was brought home, and the Monke ſharply rebuked him becauſe he touched the threſhold. On the morrow *Bulgai* came (who was a Iuſtice) and diligently inquired, whether any had warned vs to take heed of touching the threſhold. And I anſwered, Sir, wee had not our Interpreter with vs: how could we vnderſtand? Then hee pardoned him. But would neuer after ſuffer him to come into any of the houſes of *Mangu Chan*.

The Court of the third Lady. The *Armenians* and *Neſtorians* are aſhamed to ſhew Chriſt faſtned to the Croſſe.

Mangu built a Church.

The Court of the fourth Lady.

Drunkenneſſe not reprouea-ble among the *Tartars*.

Chap. 35. How Lady *Cota* was cured of *Sergius* the counterfeit Monke.

IT happened afterwards, that the ſame Ladie *Cota*, which was ſicke about *Septuageſima*, was ſicke almoſt vnto death: and diuination by Lots of the Idolaters could profit her nothing. Then *Mangu* ſent vnto the Monke, demanding of him, what might bee done for her. And the Monke indiſcreetly anſwered, that if ſhee were not cured, hee ſhould cut off his head, hauing made that anſwere, the Monke called vs, declaring the matter vnto vs with teares, intreating to watch with him that night in Prayer: which we did. And he had a certayne Roote which is called Rubarbe; and hee cut it almoſt to powder, and put it in water, with a little Crucifixe which he had, wherein the Image of our Sauiour was aduanced: whereof he reported, that by it he knew, when the ſicke ſhould recouer or dye. For if they ſhould eſcape, it ſtucke to the breſt of the ſicke, as if it were glued, if otherwiſe it ſtucke not at all. And I ſtill thought that Rubarbe had beene ſome holy Relike, which he had brought from the Holy Land of *Hieruſalem*. And he gaue all ſicke perſons of that water to drinke: ſo that it could not bee, but their bowels ſhould be griped with ſo bitter a Potion: which alteration in their bodies they accounted a Miracle. Then I told him (when he was about to make ſuch a water) that hee ſhould prepare ſome of that Holy water, which is made in the Church of *Rome*, which hath great vertue to expell Deuils: becauſe I vnderſtood ſhee was vexed of a Deuill. And at his intreatie, wee made him ſome Holy water, and he mingled Rubarbe, and put his Crucifixe all the whole night in the water to temper it. I ſaid moreouer, that if hee were a Prieſt, that the Order of Prieſt-hood hath great power to expell Deuils. And he ſaid it was very true, and yet hee lyed, becauſe hee had no order, nor knew any one Letter: but was a Weauer, as I vnderſtood after, in his Countrey, when I returned. On the morrow therefore I, and the Monke, and two *Neſtorian* Prieſts went vnto the foreſaid Ladie. And ſhee was in a little houſe, behind her greater houſe. When wee came in, ſhee ſate in her bed, and worſhipped the Croſſe, and ſet it honourably by her vpon a cloth of Silke, and drunke of the bleſſed water with Rubarbe, and waſhed her breſt. And the Monke requeſted me to reade a Goſpell ouer her, ſo I read the Paſſion of our Lord according vnto *Iohn*. At length ſhe was cheered, and felt her ſelfe better: and ſhee cauſed foure Iaſcots to bee brought, which ſhe firſt layd at the feet of the Croſſe, and after gaue me to the Monke, and reached

Licence is granted him to carrie the Croſſe aloft.

Rubarbe and the Croſſe Miracle-workers with credulous Superſtition.

Holy water not knowne in the Eaſt.

Sergius, the *Armenians* Lye.

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ched me one, which I would not receiue. Then the Monke ſtretching forth his hand, tooke it, and gaue either of the Prieſts one: ſo that, at that time ſhee gaue fortie Markes. Then ſhee cauſed Wine to be brought, and gaue it the Prieſts to drinke; and I muſt drinke thrice from her hand, in honour of the Trinitie. Shee began alſo to teach mee the Language, jeſting with mee, becauſe I was dumbe, not hauing any Interpreter.

On the morrow we returned to her againe. And *Mangu Chan* hearing that we came that way, made vs come in vnto him, becauſe hee vnderſtood that the Lady was ſomewhat better; and we found him with a few ſeruants, ſupping liquid Tam, to wit, meat made of paſte, for comforting the head: and the burnt ſhoulder-blades of a Ram lay before him: and he tooke the Croſſe in his hand, but that hee kiſhed or worſhipped it, I ſaw not: but looked vpon it, and asked ſome queſtions, I know not what. Then the Monke craued leaue to carry the Croſſe aloft vpon a Lance; becauſe I had ſpoken to the Monke before concerning this. And *Mangu* anſwered, Carry it as you thinke beſt to doe it. Then doing our duty to him, wee went to the foreſaid Ladie, and we found her luſtie and cheerfull; and ſhe ſtill drunke of the bleſſed Water, and wee read the Paſſion ouer her. And thoſe miſerable Prieſts neuer taught her the Faith, nor aduiſed her to bee baptiſed. But I ſate there mute, not able to ſpeake any thing, but ſhee ſtill taught me the Language: and the Prieſts neuer find fault with any kind of Sorcerie. For there I ſaw foure ſwords halfe drawne out of the ſheath, one at the head of the Ladies bed, another at the feet, and two other, on either ſide of the doore one. I ſaw alſo there one ſiluer Chalice, of our Chalices, which peraduenture was taken or ſtolne out of ſome Church of *Hungary*; and it hung againſt the walls full of aſhes, and vpon thoſe aſhes there was a blacke ſtone. And concerning ſuch things, the Prieſts neuer teach them that they are euill: Nay, they themſelues doe, and teach ſuch things. We viſited her three daies, ſo that ſhee was reſtored to perfect health. After that, the Monke made a Banner full of Croſſes, and got a Cane as long as a Lance, and we carried the Croſſe aloft. I honored him as my Biſhop, becauſe hee could ſpeake the Language; yet hee did many things which pleaſed me not: for he cauſed a Chaire which may be folded to bee made for him, ſuch as Biſhops vſe to haue, and Gloues, and a Cap of Peacocks feathers, and vpon it a little Croſſe of gold: I was well pleaſed with the Croſſe. Hee had ſcabbed feete, which hee laboured to grace with ointments, and was very preſumptuous in ſpeech. The *Neſtorians* alſo repeated certaine Verſes of the Pſalter (as they ſaid) vpon two rods, which were ioyned together, being held of two men. The Monke was preſent at ſuch things. And many other vanities appeared in him, which diſpleaſed me. Yet wee ioyned our ſelues to his ſocietie for the honor of the Croſſe. For we carried the Croſſe aduanced through all the Tents ſinging: *Vexilla Regis prodeunt, &c.* Whereupon the *Saracens* were much diſmaied.

Sorcerie of foure ſwords.

The Croſſe carried aloft.

Chap. 36.

SInce we came to the Court of *Mangu Chan*, he rode but twice towards the South: and from that time he beganne to returne towards the North, which was toward *Caracarum*. Whereupon I noted all the way, a thing of which Maſter *Baldwin* of *Hannonia* had ſpoken to mee at *Conſtantinople* (who was there) that he had ſeene this onely wonderfull, that he alwaies aſcended in going, and neuer deſcended. For all Riuers came from the Eaſt into the Weſt, either directly or indirectly (that is to ſay) bending towards the South or North. And I enquired of the Prieſts which came from *Cataya*, who teſtified this ſame. *From that place where I found* Mangu Chan, *vnto* Cataya, *were twentie daies iourney, going towards the South and Eaſt. To* Onan Kerule, *which is the proper Countrey of* Moall, *where the Court of* Chingis *is, were ten daies iourney right Eaſt. And in thoſe parts of the Eaſt there was no Citie: yet there were people which are called* Su-Moall, *that is to ſay,* Moall *of the Waters: for* Su *is as much to ſay as Water. Theſe people liue vpon Fiſh, and hunting, hauing neither Flocks nor Heards. Towards the North likewiſe, there is no Citie, but a poore people feeding Cattell, who are called* Kerkis. *The* Orangei *are alſo there, who binde ſmoothe filed bones vnder their feete, and thruſt themſelues forward vpon the congealed Snow and Ice, with ſuch ſwiftneſſe, that they take Birds and Beaſts. And many other poore people there are on the North ſide, ſo farre as they may ſpread themſelues for the cold. And they ioyne on the Weſt, with the Countrey of* Paſcatir, *which is* Hungaria *the Greater, whereof I haue ſpoken before. The bound or limit of the North corner is not knowne, for the extremitie of the cold: for in that place there are continuall ſpires or heapes of Snow.* I was inquiſitiue of the Monſters or monſtrous men, whereof *Iſidorus* and *Solinus* make report. They told me they neuer ſaw any ſuch, whereof we much wonder, whether it bee true or no. All the Nations aforeſaid (although but poore) yet they muſt ſerue in ſome trade: for it was the commandement of *Chingis*, that none ſhould bee free from ſeruice, till hee were ſo old, that he could labour no longer, by any meanes. Vpon a time a certaine Prieſt of *Cataya* ſate with mee, clothed with a red coloured cloth; and I demanded of him whence hee had ſuch a colour. And he told me, that in the Eaſt parts of *Cataya* there were high craggie Rocks, wherein certaine Creatures dwell, hauing in all parts the ſhape of men, but that they bow not the knees, but walke (I know not how) leaping: which are not aboue one cubit long, and their whole body is couered with * haire; who haue their abode in Caues which no man can come vnto. And they

A deſcription of the Countries about the Court of *Mangu Chan*, and of their manner of writing, and their money.

Chap. 3.

Al Riuers bending towards the South and North runne towards the Weſt.

Chap. 15.

Su-Moal, the Water *Tartars* to the Eaſt, liuing vpon fiſh.

Kerkis.

Orangai.

Paſcatir on the Weſt.

Chap. 19.

Mutezuma commanded the like in *Noua Hiſpania.*

A deſcription of Apes, or elſe an embleme or Apiſh fable, and perhaps by the Chinois inuented, to ſell their wares the dearer.

that

that hunt them goe vnto them, and carry strong drinke with them, as strong as they can make, and make pits in the Rocks like Cups, filling them with that strong drinke. For *Cataia* as yet hath no Wine (but now they beginne to plant Vineyards) for they make drinke of Rice. The Hunters therefore hide themselues, then the foresaid Creatures come out of their holes, and taste the said drinke, and crie *Chin-chin*. Then they come together in great multitudes and drinke the said drinke, and are made drunke, so that they sleepe there. Then the Hunters come, and bind them hand and feete while they are sleeping; and after, they open the Veine in their necke, and draw forth three or foure drops of bloud from euery one, and let them goe free. And that bloud (as he told me) is most precious to die purple.

Most precious Purple.

He told it also for truth (which neuertheless I doe not beleeue) that there is a Prouince beyond *Cataia*, into the which, at whatsoeuer age a man enters, he continueth in the same age wherein he entred. *Cataia* is vpon the Ocean. And Master *Willielmus Parisiensis* told me, that the same Messengers of certaine people which are called *Taute* and *Manse*, who inhabit Ilands, whose Sea is frozen in the winter, so that the *Tartars* may inuade them; who offered two thousand Tumen or Iascots yeerely, so they would let them liue in peace. Tumen is a piece of money containing ten Markes. The common money of *Cataia* is Paper made of Bombaste, the breadth and length of an hand, vpon the which they imprint lines, like the Seale of *Mangu*. They write with a Penfill wherewith Painters paint; and in one figure they make many letters comprehending one word. The people of *Thebet* write as wee doe, and they haue Characters very like ours. They of *Tangut* write from the right hand vnto the left, as the *Arabians*, and multiply the lines ascending vpward. *Iugur*, as aforesaid, from aboue downeward. The common mony of the *Rutenians* are little spotted and grisel'd skins. When we came with the Monke, hee charitably admonished vs to abstaine from flesh, and that our seruants should eate flesh with his seruants; but he would promise vs Meale, and Oyle or Butter. Which wee did, though it much grieued my Companion, by reason of his weakenesse: wherefore our foode was Millet and Butter, or Paste sodden in water with Butter, or sowre Milke, and vnleauened bread baked in Oxe-dung, or Horse-dung.

Cataia vpon the Ocean.

Taute and *Manse*, who dwell in Ilands, whose Sea freezeth in the Winter.

Cataia paper money.

The manner of writing in *Cataia* like that of *China*.

The people of *Thebet*.

Their manner of writing in *Tangut* and *Iugur*.

The money of the *Rutenians*.

Chap. 37.

NOw *Quinquagesima* came, which is the Lent-time to all the people of the East. And the greatest Ladie *Cotota* with all her company, fasted that weeke, who came euery day to our Oratorie, and gaue meate vnto the Priests, and other Christians, whereof a great multitude flocked thither the first weeke, to heare their dutie. And she gaue to me and my Companion, to each a Coate and Breeches of gray Samit (Samito) furred with course haire (Stuppa setæ) because my companion complained much of the weight of his Skinnes, which I receiued for my fellowes comfort, excusing my selfe neuertheless, that I would not weare such clothes. I gaue to my Interpreter what belonged to me. Then the Porters of the Court seeing that so great a multitude came daily to the Church, which was within the bounds of the keepers of the Court, they sent one of their fellowes vnto the Monke, declaring vnto him, that they would not haue so great a multitude come together within the precincts of the Court. then the Monke roughly answered, that he would know whether they commanded this from *Mangu Chan*? hee added moreouer certaine threatning speeches, as if he would accuse them to *Mangu Chan*. Then they preuenting him, accused him before *Mangu*; That he was too full of words, and that he gathered together too great a multitude to heare him speake. Afterward, the first Sunday in Lent, being called to the Court (and the Monke being shamefully demanded whether hee had a Knife, insomuch that he put off his shooes) wee came in before *Chan* himselfe, who haiung the burnt shoulder-blade of a Ramme in his hand, looked vpon it, and (as it were) reading in it, began to reproue the Monke, demanding, that seeing he was a man that should pray vnto God, why hee spoke so much with men? but I stood behind with my head bare: and *Chan* saying vnto him, Why dost thou not put off thy Cap, when thou commest before me, as that *Francke* doth? and commanded me to be called neerer. Then the Monke being much abashed, put off his Cap, contrary to the custome of the *Greekes* and *Armenians*. And when *Chan* himselfe had spoken many things sharply vnto him, wee went out. Then the Monke deliuered me the Crosse to beare to the Oratorie, becaus he could not carry it for shame.

Of the second fast of the people of the East, in Lent. The Monke is reproued for the multitude of those that came vnto him.

After a few daies he was reconciled vnto him, promising that he would goe to the Pope, and that he would bring all the Nations of the West to his obedience. Whereupon, he returning to the Oratorie after that conference had with *Chan*, began to enquire of mee touching the Pope, if I beleeued he would see him if he came vnto him in the behalfe of *Mangu*, and if hee would furnish him with Horses vnto Saint *Iames*? He demanded also of you, if I thought you would send your sonne vnto *Mangu*? Then I counsailed him, that he should take heede that hee did not promise lyes to *Mangu*, because the last errour should bee worse then the first; and that God needeth not our lyes, that we should speake deceitfully for him.

At that time there arose a certaine question betweene the Monke and a Priest called *Ionas*, a Learned man, whose father was an Archdeacon, and the other Priests accounted him for a Master and an Archdeacon. For the Monke said, That man was created before Paradise, and that the

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the Scripture said so. Then was I called to bee an arbitrator of that question. But I being ignorant that they contended about this, answered, that Paradise was made vpon Tuesday, when the other Trees were made, and that Man was made the sixt day. Then the Monke began to say, Did not the Deuill bring earth the first day from the foure parts of the world, and making clay made the bodie of man therewith, and God inspired his soule? Then hearing this Hæresie of the Monke, and that he so publikely and shamelesly recited it, I reproued him sharply, saying, he should put his finger vpon his mouth, because he knew not the Scriptures, and that he should take heed, that he said it not, whereby he might be faulty: And he began to mocke me, because I was ignorant of the Language. I departed therefore from him, going to our house. It fell out afterwards, that he and the Priests went on Procession to the Court, without calling mee; because the Monke spake not to me for the foresaid reproofe, nor would he carrie me with him, as he was wont. When therefore they came before *Mangu*, (I being not seene among them) hee earnestly demanded where I was, and why I came not with them? The Priests fearing, excused themselues. But returning, they told me the words of *Mangu*, and murmured at the Monke. After this, the Monke was reconciled to me, and I to him, intreating him, that he would helpe me with his Language, and I would helpe him in the holy Scripture. For *a brother that is holpen of a brother, is as a strong Citie.* After the first weeke of fasting, the Ladie ceased to come vnto the Oratorie, and to giue meat, and drinke, which wee were wont to haue, for the Monke suffered it not to be brought, saying, that Mutton fat or Suet was put in the confection thereof: and shee gaue no Oyle, but very seldome: so that we had nothing but browne Bread, and past boyling in water, that we might suppe broath; because we had no water, but of dissolued Snow, or of Ice, which was exceeding nought. Then my Companion began to be much grieued: so I acquainted *Dauid* (the Schoole-master of *Chans* eldest sonne) with our necessities, who made report thereof to *Chan*: and he commanded to giue vs Wine, Flowre, and Oyle. Neither the *Nestorians*, nor the *Armenians*, eate fish, by any meanes, in the Lent. Then they gaue vs a bottle of Wine. The Monke said he would not eate but on the Sunday: and then the Ladie her selfe sent meat of boyled paste with vinegar to suppe. But he had a Chist by him vnder the Altar, with Almonds and Raisins, and dried Prunes, and many other fruits, which hee ate all the day, whensoeuer hee was alone. Wee ate once a day, and that in great affliction: for as soone as they knew, that *Mangu Chan* had giuen vs Wine, most impudently they came in vpon vs like Dogs, both the *Nestorian* Priests, who were drunke all the day in the Court, and the *Moallians* also, and the seruants of the Monke. The Monke also, when any came vnto him, to whom he would giue drinke, he sent to vs for Wine. So that, the Wine caused our greater affliction then comfort; because wee could not denie it without offence. If wee gaue, wee wanted our selues, nor durst we, that being spent, desire any more from the Court.

Monkes *Manichæan* blasphemie of the Creation.

Snow-water, or water of Ice, exceeding naught.

No fish eaten in Lent.

Hypocriticall feast-fast.

Chap. 38. A Description of the worke of *William Boucbier*, and of the Palace of *Mangu Chan* at *Caracarum*, into which Citie they entred on Palm-sunday.

ABout mid-lent Master *Williams* sonne came, bringing with him a faire siluer Crosse, made after the *French* fashion, hauing the Image of Christ all of siluer fastened vpon it at the top: which the Monkes and Priests seeing, put it away: this Crosse hee was to present in the behalfe of his Master to *Bulgai*, who was the chiefe Secretarie of the Court: which when I heard, I was offended. The same young man also declared to *Mangu Chan*, that the worke which he commanded to be made, was finished, which worke I described vnto you. *Mangu* hath at *Caracarum* a great Court, hard by the walls of the Citie, enclosed with a bricke-wall; as the Priories of Monkes are enclosed with vs. In that place, there is a great Palace, wherein he holdeth his drinkings twice a yeere: once in Easter, when hee passeth that way, and once in Summer, when he returneth. And this latter is the greater: because then all the Nobles (who dwell farre some two moneths iourney off in any place) meet together at his Court. And then hee giues vnto them gifts and garments, and shewes his great glorie. There are many other houses there, as large as Granges, wherein his victuals, and treasures are stored. In the entrance of that great Palace (because it was vnseemely to bring in bottles of Milke, and other drinkes) Master *William Parisiensis* made him a great siluer Tree, at the root whereof were foure siluer Lions, hauing one Pipe sending forth pure Cowes milke, and the foure Pipes were conuayed within the Tree, vnto the top thereof: whose tops spread backe againe downward: and vpon euery one of them was a golden Serpent, whose tayles twine about the bodie of the Tree. And one of those Pipes runs with Wine, another with Caracosmos, that is, clarified Whay; another with Ball, that is, drinke made of Honey, another with drinke made of Rice, called *Teracina*. And euery drinke hath his vessell prepared of siluer, at the foot of the Tree, to receiue it. Betweene those foure Pipes in the top, he made an Angell holding a Trumpet; and vnder the Tree, he made an hollow vault, wherein a man might be hid; and a Pipe ascendeth through the heart of the Tree vnto the Angell. Hee first made Bellowes, but they gaue not wind enough. Without the Palace there is a Chamber, wherein the drinkes are layd, and there are seruants readie there to powre it out, when they heare the Angell sounding the Trumpet. And the boughes of the Tree are of siluer, and the leaues and Peares. When therefore they want drinke, the Master Butler cryeth to the Angell, that he sound the Trumpet. Then he hearing (who is hid in the

Two moneths iourney.

The Description of a most artificiall siluer Tree.

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the Vault) blowes the Pipe ſtrongly, which goeth to the Angell. And the Angell ſets his Trumpet to his mouth, and the Trumpet ſoundeth very ſhrill. Then the Seruants hearing, which are in the chamber, euery of them powre forth their drink into their proper Pipe, and the Pipes powre it forth from aboue, and they are receiued below in Veſſels prepared for that purpoſe: Then the Butlers draw them, and carry them through the Palace, to men and women.

The deſcription of the Palace.

And the Palace is like a Church, hauing the middle Ile, and the two ſides beyond the two rewes of Pillars, and three gates on the South. And within before the middle gate ſtands the tree. And *Chan* himſelfe ſitteth in the North front, in an high place, that hee may bee ſeene of all. And there are two degrees of ſteps aſcending vnto him, by the one, he that carryeth his cup commeth vp vnto him, and by the other he deſcendeth. That ſpace which is in the middle, betweene the tree and the ſteps whereby they aſcend vnto him, is voyde. For there ſtandeth hee that wayteth on his Cup, and the Meſſengers, which bring Preſents. And hee ſitteth there aboue like a God. On the right ſide (to wit) toward the Weſt are the men: on the left women. For the Palace ſtretcheth it ſelfe out in length from North to South by the Pillars. On the right ſide are places full of ſeates lifted vp, like the Sellar of an houſe; whereon his Sonnes and Brethren ſit. On the left ſide is the like, where his Wiues and Daughters ſit. One only woman ſitteth there aboue by him, but not ſo high as hee. When therefore hee had heard, that the Worke was finiſhed, hee commanded the chiefe Workeman to ſet it in his place, and make it fit.

The Sunday in the Paſſion he goeth towards *Caracarum*.

And about Paſſion Sunday, hee went before with ſmall houſes, leauing his greater houſes behind: And the Monke and we followed him; and he ſent vs another Bottle of Wine. And hee paſſed betweene the hilly Countries, where there was great wind, and an extreame cold, and there fell a great Snow. Whereupon hee ſent about mid-night to the Monke and vs, intreating vs to pray vnto God, that hee would mitigate that wind and cold, becauſe all the beaſts which were in the trayne were in ieopardie, eſpecially becauſe all that time they were with young and readie to bring forth. Then the Monke ſent him Incenſe, requiring him to put it on the coales and offer it to God: which, whether he did, I know not. But the Tempeſt ceaſed, which had now continued two dayes, and now the third day drew neere. On Palme Sunday we were neere *Caracarum*: In the dawning of the day we bleſſed the Willow boughes, whereon as yet there appeared no bud, and about nine of the clocke we entred the Citie, carrying the Croſſe aloft with the Banner, paſſing through the middle of the ſtreet of the *Saracens*, where the Market and Faires are vnto the Church: and the *Neſtorians* met vs on Proceſſion. And entring into the Church, we found them prepared to celebrate the Maſſe: which beeing celebrated, they all communicated, and they asked mee, whether I would communicate? I anſwered that I had drunke before, and the Sacrament ſhould not be receiued but faſting. Maſſe being ſaid, it was now Euening. Maſter *William* brought vs with great ioy to his Inne to ſup with him: who had a Wife, the Daughter of a *Lotharingian*, borne in *Hungarie*, who could ſpeake the *French* and the Language of *Comania*. We found alſo there a certayne other man called *Baſilius*, the Sonne of an *Engliſhman*, borne in *Hungarie*, who alſo was skilfull in the foreſaid Languages. Supper being ended, they brought vs to our Cottage, which the *Tartars* had appointed vs, in a certayne plat of ground neere the Church, with the Oratory of the Monke. On the morrow *Chan* himſelfe entred into his Palace. And the Monke and I, and the Prieſts went vnto him. They ſuffered not my companion to goe, becauſe he ſtumbled at the threſhold. I much deliberated with my ſelfe what I ſhould doe, whether I ſhould goe or no. And fearing offence, if I ſhould depart from other Chriſtians, and becauſe it pleaſed him: and fearing leſt that good might be hindred, which I hoped to obtaine, I choſe rather to go, although I ſaw their actions ful of Sorcery and Idolatrie: nor did I any other thing there, but pray for the whole Church with a loud voyce, and alſo for *Chan* himſelfe, that God would direct him to the way of eternall ſaluation. We therefore went into that Court which was ſufficiently ordered. And in the Summer Riuers are conueyed into euery place, whereby it is watered. After this we entred into the Palace, full of men and women, and ſtood before *Chan*, hauing the foreſaid Tree at our backs, which with the Veſſels thereof tooke vp a great part of the Palace. The Prieſts brought two little Loaues, and fruit in a Platter, which they preſented vnto him, bleſſing them. And the Butler brought them vnto him ſitting aloft in a very high place, much raiſed. And hee preſently began to eate one of the Loaues, and ſent another to his Sonne, and to a certayne yonger Brother of his, who was brought vp by a certayne *Neſtorian*, and knew the Goſpell, who alſo ſent for my Bible, that he might ſee it. After the Prieſts the Monke ſaid his Prayer, and I, after the Monke. Then he promiſed, that the next day he would come vnto the Church, which is great enough, and faire, and all the ſeeling aboue was couered with ſilke wrought with Gold. The next day he went his way, willing the Prieſts to excuſe him, that he durſt not come to the Church, becauſe he vnderſtood the dead were carried thither. But we, and the Monke remayned at *Caracarum*, and other Prieſts of the Court, that they might celebrate Eaſter there.

They enter *Caracarum* on Palme Sunday

Mangu Chan departeth from *Caracarum*.

Maundie

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MAundie Thurſday drew neere, and Eaſter, and I had not our Veſtments, and I conſidered the manner how the *Neſtorians* made the Sacramentall Bread, and I was much troubled, what I ſhould doe; whether I ſhould receiue the Sacrament of them, or ſhould celebrate it in their Veſtments, and Chalice, and vpon their Altar, or ſhould altogether abſtayne from the Sacrament. Then there were a great multitude of *Chriſtians, Hungarians, Alanians, Rutenians, Georgians*, and *Armenians*; all which had not ſeene the Sacrament ſince they were taken: becauſe the *Neſtorians* would not admit them to their Church, vnleſſe they were baptized of them, as they ſaid, yet they made no mention of this to vs. And they offered their Sacrament freely to vs, and made me ſtand in the doore of the Quire, that I might ſee their manner of Conſecration. And alſo on the Vigill or Eeuen before Eaſter, by the Font, that I might ſee their manner of baptizing. They ſay, they haue of that Oyntment, wherewith *Mary Magdalene* anoynted the feet of our Lord, and they power in as much of that Oyle, with that which they lay aſide, and kneade their bread therewith. For all thoſe people of the Eaſt put fat in their bread, in ſtead of Leuen or Butter, or Suet of a ſheepes tayle, or Oyle.

Chap. 39. The manner how the *Neſtorians* make the Sacramentall Bread. The Chriſtians confeſſe themſelues, and receiue the Sacrament of Frier *William* in the dayes of the Lords Supper, and Eaſter

They ſay alſo that they haue of the flowre, whereof the bread was made, which the Lord conſecrated: and alwayes powre out ſo much Oyle with it, as the flowre they lay aſide. And they haue a Chamber hard by their Quire, and an Ouen, where they bake the bread, which they muſt conſecrate with great reuerence. They therefore make one Loafe of an hand breadth, with the foreſaid Oyle, which they firſt breake into twelue pieces, according to the number of the Apoſtles: and after diuide thoſe pieces, according to the multitude of the people: and the Prieſt giues the bodie of Chriſt to euery one in his hand. And then euery man taketh it out of the Palme of his hand with reuerence, and ſtretcheth his hand to the top of his head.

The Chriſtians deſire the Sacrament. Confeſſion. Theft excluded the ten Commandements: perhaps theſe fellowes were of thoſe Borderers minde, which thought K. *Henry* had put it in the Decalogue.

The foreſaid Chriſtians, and the Monke himſelfe were very earneſt, intreating vs for Gods ſake, that wee would celebrate. Then I made them bee confeſſed, by an Interpreter, as I could, reckoning vp the tenne Commandements, and the ſeuen deadly Sinnes, and other things, for the which a man ought to bee grieued, and confeſſed. All of them publikely excuſed themſelues concerning Theft, ſaying, that without Theft they could not liue, becauſe their Maſters prouided them neither food nor rayment. Then conſidering, that they had taken away the perſons and their ſubſtance without iuſt cauſe, I ſaid vnto them, that they might lawfully take neceſſaries, of the goods of their Maſters, and I was readie to maintayne it to the face of *Mangu Chan*.

Some of them alſo were Souldiers, who excuſed themſelues, that they muſt needs goe to the Warres, or elſe they ſhould bee ſlaine; I firmely forbad them to goe againſt the Chriſtians, and that they ſhould not hurt them, they ſhould rather ſuffer themſelues to bee ſlaine, for ſo they ſhould become Martyrs. And I ſaid, that if any would accuſe mee of this Doctrine before *Mangu Chan*, I would bee readie to preach the ſame in his hearing. For the *Neſtorians* themſelues of the Court were preſent, when I taught this; of whom I was ſuſpitious, leaſt they ſhould report ill of vs. Then Maſter *William* cauſed an Iron to bee made for vs, to make Hoſts, and hee had certayne Veſtments which hee had made for himſelfe: for he had ſome knowledge in Learning, and behaued himſelfe as a Clerke. Hee cauſed the Image of the bleſſed Virgin *Marie* to bee grauen after the *French* faſhion, and ingraued the Hiſtory of the Goſpell (in the Caſements) very faire, and made a certayne ſiluer Boxe, to lay vp the bodie of Chriſt therein, and the Relikes, in certayne little holes cunningly made in the ſides of the Boxe.

Hee made alſo a certayne Oratorie vpon a Chariot, very fairely painted with holy Hiſtories. I therefore tooke his Veſtments and bleſſed them, and wee made Hoſts, after our manner, very faire; and the *Neſtorians* aſſigned mee their Font for Baptiſme, wherein there was an Altar. And their Patriarch ſent them from *Baldach*, a ſquare Hide like a portable Altar, made with Chriſme, which they vſe in ſtead of conſecrated Stone. Therefore I celebrated on the Day of the Lords Supper, in their ſiluer Chalice and Diſh, which were very great Veſſels; I did the like alſo on Eaſter day. And wee communicated the people with the bleſſing of God, as I hope. But they baptized in the Vigill of Eaſter more then threeſcore perſons very orderly. There was great ioy generally among all Chriſtians.

The Patriarch of the *Neſtorians* remayneth at *Baldach*.

THen it hapned that Maſter *William* was grieuouſly ſicke, and when hee was vpon recouerie, the Monke viſiting him, gaue him Rubarbe to drinke, ſo that hee had almoſt killed him. Then viſiting him, when I found him ſo ill at eaſe, I asked him, what hee had eaten or drunke? And hee told mee, the Monke had giuen him the foreſaid Potion, and hee drunke two little Diſhes full, thinking it had beene Holy Water. Then I went to the Monke, and ſaid vnto him, Either goe as an Apoſtle doing Miracles indeed, by vertue of Prayer, and the Holy Ghoſt, or doe as a Phyſician according to the arte of Medicine. You giue a ſtrong

Chap. 40. *William Boucher* is ſicke, the Monke giueth him Rubarbe; the Prieſt *Ionas* is ſicke: Frier *William* adminiſtreth the Lords Supper vnto him, and anointeth him beeing readie to dye. Hee reproueth the Monke for his Sorceries.

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Potion of Phyſicke to drinke, to men not prepared, as if it were a certayne hollow thing, for the which you will incurre a foule ſcandall, if it come to the knowledge of men. From that time he began to feare and to beware of him.

The Prieſt *Ionas* is ſicke and dyeth.

It hapneth at that time, that that Prieſt was ſicke, who was, as it were, the Archdeacon of the reſt: and his friends ſent for a certayne *Saracen*, which was a Sooth-ſayer. Who ſaid vnto them, *A certayne leane man, who neyther eateth, nor drinketh, nor ſleepes in a Bed, is angry with him: if hee can obtayne his bleſſing hee may recouer*. Then they vnderſtood it was the Monke. And about mid-night, the Prieſts Wife, his Siſter, and his Sonne came, intreating that hee would come, and bleſſe him. They alſo raiſed vs vp, to intreate the Monke. Then he ſaid vnto vs, intreating him: Let him alone, becauſe hee with three others, who likewiſe tooke euill courſes, conſulted to goe vnto the Court, to procure *Mangu Chan*, that I and you ſhould bee expelled from theſe parts.

For there aroſe a contention among them, becauſe *Mangu* and his Wiues ſent foure Iaſcots and certayne Silkes vpon Eaſter Eeuen to the Monke and Prieſts, to diſtribute among them. And the Monke had kept vnto himſelfe one Iaſcot for his part, and of the other three, one was counterfeit, for it was Copper. Whereupon it ſeemed to the Prieſts, that the Monke had kept too great a portion to himſelfe. Whence (it might bee) that they had ſome words among themſelues, which were reported to the Monke. When day came I went vnto the Prieſt, hauing an extreme griefe in his ſide, and ſpitting bloud: whereupon I thought it was an Impoſtume. Then I counſelled him (if he had any thing that was an others) to reſtore it. He ſaid, hee had nothing. I ſpoke vnto him alſo of the Sacrament of Extreme Vnction. Who anſwered, we haue no ſuch cuſtome, neither doe our Prieſts know how to doe it: I intreat you, that you would doe it for mee, as you know beſt to bee done. I aduiſed him alſo concerning Confeſſion, which they frequent not, hee ſpake ſhortly in the Eare of a certayne Prieſt, one of his fellowes.

The *Neſtorians* know not Extreme Vnction, nor Confeſſion.

After this hee beganne to bee better, and hee intreated mee to goe for the Monke. So I went, but the Monke would not come at the firſt: yet when hee heard hee was ſome-what better, hee went with his Croſſe. And I alſo went, and carryed (in a Boxe of Maſter *Williams*) the Bodie of Chriſt, which I had reſerued vpon Eaſter Day, at the intreatie of Maſter *William*. Then the Monke beganne to kicke him with his feet, and hee moſt humbly imbraced his feet.

Then I ſaid vnto him; It is the cuſtome of the Church of *Rome*, that the ſicke ſhould receiue the Bodie of Chriſt, as it were prouiſion for their iourney, and a defence againſt all the Deceits of the Enemie. Behold, the Bodie of Chriſt, which I conſecrated on Eaſter Day. You muſt bee confeſſed, and deſire it. Then ſaid hee with a great Faith, I deſire it with all my heart. Which, when I had diſcouered, hee, with great affection ſaid, I beleeue, that this is my Creatour and my Sauiour, who gaue mee life, and will reſtore it againe vnto mee after death in the generall Reſurrection: and ſo tooke the Bodie of Chriſt (from my hand) made after the manner of the Church of *Rome*. Then the Monke abode with him, and gaue him (in my abſence) I know not what Potions. On the morrow hee beganne to haue the pangs of death vpon him. Then taking their Oyle, which they ſaid, was holy, I anointed him according to the manner of the Church of *Rome*, as they intreated mee. I had none of our Oyle, becauſe the Prieſts of *Sartach* kept all.

He that is preſent with one that dyeth, cannot come into the preſence of the Prince, for the ſpace of an whole yeare.

And when wee ſhould ſing a Dirge, and I would haue beene preſent at his end, the Monke ſent vnto mee, willing me to depart, becauſe if I ſhould bee preſent, I could not come into the houſe of *Mangu Chan*, for one whole yeare. Which, when I had told his friends, they ſaid, it was true: and requeſted me to depart, leſt I might be hindered in that good, which I might promote. Aſſoone as hee was dead, the Monke ſaid vnto mee, care not: I haue killed him with my Prayers. This fellow only was Learned, and oppoſed himſelfe againſt vs: the reſt know nothing. Henceforth *Mangu Chan* himſelfe, and they all will crouch at our feete. Then hee declared vnto me the foreſaid Anſwere of the Sooth-ſayer. Which (not beleeuing it) I inquired of the Prieſts who were friends of the dead, whether it were true or no. Who ſaid it was. But whether he were pre-inſtructed or not, that they knew not. Afterwards I found, that the Monke called the foreſaid Sooth-ſayer and his Wife into his Chappell, and cauſed duſt to bee ſifted, and to diuine vnto him. For hee had a certayne *Rutenian* Deacon, who diuined to him. Which, when I vnderſtood, I was aſtonied at his fooliſhneſſe, and ſaid vnto him, Brother, a man full of the Holy Ghoſt which teacheth all things, ſhould not demand Anſweres or Counſell from Sooth-ſayers: ſeeing all ſuch things are forbidden, and they excommunicated, who follow ſuch things. Then hee beganne to excuſe himſelfe that it was not true, that hee ſought after ſuch things. But I could not depart from him, becauſe I was placed there by the commandement of *Chan* himſelfe, nor could I remooue my ſelfe without his ſpeciall command.

Bold blindnes. The Monke vſeth Diuinations.

Concer-

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CONcerning the Citie of *Caracarum*, know this, that excluding the Palace of *Chan* himselfe, it is not so good, as the Castle of Saint *Denis*: and the Monasterie of Saint *Denis* is tenne times more worth then that Palace, and more too. There are two streets there: one of the *Saracens*, where the Faires are kept: and many Merchants haue recourse thither, by reason of the Court, which is alwayes neere, and for the multitude of Messengers. There is another street of the *Cataians*, who are all Artificers. Without those streets there are great Palaces, which are the Courts of the Secretaries. There are there twelue kindes of Idolatries of diuers Nations. Two Churches of *Mahomet*, where the Law of *Mahomet* is proclaimed: one Church of the Christians at the end of the Towne. The Towne is inclosed with a mudde Wall, and hath foure Gates. On the East part Millet and other Graine is sold, which yet is seldome brought thither. On the West, Sheepe and Goates. On the South, Oxen and Waggons are sold. At the North, Horses are sold. Following the Court, before the Ascension, wee came thither the Sunday before the Ascension. The next day after, we were called before *Bulgai*, who is a Iustice, and chiefe Secretarie, both the Monke and all his Family, and wee, and all the Messengers and Strangers, which frequented the house of the Monke. And wee were called before *Bulgai* seuerally, first the Monke, and after wee, and they beganne diligently to inquire whence wee were, and for what purpose wee came, and what our errand was? And this inquirie was made, because it was told *Mangu Chan*, that foure hundred *Hassasines*, or secret Murtherers were gone forth in diuers Habits to kill him. About that time the foresaid Ladie was restored to health, and shee sent for the Monke; and hee not willing to goe, answered: shee hath sent for Idolaters about her, let them cure her, if they can. I will goe no more. Vpon Ascension Eeuen, wee were in all the houses of *Mangu Chan*: and I saw when hee should drinke, how they cast Cosmos to their Idols of Felt. Then I said to the Monke, *What fellowshippe hath Christ with* Beliall. What part hath our Crosse with these Idols?

Chap. 41. The description of the Citie of *Caracarum*, they are examined: *Mangu Chan* sendeth his brethren against diuers Kingdomes, the Monke biddeth the *Saracens* farewell. The Wife of *Mangu Chan* dyeth.

Moreouer, *Mangu Chan* hath eight Brethren, three by the Mother, and fiue by the Father. One of them of his Mothers side, hee sent into the Countrey of the *Hassasines*, who are called by them *Mulibet*: and hee commanded to kill them all. Another went towards *Persia*, and is now entred therein, to goe (as is thought) into *Turkie*, from thence to send Armies against *Baldach*, and *Vastacius*. One of the other, he sent into *Cataia*, against some that rebelled. His youngest Brother of the same venter, hee kept nigh himselfe, whose name was *Arabucha*, who holdeth his Mothers Court which was a Christian, whose Seruant Master *William* is: for one of his Brothers, on the Fathers side, tooke him in *Hungarie* in a certayne Citie, called *Belgrade*, where there was a *Norman* Bishoppe, of *Belle-Ville* neere *Roan*, with a certayne Nephew of the Bishoppes, whom I saw there at *Caracarum*. And hee gaue Master *William* to *Mangues* Mother, because shee was very earnest to haue him. When she was dead, Master *William* came backe againe to *Arabucha*, with all things else pertayning to the Court of his Mother: and from him hee came to the knowledge of *Mangu Chan*. Who after the finishing of the foresaid Worke, gaue vnto Master *William* an hundred Iascots, that is, a thousand Markes.

The Countrey of the *Hassasines*, or *Mulibet*. *Chap.* 16. Some of *Cataia* rebell.

On the Eeuen therefore of the Ascension, *Mangu Chan* said, hee would goe to his Mothers Court, and visit her, for it was neere. And the Monke said, hee would goe with him, and giue his blessing to his Mothers soule. *Chan* was well contented. In the Euening, the day of the Ascension, the foresaid Ladie was very much pained. And the chiefe of the Sooth-sayers sent to the Monke, commanding him that the Table should not be smitten. On the morrow, when the whole Court remooued, the Court of the foresaid Ladie remayned still. And when wee came to the place where the Court should stay, the Monke was commanded to depart further from the Court, then hee was wont: which hee did. Then *Arabucha* met his brother *Chan*. So the Monke, and wee, seeing that hee was to passe by vs, met him with the Crosse. And hee calling vs to minde, because sometimes he had beene at our Oratorie, stretching forth his hand, made a Crosse vnto vs, like a Bishop. Then the Monke taking Horse, followed him, bearing certayne Fruits. But hee alighted, before his brothers Court, wayting, while hee came from hunting. Then the Monke alighted there, and offered him the Fruit, which hee receiued. And hard by him sate two *Saracens*, of the Nobilitie of the Court of *Chan*. But *Arabucha* vnderstanding of the contention betweene the *Christians* and the *Saracens*, enquired of the Monke if hee knew the said *Saracens*; and hee answered, I know they are Dogges; why haue you them so neere you? but they replyed; why, say they, doe you wrong vs, when wee doe none to you? To whom the Monke said, I speake the truth: and yee, and your *Mahomet* are vile Dogges. Then they beganne to answere blasphemously against Christ; and *Arabucha* forbad them, saying, speake not so blasphemously, for wee know, that the *Messias* is God. That very houre there arose so great a winde ouer all the street, that the Deuils seemed to runne through them. And after a while, there came Rumours, that the Ladie was dead.

Ascension day.

Arabucha the yonger brother of *Mangu Chan*.

Ignorant zeale a betrayer of the Faith, a cause perhaps of *Tartarian Saracenisme*. One of the Wiues of *Chan* dyeth.

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The next morning, *Chan* returning towards his Court another way. For this is their Sorcerie, that they neuer returne the same way they came. Moreouer, while the Court abode heere, after the remooue thereof, none dare passe that way (neither Horseman nor Footman) where the Court stayed, so long as any shew of the fire made there, remayneth. That day certayne *Saracens* kept company with the Monke vpon the way, prouoking him, and disputing with him. And when hee could not defend himselfe with Argument, and they mocked him, hee would haue lashed them with the Whip which hee held in his hand; and hee went so farre, that the foresaid words were reported at the Court. And wee were commanded to depart with other Messengers, and not abide before the Court, where wee were wont. And I alwayes hoped, the King of *Armenia* would come. There came some about Easter from *Bolac*, where those *Dutchmen* are, for whose sake chiefly I went thither, who told mee, that the *Dutch* Priest should come to the Court. Therefore I mooued no Question to *Mangu*, concerning our stay, or departure. And in the beginning hee gaue vs leaue to stay but two monethes: and now fiue monethes are past. This was done about the end of May. And wee had continued there all Ianuary, February, March, Aprill, and May. But hearing no newes of the King, or the said Priest, and fearing lest wee should returne in the Winter, whose sharpnesse wee had prooued, I caused to bee demanded of *Mangu Chan*, what his pleasure was concerning vs, because willingly wee would euer stay there, if so hee pleased. But if wee must returne, it were easier for vs to returne in Summer, then in the Winter. Hee presently sent vnto mee, commanding, that I should not goe farre off, because his pleasure was to speake with mee the next day. But I told him, that if hee would speake with mee, hee should send for Master *Williams* Sonne, for my Interpreter was not sufficient. And hee, that spake with mee, was a *Saracen*, who had beene a Messenger to *Vastacius*: and (blinded with Rewards) counselled *Vastacius* to send Ambassadours to *Mangu Chan*, and the meane while the time passed: for *Vastacius* thought, hee would presently enter his Countrey. So hee sent, and after hee knew them, hee little regarded them, nor made peace with them, neither did they yet enter his Countrey: nor shall they bee able, so long as they dare defend themselues, nor did they euer take any Countrey by Force, but by Deceit. And because men make peace with them, vnder colour of that peace they ouerthrow them.

The *Tartars* do more by deceit then by force.

Then hee beganne to bee very Inquisitiue of the Pope, and of the King of the *Franckes*, and of the way to goe to them. But the Monke hearing this, aduised mee secretly not to answere him, because he would procure, that an Ambassadour should be sent. Whereupon I held my peace, not willing to answere him. And hee spake vnto mee I know not what iniurious words; for the which the *Nestorian* Priests would haue accused him: so that hee had either beene slaine, or beaten all to clouts, but I would not.

Chap. 42. They are often examined wherfore they came, *Mangu* desireth to make comparison of Diuine things: The most learned speech of Frier *William* with the Idolaters. The *Saracens* acknowledge the truth of the Gospel. The godly conference of Frier *William*, with the Seruants of *Mangu Chan*.

ON the morrow, (to wit) the Sunday before Pentecost, they brought mee to the Court: and the chiefe Secretaries of the Court came vnto mee: one of *Moal*, who wayteth vpon *Chans* cup, and the rest, *Saracens*, inquiring on the behalfe of *Chan*, wherefore I came? Then I told them the foresaid words, how I came to *Sartach*, and from *Sartach* to *Baatu*, and how *Baatu* sent me thither. Whereupon, I said vnto him, I haue nothing to speake on the behalfe of any man, vnlesse I should speake the words of God vnto him, if he would heare them; for he should best know what *Baatu* hath written to him. They stucke vpon this word, demanding, what words of God I would speake vnto him? thinking I would propheſie vnto him some prosperous thing, as many vse to doe. To whom I answered: if yee will that I speake the words of God vnto him, get me an Interpreter. Who said, we haue sent for him, yet speake by this Interpreter, as you may: wee shall vnderstand you well. And they vrged mee much to speake. Then I said: This is the word of God: *To whom more is committed, more is required at his hands, another also: to whom more is forgiuen, hee ought to loue more out of these true words of God, I said, to* Mangu *himselfe, that God hath giuen him much. For the power and riches which hee hath, the Idols of the* Tuinians *haue not giuen him, but the Omnipotent God, who hath made Heauen and Earth, in whose hands all Kingdomes are, and hee translateth them from Nation to Nation for the sinnes of men. Wherefore if he loue him, it shall goe well with him: if otherwise, let him know, that God will require all these things at his hands, euen to the vttermost farthing.* Then said one of the *Saracens*, Is there any man that loueth not God? I answered, *God saith, if any man loue me, he will keepe my Commandements: and he that loueth me not, keepeth not my Commandements. Therefore, hee that keepeth not the Commandements of God, loueth not God.* Then said hee, haue yee bin in Heauen, that yee might know the Commandements of God? *No said I, but he hath giuen them from Heauen to holy men: and at the last himselfe descended from Heauen, teaching vs: and wee haue those things in the Scriptures, and we see by the workes of men, whether they keepe them or no.* Whereto hee replyed, will yee then say that *Mangu Chan* keepes not the Commandements of God? To whom I said, Your Interpreter wil come, as yee say, then before *Mangu Chan* (if it please him) I wil recite the Com-

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Commandements of God, and he ſhall be his owne Iudge, whether hee keepe them or not. So they departed, and told him, that I ſaid, hee was an Idolater or a *Tuine*, and kept not the Commandements of God. The next day, he ſent his Secretaries vnto mee, ſaying: Our Lord ſends vs vnto you, ſaying. Yee are heere *Chriſtians*, *Saracens*, and *Tuines*: and euery of you ſaith, his Law is better, and his Letters (to wit) Bookes, are truer. Wherefore hee would, that yee all come together, and make compariſon, that euery one write his words, that he might know the truth. Then I ſaid, *Bleſſed be God, who hath put this in the heart of* Chan, *but our Scriptures ſaid, the Seruant of God muſt not bee contentious, but meeke vnto all: wherefore I am readie without ſtrife and contention, to render an account of the faith and hope of Chriſtians, to euery one that ſhall require it.* Then they wrote my words, and brought them to him. Then the *Neſtorians* were commanded, to prouide themſelues, and write what they would ſpeake, and the *Saracens* likewiſe, and the *Tuinians* alſo.

Maugu Chan deſireth to haue a compariſon made concerning diuine things, betweene the *Chriſtians, Saracens*, and *Idolaters*.

On the morrow hee ſent the Secretaries againe, ſayng: *Mangu Chan* would know, wherefore yee came to theſe parts, to whom I ſaid: That hee ſhall know by the Letters of *Baatu*. Then ſaid they, *Baatues* Letters are loſt, and hee hath forgotten, what *Baatu* wrote vnto him, wherefore he would know of you. Then ſomewhat imboldned, I ſaid vnto them. *The dutie or office of our Religion is to preach the Goſpell to all: whereupon, when I heard of the fame of the people of* Moal, *I had a deſire to come vnto them: and while I was thus purpoſed, we heard of* Sartach, *that he was a Chriſtian. Then I directed my Iourney vnto him: And my Soueraigne Lord the King of the* Frankes *ſent him Letters, containing good words: and other words beſides, teſtifie of vs vnto him, what men wee are when hee made requeſt, that hee would ſuffer vs to continue with the people of* Moal. *Then he ſent vs to* Baatu, *and* Baatu *to* Mangu Chan. *Whereupon we intreated, and yet intreat him to ſuffer vs to ſtay.* But they wrote all, and made relation thereof vnto him. On the morrow, he ſent to me againe, ſaying: *Chan* knowes well enough that yee haue no meſſage vnto him, but yee came to pray for him as many other Prieſts doe: But hee demandeth, whether euer any of your Embaſſadours were with him, or ours with you? Then I declared all vnto them concerning *Dauid* and Frier *Andrew*, ſo they putting all in writing, reported the ſame vnto him. Then he ſent againe vnto me, ſaying: Our Lord *Chan* ſaith, yee haue ſtayed long here, his pleaſure is, that yee returne vnto your Countrey: withall, hee demandeth whether yee would conduct his Embaſſadours with you. To whom I made anſwere, that I durſt not carrie his Embaſſadours beyond his owne Countrey: becauſe there is a Warlike Nation betweene vs and you, and the Sea and Mountaynes, and I am a poore Monke: and therefore dare not take vpon mee to bee his Guide. So they hauing ſet downe all in writing, returned.

His Anſwere.

Maugu Chan wil haue them returne.

Whitſon Eeuen came; The *Neſtorians* writ Chronicles from the Creation of the World to the Paſſion of Chriſt: and paſſing ouer the Paſſion, they ſpake of the Reſurrection of the dead, and of the Aſcenſion, and of the comming to Iudgement. Wherein ſomewhat was to be reprehended which I told them, and wee likewiſe wrote the Symbole of the Maſſe, *Credo in vnum Deum*. Then I demanded of them, how they would proceed. They ſaid, they would firſt diſpute with the *Saracens*. I ſhewed them, this was no good courſe: for the *Saracens* in this agree with vs, who affirme, there is but one God. Wherefore, yee ſhall haue them to helpe you againſt the *Tuines*: ſo they were contented. Then I asked them, if they knew how Idolatry had his firſt originall in the World, and they could not tell. Then I told them and they ſaid; yee ſhall declare theſe things vnto them: and then let vs ſpeake; for it is hard to ſpeake by an Interpreter. To whom I ſaid: make tryall, how yee will behaue your ſelues againſt them: I will take the *Tuinians* part, and yee the *Chriſtians*. Suppoſe I am of that Sect, that ſay, there is no God. Proue yee there is a God. For there is a certayne Sect there, which ſaith, That euery ſoule, and euery vertue in what thing ſoeuer, is the God thereof, and that otherwiſe there is no God. Then the *Neſtorians* knew not how to prooue any thing, but only that which their Writing declareth. I ſaid, they beleeue not *the Scriptures*: if yee ſhew one, they will ſhew another. Then I counſelled them, to let me firſt talke with them: becauſe if I ſhould be ouercome, they might yet haue libertie of ſpeech: if they ſhould be ouerthrowne, I ſhould haue no hearing. They agrred vnto it.

Whitſunday Eeuen.

How Idolatry began firſt in the World.

Wee were therefore gathered together on Whidſon Euen at our Oratorie, and *Mangu Chan* ſent three Writers, who ſhould be Iudges: one *Chriſtian*, one *Saracen*, and one *Tuine*: And it was proclaimed before. *This is the Commandement of* Mangu Chan: *And none dare ſay that the Commandement of God is otherwiſe: He commandeth that none ſpeake contentious or iniurious words to other, nor make any tumult, whereby this buſineſſe might be hindered, vpon paine of his head.* Then all were ſilent: And there was a great aſſembly there: for euery partie inuited the wiſeſt of their Nation, and many others came flocking thither. Then the Chriſtians ſet me in the middle of them, willing the *Tuinians* to ſpeake with mee. Then they (who are many in number) began to murmure againſt *Mangu Chan*, becauſe neuer any *Chan* attempted thus much, to ſearch into their ſecrets. Then they oppoſed one vnto mee, who came from *Cataia*, hauing his Interpreter: and I had Maſter *Williams* Sonne. And he firſt ſaid vnto me: Friend, if you bee brought to a non

The Proclamation of *Mangu Chan*.

The murmuring of the Idolaters againſt *Mangu Chan*.

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The beginning of the disputation concerning the Christian Religion, with an Idolater.

a *non plus*, you must seeke a wiser then your selfe. But I held my peace. Then hee demanded whereof I would first dispute? either how the world was made? or what becomes of the soules after death? To whom I answered: Friend, this should not be the beginning of our speech. All things are of God, and he is the Fountayne and head of all. Wherefore we ought to speake first of God: of whom yee thinke otherwise then we doe. And *Mangu* desires to know who beleeues better. Then the Arbitrators iudged this to bee reasonable. They would haue begunne with the foresaid questions, because they hold them for the strongest; for they are all of the Heresie of the *Manichees*: beleeuing, *that the one halfe of things is bad, and the other good*: and that at the least there are two *Principia*. And concerning the soules they all thinke they passe from body to body. Insomuch as one of the wisest of the *Nestorian* Priests demanded of mee, concerning the soules of bruite Beasts, whether they could fly any whither where they should not be compelled to labour after death? for confirmation also thereof (as Master *William* told mee) a certaine child was brought from *Cataia*, who (according to the quantitie of his body) was not three yeeres old, yet notwithstanding was capable of any reason; who affirmed of himselfe, that he had beene three times incorporated, and knew letters, and how to write. I said to the foresaid *Tuinian*, *Wee firmely beleeue with the heart, and confesse with the mouth, that there is a God, and there is but one God, and one in perfect vnitie. What beleeue you?* Hee said: Fooles say there is but one God, but Wise men say there are many. Are there not great Lords in your Country, and here is a greater Lord, *Mangu Chan?* So is it of the gods: because in diuers Countries there are diuers. To whom I said: *You make an ill example or comparison of men with God; for so euery mightie man in his country may be called a god.* And when I would haue dissolued the similitude, hee preuented me, inquiring; What manner of God is yours, whereof you speake, that hee is but one? I answered: *Our God, beside whom there is no other, is Omnipotent, and therefore needeth not the helpe of another: nay, all we haue neede of his helpe, it is not so with men. No man can doe all things. And therefore there must be many Lords in the earth, because no one can support all.* Againe, *he knowes all things, therefore he needes not a Counseller: nay, all wisedome is from him. Moreouer, he is perfectly good, and needeth not our good: nay, in him we liue, moue, and haue our being. Such is our God, and therefore you must not hold there is any other.* It is not so, saith he. Nay, there is one highest in the Heauens, whose Generation we know not yet, and ten are vnder him, and vnder them there is one Inferiour. And in the Earth there are infinite. Then hee would haue added other fables. So I asked him of that highest God, whether he thought he were Omnipotent? or of any other God? and fearing to answer, hee demanded, if your God bee such as you say, *Why made hee the halfe of things euill?* It is false said I. *Whoso maketh any euill is no God, and all things whatsoeuer are good.* At this word all the *Tuinians* maruelled, and set it downe in writing, as false, or impossible. Then he began to aske, Whence therefore commeth euill? You aske amisse, said I; *For first you should demand, what euill is, before you aske whence it is. But returne vnto the first question, whether you beleeue that any God is Omnipotent, and after I will answer you to all, whatsoeuer you will demand.* Then hee sate a long time and would not answer; Insomuch, as the Writers on the behalfe of *Chan*, were faine to command him to answer. At length hee answered: That no God was Omnipotent. Then all the *Saracens* brake out into great laughter: Silence being made, I said, *Therefore none of your gods can saue you in all dangers, because such a chance may happen, wherein he hath no power.* Againe, *no man can serue two Masters. How then can you serue so many Lords in Heauen and in earth.* The Auditorie willed him to answer. But he held his peace. Then when I was about to alleadge reasons to proue the truth of the diuine Essence, and the Trinitie, in euery mans hearing, the *Nestorians* of the Countrey said vnto me, that it was enough, because they meant to speake. So I gaue them place: And when they would haue disputed with the *Saracens*; they answered: *We grant that your Law is true, and whatsoeuer is in the Gospell is true:* Wherefore wee will not dispute with you in any thing: and they confessed, that *they beg at the hands of God in their prayers, that they may die the death of the Christians.* There was there a certaine old Priest, of the Sect of *Iugurs*, who confesse one God, yet they make Idols, with whom they talked much, shewing all till the comming of Christ to iudgement, declaring the Trinitie to him and the *Saracens* by similitudes. All of them harkened without any contradiction; yet none of them said, I beleeue, and will become a Christian. The conference ended, the *Nestorians* and the *Saracens* sang together with a loud voice, the *Tuinians* holding their peace: and after that, they all drunke abundantly.

God is Omnipotent.

God knowes all things.

God perfectly good.

The *Saracens* answer, that the Gospell is true.

The Sect of the *Iugurs*.

Chap. 43. The day of Pentecost he is called before *Mangu Chan*, who confesseth the faith of the *Tartars* he speaketh of his returne by *Baatu*, he craueth leaue to stay there, which is not graunted.

VPon Whitsonday *Mangu Chan* called mee before him, and the *Tuinian* with whom I disputed, and before I went in, Master *Williams* sonne my Interpreter, said vnto me, that we must returne vnto our Countrey; and that I should speake nothing against it, because he vnderstood it for a certaine. When I came before him, I must kneele, and the *Tuinian* by mee, with his Interpreter. Then he said vnto me: Tell me the truth, whether you said (when I sent my Writers vnto you) that I was a *Tuinian*? Then I answered. My Lord, I said not so, but (if it pleased your Highnesse) I will tell you the words I spake. Then I recited what I had spoken: and he answered; I thought well, you said not so, for it was a word which you should not speake, but

but your Interpreter hath ill interpreted it; ſo hee reacheth foorth his ſtaffe towards mee, whereon he leaned, ſaying: Feare not. I ſmiling ſaid ſoftly, If I feared, I had not come hither. Then he demanded of the Interpreter what I had ſaid? So he repeated my words vnto him. Afterward he beganne to confeſſe his Faith vnto me. *Wee* Moallians (ſaith he) *beleeue, that there is but one God, through whom we liue and dye; and we haue an vpright heart towards him.* Then (ſaid I) God grant you this, for without this gift it cannot be. And he demanded what I ſaid: ſo the Interpreter told him; then he added further. *That as God hath giuen vnto the hand diuers fingers, ſo he hath giuen many waies to men. God hath giuen the Scriptures to you, and ye Chriſtians keep them not. Ye finde it not in the Scriptures, that one of you ſhall diſpraiſe another? Doe you finde it,* ſaid he? No, ſaid I, but I ſignified vnto you from the beginning, that I would not contend with any. *I ſpeake it not,* ſaith he, *touching you. In like manner, yee finde it not, that for Money a man ought to decline from Iuſtice.* No Sir, ſaid I, and truly, neither came I into theſe parts to get Money; nay, I refuſed that which was giuen me. And there was a Writer preſent there, who gaue teſtimony that I had refuſed a Iaſcot, and certaine pieces of Silke: I ſpeake it not (ſaid he) for that. *God hath giuen you the Scriptures, and yee keepe them not: But he hath giuen vs Sooth-ſayers, and we doe that which they bid vs, and we liue in peace.* He dranke foure times as I thinke, before hee diſcloſed theſe things. And while I hearkned attentiuely whether hee would confeſſe any thing elſe concerning this Faith, he beganne to ſpeake of my returne, ſaying: You haue ſtayed a long time heere, my pleaſure is therefore, that you returne. You ſaid, you durſt not carrie my Embaſſadours with you. Will you carrie my meſſage or my Letters? And from that time I could neither haue place nor time to ſhew him the Catholike Faith. For a man cannot ſpeake before him, ſaue what he pleaſeth, vnleſſe he were an Embaſſadour. But an Embaſſadour may ſpeake what he will: And they alwaies demand, whether he haue any thing elſe to ſay. But he ſuffered me to ſpeake no more: but I muſt heare him, and anſwere Interrogatories. Then I anſwered, That if he could make me vnderſtand his words, and that they were ſet downe in writing, I would willingly carrie them to my power. Then he asked me, if I would haue Gold or Siluer, or coſtly garments? I ſaid, we receiue no ſuch things: but we haue not expenſes, and without your helpe, we cannot get out of your Countrey. Then ſaid he, I will prouide you all neceſſaries throughout my Countrey, will you any more? I anſwered, it ſufficeth me: Then he demanded, how farre will you be brought? I ſaid, Let our Paſſe bring vs into the King of *Armeniaes* Countrey: if I were there, it were enough. He anſwered: I will cauſe you to be conueyed thither, and after looke to your ſelfe. And hee added: there are two eyes in one head; and though they bee two, yet there is one aſpect of both, and whither the one directeth the ſight the other doth. You came from *Baatu*, and therefore you muſt returne by him: when hee had thus ſaid, I craued licence to ſpeake. Speake on, ſaith hee. Then ſaid I; *Sir, wee are not men of warre: wee deſire that they haue dominion of the world, who would more iuſtly gouerne it, according to the will of God. Our office is to teach men to liue according to the will of God: for this purpoſe came we into theſe parts, and would willingly haue remained heere, if it had pleaſed you: but ſeeing it is your pleaſure that we returne, it muſt bee ſo. I will returne and carrie your Letters according to my power, as yee haue commanded. I would requeſt your magnificence, that when I haue carried your Letters, it might bee lawfull for me to returne vnto you with your good liking, chiefely, becauſe yee haue poore Seruants of yours at* Bolac, *who are of our language; and they want a Prieſt, to teach them and their children their Law, and I would willingly ſtay with them.* Then anſwered he: Know you whether your Lords would ſend you backe to me? Then ſaid I; *Sir, I know not the purpoſe of my Lords: but I haue licence from them to goe whether I will, where it were needfull to preach the word of God: and it ſeemeth to mee, that it were very neceſſarie in theſe parts: whereupon, whether they ſend Embaſſadours backe or no, if it pleaſed you, I would returne.* Then hee held his peace, and ſate a long ſpace as it were in a Muſe. And my Interpreter willed me, to ſpeake no more, and I carefully expected what he would anſwere. At length he ſaid: You haue a long way to goe, make your ſelfe ſtrong with food, that you may come luſty into your Countrey. And he cauſed them to giue me drinke. Then I departed from his preſence, and returned not againe. If I had had power to doe wonders as *Moſes* did, peraduenture hee had humbled himſelfe.

A token of fauour.

The faith of the *Tartars*.

He ſpeaketh of the Fryers returne.

Baatus greatneſſe.

Hee craueth leaue againe to ſtay in the *Tartars* Countrey, but it is not granted.

He departeth from the preſence of *Mangu Can*.

Chap. 44.

A deſcription of the *Tartarian* Sorcerers, and of their diuers and vnlawfull behauiour.

SOoth-ſayers therefore, as hee confeſſed, are their Prieſts: and whatſoeuer they command to bee done, is performed without delay. Whoſe office I deſcribe vnto you, as I could learne of Maſter *William*, and others, who reported vnto me things likely to be true. They are many; and they haue alwaies one Captaine or chiefe Prieſt: who alwaies placeth his houſe before the great houſe of *Mangu Chan*, neere, within a ſtones caſt. Vnder his cuſtodie (as I ſaid before) are the Chariots which beare their Idols. The others are behind the Court, in places appointed for them. And they who haue any confidence in that Art, come vnto them from diuers parts of the World. Some of them are skilfull in Aſtronomie, ſpecially the chiefe of them. And they foretell to them the Eclipſe of the Sunne and the Moone, and when it ſhall come to paſſe. All the people prepare them food, ſo that they need not goe forth of the doore of their houſe. And when

Chiefe Prieſt of the *Tartars*.

Some of them know Aſtronomy.

Eclipſes.

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They fore-tell lucky and vnfortunat daies for the performance of all busineſſe whatſoeuer.

They cauſe all things ſent to the Court, paſſe betweene fires. Friar *Andrew*, and his fellows

The ninth day of the Moone of May, ſolemnly kept euery yeere.

They are called to the birth of children, and fore-tell their deſtinies, and are alſo ſent for when any are ſicke.

The falſe accuſations of the Sorcerers.

The Biſhop of the *Neſtorians* in *Cataia*.

A lyer and a murtherer from the beginning.

when there is an Eclipſe, they play vpon their Timbrels and Organs, and make a great noiſe, and a loude crye, when the Eclipſe is paſt, they giue themſelues to feaſting, and drinking, and make great ioy. They foretell fortunate and vnlucky dayes for all buſineſſe or affaires. Whereupon they neuer leuie an Armie, nor vndertake Warre without their direction. And they had long ſince returned into *Hungarie*: but their Sooth-ſayers doe not ſuffer them. They make all things which are ſent to the Court paſſe betweene fires, and they haue a due portion thereof. They alſo purge all the houſhold-ſtuffe of the Dead, drawing them betweene the fires. For when any one dieth, all things whatſoeuer appertayne to him, are ſeparated, and not mingled with other things of the Court, till all be purged by the Fire. So did I ſee it done to the Court of that Ladie, which died, while wee were there. Whereupon, there was a double reaſon why Friar *Andrew*, and his fellowes ſhould goe betweene the fires, both becauſe he brought preſents, as alſo for that they belonged to him, who was dead, (to wit) *Ken Chan*. No ſuch thing was required of me, becauſe I brought nothing. If any liuing creature, or any thing elſe, fall to the ground, while they thus make them paſſe betweene the fires, that is theirs. They alſo the ninth day of the Moone of May, gather together all the white Mares of the Herd, and conſecrate them. The Chriſtian Prieſts alſo muſt come together thither with their Cenſers. Then they caſt new Coſmos vpon the ground, and make a great Feaſt that day; becauſe then they thinke they drinke Coſmos firſt, as it is the faſhion ſomewhere with vs, touching Wine, in the Feaſt of Saint *Bartholmew*, or *Sixtus*, and of fruits, in the Feaſt of Saint *Iames* and *Chriſtopher*. They alſo are inuited, when any child is borne, to foretell his deſtinie. They are ſent for alſo when any is ſicke, to vſe their Charmes: and they tell whether it bee a naturall infirmitie, or by Sorcerie. Whereupon that woman of *Mentz*, whereof I ſpake before, told mee a wonderfull thing.

On a certaine time, very coſtly Furres were preſented, which were layd downe at the Court of her Ladie, who was a Chriſtian, as I ſaid before. And the Sooth-ſayers drew them through betweene the fires, and tooke more of them then was their due. And a certaine woman, vnder whoſe cuſtodie the treaſure of her Ladie was, accuſed them thereof vnto her Ladie: whereupon the Ladie her ſelfe reproued them. It fell out after this, that the Ladie her ſelfe began to be ſicke, and to ſuffer certaine ſudden paſſions in diuers parts of her bodie. The Sooth-ſayers were called: and they ſitting farre off, commanded one of thoſe Maidens, to put her hand vpon the place where the griefe was, and if ſhee found any thing, ſhee ſhould ſnatch it away. Then ſhee ariſing did ſo. And ſhe found a piece of Felt in her hand, or of ſome other thing. Then they commanded her to put it vpon the ground; which being layd downe, it began to creepe, as if it had beene ſome liuing Creature. Then they put it into the water, and it was turned, as it were, into a Horſe-leach: and he ſaid, ſome Witch hath hurt you thus with her Sorceries: and they accuſed her that had accuſed them of the Furres, who was brought without the Tents into the fields, and receiued the baſtinado ſeuen dayes together there, and was thus tormented with other puniſhments, to make her confeſſe; and in the meane ſpace her Ladie died. Which ſhee vnderſtanding, ſaid vnto them, I know my Ladie is dead, kill mee, that I may goe after her, for I neuer did her hurt. And when ſhee confeſſed nothing, *Mangu Chan* commanded to ſuffer her to liue. Then the Sorcerers accuſed the Ladies daughters Nurſe, of whom I ſpake before: who was a Chriſtian, and her husband was the chiefe among all the *Neſtorian* Prieſts, ſo ſhee was brought to puniſhment, with a certaine Maide of hers, to make her confeſſe. And the Maide confeſſed, that her Miſtreſſe ſent her to ſpeake with a certaine Horſe, to demand anſweres. The woman alſo her ſelfe, confeſſed ſome things which ſhee did to bee beloued of her Ladie, that ſhe might doe her good, but ſhee did nothing that might hurt her. Shee was demanded alſo, whether her husband were priuie to it: ſhee excuſed him, for that he had burnt the Characters and Letters which ſhe had made. Then ſhee was put to death, and *Mangu Chan* ſent the Prieſt her husband to the Biſhop which was in *Cataia*, to be iudged, although he were not found culpable.

In the meane time it fell out, that the principall wife of *Mangu Chan*, brought forth a ſonne, and the Sooth-ſayers were called, to fore-tell the Deſtinie of the child, who all prophecied proſperitie, and ſaid, he ſhould liue long, and be a great Lord: after a few dayes, it happened, the child died. Then, the mother enraged, called the Sooth-ſayers, ſaying, you ſaid my ſonne ſhould liue, and loe hee is dead. Then they ſaid, Madam, behold wee ſee that Sorcereſſe, the Nurſe of *Cbirina*, who the other day was put to death, ſhee hath killed your ſonne; and behold wee ſee, ſhee carries him away. Now there remayned one ſonne and a daughter of that woman growne to full age in the Tents: and the Ladie ſent preſently for them in a rage, and cauſed the young man to be ſlayne of a man, and the maide of a woman, in reuenge of her ſonne, whom the Sooth-ſayers affirmed to be killed of their mother not long after, *Mangu Chan* dreamed of thoſe children, and demanded in the morning, what was become of them. His ſeruants were afraid to tell him: and he being troubled the more, demanded where they were, becauſe they had appeared vnto him in a Viſion by night. Then they told him. So hee preſently ſending for his wife, demanded whence ſhee learned, that a woman ſhould giue ſentence of death, without the priuitie

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priuitie of her Husband? And he caused her to be shut vp seauen dayes, commanding to giue her no meat. But the man who (who slew the young man) he caused to be beheaded; and the head to be hung about the womans necke, who had kild the Mayde; and made her to be cudgelled with burning Fire-brands through all the Tents, and after to be put to Death. Hee had also put his Wife to death, but for the Children he had by her: And he went out of his Court, and returned not till after one Moone.

The Reuenge of *Mangu Chan*, vpon his Wife being a murtherer.

The Sorcerers also trouble the Ayre with their charmes: and when the Cold is so great naturally, that they cannot apply any remedy, then they search out some in the Campe, whom they accuse, that the cold comes through their meanes, so they are put to Death without any delay. A little before I departed thence, one of the Concubines was sicke, and languished long, and they mumbled their Charmes ouer a certaine *Dutch* Slaue of hers, who slept three dayes. Who, when shee came to her selfe, they demanded, what she had seene? And she had seene many persons, of all which, shee iudged they should all shortly dye: And because she saw not her Mistres there, they iudged she should not dye of that sicknes. I saw the Maydes head yet aking by reason of that sleepe. Some of them also call vpon Deuils, and gather them together (who will haue answers from the Deuill) in the night vnto their house, and they put sodden flesh in the middest of the house, and that *Chan* who inuoketh, beginneth to say his Charmes, and hauing a Tymbrell, smites it strongly against the ground; at length he begins to raue, and causeth himselfe to be bound. Then the Deuill comes in the darke, and giues him flesh to eate, and makes him answer. On a certaine time, (as Master *William* told me) a certaine *Hungarian* hid himselfe with them, and the Deuill being vpon the house, cryed, that hee could not come in, because a certaine Christian was with them. He hearing this, fled with haste, because they began to search for him. These things and many other doe they, which were too long to report.

The Sorcerers trouble the Ayre with their Charmes.

The Sorcerers raise vp deuils.

Chap. 45.

AFter the Feast of Penticost they began to make ready their Letters, which they meant to send vnto you. In the meane while, he returned to *Caracarum*, and held a great Solemnity, iust about the fifteenth of Iune: and hee desired, that all the Embassadours should be present. The last day also he sent for vs, but I went to the Church to Baptise three Children of a certaine poore *Dutch*-man, whom we found there. Master *William* was chiefe Butler at that Feast, because he made the Tree which powred foorth drinke. And all the Poore and Rich sung and daunced, and clapped their hands before *Chan*. Then he began to make an Oration vnto them, saying; *I haue sent my Brethren farre off, and haue sent them into danger, into forraigne Nations: Now it shall appeare what yee will doe, when I shall send you, that our Common-wealth may be inlarged.* Euery day in those foure dayes, hee changed garments, which hee gaue them all of one colour, euery day, from the shooes euen to the tyre of the head. At that time I saw the Embassadour of the *Calipha* of *Baldach*, who caused himselfe to bee carried vpon a Horse-litter, betweene two Mules, to the Court; of whom some said, that he made peace with them: so that they should giue him ten thousand Horse for his Army. Others said, that *Mangu* said, hee would not make Peace, vnlesse they would destroy all their Munition. And the Embassadour answered; when you will plucke off your Horse hoofes, we will destroy our Munition: I saw also there, the Embassadours of a certaine *Soldan* of *India*, who brought with him eight Leopards, and ten Hare-hounds taught to sit vpon the Horse buttockes, as Leopards doe. When I inquired of *India*, which way it lay from that place, they shewed me towards the West. And those Embassadours returned with me, almost for three Weekes together, alwayes westward? I saw also the Embassadors of the *Soldan* of *Turkie*, who brought him rich presents: And hee answered (as I heard) he needed neither Gold nor Siluer, but men: wherefore he required them to prouide him an Army. In the feast of Saint *Iohn* he held a great Drinking, and I caused one hundred and fiue Carts, and ninety Horses to be numbred, all laden with Cowes milke: And in the feast of the Apostles S. *Peter* and S. *Paul*, in like manner. At length the Letters being dispatched, which he sendeth to you, they called me, and interpreted them, the tenor whereof I writ, as I could vnderstand them by my Interpreter, which is this. *The commandement of the eternall God is this: There is but one Eternall God in Heauen: vpon Earth let there be but one Lord* Chingis Chan, Temingu Tingij, *That is to say the sound of Yron:* (They call *Chingis*, the sound of Yron, because hee was a Smith: and puffed vp with pride, they call him now the Sonne of God.) *This is the word which is spoken to you. Whatsoeuer* Moals *wee are, whatsoeuer* Naymans, *whatsoeuer* Merkets, *whatsoeuer* Musulman, *where soeuer eares may heare, whether soeuer Horse may goe, there, cause it to bee heard, and vnderstood, since they haue heard my commandement, and would not beleeue it, and would leuy an Army against vs, yee shall heare and see, that they shall be as hauing Eyes, and not seeing, and when they would hold any thing, they shall be without hands, and when they would walke, they shall be without feet. This is the commandement of the Eternall God, by the vertue of the Eternall God: by the great world of the* Moall. *The cõmandement of* Mangu Chan *is giuen to the* French *King, King* Lodouick, *and all other Lords, and Priests and to the great world of the* Frankes, *that they vnderstand my wordes, and the commaundement of the Eternall God, made to* Chingis Chan. *Nor from* Chingis Chan, *nor others after him, came this commandement vnto you. A certaine man called* Dauid *came vnto you, as an Embassadour of*

The Feast of Saint *Iohn*, Iune 24.

The Letters of *Mangu Chan*, to *Lodowicke* the *French* King.

Moall.
Nayman.
Merket.
Musulman.

The Embassadour of the *Calipha* of *Baldach*

The Embassadours of a certaine *Soldan* of *India*.

India is more to the West then *Caracarum* by three weeks iourney.

Great Solemnity. *Mangu Chans* Letters to *Lodowicke* King of *France*: the Friers companion stayeth with the *Tartars*: they returne to *Caracarum*.

This is also the manner of the *Americanes* in *Florida*.

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Chen-chan, is called *Cuncan*, of Iohn de Plano Carpini.

of the Moalls, *but he was a lyar, and with him you ſent your Embaſſadours to* Chen-chan. *After* Chen-chan *was dead, your Embaſſadours came to his Court.* Charmis *his wife ſent you Cloth, called Naſic. But to know matters appertayning to Warre and Peace, and to ſettle the great World in quiet, and to ſee to doe good; That wicked woman, more vile then a Dog, how could ſhee know how to doe it? Thoſe two Monkes which came from you vnto* Sartach, Sartach *ſent them to* Baatu: *but* Baatu, *becauſe* Mangu Chan *is the greateſt ouer the World of the* Moalls, *ſent them vnto vs. But now, that the great World and the Prieſts, and the Monkes might line in peace, and enioy their goods, that the commandement of God might be heard among you, wee would haue ſent our Embaſſadours of* Moall, *with your Prieſts: but they anſwered, that betweene vs and you there was a warlike Nation, and many bad men, and troubleſome wayes; ſo as they feared they could not bring our Embaſſadours ſafe vnto you, but if we would deliuer them our Letters, contayning our commandement to King* Lodowick, *they would carrie them. For this cauſe wee ſent not our Embaſſadours with them. But wee haue ſent the commandement of the eternall God by your ſaid Prieſts. It is the commandement of the eternall God, which wee haue giuen you to vnderſtand. And when you ſhall heare and beleeue it, if yee will obey vs, ſend your Embaſſadours vnto vs, ſo ſhall wee be certified, whether yee will haue peace with vs, or warre. When by the power of the eternall God, the whole World ſhall be in vnitie, ioy, and peace, from the riſing of the Sunne, to the going downe of the ſame, then ſhall it appeare what wee will doe. When yee ſhall heare and vnderſtand the commandement of the eternall God, and will not hearken to it, nor beleeue it, ſaying, our Country is farre off, our Hills are ſtrong, our Sea is great, and in this confidence, ſhall leuie an Armie againſt vs, to know what wee can doe, Hee which made that which was hard, eaſie; and that which was farre off, neere, the eternall God himſelfe knowes it.*

And they called vs your Embaſſadors in the Letters. Then I ſaid vnto them, call vs not Embaſſadors, for I ſaid well to *Chan*, that wee are not the Embaſſadors of King *Lodowicke*. Then they went vnto him and told him. But when they returned, they ſaid vnto me: that he held it much for our good, and that he commanded them to write as I ſhould direct them. Then I told them, they ſhould leaue out the name of Embaſſadour, and call vs Monkes and Prieſts. In the meane time, while theſe things were doing, my Companion hearing that wee muſt returne by the Wilderneſſe to *Baatu*, and that a man of *Moall* ſhould be our Guide, he ranne (without my priuitie) to *Bulgai* the chiefe Scribe, ſignifying to him by ſignes that he ſhould die, if he went that way. And when the day came, wherein we ſhould haue our Paſſe (to wit) a fortnight after the Feaſt of Saint *Iohn*; when we were called to the Court, the Scribes ſaid vnto my Companion, Behold *Mangus* pleaſure is, that your Companion returne by *Baatu*, and you ſay, you are ſicke, and it appeareth ſo: *Mangu* ſayth thus, If you will goe with your Companion, goe: but let it be your owne fault; becauſe peraduenture you may remayne with ſome *Iani*, that will not prouide for you, and it will bee an hinderance to your Companion. But if you will ſtay heere, he ſhall prouide neceſſaries for you, till ſome Embaſſadours come, with whom you may returne more eaſily, and by a way where there are Villages. The Friar anſwered, God grant *Chan* a proſperous life; I will ſtay. Then I ſaid vnto the Friar; Brother, bee aduiſed what you doe, I will not leaue you. You leaue not me (ſayth he) but I leaue you: becauſe, if I goe with you, I ſee the death of my bodie and ſoule, becauſe I haue not patience in intolerable labour. Then they held three Garments or Coats, and ſaid vnto vs, Yee will not receiue Gold, or Siluer, and yee haue ſtayed long here, and prayed for *Chan*: hee entreats you, that at the leaſt euery one of you would receiue a ſingle Garment, that yee depart not emptie from him. Then we muſt receiue them, for reuerence of him: for they account it a very euill thing, when their gifts are contemned. Firſt, he cauſed vs to bee often asked, what we would haue? And wee alwaies anſwered the ſame thing: ſo that the Chriſtians inſulted ouer the Idolaters, who ſeeke nothing but gifts. And they anſwered, that wee were fooles: becauſe if hee would giue them his whole Court, they would willingly take it and ſhould doe wiſely to. Receiuing therefore the Garments, they beſought vs to make our prayers for *Chan*; which we did. So, taking our leaue, we went to *Caracarum*. But it happened vpon a certaine day, while wee were with the Monke, farre from the Court, with other Embaſſadours; that the Monke cauſed the Table to be ſtrucken ſo hard, that *Mangu Chan* heard it, and demanded what it was? Then they told him. So he asked, why he was remoued ſo farre from the Court. They told him, becauſe it was troubleſome to bring him Horſes and Oxen euery day vnto the Court: and ſaid further, that it were better, that he ſhould ſtay at *Caracarum*. Then *Chan* ſent vnto him, ſaying, if hee would goe to *Caracarum*, and ſtay there, neere about the Church, he would giue him all things neceſſarie. But the Monke anſwered, I came from the holy Land of *Ieruſalem* hither, by the commandement of God, and left that Citie, wherein there are a thouſand better Churches then that of *Caracarum*. If he pleaſe that I ſtay here and pray for him, as God commanded me, I will ſtay: if not, I will returne to the place from whence I came. So that euery euening Oxen were brought him yoaked to the Carts, and in the morning he was brought vnto the place where hee vſed to be before the Court. And a little before wee departed thence, a certaine *Neſtorian* came, who ſeemed to bee a wiſe man: *Bulgai* the chiefe Secretarie placed him before his Court; to whom *Chan* ſent his children, that he ſhould bleſſe them.

He departeth the 9. of Iuly.

Note.

They ſtayed there from the 27. of December to the 9. of Iuly.

They depart from the Court to *Caracarum*.

Wee

Chap. 46. They come to *Caracarum*. Returning, he accompanieth *Baatu* a whole moneth; departing, he goeth toward the South to the Towne *Sarai*.

WEe came therefore to *Caracarum*. And while wee were in Master *Williams* house, my Guide came vnto me, and brought me ten Iascots, whereof he left fiue in Master *Williams* hand, willing him to spend them in the behalfe of *Chan*, for the Friars necessities, which remayned there: other fiue he left in the hand of the Man of God, my Interpreter, commanding to spend them vpon the way, for my necessities. For Master *William* had giuen them such instructions, without our knowledge. I presently changed one into money, and distributed it to the poore Christians, which were there: for all their eyes were fixed vpon vs. Wee spent another in buying necessarie things for vs, as garments, and other things, which wee wanted. With the third, the Man of God himselfe, bought some things, wherein hee gayned somewhat which was profitable vnto him: we spent the rest, and that to; because since wee came into *Persia*, sufficient necessaries were no where giuen vs: nor yet any where among the *Tartars*: but we seldome found any thing to be sold there. Master *William*, sometimes your Citizen, sends you a certaine Girdle set with a certaine precious-stone, which they vse to weare against thunder and lightning, and infinitely salutes you, alwaies commending you to God in his prayers: for whom, I shall neuer bee able to render sufficient thankes to God and you. Wee baptized there in all sixe soules. Wee therefore departed one from the other with teares: my Companion remayning with Master *William*; and I returning alone, with my Interpreter, my Guide, and one seruant; who had commandement to take one Mutton in foure dayes, for vs foure. Wee came therefore in two moneths and ten dayes from *Caracarum* to *Baatu*, and neuer saw Towne, nor token of any house, but Graues, except one Village, where in we eate no Bread. Nor did we euer rest, in those two moneths, and ten dayes; saue one day, because wee could not get Horses. Wee returned for the most part by the same kind of people, and yet through other Countries altogether: for we went in the Winter, and returned in the Summer, and by the higher parts of the North by farre; except, that fifteene dayes iourney wee must goe and returne alwaies hard by a certaine Riuer, betweene the Mountaines, where there is no lodging, but by the Riuer side. We went two dayes, and sometimes three dayes, taking no food but Cosmos. Once wee were in great danger, not being able to finde any people, our prouision fayling vs, and our Horses tyred. When I had trauelled twentie dayes, I heard newes of the King of *Armenia*, that he had passed by.

He returned by *Persia*.

A precious stone good against thunder and lightning.

From *Caracarum* to the Riuer of *Volga*, is two moneths, and ten dayes iourney.

A Riuer betweene the Mountaines of fifteene dayes iourney.

In the end of August I met with *Sartach* himselfe, who went to *Mangu Chan* with Flockes and Herds, and with his Wiues and Children: yet his great Families remayned betweene *Tanais* and *Etilia*. And I did my dutie to him, saying, I would willingly stay in his Countrey; but *Mangu Chan* would not haue mee returne, and carrie his Letters. Hee answered, that I must performe the will of *Mangu Chan*. Then I asked *Coiac* for your children. Hee answered, they were in the Court of *Baatu* carefully recommended. I also required to haue our Clothes, and Bookes againe: who answered, Did yee not bring them to *Sartach*? I said, I brought them to *Sartach*, but I gaue them not vnto him, as yee know: and I replied to him, what answere I made, when he demanded whether I would giue them to *Sartach*. Then hee answered, you say true, and none can resist the truth. I left your goods with my father, who remayneth neere *Sarai*; which is a new Towne *Baatu* hath made vpon *Etilia*, on the East shoare: but our Priests haue some of the vestments. If any thing like you (said I) keepe it, so my Bookes be restored. Then he told me, he would report my words to *Sartach*: I must haue Letters (said I) to your Father, to restore mee all. But he was readie to bee gone, and said vnto mee, The traine of the Ladies followeth vs neere at hand. Yee shall alight there, and I will send you *Sartachs* answere by this man. I was very carefull he should not deceiue me; yet I could not contend with him. Late in the euening the man came vnto me, whom he shewed me, and brought two Coats with him, which I thought had beene all of Silke, vncut: and he said vnto me, Behold two garments: the one, *Sartach* hath sent to you; and the other, if it seeme good to you, you shall present to the King, on his behalfe. To whom I answered, I weare no such garments, I will present them both vnto my King, in honour of your Lord. Then said hee, doe with them what you please; but it pleased me to send them both vnto you, and I send them to you by the bearer of these presents. He deliuered him Letters also to the Father of *Coiac*, to restore mee all which appertayned vnto me, because he had no need of any thing which was mine. So wee came to the Court of *Baatu* the same day I departed thence, the yeere past; the second day after the Exaltation of the blessed Crosse. And I found our young men in health, yet much afflicted with penurie, as *Gosset* told me. And if the King of *Armenia* had not comforted them, and recommended them to *Sartach*, they had perished: for they thought I had beene dead. The *Tartars* also demanded of them, if they could keepe Oxen, or milke Mares. For, if I had not returned, they had beene brought into their seruitude.

The end of August he met *Sartach* in his returne going to *Mangu*. *Coiac* the Priest of *Sartach*.

Sarai is a new Towne, built vpon *Etilia*, or *Volga*.

They come to the Court of *Baatu*, September. 16. 1254. *cap.* 18.

The King of *Armenia* comforted them.

After this, *Baatu* caused me to come vnto him, and made the Letters (which *Mangu Chan* sends vnto you) to be interpreted vnto me. For so *Mangu* wrote vnto him, that if it pleased him to adde any thing, or leaue out, or change, hee should doe it. Then said hee, yee shall carrie these Letters, and cause them to bee vnderstood. Hee demanded also what way I would goe, whether by Sea, or Land? I said, the Sea was shut, because it was Winter, and I must goe by Land.

The sea frozen in the Winter.

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A short way by *Hungarie.*

* *Bigauimus* wane-trauelling with *Baatu* a whole moneth.

His Guide was a *Iugur.*

They depart from *Baatu*, 17. of October, going right South.

The seuen mouthes of the Riuer of *Volga.*

The Village *Sumerkent*, or *Astracan* is in the latitude of 46. degrees.

They goe no further downe, then *Sumerkent* of *Astracan.*

The Riuer of *Volga* frozen ouer.

He commeth to *Sarai.*

Sarai is vpon the East side of *Etilia.* This place is now called *Veboog*, from *Astracan* 60. *Versta.*

Chap. 47.

From *Sarai* they passe by the Mountains of the *Alani*, and by the *Saracens* called *Lesgi*, and by *Derbent*, by the Citie *Samarcan.* by *Alexanders* Inclosures or Walls, by the Citie *Shamaghi*, by the great Plaine *Mota*, and the Bridge made of ships, where *Cur* and *Araxes* meet together.

The *Tartars* haue little store of Armor

A Castle of the *Alani.*

A description of *Porta ferrea*, or *Derbent.*

Land. For I thought you had beene yet in *Syria*, so I directed my iourney towards *Persia.* For if I had thought you had passed into *France*, I would haue gone into *Hungarie:* so I should sooner haue come into *France*, and by a more easie way then into *Syria.* Then wee trauelled * a moneth with him, before wee could haue a Guide. At length, they appointed mee a certaine *Iugur*, who vnderstanding I would giue him nothing, and that I would goe forth-right into *Armenia*, caused Letters to be made, to conduct me to the *Soldan* of *Turkie*, hoping he should receiue gifts of the *Soldan*, and that he should gayne more that way. Then we tooke our iourney speedily (fifteene dayes before the Feast of Al-Saints) towards *Sarai*, going forth right Southward, descending neere to *Etilia*, which is diuided into three Armes there below: euery one whereof is almost twice as big as the Riuer of *Damiata.* It maketh foure other lesser Armes; so that we passed that Riuer in seuen places by Boat. Vpon the middle Arme is the Village, called *Sumerkent*, without a wall: but when the Riuer ouerflowes, it is compassed with water. The *Tartars* were eight yeeres about it before they could take it: and the *Alani*, and the *Saracens* were in it. There we found one *Dutch-man*, with his wife, a very good man, with whom *Gosset* stayed in the Winter: for *Sartach* sent him thither to ease his Court. About those parts was *Baatu* on the one side of the Riuer, and *Sartach* on the other, about Christmas, and they goe no further downe. And it falleth out, that all the Riuer is frozen, so they passe ouer. Here is great store of grasse, and there among the Caues theeues hid themselues, till the Ice melt. *Coiacks* father, receiuing *Sartachs* Letters, restored my vestments vnto mee, except three Albes and an Amice trimmed with fine Silke, and a Stole, and a Girdle, and a Tualia adorned with golden embroyderie, and a Surplice. He restored also vnto me the siluer Plate, except the Censer, and the little Boxe where the Chrisme was. All which, the Priests which were with *Sartach* had. Hee restored my Bookes, except our Ladies Psalter, which hee kept with my leaue, because I could not denie it him: for he said, *Sartach* tooke much delight in it. Hee also requested me, that if it happened, that I returned vnto those parts againe, I would bring them a man that knew how to make Parchment: for he made a great Church (by the Commandement of *Sartach*) vpon the West side of the Riuer, as he said, and a new Towne. Yet I know that *Sartach* meaneth no such matter. *Sarai* and the Palace of *Baatu*, are vpon the Easterne side of the Riuer. And the Valley through which the Armes of the Riuer are spread abroad, contayneth more then seuen leagues in bredth. And there is great store of fish there. A Bible also in verse, and a certaine Booke in the *Arabian*, worth thirtie Sultanies, and many other things I neuer recouered.

SO departing from him on the Feast of All-Saints, alwaies going toward the South, in the Feast of Saint *Martin*, we came to the Mountaines of the *Alani.* Betweene *Baatu* and *Sarai* in fifteene dayes we found no people, but one of his sonnes, who went before him, with Falcons, and his Falconers, who were many, and one litle Village. From the Feast of All-Saints, for fiue dayes, we found not a man: and wee were almost in great danger by reason of thirst, one whole day and a night finding no water, till about three of the Clocke the next day, the *Alani* in those Mountaines yet hold out, so that, of ten of the Subiects of *Sartach*, two must come, to guard the straight and narrow passages of the Hills, left they come forth of the Mountaines, and steale their Cattell in the Playne. Betweene the *Alani*, and *Porta Ferrea*, which is two dayes iourney thence, where the Playne of *Arcacci* beginneth, betweene the *Caspian* Sea and the Mountaines, there are certaine *Saracens* called, *Lesgi*, betweene the Mountaines, who likewise resist: so that those *Tartars*, who dwell at the foot of the Mountaines of the *Alani*, were faine to giue vs twentie men, to bring vs beyond the Iron gate, or *Porta Ferrea.* And I was glad, because I hoped to see them armed. For I could neuer see their Armour, though I had beene very desirous. And when we came to the dangerous Passage, of twentie there were two which had Habergions. And I demanded, whence they had them? They said, they had gotten them of the *Alani* aforesaid, who are good Worke-men for such things, and excellent Smiths. Whereupon, I thinke, they haue small store of Armour, but Quiuers, and Bowes, and Leather lackes. I saw them presented with Iron Plates, and Iron Sculls (*capillos*) out of *Persia.* And saw two also, who presented themselues to *Mangu*, armed with Coats made of Hogs skins bent inward, of rough Leather, which were very vnfit, and vnwildy. Before we came to *Porta ferrea*, wee found one Castle of the *Alani*, which was *Mangu Chans:* for hee had subdued that Countrey. There we first found Vineyards, and drunke Wine. The day following, wee came to *Porta ferrea*, which *Alexander* the *Macedonian* King made. And it is a Citie whose East end is vpon the Sea shoare, and there is a little Plaine betweene the Sea and the Mountaines, through which the Citie is stretched forth in length vnto the top of the Mountaine which bordereth vpon it on the West: so that there is no way aboue, for the roughnesse of the Mountaines, nor below for the Sea, but forth-right through the middest of the Citie ouerthwart, where there is an Iron gate, from whence the Citie hath the name. And the Citie is more then a mile long, and in the top of the Hill a strong Castle: and it is as much in bredth, as a great stones cast: it hath very strong walls without Trenches, and Turrets of great polished stones. But the *Tartars* haue destroyed the tops of the Turrets, and the Bulwarkes of the Walls, laying the Tur-

rets

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rets euen with the Wall. Beneath that Citie, the Countrey was wont to bee like a Paradise.

Two dayes iourney hence, we found another Citie called *Samaron*, wherein there were many *Iewes*. And when we past it, we saw walles descending from the Mountaines to the Sea. And leauing the way by the Sea by those walles, because it bent towards the East, wee went vp into the high Countries towards the South. On the morrow, wee passed through a certaine Valley, wherein the foundations of walles appeared, from one mountaine to another, and there was no way through the tops of the Mountaines. These were sometimes the Inclosures or walles of *Alexander*, restraining the fierce Nations, (to wit) the Shepheards of the Wildernes, that they could not inuade the inhabited Countries and Cities. There are other walles or Inclosures where *Iewes* are. The next day we came vnto a certaine great Citie, called *Samag*. And after this, we entred into a great Plaine, called *Moan*, through which the Riuer *Cur* floweth, of the which the *Curgi* haue their name, whom we call *Georgians*. And it runneth through the middle of *Tiflis*, which is the Metropolis of the *Curgines*, and in comes directly from the West running to the East, to the foresaid *Caspian* Sea, and it hath excellent Salmons. In that plaine wee found *Tartars* againe. Also by that plaine comes the Riuer *Araxes*, which commeth from the greater *Armenia*, from betwixt the South and West: of which it is called the Land *Araxat*, which is *Armenia* it selfe. Whereupon in the booke of the *Kings* it is said of the Sonnes of *Sennacherib*[a], that hauing slaine their Father they fled into the Land of the *Armenians*. And in *Esay* it is said, that they fled into the Land of *Ararat*. To the West then of that most beautifull Plaine is *Curgia*. In that Plaine the *Crosmini* were wont to be. And there is a great Citie in the entrance of the Mountaines, called *Ganges*, which was their Metropolis, stopping the *Georgians* that they could not come downe into the Plaine. Then wee came to the Bridge of Ships, which were fastened together with a great Yron chaine, stretched forth crosse the Riuer, where *Cur*, and *Araxes* meet together. But *Cur* loseth his name there.

Samaron a Citie of *Iewes*.

The inclosures or walles of *Alexander*.

Other inclosures where the *Iewes* are.

Or *Samagi*.

Moan a great Plaine.

Cur, or the Riuer *Cyrus*.

The *Georgians*.

The Citie *Tiflis*.

[a] *Reg.* 19. 45. 37. Note that the *Hebrew* text hath *Ararat* in both places.

Ganges, a great Citie.

A bridge of Ships.

Chap. 48.

AFter that, wee went alwayes vpward by *Araxes*, whereof it is said; *Pontem dedignatur Araxis, Araxes* disdaines a Bridge; Leauing *Persia*, and the *Caspian* mountaines on the left hand, towards the South: on the right hand, *Curgia*, and the great Sea toward the West: going Southwest, betweene the South and the West. We passed through the meadowes of *Bacchu*, who is Generall of that Armie, which is there within *Araxis*: And hee hath made the *Curgi*, and *Turkes*, and *Persians* subiect to him. There is another Gouernour (in *Persia* at *Taurinum*, ouer the Tribute) called *Argon*. Both which, *Mangu Chan* hath called home to giue place to his Brother comming into those Countries. That Countrey which I haue described to you, is not properly *Persia*, but was sometimes called *Hyrcania*. I was in *Bacchues* house, and hee gaue vs Wine to drinke, and he himselfe dranke *Cosmos*, which I would willingly haue drunke, if he had giuen it me: yet it was the best new Wine: but *Cosmos* is more wholsome for an hunger-staruen man. Wee went vp therefore by the Riuer *Araxes*, from the Feast of Saint *Clement*, vnto the second Sunday in Lent, till we came to the head of the Riuer. And beyond that Mountaine where it riseth, there is a goodly Citie, called *Arserum*, which belongeth to the *Soldan* of *Turkie*. And neare thereabout *Euphrates* ariseth towards the North, at the foot of the Mountaines of *Curgia*: to whose Spring I had gone, but the Snow was so great, that no man could goe out of the trodden path: on the other side of the Mountaines of *Caucasus*, towards the South ariseth *Tigris*.

When we departed from *Bacchu*, my Guide went to *Taurinum* to speake with *Argon*, carrying my Interpreter with him. But *Bacchu* caused me to bee brought to a certaine Citie, called *Naxnan*, which sometimes was the head of a certaine great Kingdome, and the greatest and fairest Citie; but the *Tartars* haue made it a Wildernes. And there were sometimes Eight hundred Churches of the *Armenians* there: now there are but two little ones: for the *Saracens* haue destroyed them: In one of the which, I held the feast of Christmas as I could with our Clerke. And the next day following, the Priest of that Church dyed: to whose buriall came a certaine Bishop, with twelue Monkes of the high Countries. For all the Bishops of the *Armenians* are Monkes, and of the *Greekes* likewise, for the greater part. That Bishop told me, that there was a Church neere that, where Saint *Bartholmew*, and likewise Saint *Iudas Thaddaus* were martyred: but there was no way open for Snow. He told me also, that they haue two Prophets: The first or chiefe is *Methodius* the Martyr, who was of their Country, and plainely Prophesied of the *Ismaelites*. Which Prophesie is fulfilled in the *Saracens*. The other Prophet is called *Acacron*, who when hee dyed, Prophesied of a Nation of *Archers*, that should come from the North, saying; That they should Conquer all the Countries of the East: and should spare the Kingdome of the East, that he might giue them the Kingdome of the West. But he saith, our Friers the *Frankes* being Catholikes, beleeue them not: And they shall possesse the Countries from North to South: and shall come vnto *Constantinople*, and shall take the *Port* of *Constantinople*. And one of them, who shall be called a Wise man, shall enter the Citie: and seeing the Churches and rites of the *Frankes*, shall cause himselfe to be Baptized, and shall counsell the *Frankes*, how they may kill the Emperour of the *Tartars*; and there they shall be confounded. Hearing this, the *Frankes* which shall be in the middle of the Land, (to wit) *Hierusalem*, shall set

They alwaies goe vp the Riuer of *Araxis*, by the Citie *Vaxnan*, by the Countrey of *Sahensa*, by the Castle *Marseugen*, by *Aini*, a Citie of *Sahensa*; they came to the Head of *Araxis*.

Bacchu a Prince of the *Tartars*: of whom perhaps the Citie *Bacchu* on the *Caspian* Sea (of which it is now called the Sea of *Bacchu* or *Bacou*) hath her name.

The head of *Tigris*.

Or *Vaxnan* sometimes the greatest Citie of *Armenia*.

Bartholmew and *Thaddæus* Martyrs.

The Prophesie of *Methodius*.

Or *Acatron*, his Prophesie.

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vpon the *Tartars*, who ſhall border vpon them, and with the helpe of our Nation (that is) the *Armenians*, ſhall purſue them: ſo that the *French* King ſhall place his Royall Throne at *Taurinum* in *Perſia*. And then all Eaſt Countries, and all the vnbeleeuing Nations ſhall be conuerted to the Faith of Chriſt. And there ſhall be ſo great Peace in the world, that the Liuing ſhall ſay to the Dead, Woe be vnto you wretches, that liued not vntill theſe times. I read this Propheſie brought to *Conſtantinople* by the *Armenians*, which remaine there, but I made light of it. Yet, when I ſpake with the ſaid Biſhop, calling it to minde, I regarded it the more. And throughout all that *Armenia*, they as firmely beleeue this Propheſie as the Goſpell. Hee ſaid vnto vs alſo: Euen as the Soules in *Limbo* expected the comming of *Chriſt* for their deliuery; ſo doe we looke for your comming, that we might be freed from this ſlauery, wherein wee haue ſo long liued. Neere the City (*Vaxnin*) aforeſaid, there are Mountaines, on the which (they ſay) the Arke of *Noah* reſted. And there are two, one greater then the other, and *Araxes* runneth at the foote of them. And there is a little Towne there, called *Cemainum*, which is by Interpretation, Eight: for (they ſay) it was ſo called of the Eight perſons, which came foorth of the Arke, and built it. Many haue aſſayed to climbe the greater Hill, and could not. And that Biſhop told me, that a certaine Monke was very much troubled, and an Angell appeared vnto him, and brought him a piece of the wood of the Arke, willing him to trouble himſelfe no more. That piece of Wood they had in their Church, as he told me. Neither is the Hill ſo high in appearance, but that men might well get vp vnto it. A certaine Old man ſhewed me a ſufficient reaſon, why none ſhould climbe it. They call that Mountaine *Maſſis*: and it is of the Feminine gender in their Tongue. No man (ſaith he) muſt climbe vp *Maſſis*, becauſe it is the Mother of the world.

Mountaines on the which *Noahs* Arke reſted.

Or *Cemanium* a Towne or a Citie.

Armenian fables.

The Mountain *Maſſis*.

In that Citie (of *Vaxnan*) Frier *Bernard Cathalane*, of the Order of the Preaching Friers found me; who abode in *Georgie*, with a certaine Prior of the Sepulcher, who poſſeſſeth great lands there. And he had learned ſomewhat of the *Tartars* language. Who went with a certaine *Hungarian* Frier to *Taurinum*, to deſire *Argons* Paſſe to *Sartach*. When they came there, they could not haue acceſſe: and the *Hungarian* Frier returned by me to *Tephelis* with one Seruant: but Frier *Bernard* remained at *Taurinum* with a certaine Lay Frier, whoſe language he vnderſtood not. We went out of the Citie of *Vaxnan* in *octauis* of the Epiphanie: for we had ſtayd long there by reaſon of the Snow. We came therefore in foure dayes to the Countrey of *Sahenſa*, a certain *Curgine*, ſometimes mighty, but now tributary to the *Tartars*, who deſtroyed all his Munition: whoſe Father *Zacharias* got that Countrey of the *Armenians*, hauing deliuered them from the hands of the *Saracens*. And there are many faire Villages of true Chriſtians, hauing Churches right like the *Frankes*. And euery *Armenian* hath in his houſe, in an honourable place, a wooden hand holding a Croſſe, and he ſets a burning Lampe before it: And that which we doe with holy Water, ſprinkling it to driue away wicked Spirits, they doe the ſame with Frankinſence. For euery euening they burn Frankinſence, carrying it through all the corners of the houſe, to rid them of all kinde of Enemies. I ate with the foreſaid *Sahenſa*, and he did me great reuerence, both he and his Wife, and his ſonne *Zachary* was a very faire and wiſe young man. Who demanded of me, that if he ſhould come vnto you, whether yee would entertaine him? for he ſo hardly brooketh the Dominion of the *Tartars*, that, though he haue plenty of all things, he had rather trauaile into a ſtrange Country, then indure their Lord-like Dominion. They ſaid further, that they were ſonnes of the Church of *Rome*: and if the Lord Pope would ſend them any ayde, they would bring all the bordering Nations vnto the ſubiection of the Church.

Tephelis.

Ianuary 14. Snow.

Ianuary 18. The Countrey of *Sahenſa*.

From that Towne of his, in fifteene dayes, we entred the Countrey of the *Soldan* of *Turkie*, vpon the firſt Sunday in Lent. And the firſt Caſtle we found, is called *Marſeugen*. All in the Caſtle were *Chriſtians*, *Armenians*, *Curgines*, and *Greekes*: The *Saracens* onely haue the Dominion. There, the Captaine of the Caſtle ſaid, he had receiued commandement, that no victuals ſhould be giuen to any *Franke*, or to the Ambaſſadours of the King of *Armenia*, or of *Vaſtacius*. So that from the place where wee were the firſt Sunday in Lent, vnto *Cyprus*, (whether I came eight dayes before the Feaſt of Saint *Iohn Baptiſt*) we muſt buy our prouiſion. He, who was my guide procured me Horſes, and tooke money for the victuals, and put it in his purſe. When he came into the Fields, ſeeing a flocke any where, hee violently tooke one Sheepe, and gaue it to his family to eate, and maruailed I would not eate of his robbery. In the Purification I was in a certaine Citie called *Aini*, which was *Sahenſas*, whoſe ſituation is moſt ſtrong: and there are there a thouſand *Armenian* Churches, and two Synagogues of the *Saracens*. The *Tartars* place a Baily there. There fiue Preaching Friers met me, whereof foure came from *Prouince* in *France*, and the fift ioyned himſelfe to them in *Syria*, and they had but one ſicke Boy, who could ſpeake *Turkiſh*, and a little *French*: And they had the Popes letters to *Sartach*, and to *Mangu Chan*, and to *Buri*; ſuch as your Highnes gaue me, Letters of requeſt, that they would ſuffer them to continue in their Countrey, and Preach the Word of God, &c. But when I told them what I had ſeene, and how they ſent me backe againe, they directed their iourney to *Tephelis*, where there are Friers of their Order, to conſult what they ſhould doe. I ſaid vnto them they might well paſſe, by thoſe Letters, if they would: but they ſhould bee well aſſured to indure much labour, and render an account of their comming: for ſeeing they had no other meſſage, but the office of Preaching, they would

A Towne of *Sahenſa*.

The Countrey of the *Soldans* of *Turkie*.

Marſengen.

The firſt Sunday in Lent.

February the 2. The Citie *Aini*, belonged to *Sahenſa*.

The Popes letters to *Sartach*, and *Mangu Chan*.

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would care but a little for them, and chiefly, because they had no Interpreter. What they did after, I know not.

THe second Sunday in Lent, we came to the head of *Araxis*, and passing beyond the top of the Mountaine, we came to *Euphrates*; by the which wee descended eight dayes, alwayes going to the West, vnto a certaine Castle, called *Camath*. There *Euphrates* bendeth to the South towards *Halapia*. But we passing the Riuer went through very high hilly Countries, and through the deepe Snow to the West. There was so great an Earthquake there that yeare, that in one Citie called *Arsengan*, tenne thousand persons noted by name, perished, beside poore men of whom there was no notice taken. Riding three dayes together, we saw the gaping of the Earth, as it was cleft by the Earthquake, and the heapes of Earth which came from the Mountaines, and filled the valleyes: so that if but a little more of the Earth had beene moued, that which *Esay* speaketh had beene literally fulfilled. *Euery valley shall be filled, and euery Mountaine, and little hill shall be humbled.* We passed through the Valley where the *Soldan* of *Turkie* was vanquished of the *Tartars*. It were too long to write how he was ouercome. But a certaine seruant of my guides who was with the *Tartars*, said; That the *Tartars* were not aboue tenne thousand in the whole; and a certaine *Curgine*, a seruant of the *Soldans*, said; That there were two hundred thousand with the *Soldan*, all Horsemen, In that plaine where the Battaile was, nay that slight, there brake out a great Lake, at the time of the Earthquake. And my heart told me; that all that Earth opened her mouth to receiue yet more blood of the *Saracens*. We were in *Sebaste* of the lesser *Armenia* in Easter weeke. There we visited the Tombes of forty Martyrs. There the Church of Saint *Blase* standeth: but I could not goe thither, because it was aboue in the Castle. On Low-Sunday we came to *Cesaria* of *Cappadocia*; where there is a Church of Saint *Basill* the great. About fifteene dayes after we came to *Iconium*, making small iournies, and resting in many places: because we could not so readily procure Horses. And my guide did this of purpose; taking vpon him to sollicite his owne busines three dayes, in euery Towne: whereupon, I was much grieued, but durst not speake, because he might haue sold, or slaine me and our seruants, and there was none to gaine-say it. I found many *Frankes* at *Iconium*, and a certaine *Ianuenslan* Marchant, called *Nicholas de Sancto Syrio*. Who with a certaine companion of his a *Venetian*, called *Boniface de Molendino*, carried all the Allum out of *Turkie*, so that the *Soldan* could not sell any, but to those two: and they made it so deare, that what was wont to be sold for fifteene *Bizantians*, is now sold for fifty. My guide presented me to the *Soldan*; The *Soldan* said, he would willingly cause me to be conuayed to the Sea to *Armenia*, or *Cilicia*. Then the foresaid Marchant knowing that the *Saracens* made little accompt of me, and that I was much burthened with the company of my guide (who troubled me euery day to giue him gifts) caused me to be conueyed to *Curcum*, a Hauen of the King of *Armenia*. I came thither the day before the Ascension, and stayed till the day after Penticost. Then I heard, that Ambassadours came from the King to his Father. Then I went speedily to the Kings father, to demand, whether hee had heard any newes of his Sonne: And I found him set with all his Sonnes, one excepted, called *Barum Vsin*: Who made a certaine Castle. And he receiued newes from his Sonne, that hee was returned: And that *Mangu Chan* had much eased his Tribute, and had giuen him a Priuiledge, that no Ambassadour should come into his Countrey. Whereupon the old man himselfe, with all his Sonnes made a great Banquet. And he caused me to be conueyed to the Sea, to the Hauen called *Aiyax*: and thence I passed ouer into *Cyprus*. And at *Nicosia* I found our Prouinciall, who the same day carried me with him to *Antiochia*, which is in very weake state. Wee were there on the Feast of Saint *Peter* and *Paul*. From thence we came to *Tripolis*, where our Chapter was, in the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin.

Chap. 49.
They come to *Euphrates*, to the Castle *Camath*, they passe into *Cyprus*, afterward to *Antiochia*, and thence to *Tripolis*.
The Citie *Arsengan* mightily shaken with an Earthquake.
The gaping of the earth clouen.
The Valley where the *Soldan* of *Turkie* was vanquished of the *Tartars*.
Sebaste of the lesser *Armenia*.
Maior *Hipdomada*.
Cesaria of *Cappadocia*.
Iconium.
Allum in *Turkie*.
The *Soldan* of *Iconium*.
Curcum a hauen of *Cilicia*, ouer against the East part of the Iland of *Cyprus*.
Barum Vsin.
Aiyax or *Giazzo*
Iune the 16. he came to *Cyprus*.
Antiochia.
Iune 29.
Tripolis.
August. 15.

AND our Prouinciall determined, that I should leaue *Acon*, not suffering me to come vnto you: commanding, to write vnto you, what I would by the bearer of these Presents. And not daring to resist contrarie to my obedience, I did according to my power, and vnderstanding: craning pardon of your inuincible Clemencie for my superfluities, or wants, or for any thing that shall be vndiscreetly, nay foolishly spoken, as from a man of little vnderstanding, not accustomed to indite long Histories. The Peace of God which passeth all vnderstanding preserue your heart and vnderstanding.

I would willingly see your Highnesse, and certayne spirituall friends, which I haue in your Kingdome. Wherefore, if it should not bee contrarie to your Maiesties liking, I would beseech you to write to our Prouinciall, that he would let me come vnto you, and returne shortly againe into the Holy Land.

Concerning *Turkie*, your Maiestie shall vnderstand, that the tenth man there, is not a *Saracen*: nay, they are all *Armenians*, and *Greekes*, and Children rule ouer them. For the *Soldan* who was conquered of the *Tartars*, had a lawfull Wife of *Hiberia*, by whom he had one feeble Sonne, concerning whom he charged, that he should be the *Soldan*. He had another of a *Greeke* Concubine, whom he gaue to a certayne great Admirall. The third, hee had of a *Turke*. To whom

Chap. 50.
He writeth from *Tripoli* to King *Lodowick*, and giueth his aduise, for sending of a fit Ambassage to the *Tartars*.
The weake estate of *Turkie*.

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many *Turks* and *Turcomans* being gathered together, they purpoſed to haue ſlaine the Sonnes of the Chriſtians. They ordayned alſo (as I vnderſtood) that after they had gotten the Victorie, they would deſtroy all the Churches, and kill as many as would not become *Saracens*. But hee was ouercome, and many of his men ſlaine. Hee renued his Armie the ſecond time, and then was taken, and is yet in Priſon. *Pacaſter* the Sonne of the *Greeke* Concubine procured of *Filiaſter*, that he might be *Soldan*, becauſe the other was weake, whom they ſent to the *Tartars*. Whereupon, his Kindred on the Mothers ſide (to wit) the *Hiberi*, and the *Curgi* were angry. So that a child ruleth in *Turkie*, hauing no Treaſure, few Warriours, and many Enemies. The Son of *Vaſtacius* is weake, and hath warre with the Sonne of *Aſſan*, who likewiſe is a child, and worne out with the ſeruitude of the *Tartars*. Wherefore, if an Armie of the Church ſhould come to the Holy Land, it were a very eaſie thing to ſubdue all theſe Countries, or to paſſe through them.

The Baſtard *Pacaſter* getteth the Kingdome.

The weake eſtate of *Vaſtacius* and *Aſſan*.

The King of *Hungarie* hath not aboue thirtie thouſand Souldiers. From *Cullin* to *Conſtantinople* are not aboue threeſcore dayes iourney by Waggons. From *Conſtantinople* are not ſo many dayes iourney to the Countrey of the King of *Armenia*. In old time, valiant men paſſed through theſe Countries, and proſpered, yet they had moſt valiant Reſiſters; whom God hath now deſtroyed out of the Earth. And we need not be in danger of the Sea, nor in the mercie of Saylers. And the price which wee ſhould giue for fraight, were ſufficient for expenſes by Land. I ſpeake it confidently, if your Countrimen (I ſay not Kings and Souldiers) would goe, as the Kings of the *Tartars* goe, and bee contented with ſuch victuals, they might winne the whole World. It ſeemeth not expedient (as I thinke) that any Frier goe vnto the *Tartars* any more, as I did, or as the Preaching Friers doe. But if our Souereigne Lord the Pope would honourably ſend a Biſhop, and anſwere their follies; which they haue thriſe written to the *Frankes*: once to Pope *Innocent* the Fourth of Sacred Memorie, and twice to your Maieſtie, once by *Dauid*, who deceiued you, and now by me, he might ſpeake vnto them what he would, and alſo cauſe them to put thoſe things in writing. For they heare whatſoeuer an Ambaſſadour will ſpeake, and alwayes demand, if he will ſay any more. But he muſt haue a good Interpreter; nay, many Interpreters, and large Expenſes.

The ſtate of the King of *Hungaria*. *Godfrey* of *Bullin* and many other Princes.

Tartars thriftie in food and rayment.

What Meſſage or Ambaſſage ſhould be ſent to the *Tartars*.

FOr the Readers better ſatisfaction touching the former Authour, and knowledge of the North parts of Aſia *and* Europe *and for His owne ſake alſo, I haue added this Tranſcript of our famous Countriman Frier* Bacon, *which I haue not Engliſhed, both to preuent tedioufneſſe in this Worke, otherwiſe more then enough voluminous; and becauſe he was an Hiſtorian, no Traueller; and the vſe thereof is principally to ſuch as can reade his owne* Idiome; *a good part alſo being the ſame with that which our former Frier hath deliuered.*

CHAP. II.

Ex quarta parte Maioris operis fratris *Rogeri Bacon*, Angli excerpta quædam de Aquilonaribus mundi partibus.

Mare Scythicum.

AD Aquilonarem vero partem Indiæ, *vt dictum eſt, ſunt Mare* Scythicum, *& montes illi magni, qui* Caucaſus *&* Taurus, *& multis alijs nominibus vocantur, ſecundum diuerſitatem locorum & Gentium. Et ab Occidente eſt* Perſida *ſeu* Parthia *&* Media. *Deinde ſub eis ad Occidentem eſt* Meſopotamia *&* Syria, *vt dictum eſt. Sed in confinio* Mediæ *&* Parthiæ, *eſt Porta ferrea* Alexandri; *quæ eſt Ciuitas denominata à Portis. Et illæ portæ dicuntur* Caſpiæ, *non* Caucaſiæ, *vt dicit* Plinius. *Nam aliæ ſunt portæ* Caucaſiæ, *vt poſtea dicetur. Quia in littore Maris* Caſpiæ *ſunt hæ Portæ. Eſt enim Mare quoddam quod fit ex concurſu maximorum fluminum venientium ab Aquilone, &* Caſpium *vocatur atque* Hircanicum *ſecundum* Plinium. *Nam* Caſpij *&* Hircani *ſuper littora illius Maris inhabitant. Non igitur eſt hoc Mare veniens ab Oceano, vt* Iſidorus *&* Plinius, *& omnes Authores Occidentales ſcribunt. In hoc enim caſu non habuerunt experientiam certam, nec per ſe, nec per alios, ſed ex rumore ſcripſerunt.*

Porta ferrea vel Derbent *Vid.* Plin. *l.6.c.11. videſis etiam* Ortel. *Theſ. Geog. Mare* Caſpium *fit ex concurſu fluminum.* Iſid. *Etym.* Plin. *l.6.c.13.* Ptolemæus *primus prodidit Mare* Caſpium *terra vndiquaq; circundatum.* Capadocia. Cilicia *vel* Armenia *minor.* Pamphilia.

In libris autem de moribus Tartarorum, *& per fide dignos, qui in illis Regionibus fuerunt, patet, quod hoc Mare ſit ex concurſu fluminum. Et eſt Mare ſatis magnum. Nam circuitus eſt quatuor menſium. Et* Hircania *prope, eſt ſuper littus Meridionale illius Maris in termino* Parthiæ. *Et vbi* Parthia *coniungitur* Mediæ *in Portis illis, extenditur à Portis* Caſpijs *verſus Orientem, vt dicit* Plinius. *Deinde contra reſiduum* Mediæ *ad eius Septentrionem, & ad Occidentem* Hircaniæ *eſt maior* Armenia: *& eam diuidit* Euphrates *à* Capadocia, *vt dicit* Plinius. *Propter quod* Capadocia *eſt ad Occidentem* Armeniæ *maioris. Deinde verſus* Syriam *&* *Mare noſtrum eſt* Cilicia, *quæ dicitur* Armenia *minor. Vnde iacet partim* Medio, *partim in Occidente* Capadociæ; *& eius principium non diſtat ab* Antiochia *per duas dietas. Sub* Cilicia *ad Septentrionem ſuper Mare comprehenditur* Pamphilia, *vt dicit* Plinius, *neglecta gente* Iſaurica, *vel non computata per ſe propter prauitatem, ſed ſub eis comprehenſa.*

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hensa. In Cilicia *est* Tarsus *Metropolis eius; in quo natus fuit Beatus Apostolus* Paulus. *Et durat* Cilicia *à meridie in Septentrionem per* Tarsum *in latitudine circiter quatuor dietas versus* Turkiam. *Nam ad Septentrionem* Ciliciæ *est* Lycaonia; *vbi est* Iconium *celeberrima Ciuitas; à qua* Lycaonia *dicitur quasi* Iconia. *Vnde Princeps eorum vocatur* Soldanus Iconij *&* Turkiæ. *Et à finibus* Armeniæ *vsque* Iconium *sunt octo dietæ. Nomina Prouinciarum in his Regionibus sunt multum mutata propter guerras. Nam* Turkia *multas terras occupat quæ apud Authores habent nomina antiqua. Vt est pars* Asiæ *minoris, &* Phrygia *&* Lydia. Asia *vero maior continet plus medietate Mundi, & totum præter* Europam *&* Africam: *vnde continet hanc* Asiam *minorem. Et hæc nunc vocatur apud* Græcos Anatoli, *id est, Orientalis* Græcia: *in qua est* Galatia; *vnde* Galatæ, *quibus scribit Apostolus:* & Troia *dicitur illa formosissima Ciuitas: & sunt alia mutata, vt* Ephesus, *&* 7. *Ecclesiæ* Apocalypsis; *&* Nicea: *vnde Synodus* Nicena, *& multa alia. Et ab* Iconio *vsque* Niceam *sunt* 20. *dietæ in æstate: & ab ea vsque ad Brachium Sancti* Georgij *(quod apud antiquos vocatur* Hellespontus) *Mare inter* Italiam *&* Antiochiam. *Et ibi terminatur* Asia *minor. Et habet à parte Occidentis* Thraciam, Macedoniam, *&* Achaiam. *A parte vero meridiei habet Mare illud, quod est inter* Italiam *&* Græciam, *&* Antiochiam, *&* Egyptum. *Ab Oriente habet* Phrygiam. *Nam vt dicit* Plinius *curialite,* Phrygia Troadi *superiecta Septentrionali sua parte* Galatis *continua est, meridiana* Lycaoniæ *ab Occidente* Capadociã *habet. Et dicit quod* Lydia, Phrygiæ *ex ortu solis vicina est, vnde fuit* Crœsus *ditissimus Rex* Lydorũ. *Brachium vero Sancti* Georgij *est strictum multum, & habet* Cõstantinopolim *ab Occidente in* Europa. *Et extenditur à Mari magno quod est inter* Asiam *&* Egyptum, Syriam, *&* Italiã, *circiter centum leucas versus Aquilonem, vsq; ad aliud Mare, quod vocatur* Ponticum, *& Mare Maius. Et istud Mare habet formam arcus* Scythici; *& multas Regiones disterminat. Vnde hæc incipiunt Regiones Aquilonares: de quibus Philosophi meridiani parum sciuerunt, secundum quod* Ethicus *Astronomus refert in suo libro. Sed hic perambulauit omnes has Regiones, & Mare Oceanum Septentrionale cum Insulis suis nauigauit. Volo sequi ipsum: & nihilominus libros de moribus* Tartarorum: *& præcipue fratrem* Willielmum, *quem Dominus Rex* Franciæ, Lodouicus *in* Syria *existens misit ad terram* Tartarorum *anno Domini* 1253. *Qui frater scripsit Domino Regi situm Regionum & Marium. Extenditur autem hoc Mare maius ab Occidente, scilicet à* Constantinopoli *in Oriens, per mille quadringenta milliaria in longum: & in medio eius coarctatur ex vtraq; parte in angulos: & in angulo meridiano est castrum & portus* Turkiæ, *quod vocatur* Sinopolis: *A parte vero Aquilonis habet aliud castrum in angulo, quod vocatur* Soldaia; *& est in Prouincia quæ nunc* Cassaria *dicitur, id est,* Caisaria. *Et sunt trecenta milliaria inter* Sinopolim *&* Soldaiam. *Et hæc est latitudo maris inter illos angulos. Et ista castra sunt duo portus famosi, à quibus transeunt homines à meridianis Regionibus ad Aquilonares, & è contrario. Et ab istis castris versus Occidentem seu* Constantinopolim *extenditur Mare per septingenta milliaria in longum & latum, similiter ad Orientem per septingenta. Et ista Prouincia* Cassaria *circundatur Mari à tribus lateribus. Nam in Occidente habet partem Maris* Pontici, *vbi est ciuitas* Kersoua, *in qua fuit Sanctus* Clemens *martyrisatus; & prope eam est Insula, in qua est Templum, quod dicitur Angelicis manibus præparatum, in quo corpus Sancti sepultum fuit. Et à* Kersoua *vsq; ad* Soldaiam *sunt quadringinta castra, quorum quodlibet fere habet proprium Idioma. Et sunt ibi multi* Goti, *qui omnes loquuntur* Teutonicum. *Et à parte meridiei* Cassariæ *extenditur Mare* Ponticum: *Et in Oriente eius cadit flumen* Tanais *in Mare, vbi habet latitudinem duodecim milliariorum, vbi est Ciuitas* Matrica. *Et flumen illud versus Aquilonem facit Mare quoddam, habens septuaginta milliaria in longitudine & latitudine, nusquam habens profunditatem vltra 6. pedes. Et hoc Mare est* Palus Mæotis *famosissima, de qua Philosophi & Historia & Poeta loquuntur.*

Et flumen Tanais *extenditur vltra illam paludem versus Aquilonem vsq; ad montes* Riphæos; *qui sunt in vltimo Aquilonis: à quibus montibus oritur hoc flumen, & descendit per longum terræ tractum in Paludem supradictam, faciens eam; & vltra eam disgraditur, & fluit in Mare* Ponticum, *vt prædixi. Et hoc flumen famosum diuidit* Europam *ab* Asia *in locis illis, & Palus illa & plures paludes sunt contiguæ: sed quasi pro vna computantur, & vocantur paludes* Mæotis: *vel* Mæotidæ *in adiectiuo. Paludes igitur illæ quæ vocantur Mare illud vadosum sunt in Oriente* Cassariæ; *& pars fluminis* Tanais, *quæ est inter paludes & Mare* Ponticum. *Et hæc Prouincia* Cassaria *habet ab Aquilone vastam solitudinem, quæ extenditur à flumine* Tanai *in Oriente vsq; ad* Danubium *in Occidente itinere duorum mensium velociter equitando, sicut equitant* Tartari. *Et hoc est vna die quantum est ab* Aurelianis Parisijs. *Vnde durat hæc terra circiter 4. menses, secundum quod alij homines communiter equitant. Et hæc terra fuit tota* Cumanorum, *qui dicebantur* Captac. *Sed* Tartari *destruxerunt eam totaliter, & interfecerunt* Cumanos, *præter partem quæ fugit ad Regnum* Hungariæ, *qui sunt ei tributarij: Et à* Teutonicis *dicitur* Valana; *A* Plinio *&* Isodoro *& cæteris* Alania *Occidentalis. Et hæc Prouincia habet* Danubium, *&* Poloniam, *&* Hungariam, *ab Occidente. Et ab Aquilone istius Prouincia est* Russia *magna: quæ similiter à* Polonia *in vna parte sua extenditur ad* Tanaim; *sed in magna sui parte habet* Leuconiam *in Occidente (quæ est terra ita magna sicut* Alemannia:) *Ad cuius partem Occidentalem sunt multa terra in circuitu Maris cuiusdam: quod Mare sit per multa Brachia Maris Oceani quæ veniunt per medium* Daciæ, *& vltra versus Orientem dilatat se magnum Mare, quod ab Occidente habet* Daciam *&* Sweciam: *Sed* Swecia *est ad Aquilonem* Daciæ *declinans aliquantulum in Orientem vltra* Daciam: *vltra quas ad Aquilonem est* Norguegia. *Deinde Mari magno interiecto sunt* Scotia *&* Anglia: *& Mari paruo interposito* Hibernia. *Nota sunt hæ Regiones; sed tango*

Turkia. Lycaonia. Iconium. Soldanus Iconij. *Descriptio Maris* Ponticl *vel maioris.* *Regiones Aquilonares.* *Oceanus Septentrionalis.* *Quibus authoribus vsus est maxime.* Sinopolis. Soldaia. Cassaria *olim fuit appellata* Taurica Chersonesus. Kersoua *ciuitas* Goti. Matrica *ciuitas* Palus Mæotis. *Montes* Riphæi. *Vasta Solitudo.* Tartaricum *iter ergo est* 64. *milliariorum ve-strorum.* Cuniani. Captac. Alania *Occidentalis.* Russia *magna.* *Vel* Lituaniam. *Mare* Sweciam. Dacia. Swecia. Norguegia.

tango eas propter notitiam aliorum. Si ergo à finibus Occidentalibus ex parte Aquilonis ascendamus versus Orientem, primo est Hibernia, secundo Britannia maior, quæ continet Angliam & Scotiam: Deinde Norguegia, Swecia, Dacia, & post in Orientem versus est mugnum mare predictum, quod vocatur mare Orientale; quia Oceanus non se extendit vltra aliud mare: Sed super latus Aquilonare istius maris immediate post angulum Sweciæ est Estonia: deinde Liuonia versus Orientem illius maris: deinde Curonia seu Curlandia declinando ad Meridianum latus: postea Prussia magna terra in Meridiano latere: deinde Pomerania: postea Lubec portus magnus & famosus in confinio Daciæ & Saxoniæ. In medio istius maris est Insula quadam, quæ vocatur Gotlandia. Et super Liuoniam ad Orientem est Semigallia. Curoniam circundat Leuconia predicta, & etiam circundat Russia magna ex vtraque parte maris dicti, & terminatur Meridiana ad Prussiam & Poloniam. Polonia vero iacet ad Meridiem Prussiæ: & ad Meridiem eius est Bohemia: deinde Austria. Et ad Occidentem terrarum istarum Alemannia; & postea Francia & Hispania. Sed hæ notæ sunt: facio tamen mentionem propter alias. Ad Orientem Austriæ & Bohemiæ est Hungaria, ad quam Occidentalis pars Albaniæ descendit. Nam cadit super Danubium, qui fluit per medium Hungariæ, & vltra eam in mare Ponticum per duodecim ostia magna. In termino vero Hungariæ Orientalis à parte Aquilonis occurrit Moldauia, contra quam ad Meridiem Danubij sunt * Balchi & Bulgari & Constantinopolis, quæ terra antiquitus vocabantur Thracia. Albania igitur Occidentalis extenditur à Danubio post finem Hungariæ versus Orientem vsque ad flumen Tanaim; habens Cassariam à Meridie, & Balchiam, Bulgariam & Constantinopolim. Ab Occasu vero Hungariam & Poloniam, & extremitatem Russiæ: ab Aquilone habet totam longitudinem Russiæ.

Et vltra Russiam ad Aquilonem est Gens Hyperborea, quæ sic nominatur à montibus magnis, qui vocantur Hyperborei. Et hæc Gens propter aeris salubritatem vixit in syluis. Gens longæua vsque quo fastidiant mortem, optimarum consuetudinum. Gens quieta & pacifica, nulli nocens, nec ab alia Gente molestatur: sed confugiunt ad eam sicut ad asylum. Qualiter autem potest Regio ibi esse temperatissima, tetigi prius in complexionibus locorum Mundi. Et sic habemus regiones Aquilonares in Europa notabiles. Ritus vero istarum Gentium sunt diuersi. Nam Pruteni, Curlandi, Liuonij, Estonij, Semigalli, Leuconij sunt Pagani. Alani vero non sunt, quia Tartari ceperunt terram illam, & fugauerunt omnes, vsque in Hungariam. Et Cumani sunt Pagani: & Alani fuerunt similiter, sed deleti sunt. Ruteni sunt Christiani, & sunt scismatici, habentes ritum Græcorum, sed non vtuntur lingua Græca; immo lingua Sclauonica: quæ est vna de linguis, quæ plures occupat regiones. Nam Russiam, Poloniam & Bohemiam, & multas alias Nationes tenet. Tartari vero à Danubio in ho
in terram Alanorum seu Cunamorum, & vlterius, vsque fere ad partes vltimas Orientis, & alias Nationes eis vicinas ad Aquilonem & Meridiem subiugauerunt pro maxima parte. Nam aliquæ Gentes sunt in montanis & locis tutissimis, quas non possunt debellare, licet sint eis vicini, quia sunt inexpugnabiles.

Tanais quidem fluuius descendit à montibus Riphæis altissimis, qui sunt in vero Aquilone: nec est vltra illos ad Aquilonem habitatio. Et in termino Orientali Russiæ & Alaniæ, vbi mercatores & alij conueniunt de Hungaria & Cassaria, & Polonia & Russia est quoddam Casale, vbi nauigio pertransitur flumen Tanais. Et est Tanais ibi ad latitudinem Sequanæ Parisijs. Et vltra flumen illud est Albania superior vsque ad aliud flumen magnum, quod vocatur Etilia, quæ maior est in quadruplo quàm Sequana: & est de maioribus fluminibus Mundi; & crescit in æstate sicut Nilus: & à parte Aquilonis distat hoc flumen à Tanai per decem dietas: sed versus meridiem multum seperantur. Nam Tanais cadit in mare Ponticum, & Etilia in mare Caspium: & facit illud mare, cum alijs fluminibus multis, quæ veniunt de Perside & alijs locis. Nam à Pontico mari secundum Plinium sunt tricenta octoginta milliaria vsque ad mare Caspium. Et in hac terra habitabant Cumani. Sed Tartari deleuerunt omnes, sicut ex altera parte fecerunt vsque ad Danubium, vt dictum est. Et Tartari habent pecora infinita, & habitant in tentorijs, non habentes villas nec castra, nisi rarissime. Et vnus Princeps cum exercitu, & cum suis armentis gregum vagatur inter duo flumina. Vt vnus inter Boristhenem & Tanaim: alius inter Tanaim & Etiliam; & sic vltra versus Orientem, quia semper diuisi sunt per pascua & aquam. Et à Ianuario incipiunt adire partes Aquilonares iuxta flumina vsque ad Augustum: & tunc redeunt versus meridianas propter frigus Aquilonis in hyeme. Et versus Aquilonem distat Etilia à Prouincia Cassariæ per vnum mensem & tres dietas, sicut equitant Tartari. Hæc vero terra Tartarorum inter Tanaim & Etiliam habet ab Aquilone quasdam Gentes: & primo est Gens Arimphæa prope montes Riphæos, quæ est similis Hyperboreis in * omnibus. Et hæ duæ Gentes sunt prope polum in Aquilone. Sed remotius ab Aquilone vltra Tanaim est primo Gens quæ vocatur Moxel, subiecta Tartaris. Et sunt adhuc sine lege pure Pagani: ciuitatem non habent, sed casulas in syluis. Dominus eorum & magna pars eorum fuerunt interfecta in Polonia per Polonos & Alemannos & Boemos. Nam Tartari duxerunt eos ad bellum cum Polonis: & multum approbant Polonos & Alemannos de strenuitate; sperantes adhuc liberari à seruitute Tartarorum per eos. Si mercator veniat inter eos, oportet quod ille in cuius domo primo hospitatur, det ei expensas quantum vult ibi morari. Hæc enim est consuetudo illius Regionis. Post hos ad Orientem est Gens quædam quæ vocatur Merduini, subiecti Tartaris. Sed sunt Saraceni, habentes legem Machometi. Post eos est Etilia flumen predictum quod descendit à maiori Bulgaria, de qua postea dicetur. A meridie vero istius Regionis Tartarorum super mare Ponticum sunt Iberi & Georgiani. Et in Georgia est metropolis ciuitas,

Mare Orientale.
Estonia hinc vocati eius Incolæ in nostris historijs Easterlings.
Liuonia.
Prussia.
Semigallia.
Albania.
Danubij duodecim ostia.
* Vel Valachi.
Albania Occidentalis.
Gens Hyperborea, ex antiquorum fabulis.
Pagani.
Tartari.
Alani deleti.
Deest linea.
Tartari.
Montes Riphæi.
Hoc Casale hodie vocatur Asou.
Albania superior.
Etilia flumen, nunc Edel, & Volga, crescit non ex eadem causa, quia Nilus, nec eodem modo; sed Hyeme congelatur; æstate liquefiunt niues, &c.
* Etiam in ipsis de eâ fabulis & antiquandis antiquitatis nugis.
Dottè tamen author iste, cuius tempore nec loca ista detecta, nec fabulæ.
Etilia, vel Volga. Etil. Tartaricum nomen, Volga Muscouiticum. Nota quod maior Bulgaria, hodie Russia dicitur, & Muscouia.

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ciuitas, quæ vocatur Tephelis, *in qua Fratres Prædicatores habent domum. Et vlterius versus Orientem est terra* Coraſminorum: *ſed deleti ſunt à* Tartaris. *Et in his locis ſolebant antiquitus eſſe* Amazones, *ſecundum* Plinium *& Ethicum Aſtronomum*. Amazones *enim, vt refert Ethicus, fuerunt mulieres ducentes exercitum magnum ex mulieribus ſine viris collectum: quæ aduocantes vsos certis temporibus anni conceperunt: ſed maſculos genitos interfecerunt, faminas reſeruando, quarum in iuuentute mamillas dextras per artificium chirurgiæ abſtulerunt ne in ſagittando reciperent impedimentum per mamillas; & Minotauros ac Centauros, monſtra ferociſſima nutriuerunt à iuuentute mamillis ſuis: vnde antecedebant eas ſicut matres ſuas: & omnem exercitum premebant magis per huiuſmodi monſtra, quam per arma: & ſimiliter Elephantes à iuuentute nutriebant & aſſueſcebant ad bella: & ſic per centum annos vaſtabant meridianas partes* Aſiæ *&* Græciæ, *donec ab* Hercule *fuerunt ſeductæ & diſtructæ.*

Tephelis.
Cormini *deleti.*
Amazones.
Palea.

Hæc vero loca Georgianorum *&* Coraſminorum *habent terram Soldani* Turkiæ *&* Capidociam *à Meridie. Nam in latere Meridiano maris Ponticì eſt terra Soldani vſque ad Sinopolim, de qua prius dictum eſt: & poſt eam in eodem latere maris verſus Occidentem eſt terra* Vaſtacij, *ſcilicet* Græcia *Orientalis. Nam Occidentalis vocatur vbi* Conſtantinopolis *eſt, & Regiones ei annexæ citra Brachium Sancti* Georgij *in* Europa. *Sed* Armenia *maior eſt ſuper* Capadociam *ad Orientem. Et ideo illa* Armenia *etſi Meridiana ſit reſpectu* Georgiæ, *tamen in Orientem tendit, & extenditur vſque* Mediam *&* Meſopotamiam. *Et hæc terra tota æſtimatur à multis eſſe terra* Ararat; *propter hoc quod in* Iſaia *dicitur, quod filij* Sennacherib *interfecto patre fugerunt in* Ararat: *In libro Regum dicitur, quod fugerunt in* Armeniam. *Sed* Ieronimus *vndecimo libro ſuper* Iſaiam *ſoluit hoc dicens:* Ararat *regio in* Armenia *campeſtris per quam* Araxis *fluit incredibilis vbertatis ad radices montis* Tauri, *qui vſque illuc extenditur. Quapropter* Ararat *non eſt tota* Armenia, *ſed regio determinata; magna tamen eſt. Nam* Araxes *fluuius, à quo* Ararat *regio nominatur, extenditur à capite ſuo per iter trium menſium & amplius. Caput autem eius eſt Fons in monte* Armeniæ *vbi propriè oritur* Euphrates *ex parte Aquilonis, &* Tigris *ad aliud latus montis verſus Meridiem. In montibus autem* Armeniæ *teſtante Scriptura requieuit Arca* Noe: *Sed non in quibuſcunque montibus: quoniam non eſt in iſtis, vbi oriuntur iſta tria flumina magna, ſed in altiſſimo* Tauri *montis cacumine, vbi* Ararat *regio eſt, ſecundum quod dicit* Ieronimus *vndecimo ſuper* Iſaiam; *Arca in qua liberatus eſt* Noe *ceſſante diluuio non ad montes generaliter* Armeniæ, *ſed ad montes* Tauri *altiſſimos, qui* Ararat *imminent campis. Et prope illos montes eſt ciuitas quæ maxima fuit, antequam eam deſtruxerunt* Tartari. *Nam fuerunt in ea octingentæ Eccleſiæ* Hermenorum. *Et in tempore Fratris* Willelmi, *cum tranſiuit per eam, non fuerunt niſi duæ paruulæ: Et ibi prope fuerunt Martyrizati Beatus* Bartholomæus *& Beatus* Iudas Thaddæus. *Et ibi ſunt duæ Prophetiæ. Vna eſt Beati* Methodij *Martyris, qui fuit de Gente illa. Et plane prophetauit de* Iſmaelitis: *quæ prophetia impleta eſt in* Saracenis. *Alius Propheta eorum vocatur Akaton, qui prophetauit de* Tartaris *& deſtructione eorum. Dicit enim, quod ab Aquilone veniet Gens* Sagittaria, *quæ omnes Nationes Orientis ſubiugabit: Et veniunt in Regnum Occidentis, ſcilicet ad* Conſtantinopolim, *& ibi per Principes Occidentis deſtruentur. Et tunc conuertentur omnes Gentes Chriſti: & erit tanta pax vbique, quod viui dicent mortuis: Væ vobis, quod non vixiſtis vſque nunc. Et Imperator Chriſtianus ponet ſolium ſuum in* Taurino *in* Perſide. *Et* Hermeni *habent iſtam prophetiam ſicut Euangelium. Et ciuitas memorata vocatur nunc* Naxuan; *quæ ſolebat eſſe caput Regni: & eſt verſus partes Aquilonares* Armeniæ. *Nam à feſto Sancti* Clementis *aſcendit Frater* Willelmus *iuxta* Araxem *vbi terminatur verſus Aquilonem; & in feſto Natalis venit ad illam ciuitatem; & in Octauis Epiphaniæ receſſit ab ea: & per* Araxem *iuit vſque ad caput eius in ſecunda Dominica quadrageſimæ: & non longe plus eſt à ciuitate illa ad vltimum* Armeniæ *à parte Meridiei, quam ad Aquilonem. Deinde ſuperius ad Orientem ſunt montes* Alanorum, *&* Aas, *qui ſunt Chriſtiani, & recipiunt indifferenter omnes Chriſtianos tam* Latinos *quàm* Græcos: *vnde non ſunt ſciſmatici, & pugnant cum* Tartaris; *& ſimiliter* Alani. *Poſt eos ad Orientem ſunt* Saraceni, *qui vocantur* Lelgi, *qui ſimiliter propter terra fortitudinem pugnant cum* Tartaris.

Frater Willelmus.
Vid. ſup. in Rubruq.
Bartholomæus.
Iudas Thadæus.
Nunc Nachchuan.
Alani. Aas.
Lelgi, Saraceni.

Poſt illos ad Orientem ſunt Portæ Caſpiæ *ſuper Mare* Caſpium, *quas* Alexander *magnus conſtruxit in concurſu Montium. Nam cum voluit expugnare Gentem Aquilonarem no potuit propter illius Gentis ferocitatem & multitudinem. Et, vt dicit Ethicus, ſtetit per annum vnum & menſes tres, vt defenderet ſe ab eis, & ingenuit quod talis peſſima Gens fuiſſet in partibus Aquilonis; & exclamauit ad Deum, vt apponeret remedium, ne mundus deſtrueretur per eos. Sed, licet non fuit dignus exaudiri, tamen Deus ſua bonitate, & propter ſalutem generis humani, iuſſit fieri terræ motum maximum, & montes diſtantes per ſtadium coniuncti ſunt vſque ad latitudinem vnius Portæ. Et* Alexander *tunc fecit fundi columnas æreas miræ magnitudinis, & erexit portas & liniuit eas bitumine, quod nec igne, nec aqua, nec ferro diſſolui poſſet, quod acquiſiuit ex Inſulis maris. Nec potuerunt diuini aliquo modo niſi per terræ motum: & iam dirutæ ſunt. Nam Frater* Willelmus *tranſiuit per medium earum cum* Tartaris. *Et eſt ibi ciuitas quæ vocatur Porta ferrea* Alexandri: *à qua verſus orientem incipit* Hircania *ſuper* Hircanum *mare, quod eſt* Caſpium, *vt ſuperius dictum eſt. Nam* Hircania *iacet ſuper littus meridionale illius maris, & extenditur vſq; ad terminos* Indiæ: *à cuius* Hircaniæ *latere meridionali ſunt* Media *&* Parthia; *ſicut prius fuit annotatum. Hæ vero Portæ non ſunt* Caucaſiæ, *ſed* Caſpiæ, *vt dicit* Plinius: *nec* Caucaſiæ *ſunt* Caſpiæ. *Nam* Caucaſiæ *diſtant à* Caſpijs *per ducenta milliaria verſus mare* Ponticum: *Et à mari* Pontico *diſtant per centum milliaria circa partes* Hiberiæ *&* Georgiæ.

Portæ Caſpiæ.
Bitumen egregium ex Inſulis maris.
Porta ferrea Alexandri.

Et

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Gog & Magog *in his locis inclusi.*
Iudæi *his locis inclusi.*
Antichristus.
* *Vt* Iudæi Christum *expectauerunt spectantes, imo crucifigentes praesentem, & alium sperant: sic artibus eiusdem Satanæ contrarijs,* Pontificij *spectantes & conspicientes, expectant tamen* Antichristum, *horrentq; venturum quem praesentem honorant; neque sine Magno iniquitatis mysterio vices idem agit Christi & Diaboli.*
Frater Willielmus.
Rogerus Bacon *vixit tempore* Lodouici 9 *regis* Franciæ.
Oceanus Aquilonaris.
Antiqui antiquati.
Cumani idem *qui* Cangle, & Albani.
Iter ab Etilia 4. *mensium.*
Terra principalis Imperatoris.
Cumania *maxima terrarum, vbi &* Turcomani.
Bulgaria *maior (quæ hodie* Russicum *siue* Moscouiticum *Imperium) tunc temporis* Mahometica: *quæ iam pridem ad vitus* Greco *modo Christianos transijt, hodieq; tenet.*
Finis Aquilonis.
Pascatur terra, Magna Hungaria.
* *Scilicet in notioribus illis Orbis regionibus.*
Blaci, Valachia Ilac.
Mare Caspium
Montes Caucasi
Cataia Nigra, *vel* Cara Cataia.
Cataia Nigra *bis Presbyterum*

Et ista loca cum montibus intersecantibus vocantur clausura Alexandri, *per quæ cohibuit* Gentes Aquilonares *ne irruerent in terras Meridianas deuastando eas. Nam* Alexander *multa bella gessit cum eis, vt refert* Ethicus, *& aliquando infra tres dies ceciderunt ex vtraque parte multa millia hominum.* Alexander *tamen magis arte & ingenio vicit, quam armorum potestate. Et cum fuerunt excitati sicut* Vrsi *de cauernis suis, non potuerat eos reprimere per violentiam: Sed Deus iuuit per terræ motum & clausuras montium: Nunc autem ruptæ sunt; & dim est quod fractæ sunt, sine terræ motu, seu vetustate. Et considerandum est diligenter de locis istis. Nam* Gog & Magog *de quibus* Ezechiel *Prophetat, &* Apocalypsis, *in hijs locis sunt inclusi. Secundum quod dicit* Ieronimus *vndecimo libro super* Ezechielem; Gog Scythica *gens trans* Caucasum & Mæotim & Caspium *mare ad* Indiam *vsque tenduntur. Et à principe* Gog, *omnes qui subditi sunt* Magog *appellantur. Et* Iudæi *similiter, quos* Orosius & *alij sancti referunt exituros. Atque, sicut* Ethicus *scribit,* Alexander *inclusit viginti duo Regna de stirpe* Gog & Magog, *exitura in diebus* Antichristi: *Qui mundum primo vastabunt, & deinde obuiabunt* Antichristo, *& vocabunt eum Deum deorum; sicut & Beatus* Ieronimus *confirmat. O quam* necessarium est Ecclesiæ Dei, vt Prelati & viri Catholici hæc loca considerent: non solum propter conuersionem* Gentium *in illis locis, & consolationem* Christianorum *captiuorum ibidem, sed propter persecutionem* Antichristi, *vt sciatur vnde venturus sit, & quando, per hanc considerationem & alias multas.*

A portis vero Caspijs *incipit Mare* Caspium *extendi in longum ad Orientem & in latum ad* Aquilonem. *Et est non minus quam* Ponticum *Mare, vt dicit* Plinius: *Et habet spatium quatuor mensium in circuitu. Frater vero* Willielmus *in redeundo ab imperatore* Tartarorum *circuiuit latus Occidental, & in eundo ad eum perambulauit latus* Aquilonare; *vt ipse retulit Domino Regi* Franciæ, *qui nunc est, Anno Domini,* 1253. *Et a parte* Aquilonis *habet vastam Solitudinem, in qua sunt* Tartari: *Et vltra eos sunt multa Regiones* Aquilonares *antequam perueniatur ad Oceanum. Et ideo non potest istud Mare esse sinus maris Oceani: quod tamen fere omnes authores scribunt. Sed experientia huius temporis facta per fratrem* Willielmum *& homines alios fideles docet quod non venit a Mari, sed fit per flumina magna & multa, quorum congregatione fit hoc mare* Caspium & Hircanum.

Tota vero hæc terra Tartarorum *à* Tanai *vsque ad* Etiliam *fuit* Cumanorum, *qui vocabantur* Cangle: *qui omnes sunt deleti per* Tartaros. *Et tota ista terra vocabatur* Albania *antiquitus. Et hic sunt Canes maximi, ita vt Leones, & tauros perimant: Et homines ponunt eos in bigis & aratris. Deinde vltra* Etiliam *est tertius principatus* Tartarorum: *Et destructæ sunt gentes indigenæ ab eis: Et fuerunt* Cumani Cangle, *sicut prius. Et durat principatus ille à flumine* Etilia *in Orientem per iter quatuor mensium ex parte meridionali, vsque veniatur ad terram principalem imperatoris: Sed ex parte* Aquilonari *durat per iter duorum mensium & decem dierum. Ex quo patet, quod* Cumania *fuit terrarum maxima. Nam à* Danubio *vsque ad terram hanc in qua Imperator residet, habitabant* Cumani. *Qui omnes sunt destructi à* Tartaris, *præter eos qui fugerunt ad regnum* Hungariæ. *Et hic principatus habet ab* Aquilone *primo Maiorem* Bulgariam; *à qua venerunt* Bulgari, *qui sunt inter* Constantinopolin *&* Hungariam *&* Sclauoniam. *Nam hæc quæ in* Europa *est minor* Bulgaria, *habet linguam illorum* Bulgarorum *qui sunt in maiori* Bulgaria, *quæ est in* Asia. *Et isti* Bulgari *sunt pessimi* Saraceni. *Et hoc est mirabile: quoniam illa terra distat a porta ferrea seu a Portis* Caspijs *triginta diebus & plus per transuersum Solitudinis: Et est in fine* Aquilonis. *Vnde mirum est valde, quod ad eos tam distantes a* Saracenis *peruenit secta* Machometi. *Et de hac* Bulgaria *venit* Etilia, *de qua dictum est. Post eam ad orientem est terra* Pascatur, *quæ est magna* Hungaria, *a qua exiuerunt* Huni: *Qui postea* Hungri; *modo dicuntur* Hungari. *Qui colligentes secum* Bulgaros, *& alias Nationes* Aquilonares, *sicut dicit* Isidorus, Claustra Alexandri *ruperunt: Et soluebatur eis tributum vsque in* Egygtum. *Et destruxerunt terras omnes vsque in* Franciam. *Vnde maioris potentiæ fuerunt, quam adhuc *sunt* Tartari. *Et magna pars eorum residet in terra quæ nunc vocatur* Hungaria *vltra* Bohemiam *&* Austriam, *quæ est modo apud latinos regnum* Hungariæ. *Et iuxta terram Pascatur sunt* Blaci *de* Blacia *maiori: à qua venerunt* Blaci *in terra* Assani *inter* Constantinopolim *&* Bulgariam, *&* Hungariam, *&* Hungariam *minorem. Nam populus ille dicitur nunc a* Tartaris Ilac; *quod idem est quod* Blac. *Sed* Tartari *nesciunt sonare B. literam. A parte vero meridiei Istius Solitudinis* Tartarorum *est mare* Caspium: *Et deinde montes* Caucasi *vsque in Orientem. Et extenditur hic principatus ab* Etilia *vsque in* Catayam Nigram: *vnde vocatur* Cara Cataia. *Et* Cara *idem est, quod* Nigra: *Et dicitur* Cataia Nigra, *ad differentiam alterius* Cataiæ, *quæ est longe vltra hanc ad Orientem multis regionibus distantem ab ista* Cataia Nigra: *de qua postea dicitur. Et hæc terra cum sibi adiacentibus est terra imperatoris* Tartarorum *præcipui, in quibus vagatur semper eum curia sua, ascendendo in æstate ad frigidas regiones; & in hyeme ad calidas. Et hæc* Cataia Nigra *fuit terra Presbyteri* Ioannis, *seu Regis* Ioannis; *de quo tanta fama solebat esse: & multa falsa dicta sunt & scripta.*

Hic vero oportet exprimi originem Tartarorum: *non solum propter euidentiam distinctionis regionum maiorem, sed propter ipsam* Gentem, *quæ nunc famosissima est, & subdit mundum pedibus. Sciendum igitur, quod cum bellum fuit* Antiochiæ, *tunc regnauit in Terra ista* Coir Can. *Nam in historia* Antiochena *legitur. Quod* Turci *miserunt pro succursu contra* Francos *ad regnum* Coir Can, *qui tenebat Monarchiam in regionibus* Aquilonis, *tempore illo, quo capta fuit* Antiochia *qui fuit de* Cara Cataia. Coir

fuit Terra Presbyteri Iohannis, *de quo multa falsa, nec falsitate minori transyt fabula ad* Abassinos *nouumq; dedit nobis* Ioannem Africanum, Turci. *Regnum* Coir Can.

vero

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vero est nomen proprium: Can *est nomen dignitatis; & sonat idem quod Diuinator. Nam principes ibi regunt populum per diuinationes & scientias, quæ instruunt homines in futuris, siue sint partes Physicæ, vt Astronomia & scientia experimentalis, siue artes Magicæ, quibus totum Oriens est deditū & imbutum. Omnes igitur imperatores* Tartarorum *vocantur* Can: *sicut apud nos vocantur Imperatores & Reges. Mortuo vero isto* Coir, *fuit quidam pastor* Nestorinus *in terra illa potens & Dominus super populum, qui populus vocatur* Naiman; *qui erant Christiani,* Nestorini. *Qui sunt mali Christiani: Et tamen dicunt se esse subiectos* Romanæ *Ecclesiæ. Et isti* Nestorini *non solum sunt ibi in Terra* Naiman, *sed per omnes regiones vsque in Orientem sunt dispersi. Iste vero pastor erexit se in Regem; & vocatus est Presbyter & Rex* Iohannes. *Huic* Iohanni *erat frater quidam pastor potens* Vnc *nomine: habens sua pascua vltra fratrem suum per iter trium Septimanarum: Et erat Dominus cuiusdam* Villæ, *quæ dicitur* Caracarum: *quæ est nunc ciuitas Imperialis, & maior in terra Imperatoris: Et tamen non est ita bona sicut Sanctus* Dionysius *iuxta* Parisios *in* Francia; *sicut scripsit frater* Willelmus *Domino Regi. Et vltra pascua istius circiter duodecim dietas erant pascua* Moal, *qui erant pauperes homines, & stulti ac simplices sine lege: iuxta quos fuerunt alij pauperes qui vocabantur* Tartari, *similes eis. Mortuo igitur* Iohanne *Rege eleuauit se in Regem* Vnc *frater eius, & vocauit se* Can: *vnde* Vnc-Can *dicebatur: qui misit armenta sua versus terminos* Moal. *Inter quos* Moal *erat faber quidam nomine* Cingis, *furans & rapiens animalia* Vnc-can. *Quo congregante exercitum* Cingis *fugit ad* Tartaros: *Qui dixit ad eos & ad* Moal: *Quia sumus sine duce ideo Vicini nostri opprimunt nos. Et factus est Dux eorum, & congregato exercitu irruit super* Vnc-can, *& vicit eum; & factus est princeps in terra, & vocauit se* Cingis-can: *Et accepit filiam* Vnc, *& dedit eam filio suo in vxorem, ex qua natus est* Mangu Can, *qui regnum diuisit istis principibus* Tartarorum, *qui nunc regnant & discordant ab invicem. Ad hunc enim* Mangu Can *fuit frater* Willelmus. *Et ipse* Cingis Can *vbiq; præmittebat* Tartaros *in pugna. Vnde exiuit fama* Tartarorum: *qui fere deleti sunt per crebra bella. Et licet propter hanc causam nos istam* Gentem *vocemus* Tartaros, *apud quos est imperium & Dominium: tamen semper sunt Imperatores & principes de gente* Moal. *Nec volunt vocari* Tartari *sed* Moal: *quia primus eorum imperator scilicet* Cingis-can, *fuit Natione* Moal. *Vnde non habuerunt ad huc ante istos qui nunc regnant nisi tres scilicet* Cingis-can, *&* Ken-can, *&* Mangu-can. *Qui* Ken-can *fuit filius* Cingis, *&* Mangu *filius eius. Hac igitur gens* Moal *est stultissima ab origine prima, & pauperrima: Quæ tamen permissione Diuina paulatim omnes Nationes vicinas subiugauit & totam mundi latitudinem in paruo tempore prostrauit. Quæ si esset concors primo congressu Ægyptum & Affricam vastaret, vt sic ex omni parte* Latinos *circundarent. Nam nunc a parte* Aquilonis *regnant vsq; in* Poloniam. *Quia tota* Russia *est eis subiecta, & tota terra ab Oriente vsq; ad* Danubium, *& vltra* Danubium, *scilicet* Bulgaria *&* Blachia *sunt eis tributariæ: Ita quod vsq; ad terram* Constantinopolitanam *tenet eorum Imperium. Et* Soldanus Turkiæ, *& Rex* Armeniæ, *& princeps* Antiochiæ, *& omnes principes Orientis vsq; in* Indiam *sunt eis subiecti, præter pancos, qui aut nimis distant, aut habent loca in Montanis tutissima, quæ expugnari non possunt.*

Primo igitur in terra vbi imperator moratur est, Cataia Nigra, *vbi fuit Presbyter* Iohannes. *Post eam est terra fratris sui vltra per iter trium Septimanarum. Deinde terra* Moal; *&* Tartarorum *vltra eos per iter quasi duo decem dietarum. Sed tota hac terra est in qua moratur Imperator vagans per diuersa loca. Terra tamen in qua fuerunt* Moal, *vocatur* Ornan Kerule: *Et ibi est adhuc Curia* Cingis Can. *Sed quia* Caracarum, *cum Regione eius fuit prima adquisitio eorum; ideo Ciuitatem illam habent pro imperiali: Et prope illam eligunt suum* Can, *id est Imperatorem. Deinde post* Moal *&* Tartaros *ad Orientem sunt fortes homines, qui vocantur* Tangut; *qui ceperunt primo* Cingis-can *in bello. Sed pace facta iterum subiugauit eos. Isti homines habent Boues fortissimos, habentes Candas plenas pilis sicut Equi: Quorum vaccæ non permittunt se* Mungi*, *nisi cautetur eis. Et si isti Boues vident hominem indutum rubeis, insiliunt in eum volentes interficere. Post istos ad Orientem sunt homines qui vocantur* Tebeth: *qui solebant comedere parentes suos causa pietatis, vt non facerent eis alia Sepulchra nisi viscera sua. De quibus scribunt Philosophi, vt* Plinius, Solinus *& alij: Et frater* Willelmus *testatur in libro suo: ac frater* Iohannes *de* Plano Carpini *similiter in libro, quem composuit de* Tartaris, *inter quos fuit Anno Domini,* 1246. *missus a Domino* Papa *in legationem ad Imperatorem* Tartarorum. *Sed quia fuerunt ex hoc facto abhominabiles omni Nationi, ideo iam mutauerunt hunc ritum; & tamen adhuc de ossibus capitum faciunt ciphos, in quibus bibunt propter memoriam parentum suorum. Post istos ad Orientem sunt parui homines & fusci sicut* Hispani, *& dicuntur* Solangi. *Quorum nuncij cum veniunt ad curiam alicuius, habent in manu tabulam de Ebore, in qua inspiciunt cum narrant ea quæ volunt, ac si omnia essent ibi scripta. Et vltra eos est quidam Populus, quorum animalia non appropriant alicui, nec habent custodem. Sed si aliquis indigena vult habere aliquod animal, stat super collem & vociferat sicut vult, & veniunt ad vocem suam, & accipit quod vult. Quod si extraneus veniret, odore suo fugaret omnia, & faceret ea Sylvestria. Et ideo cum homo venit extraneus, claudunt eum in domo, & dant ei necessaria vitæ, donec habeat responsum de eis pro quibus venit, nec permittent eum vagari per regionem. Vltra hos est* Cataia *(quæ Seres dicitur apud Philosophos.) Et est in extremitate Orientis, a parte* Aquilonari *respectu* Indiæ, *diuisa ab ea per sinum Maris & Montes. Et hic fiunt panni serici optimi, & in magna copia. Vnde ab hac terra deferuntur ad alias regiones. Et hic populus aspirat multum per nares: Et sunt optimi Artifices in omni arte. Et sunt boni Medici apud eos in omnibus præterquam de Vrina, cuius indicio non vtuntur, sed per Pulsum & alia signa optime diindicant: Et bene*

Naiman *populus.*

Caracarum *Villa.*

Pascua Moal.

Tartari.

Cingis *faber.*

Cingis can.
Hocata-can.
Ken-can.
Mangu-can.

Tota Russia Tartaris *subdita.*

Cataia Nigra.
vbi fuit Presbyter Iohannes.
Terra Moal.
Terra Tartarorum.
Ornan Kerule.
Caracarum, *Ciuitas Imperialis.*
Tangut.
Vaccæ *mulcendæ cantu ad Mulgendum.*
* Mulgeri.
Tebeth.
Vid. ab Hak. *to.* 1. *& ap.* Vincen. *spec. hist. l.* 32.

Solangi.

Cathia *in extremitate Orientis.*

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bene cognoscunt vires herbarum, & totius medicinæ potestatem. Multi ex eis sunt apud Tartaros. *Et istorum* Cataiorum *moneta vulgaris est charta de bambasio in qua imprimunt quasdam lineas. Nec mirum; Cum* Ruteni, *qui prope nos sunt, habent pro moneta faciem* * Hesperolorum. *Et ista* Cataia *non distat per* 120. *dietas à terra in qua moratur Imperator. Et in illa terra sunt rupes excelsæ, in quibus habitant quedam creaturæ habentes per omnia formam humanam; non tamen genua flectunt, sed ambulant saltando: sed non sunt longitudinis maioris, quàm cubiti; & vestitur totum corpus crinibus: Et venatores portant cerusiam, & faciunt foueas in rupibus ad modum cyphorum: Et illa animalia veniunt & bibunt cerusiam, & inebriantur, & dormiunt, & sic capiuntur: Et venatores ligant eis manus & pedes, & aperiunt venam in collo, & extrahunt tres vel quatuor guttas sanguinis, & dissoluunt ea; ac permittunt abire. Et ille sanguis est preciosissimus pro purpura.*

Vel Aspreolorum.

Descriptio Simiæ.

Sciendum vero, quod à principio Cataiæ *magna nigra vsque ad finem Orientis sunt principaliter Idolatræ: sed mixti sunt inter eos* Saraceni & Tartari, & Nestoriani, *qui sunt Christiani imperfecti, habentes Patriarcham suam in Oriente; qui visitat Regiones, & ordinat infantes in cunabulis ad sacros ordines: quia ipse solus* [b] *ordinat; & non potest venire ad vnum locum nisi quasi in quinquaginta annis. Et ille dicit se habere authoritatem à* Romana *Ecclesia ab antiquo; & paratus est obedire, si via esset aperta. Et isti docent filios Nobilium* Tartarorum *Euangelium & fidem, & alios quando possunt. Sed quia parum sciunt, & sunt malorum morium, ideo* Tartari *despiciunt eos. Et consecrant in missa vnum panem latum ad modum palmæ, & diuidunt primo in duodecem partes, secundum numerum Apostolorum; & postea illas partes diuidunt secundum numerum populi. Et Sacerdos dat vnicuique corpus Christi in manu sua; & tunc quilibet assumit de palma sua cum reuerentia. Sed Idolatræ prævalent in multitudine in omnibus hijs Regionibus. Et omnes conueniunt in hoc quod habent Templa sicut nos, & campanas magnas. Et ideo Ecclesia* Græcorum *& totius Orientis nolunt habere campanas.* Ruteni *tamen habent &* Græci *in* Cassaria.

Patriarcha Nestorianorum.

[b] *Sic solus* Abuna *in* Æthiopia *ordinat.*

Idolatræ. Templa. Campanæ.

Omnes Sacerdotes eorum radunt caput & barbam, & seruant castitatem ex quo radunt caput: Et viuunt centum vel ducentum in vna congregatione. Diebus quibus intrant Templum ponunt duo scamna, & sedent è Regione, chorus contra chorum in terra, habentes libros in manibus, quos aliquando deponunt super illa scamna: & habent capita discooperta quamdiu sunt in Templo legentes in silencio; & nullo modo loquerentur in Templo nisi verba officij sui. Habent etiam in manibus quocunque vadunt quandam cordam centum vel ducentum nucleorum sicut nos Pater noster: & dicunt super hac verba. On, Maio, Baccan, *id est, Deus tu nosti. Hæc sunt communia omnibus Idolatris. Sed tamen* Iugres, *qui habitant in terra vbi Imperator moratur, differunt ab alijs. Nam alij non ponunt vnum Deum, sed plures, & creaturam adorant. Isti vero propter Viciniam Christianorum &* Saracenorum *ponunt vnum Deum. Et sunt optimi scriptores: vnde* Tartari *acceperunt litteras eorum: & illi sunt magni scriptores* Tartarorum. *Et isti scribunt à sursum in deorsum, & à sinistra in dextram multiplicant lineas & legunt.* Tebeth *scribunt sicut nos, & habent figuras similes nostris.* Tangut *scribunt à dextra in sinistram sicut* Arabes, *sed multiplicant lineas ascendendo.* Catai *Orientales scribunt cum punctorio, quo pingunt pictores: & faciunt in vna figura plures literas comprehendentes vnam dictionem. Et ex hoc veniunt Caracteres, qui habent multas literas simul. Vnde veri Caracteres & Philosophici sunt compositi ex literis, & habent sensum dictionum. Et tota terra à* Danubio *vsq; in Orientem vocatur apud Antiquos* Scythia, *à quo* Scythæ. *Et omnes Regiones* Tartarorum *sunt de* Scythia: *& etiam* Russia, *& totum vsq; ad* Alamaniam.

Rasura. Castitas. Collegia Sacerdotum.

Corda nucleorum.

Iugres.

Tebeth. Tangut. Catai Orientalis. Chinæi vtuntur hodie eiusmodi penicillis, & characteribus Caracteres Philosophici.

And thus much *ex quarta parte Compendij Studij Theologiæ* F. R. Baconi.

Relations of VINCENTIVS BELVACENSIS, *the most of which hee receiued from Frier* SIMON de Sancto Quintino, *one of the foure Friers sent by Pope* INNOCENT *the Fourth to the* Tartars: *seruing to the illustration of the former.*

V. B. Spec. hist. lib. 32. Mat. Michou. l. 2. c. 5. saith two of them went to the *Cham*: but they were two others sent another way, *Iohn de Plano Carpini* and his fellow, whose story is in M. Hak. and in the said *Vincent. l. 32.*

ANno, 1246. *Cuyne*, who is also called *Gog Cham*, was aduanced to the Imperiall Throne of the *Tartars*. All their Barons being assembled, placed a golden seat in the midst, whereon they caused him to sit; and set a Sword before him, saying, Wee will, and desire, and command thee to rule ouer vs. He demanded if they were contented, to doe, come, goe, slay as he should command. They answered yea. Then said he, The word of my mouth shall henceforth bee my Sword: and they all consented. After this they spread a Felt on the ground, and set him thereon, saying, *Looke vpwards and acknowledge God, and looke downe on the Felt whereon thou sittest. If thou shalt gouerne well, wilt be liberall, iust, and honour thy Princes according to their dignitie, thou shalt reigne magnificent, and the whole World shall be subiect to thy Dominion, and God will giue thee all thy hearts desire; if otherwise thou shalt bee miserable and so poore, that the Felt shall not bee left thee whereon thou sittest.* This done, they set his Wife with him on the Felt: and lifted them vp both so sitting, and proclaimed them Emperour and Empresse of the *Tartars*. After which they brought before him infinite store of Gold, and Siluer, and Gemmes, with all which remayned to *Chagadan*, who distributed what he pleased, and reserued the rest. Then began they to drinke vntill night after their manner; and afterward sodden flesh came in Carts without Salt, and among it

Others call him *Ocodai Can*

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mongſt foure or fiue they diſtributed a ioynt thereof. They call him *Can*, concealing his proper name, and he boaſts himſelfe the Sonne of God. He hath a Prince in the Confines of *Perſia*, called *Baioth Noy* (*Noy*, ſignifieth his dignitie; *Baioth* is his name) which hath ſubdued the Countries of *Chriſtians* and *Saracens* to the Mediterranean Sea. Another called *Corenzam* remayneth in the Weſt Frontiers with threeſcore thouſand vnder him. The greateſt Prince is *Bathoth*, who hath vnder him one hundred and threeſcore thouſand *Tartars*, and foure hundred and fiftie thouſand *Chriſtians* and others. The *Chams* forces are innumerable. *Batho.*

Anno Dom. 1247. Frier *Aſcelinus* ſent by the Pope, came into the Campe of the *Tartars* with other Friers Preachers: where the Captayne *Baioth-noy*, by Meſſengers demanded, whoſe Meſſengers they were. Frier *Aſceline* anſwered for them all, I am the Meſſenger of the Lord Pope, who amongſt Chriſtians is greater then any man, reputed a Father and Lord. They replyed, how proudly doe yee ſay your Pope is greater then any? Knowes he not that the *Cham* is Son of God, and *Baioth-noy* and *Batho* are his Princes? *Aſcelinus* anſwered, the Pope knowes not them, but heares that the *Tartars* haue comne out of the Eaſt, and haue deſtroyed infinite multitudes. And had he knowne the names of *Cham* or his Princes, he would not haue omitted their names in the Letters which we bring. But beeing grieued for the ſlaughters of ſo many, eſpecially Chriſtians, with the aduice of his Brethren the Cardinals, he hath ſent vs to the next *Tartarian* Armie we could find, to exhort the Generall thereof to ceaſe ſuch attempts, and to repent of that which they haue done. The Meſſengers went and came diuers times betwixt, euery time in change of Garments, and were very ſollicitous for Gifts and Preſents which the Friers had none to giue. And beſides they denyed to performe the Ceremonies of kneeling to *Baioth-noy*, leſt they ſhould thereby intimate a ſubiection of the Pope to the *Tartars:* whereupon hee conſulted to put them all foure to death, to which a Meſſenger ſent from the Great *Cham* would not conſent. The Friers only would put vp their hoods and bow the head: whereat a *Tartar* asked whereas you *Chriſtians* adore ſtockes and ſtones, that is Croſſes imprinted on them; why doe you refuſe to doe ſo to *Baioth-noy*, whom *Cham* the Sonne of God hath commanded to be adored. *Aſcelinus* anſwered, *Chriſtians* adore not ſtockes and ſtones, but the ſigne of the Croſſe theron, for his ſake which dyed on a Croſſe, adorning it with his mẽbers as precious Iewels and conſecrating it with his bloud, purchaſing thereby our ſaluation. So cannot wee doe to your Lord. *Baioth-noy* ſent them word, that hee would ſend them with their Letters to the *Cham*, which they refuſed. Then he ſent for the Letters which were tranſlated firſt into *Perſian*, and thence into the *Tartar* Language. Hee held them there with many Trickes and Illuſions, many weeks with hard fare and ill vſage. And after much adoe he returned with *Baioth-noys* anſwer, hauing firſt had a Meſſenger with Letters from the *Cham*.

The foure were *Aſcelinus*, *Alberike*, *Alexander*, and *Simon*.

See a like diſtinction of Ethnikes, *Aug. in Pſal.* 113.

BAioth-noys Letter was this to the Pope. *The word of* Baioth-noy. *Pope, know this; thy Meſſengers came and brought thy Letters to vs. Thy Meſſengers ſpake great words; we know not whether thou gaueſt them ſo in charge, or whether they ſpake it of themſelues. In thy Letters thou hadſt written; yee kill, ſlay, and deſtroy many men. The precept of God ſtable and firme, who containeth the face of the whole world, vnto vs is this. Whoſoeuer ſhall heare the Statute on their owne Land, let them yeeld Water and Patrimonie, and let them deliuer power to him which contayneth the face of the whole World. But whoſoeuer will not heare the Precept and Statute, but ſhall doe otherwiſe, let them be rooted out and deſtroyed. Now we ſend to you touching that Satute and Precept. If yee will yeeld Water and Patrimonie on our Land, it is meet that thou Pope thy ſelfe in thine perſon come to vs, and to him which contayneth the face of the whole Earth: and if thou wilt not heare the ſtable Precept of God and of him which contayneth the face of the whole Earth, wee know not, God knowes. It is meet that before thou commeſt, thou ſendeſt Meſſengers, and that thou ſignifieſt to vs whether thou commeſt or no; whether thou wilt compound with vs, or be Enemie. And ſend an Anſwere of the Precept quickly to vs. This Precept by the hands of* Aybeg *and* Sargis, *we haue ſent in the moneth of Iuly, the twentieth day of the Moone. In the Territorie of the Caſtle* Sitiens.

THe Copie of the *Chams* Letters to *Baioth-noy. By the Precept of the liuing God* Cingiſ-cham *the Sonne of God, ſweete and venerable ſaith, that God is high ouer all, hee is God immortall, and vpon Earth* Cingiſ-cham, *is Lord alone. Wee will that this come into euery place to the hearing of all, to the Prouinces obeying vs, and to the Prouinces, obeying againſt vs. It is therefore meete that thou O* Baioth-noy *excite them and make it knowne to them, that this is the commandement of the liuing and immortall God: that thou alſo inceſſantly make knowne thy deſire touching this, and notifie my commandement in all places, where a Meſſenger may come. And whoſoeuer ſhall gainſay thee ſhall be hunted, and his Land ſhall be waſted. And I aſſure thee, that whoſoeuer ſhall not heare this my Mandate, ſhall bee deafe; and whoſoeuer ſhall doe according to this my iudgement, knowing peace and not doing it, ſhall be lame. Let this my Ordinance come to the knowledge of all. Whoſoeuer ſhall heare and neglect to obſerue it ſhall be deſtroyed and ſlaine. Manifeſt this O* Baioth-noy. *And whoſoeuer deſireth the profit of his Houſe, and will ſerue vs, ſhall bee ſaued and honoured. And whoſoeuer ſhall contradict, ſtudie thou to correct them at thine owne pleaſure.*

Vnto

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V. Bel. l. 32 c. 90. * This ſeemes to be that *Sartach* in *Rubruq.* *Ercalthays* pretended Letter in *Vincent. 6. 91.*

Vnto *Lewis* the *French* King were ſent certayne Meſſengers from a great man, ealled *Ercalthay*; * and there was preſent Frier *Andrew* of *Lontumel* a *Dominican*, who knew *Dauid* the chiefe of them, hauing ſeene him in the Armie of the *Tartars*. Theſe brought Letters in *Perſian* and *Arabike* Letters. They reported alſo that a great King of the *Tartars* called *Cham* was become a Chriſtian, with moſt of his followers. And now the ſaid *Ercalthay* had receiued Baptiſme and was come forth from *Cham* with a great Armie to aduance the Chriſtian Faith, and to deſtroy the Aduerſaries thereof; and much deſired the *French* Kings loue. They thought alſo that the ſaid *Ercalthay* would the next Eaſter beſiege *Baldach*. Theſe told the King alſo of the *Tartarian* Affaires. Whereupon he ſent Meſſengers with Letters and Iewels to *Ercalthay*, with a Tent or Chappell of Scarlet fairely embroydered, with the Storie of the Paſſion, with Ornaments thereto and things fitting for Diuine Seruice, with a piece of the wood of the Holy Croſſe, exhorting him to proceed in the Faith. The Meſſenger were the foreſaid Frier *Andrew* with two other Friers and two Clerkes. Tranſcripts of all were ſent into *France*.

CHAP. III.

Relations touching the Tartars, *taken out of the Hiſtorie of* R. WENDOVER, * *and* MAT. PARIS: *with certayne Epiſtles of the ſame ſubiect.*

* Hee was Author of a great part of that hiſtory, which is wholly aſcribed to *Paris* by the moſt. *Dacia* is here, as often by later Authours corruptly taken for *Denmarke*. The *Dacia* of the ancients comprehended *Tranſiluania*, *Walachia*, and *Moldauia*.

ANno 1239. the *Tartars*, inhumane Nations, which had made great ſlaughters, and had with hoſtile forces inuaded the borders of Chriſtendome, in the greater *Hungarie* were vanquiſhed and moſt of them ſlaine, beeing encountred by fiue Kings, *Chriſtians* and *Saracens*, herein confederate. After which the King of *Dacia* and the King of *Hungarie* cauſed the Confines (before by the *Tartars* brought in manner to a Wilderneſſe) to bee inhabited by *Chriſtians*, which they ſent thither. Of which out of *Dacia*, alone went more then fortie ſhips.

Anno 1240. the deteſtable people of Satan, to wit, an infinite number of *Tartars* brake forth from their Mountayne-compaſſed, and Rocke-defended Region, like Deuils looſed out of Hell (that they may well be called *Tartarians*, as *Tartareans*) and like Graſhoppers couering the face of the Earth, ſpoyling the Eaſterne Confines with fire and Sword, ruining Cities, cutting vp Woods, rooting vp Vineyards, killing the people both of Citie and Countrey. And if they ſpared any, they vſed them in the fore-front of their battels to fight againſt their Allies, that if they were therein faint or fayned, themſelues at their backes might kill them: if otherwiſe it was without reward. They are rather Monſters then men, thirſting and drinking bloud, tearing and deuouring the fleſh of Dogges and Men; clothed with Oxe-hides, armed with Iron Plates; in ſtature thicke and ſhort, well ſet, ſtrong in bodie; in Warre inuincible, in labour infatigable, behind vnarmed; drinking the bloud of their beaſts for Dainties, &c. Theſe *Tartars* of deteſtable memory, are thought to be deſcended of the ten Tribes which went away (forſaking the Law of *Moſes*) after the golden Calues; whom *Alexander* the *Macedon* ſought to incloſe in the *Caſpian* hils; to which labour, exceeding humane power, hee inuoked the aſſiſtance of the God of *Iſrael*, and the tops of the hils ioyned together, and the place became inacceſſible and impaſſible. And though it be doubtfull, becauſe they vſe not the *Hebrew* Tongue, nor Law of *Moſes*, nor are gouerned by any Lawes; yet is it credible, that as their hearts then in *Moſes* gouernment were rebellious, Reprobately-ſenſuall and Idolatrous, ſo now more prodigiouſly their heart and Language is confounded, and their life immane and beaſtly inhumane. They are called *Tartars* of a certayne Riuer called *Tartar*, running alongſt their hils.

A *Caluiſh* conceit. See *Brierwood* and my *Pilgr. l. 4. c. 2. & l. 5. c. 14.*

Anno 1241. that inhumane and brutiſh, lawleſſe, barbarous and ſauage Nation of *Tartars*, horribly ſpoyling the North and North-eaſt parts of the *Chriſtians*, cauſed great feare and horrour ouer all Chriſtendome. For they had now brought in manner to a Wilderneſſe, *Friſia*, *Gothia*, *Polonia*, *Bohemia*, and both *Hungarias*, the moſt part of the Princes, Prelates and people beeing fled or ſlaine: as by this Letter appeareth.

TO the Beloued and alway worthy to be beloued Lord, our Father in Law, the Illuſtrious Prince the Duke of Brabant, H. *by the grace of God Earle of* Loraine, Palatine *of the* Saxons, *his humbleſt ſeruice. The perills foretold in holy Scripture, now breake forth becauſe of our ſinnes. For a certaine cruell and innumerable people, ſauage and lawleſſe, inuadeth and poſſeſſeth the Confines next bordering to vs, and are now come to* Poland, *many other Lands being paſſed and peoples deſtroyed. Whereof aſwell by our owne Meſſengers, as by our beloued Couſin the King of* Bohemia, *we are fully certified and are inuited ſpeedily to ſuccour and defend the faithfull. For we know for certayne that about the* Octaues *of Eaſter, the* Tartarian *Nation will inuade cruelly and forcibly the Lands of the* Bohemians, *and if not pre-*

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preuented, will there perpetrate vnheard-of slaughter. And because our next neighbours house is now on fire, and the next Countrey lieth open to waste, and some are alreadie wasted, we earnestly and pitifully entreat the ayde and counsell of God and of our neighbour-brethren for the vniuersall Church. And because delay is full of danger, with all our hearts we beseech you, that you make all possible speed to arme as well for your as our deliuerance, making strong preparations of store of Souldiers; diligently exciting the noble, mightie and courageous, with the people subiect to them, that yee may haue them in readinesse, when we shall next direct our Messengers to you. And we, by the ministerie of our Prelates, Preachers, and Minors, cause the Crosse (because the businesse belongs to him which was crucified) to be generally preached, fasts and prayers to be appointed, and our Lands in common to be called to the warre of Iesus Christ. Crusades against the Tartars.

Hereto wee adde that a great part of that detestable Nation, with an other Armie adioyned to them, wasteth Hungaria *with vnheard-of tyrannie, insomuch that the King is said to haue retayned but a small part to himselfe. And to speake much in few words, the Church and People of the North is so oppressed and brought to such Straits, as it neuer was so scourged since the World began. Dated the yeere of grace* 1241. *on the day on which is sung* Lætare Ierusalem:

And this was the Letters sent to the Bishop of *Paris* by the Duke of *Brabant*. The like was written by the Arch-bishop of *Cullen* to the King of *England*. Therefore for this grieuous tribulation, and for the discord betwixt the Pope and the Emperour, so hurtfull to the Church, there are appointed fasts and prayers, with larger Almes in diuers Regions, that our Lord being pacified with his people, who as a magnificent triumpher is as strong in a few as in many, may destroy the pride of the *Tartars*. The *French* Kings mother, Queene *Blanch*, with deepe sighs and plentifull teares spake hereof to her sonne. What shall we doe my dearest sonne about this lamentable euent, the terrible rumour whereof is comne to our Confines? generall destruction of vs all and of holy Church hangs ouer our times by the impetuous inuasion of the *Tartars*. The King with mournfull voice, not without the Spirit of God, answered: The heauenly comfort, Mother, exalt vs; and if they come on vs, either we shall send againe those *Tartarians* to their *Tartarean* places whence they came; or they shall exalt vs to Heauen.

A deuout Queene and a Saint King.

Diuine apophthegme.

THe Emperour certified hereof, wrote to the Princes, and especially to the King of *England* in this forme. Frederike *Emperour &c. to the King of* England *greeting. Wee cannot conceale, though it somwhat lately came to our eares, but giue you notice of a thing which concerneth the* Roman *Empire (as prepared to the preaching of the Gospell) & all zealous Christian Kingdoms in the World, threatning generall destruction to all Christendom. A barbarous Nation hath lately come from the Southerne * Region, which had long layne hid vnder the torrid Zone, and after towards the North by force possessing Regions long remayning is multiplied as the Canker worme, called* Tartars *wee know not of what place or originall; not without the fore-seene iudgement of God is reserued to these last times, to the correction and chastisement of his people, God grant not losse of all Christendom. A publike destruction hath therefore followed, the common desolation of Kingdomes, and spoile of the fertile Land, which that wicked people hath passed thorow, not sparing sexe, age, or dignitie, & hoping to extinguish the rest of mankind, whiles it alone goeth about to domineere and reigne euery where by their immense and incomparable power and number. Now all things which they haue beene able to set eye on being put to death and spoyle, leauing vniuersall desolation behind them, these* Tartarians *(yea* Tartareans*) when they had come to the well peopled Colonie of the* Cumani *(prodigall of their liues, hauing Bowes their most familiar Armes, with Darts and Arrowes which they continually vse and are stronger in the armes then other men) they vtterly ouerthrew them, and with bloudy sword killed all which escaped not by flight. Whose neighbourhood scarcely warned the* Rutheni *not farre distant to take heed to themselues. For they suddenly flie thither, to prey and spoile as the wrath of God and lightning hurles it selfe, and by their sudden assault and barbarous inuasion take* Cleua *the chiefe Citie of the Kingdome; and all that noble Kingdome was wasted to desolation, the Inhabitants being slayne. Which yet the neighbouring Kingdome of the* Hungarians *who should haue taken warning, neglected: whose sluggish King too secure, being required by the* Tartars *messengers and letters, that if he desired that he and his should liue, he should hasten their fauour by yeelding himselfe and his Kingdom; yet was not hereby terrified and taught to fortify against their irruptions: but they ignorant or insolent contemners of their enemies, secure in their enemies approach, trusting in the native fortification of the place, vnexpectedly compassed and oppressed at vnawares by them entring like a whirlewind, opposed their Tents against them. And when the* Tartars *Tents were fiue miles from the* Hungarian, *the* Tartarian *fore-runners in the dawning of the morning, rushed suddenly and compassed the* Hungarians, *and first slaying the Prelates and chiefe men, killed an infinite number, with such vnheard-of slaughter as scarcely is recorded euer to haue hapned in one battell. The King hardly escaped by flight on a swift Horse, which fled with a small companie to the brotherly portion of the* Hyllirian *Kingdome, there to be protected; the Enemie possessing the Tents and spoyles. And now wasting the nobler and greater part of* Hungarie *beyond* Danubius, *consuming all with fire and sword, they threaten to confound the rest, as by the venerable Bishop* Vatiensis *the Ambassadour of the said* Hungarian *King, notice is giuen to our Court first as he passed, being destined to the* Roman *Court. Wee are also hereof fully certified by the Letters of our deare sonne* Conrade, *elect King of* Romans *alway* Augustus, *and heire of the Kingdome of* Ierusalem; *and of the King of* Bohemia, *the Dukes of*

Emperour Fr. 2. this Letter to King Henr. 3.

* An errour, as vsually such shadowes attend fame: like the former of inclosed Iewes. And indeed the *Tartars* were so base and so remote, that till they like *Nilus* ouerflowed the Earth, they were vnknowne, yea, then also; their sudden storms, and vnknowne originall adding to that terrour, with which they then amazed, and withall affrighted the World, as these Letters testifie.

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Austria and Bauaria; by the Messengers words also instructed experimentally of the Enemies neerenesse. Nor could wee learne these things without great griefe. Truly, as the report goeth, their undetermined damnable Armie, by our Lords sufferance, hath proceeded divided purposely in three parts. For one being sent by the Pructeni, and entring Poland, the Prince and Duke of that Land were slayne by them, and after that all the Region spoyled. The second hath entred the bounds of Bohemia, and being entred hath made stay, the King manly opposing himselfe. The third hath runne therow Hungaria, bounded by Austria. Whence the feare and trembling having beginning from furie, doe excite and invite all; necessitie vrgeth to withstand them, the danger being neere; the generall destruction of the world, and specially of Christendome, calls for speedie helpe and succour. For this People is brutish, and without law, ignorant of humanitie: yet followers, and hath a Lord whom it obediently obserueth and worshipps, and calls, The God of the earth. The men are of short stature, but square and well set, rough and courageous, at the becke of their Leader rushing on any difficulties: haue broad faces, frowning lookes, horrible cries agreeing to their hearts. They weare raw Hides of Oxes, Asses, or Horses, with Iron plates sewed on for defensiue Armes hitherto: but now, with griefe we speake it, out of the spoiles of conquered Christians, they are more decently armed, that in Gods anger wee may be the more dishonourably slayne by our owne weapons. They are also furnished with better Horses, fed with daintier fare, adorned with fairer rayment. The Tartars are incomparable Archers; carrie sewed skins artificially made, by which they passe Riuers and waters without losse. When food fayles, their Horses are sayd to be content with barkes and leaues of Trees, and roots of Herbs: whom yet they finde swift and hardy. And we fore-seeing all those things, often by Letters and Messengers are mindfull to request your excellence, as also other Christian Princes, earnestly solliciting and warning, that peace and loue may flourish amongst Rulers, and discord being appeased (which often endamage Christendome) agreeing together to set stay to them which haue lately shewed themselues; forasmuch as fore-warned are fore-armed, and that the common enemies may not reioyce, that to prepare their wayes, so great dissentions breake forth amongst Christian Princes. Oh God, how much and how often would wee haue humbled our selues, doing the vtmost that the Roman Bishop might haue surceased from the scandall of dissention against vs, which is gone thorow the World; and would more temperately haue reuoked his passions from impetuous rashnesse, that wee might bee able to quiet our subiects by right, and rule them more peaceably; nor that he would protect those Rebels, the greatest part of which is by him fostered: that things being setled, and the Rebels awed against whom wee haue wasted much treasure and labour, our power might bee aduanced against the common Enemies. But Will being to him for a Law, not ruling the slipperie running of his tongue, and disdayning to abstayne from manifold dissention which he hath attempted; by his Legats and Messengers hee hath commanded the Crosse to be published against mee the Arme and Aduocate of the Church, which hee ought to haue exercised against the tyrannie of the Tartars or Saracens, inuading and possessing the Holy Land, whiles our Rebels insult and consult grieuously against our honour and fame. And now that our greatest care is to free our selues from domestike and familiar Enemies, how shall wee also repell Barbarians? seeing that they by their spies which euery where they haue sent before, they (howsoeuer directed without Diuine Law, yet well trayned in Martiall stratagems) know the publike discord, and the vnfortified and weaker parts of the Lands: and hearing of the heart-burning of Kings, and the strife of Kingdomes, are more encouraged and animated, O how much doth triumphing courage adde to strength? Wee will therefore by Gods prouidence conuerted, apply our strength and industrie to both, that wee may drive away the scandall domesticall and barbarous on this side and on that, from the Church. And we haue expressely sent our deare sonne Conrade, and other Princes of our Empire, that they may powerfully withstand the assaults of our barbarous Enemies, and represse their entrie. And heartily wee adiure your Maiestie in behalfe of the Common necessitie, by our Lord Iesus Christ, that taking heed to your selfe, and to your Kingdome (which God keepe in prosperitie) with instant care and prouident deliberation, you diligently prepare speedy ayds of strong Knights, and other armed men and Armes: this we require in the sprinkling of the bloud of Christ, and the league of * affinitie in which wee are ioyned. And so let them be ready with vs manfully and prouidently to fight for the deliuerance of Christendome, that against the Enemies now proposing to enter the confines of Germanie, as the Gate of Christendome, by united forces victorie to the praise of the Lord of Hosts may be obtayned. Neither let it like you to passe ouer these things with dissimulation, or to suspend them by deferring. For if (which God forbid) they inuade the Germane confines without obstacle, let others looke for the lightnings of a sudden tempest at the doores; which we beleeue to haue hapned by Diuine Iudgement, the world being diuersly infected, the loue of many waxing cold (by whom faith ought to be preached and conserued) and their pernicious example staining the world with Vsuries, and diuers other kinds of Simoine and Ambition. Let your Excellency therefore prouide; and whiles the common enemies are outragious in the neighbour Regions, wisely consult to resist them: because they haue come out of their Lands with this intent, not regarding the perils of life, that they might subdue to them (which God auert) all the West, and may peruert and subuert the Faith and Name of Christ. And in respect of vnexpected victorie, which hitherto by Gods permission hath followed them, they are growne to that exceeding madnesse, that now they thinke they haue gotten the Kingdoms of the World, and to tame and subiect Kings and Princes to their vile seruices. But wee hope in our Lord Iesus Christ, vnder whose Standard wee haue hitherto triumphed, being deliuered from our Enemies, that these also which haue broke forth of their Tartarean seats, their pride being abated by oppo-

sed

The Pope to haue his will against the Emperour, exposeth Christian Princes to mutuall quarrels, which he shold haue opposed to the Tartars, neuer ceasing till he had ruined that Familie and the Empire.

Tartar Spies.

This Emperor Fred. 2. married Isabel Sister to K. Henr. 3.

ſed forces of the Weſt, theſe Tartars *ſhall be thruſt downe to their* Tartara *(or Hell) Nor ſhall they boaſt to haue paſſed ſo many Lands, ouercome ſo many peoples, perpetrated ſo many miſchiefes vnauenged, when their vnwarie Deſtinie, yea Sathan, ſhall haue drawne them to the conquering Eagles of puiſſant Imperiall* Europe *to their deaths. Where* Germanie *voluntarily raging and prone to Armes,* France *the mother and nurſe of Soulderie, warlike and daring* Spaine, *fertile* England *potent in men and a furniſhed Nauie,* Almaine *full of impetuous Warriours, Strip-ſtrong* Denmarke, *vntamed* Italie, Burgundie *ignorant of Peace, vnquiet* Apulia; *with the Pyraticall and inuincible Iles of the* Greeke, Adriaticke *and* Tyrrhene *Seas,* Creet, Cyprus, Sicil, *with the Sea neighbouring Ilands and Regions, bloudie* Ireland, *with nimble* Wales, *mariſhie* Scotland, *Icie* Norway, *and euery Noble and famous Region in the Weſt, will cheerfully ſend their choiſe Soulderie vnder the Colours of the quickning Croſſe, which and not onely rebellious men but aduerſe Deuils dread. Dated in our returne after the yeelding and depopulation of* Fauentia, *the third of Iuly.* *Dacia* nauali.

Some (*Papalines*) ſuſpected that the Emperour had hatched this *Tartar*-peſtilence like *Lucifer* or *Antichriſt*, to get the Monarchie of the world and to ſubuert Chriſtiany, and that the ſecret Counſels and wayleſſe wayes of the *Tartars* were fraught with Imperiall Counſels: For they conceale their Language, varie their Armes, and if one be taken, knowledge of them or their purpoſe can by no tortures be extorted from him. And where (ſay they) ſhould they lurke, in which of the Climats till this time? whence their ſo ſecret and fraudulent Conſpiracie? They are *Hircans* and *Scythians*, ſauage bloud-ſuckers, who with the confederate *Cumani*, through the Emperours deuiſe, haue ouerthrowne the King of *Hungarie*, to make him ſeeke ſhelter vnder the Imperiall wings, and doe him homage, &c. *Millice mad.*

Needs muſt they goe whom the Deuill driues: or how elſe but by mad malice, and furious faction, or an Antichriſtian miſt, could ſuch impoſſibilities haue beene conceiued? Of their driuing the *Turkes* and the *Choeroſmines* out of *Perſia* is elſe-where ſpoken. Of the Popes entertainment of the *Tartarian* Meſſengers, *Anno* 1248. cloſe Conferences with them and gifts to them, with diuers other diſcourſes in the ſaid author or Authors, I omit. Onely this Epiſtle following, as containing both the ſtrange aduentures of an *Engliſhman*, and his relations of the *Tartars* from better experience, I could not but adde heere, making ſo much to the Readers purpoſe and ours. It was written by one *Yuo* of *Narbone* a Clergie man, which being accuſed of Hereſie to *Robert de Curzun* the Popes Legat, fled, and liued one while with the *Patarines*, another with the *Beguines*, and at laſt writ this Letter containing a diſcourſe of his trauels, amongſt them in *Italie* and *Germanie*. He begins *Giraldo Dei gratia Burdegalenſi Archiepiſcopo, Yuo dictus Narbonenſis ſuorum olimnouiſſimus Clericorum, ſalutem, &c.* and after ſome premiſſes of the *Patarines*, and *Beguines* (too long for this place) hee proceeds; *Hoc igitur & multis alijs peccatis inter nos Chriſtianos emergentibus iratus Dominus, &c.* In Engliſh, *Our Lord therefore being angry with this and other ſinnes falling out amongſt vs Chriſtians, is become as it were a deſtroying enemie.* *Selib. 8.c.6 & 4.*

Part of an Epiſtle written by one YVO of *Narbona* vnto the Archbiſhop of *Burdeaux*, containing the confeſſion of an *Engliſhman*, as touching the barbarous demeanour of the *Tartars*, which had liued long among them, and was drawne along perforce with them in their expedition againſt *Hungarie*: Recorded by *Matthew Paris* in the yeare our Lord 1243.

THe Lord therefore being prouoked to indignation, by reaſon of this and other ſinnes committed among vs Chriſtians, is become, as it were, a deſtroying enemy, and a dreadfull auenger. This I may iuſtly affirme to bee true, becauſe an huge Nation, and a barbarous and inhumane people, whoſe Law is lawleſſe, whoſe wrath is furious, euen the rod of Gods anger, ouerrunneth, and vtterly waſteth infinite Countries, cruelly aboliſhing all things where they come, with fire and ſword. And this preſent Summer, the foreſaid Nation, being called Tartars, *departing out of* Hungarie, *which they had ſurpriſed by treaſon, layd ſiege vnto the very ſame Towne, wherein I my ſelfe abode, with many thouſands of Souldiers: neither were there in the ſaid Towne on our part aboue Fifty men of warre, whom, together with twenty Corſſe-bowes, the Captaine had left in Garriſon. All theſe, out of certaine high places, beholding the enemies vaſte Armie, and abhorring the beaſtly cruelty of* Antichriſt *his complices, ſignified forthwith vnto their Gouernour; the hideous lamentations of his Chriſtian ſubiects, who ſuddenly being ſurpriſed in all the Prouince adioyning, without any difference or reſpect of condition, Fortune, ſexe, or age, were by manifold cruelties, all of them deſtroyed: with whoſe carkeſſes, the* Tartarian *chieftaines, and their brutiſh and ſauage followers, glutting themſelues, as With delicious cates, left nothing for vultures but the bare bones. And a ſtrange thing it is to conſider, that the greedy and rauenous vultures diſdained to pray vpon any of the reliques, which remained. Old and deformed Women they gaue, as it were for daylie ſuſtenance, vnto their Canibals: the beautifull deuoured they not, but ſmothered them, lamenting and ſcritching, with forced and vnnaturall rauiſhments. Like barbarous miſcreants, they quelled Virgins* Neuſtat.

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vnto death, and cutting off their tender paps to present for dainties vnto their Magistrates, they engorged themselues with their Bodies.

Howbeit, their spials in the meane time discrying from the top of an high mountaine the Duke of Austria, *the King of* Bohemia, *the Patriarch of* Aquileia, *the Duke of* Carinthia, *and (as some report) the Earle of* Baden, *with a mighty power, and in battell aray, approching towards them, that accursed crew immediatly vanished, and all those* Tartarian *Vagabonds retired themselues into the distressed and vanquished land of* Hungarie; *who as they came suddenly, so they departed also on the sudden: which their celeritie caused all men to stand in horrour and astonishment of them. But of the said fugitiues, the Prince of* Dalmatia *tooke eight: one of which number the Duke of* Austria *knew to bee an Englishman, who was perpetually banished out of the Realme of* England, *in regard of certaine notorious crimes by him committed. This fellow on the behalfe of the most tyrannicall King of the* Tartars, *had beene twise, as a messenger and Interpreter, with the King of* Hungarie, *menacing and plainely foretelling those mischiefes which afterward happened, vnlesse he would submit himselfe and his Kingdome vnto the* Tartars *yoke. Well, being allured by our Princes to confesse the truth, he made such oathes, and protestations, as (I thinke) the Deuill himselfe would haue beene trusted for. First therefore hee reported of himselfe,* that presently after the time of his banishment, namely, about the thirtieth yeare of his age, hauing lost all that he had in the Citie of *Acon* at Dice, euen in the midst of Winter, being compelled by ignominious hunger, wearing nothing about him but a shirt of sacke, a paire of shooes, and a haire cap onely, being shauen like a foole, and vttering an vncoth noyse as if hee had beene dumbe, he tooke his iourney, and so trauelling many Countries, and finding in diuers places friendly entertainment, he prolonged his life in this manner for a season, albeit euery day by rashnes of speech, and inconstancy of heart, hee endangered himselfe to the Deuill. At length, by reason of extreame trauaile, and continuall change of ayre and of meates in *Caldea*, hee fell into a grieuous sickneſſe, insomuch that he was weary of his life. Not being able therefore to goe forward or backward, and staying there a while to refresh himselfe, hee began (being somewhat learned) to commend to writing those wordes which he heard spoken, and within a short space, so aptly to pronounce and to vtter them himselfe, that he was reputed for a natiue member of that Countrie: and by the same dexteritie he attained to manie Languages. This man, the *Tartars* hauing intelligence of by their spies, drew him perforce into their societie: and being admonished by an oracle or vision, to challenge dominion ouer the whole earth, they allured him by many rewards to their faithfull seruice, by reason that they wanted Interpreters. But concerning their manners and superstitions, of the disposition and stature of their bodies, of their Countrie and manner of fighting, &c. he protested the particulars following to be true: namely, that they were aboue all men, couetous, hastie, deceitfull, and mercilesse: notwithstanding, by reason of the rigour and extremitie of punishments to be inflicted vpon them by their superiours, they are restrained from brawlings, and from mutuall strife and contention. The ancient founders and fathers of their tribes, they call by the name of Gods, and at certaine set times they doe celebrate solemne Feasts vnto them, many of them being particular, and but foure onely generall. They thinke that all things are created for themselues alone. They esteeme it none offence to exercise cruelty against rebels. They be hardy and strong in the breast, leane and pale-faced, rough and huffe-shouldred, hauing flat and short noses, long and sharpe chinnes, their vpper jawes are low and declining, their teeth long and thin, their eye-browes extending from their fore-heads downe to their noses, their eyes inconstant and blacke, their countenances writhen and terrible, their extreame ioynts strong with bones and sinewes, hauing thicke and great thighes, and short legs, and yet being equall vnto vs in stature: for that length which is wanting in their legs, is supplyed in the vpper partes of their bodies. Their Countrey in old time was a land vtterly desert and waste, situated farre beyond *Chaldea*, from whence they haue expelled Lyons, Beares, and such like vntamed beasts, with their bowes, and other engines. Of the hides of beastes being tanned, they vse to shape for themselues light, but yet impenetrable armour. They ride fast bound vnto their Horses, which are not very great in stature, but exceedingly strong, and maintained with little prouender. They vse to fight constantly and valiantly with Iauelins, maces, battle-axes, and swords. But especially they are excellent Archers, and cunning warriers with their bowes. Their backs are sleightly armed, that they may not flee. They withdraw not themselues from the combate, till they see the chiefe Standerd of their Generall giue backe. Vanquished, they aske no fauour, and vanquishing, they shew no compassion. They all persist in their purpose of subduing the whole world vnder their owne subiection, as if they were but one man, and yet they are moe then millions in number. They haue 60000. Courriers, who being sent before vpon light Horses to prepare a place for the Armie to incampe in, will in the space of one night gallop three dayes iourney. And suddenly diffusing themselues ouer an whole Prouince, and surprising all the people thereof vnarmed, vnprouided, dispersed, they make such horrible slaughters, that the King or Prince of the land inuaded, cannot finde people sufficient to wage battell against them, and to withstand them. They delude all people and Princes of regions in time of peace, pretending that for a cause, which indeed is no cause. Sometimes they say that they will make a voyage to *Collen*, to fetch home the three wise Kings into their owne Countrey; sometimes

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times to punish the auarice and pride of the *Romans*, who oppressed them in times past; sometimes to conquer barbarous and Northern nations; sometimes to moderate the furie of the *Germans* with their owne meeke mildnesse; sometimes to learne warlike feates and stratagems of the *French*; sometimes for the finding out of fertile ground to suffice their huge multitudes; sometimes againe in derision they say, that they intend to goe on Pilgrimage to Saint *Iames* of *Galicia*. In regard of which sleights and collusions certaine vndiscreet Gouernours concluding a league with them, haue granted them free passage thorow their Territories, which leagues notwithstanding being violated, were an occasion of ruyne and destruction vnto the foresaid Gouernours, &c.

To the Reader.

I Found this Booke translated by Master Hakluyt *out of the* Latine. *But where the blind leade the blind both fall: as here the corrupt* Latine *could not but yeeld a corruption of truth in* English. Ramusio, *Secretarie to the* Decemviri *in* Venice, *found a better Copie and published the same, whence you haue the worke in manner new: so renewed, that I haue found the Prouerbe true, that it is better to pull downe an old house and to build it anew, then to repaire it; as I also should haue done, had I knowne that which in the euent I found. The* Latine *is Latten, compared to* Ramusios *Gold. And hee which hath the* Latine *hath but* Marco Polos *Carkasse, or not so much, but a few bones, yea, sometime stones rather then bones; things diuers, auerse, aduerse, peruerted in manner, disioynted in manner, beyond beliefe. I haue seene some Authors maymed, but neuer any so mangled and so mingled, so present and so absent, as this vulgar* Latine *of* Marco Polo; *not so like himselfe, as the three* Polos *were at their returne to* Venice, *where none knew them, as in the Discourse yee shall find. Much are wee beholden to* Ramusio, *for restoring this* Pole *and Load-starre of* Asia, *out of that mirie poole or puddle in which he lay drowned. And, O that it were possible to doe as much for our Countriman* Mandeuill, *who next this (if next) was the greatest* Asian *Trauellor that euer the World had, & hauing falne amongst theeues, neither Priest, nor Leuite can know him, neither haue we hope of a* Samaritan *to releeue him. In this I haue indeuoured to giue (in what I giue) the truth; but haue abridged some things to preuent prolixitie and tautologie in this so voluminous a Worke, leauing out nothing of substance, but what elsewhere is to be found, in this Worke: and seeking rather the sense then a stricter verball following our Authours words and sentence. As for the Chapters I find them diuersly by diuers expressed, and therefore haue followed our owne method.*

CHAP. IIII.

The first Booke of MARCVS PAVLVS VENETVS, *or of Master* MARCO POLO, *a Gentleman of* Venice, *his Voyages.*

§. I.

The Voyages of Master M. NICOLO *and* M. MAFFIO *from* Constantinople *to the Great* CAN, *and their comming home to* Venice: *their second Voyage with the Authour and returne.*

IN the time of *Baldwin* Emperour of *Constantinople*, * where vsually remayned a Magistrate of *Venice*, called *Messer lo Dose*, in the yeare of our Lord 1250. Master *Nicolo Polo*, Father of Master *Marco*, and *M. Maffio* his Brother, Noble, Honourable and Wisemen of *Venice*, beeing at *Constantinople* with store of Merchandize, kept many Accounts together. At last they determined to goe into the Great (or *Euxine*) Sea, to see if they could increase their stocke, and buying many faire and rich Iewels. They departed from *Constantinople* and sayled by the said Sea to a Port called *Soldadia*: * from whence they trauelled after by Land to the Court of a great Lord of the *Tartars*, called *Barcha*, who resided in the Cities of *Bolgara* and *Assara*, and was reputed one of the most liberal and courteous Princes that euer had beene amongst the *Tartars*. He was very well pleased with their comming, and did them great honour. They hauing made shew of their Iewels, and seeing they pleased him, freely bestowed them on him. He, loth

* Of *Baldwins* conquering of *Constantinople* and the Empire of the *Latines* there, *Ramusio* hath giuen a long discourse: see also *Knolles Turkish* Historie: & *sup. tom.* 1. *l.* 8. *c.* 6

* Called by *Abilfada Ismael*, *Segdat*, and placed in *Chirmia* (not *Armenia*) on the North-side of the *Euxine* Sea. Frier *Bacon* before cals it *Soldaia* in *Cassaria*.

to be exceeded in liberalitie, cauſed twice the value to bee giuen them, and beſides great and rich gifts. Hauing ſtayed one yeare in the Countrey of the ſaid Prince, whiles they thought to returne to *Venice*, there ſuddenly aroſe Warre betwixt the ſaid *Barcha* and another named *Alau*, Lord of the Eaſterne *Tartars*. Theſe Armies fighting together, *Alau* had the Victorie, and the Armie of *Barcha* receiued a great ouerthrow. By reaſon whereof, the wayes beeing not ſecure, they were not able to returne that way which they came. And hauing conſulted how to returne to *Conſtantinople*, they were aduiſed to goe ſo farre to the Eaſt, that they might compaſſe the Realme of *Barcha*, by vnknowne wayes: and ſo they came to a Citie called *Ouchacha*, which is in the Confines of the Kingdome of this Lord of the *Tartars* on the Weſt, and paſſing further, they went ouer *Tigris* (one of the foure Riuers of Paradiſe) and after that a Deſart of ſeuenteene dayes Iourney, without Citie, Caſtle, or Fort, finding only *Tartars*, which liue in the fields in certayne Tents, with their beaſts. Beeing paſt the Deſart they came to a good Citie called *Bocara*, (the name alſo of the Prouince) in the Region of *Perſia*, which was ſubiect to a King called *Barach*: in which place they ſtayed three yeares before they could goe forward or backward, by reaſon of great warres betwixt the *Tartars*.

Bocara, or *Boghar* in *Baſtria*, of which ſee M. *Ienkinſon*.

At that time a certayne Wiſeman was ſent Ambaſſador from the ſaid Prince *Alau* to the Great *Can*, who is the greateſt King of all the *Tartars*, reſiding in the Confines of the Earth, betwixt the North-eaſt and the Eaſt, called *Cublai Can*: who being comne to *Bocara*, and finding there the ſaid two brethren which had now well learned the *Tartarian* Language, he reioyced aboue meaſure, and perſwadeth theſe Weſterne men or *Latines* to goe with him, to the preſence of the Great Emperour of the *Tartars*; knowing that hee ſhould gratifie him in this, and the men notwithſtanding ſhould be entertayned with great honour, and rewarded with large gifts; eſpecially, ſeeing through the manifold conference had with them, he now perceiued their pleaſing behauiour. Thoſe men therefore conſidering, that they could not eaſily returne home without danger, conſulting together, ioyne with the ſaid Ambaſſadour, and iourney with him to the Emperour of the *Tartars*, hauing certayne other Chriſtians in their Company, whom they brought with them from *Venice*, and departing towards the North-eaſt and the North, were a whole yeare in going to the Court of the ſaid chiefe King of the *Tartars*. The cauſe of their long time in this Iourney, was the Snowes and Riuer Waters much increaſed, ſo that they were forced in their trauell to ſtay the waſting of the Snow, and decreaſing of the flouds.

They come to the Great *Can*.

Being therefore brought before the preſence of the Great *Can*, they were moſt courteouſly receiued of him. He queſtioned them concerning many things, as of the Countries of the Weſt, the *Romane* Emperour, and other Kings and Princes, how they carried themſelues in Gouernment, and in Warlike affaires, how Peace, Iuſtice, and Concord continued among them; alſo what manner of life, and cuſtomes were obſerued with the *Latines*; and eſpecially of the Pope of the Chriſtians, of the things of the Church and the Religion of the Chriſtian Faith. And *M. Nicolo* and *M. Maffeo*, as Wiſemen told him the truth, alway ſpeaking well to him, and orderly in the *Tartarian* Tongue. Inſomuch that hee often commanded they ſhould bee brought to his preſence, and they were very acceptable in his ſight.

Hauing well vnderſtood the Affaires of the *Latines*, and reſting ſatisfied with their anſwers, the Great *Can* intending to ſend them his Ambaſſadours to the Pope, firſt, conſulted with his Barons, and then calling to him the two Brethren, deſired them for his loue to goe to the Pope of the *Romans*, with one of his Barons called *Chogatall*, to pray him to ſend an hundred Wiſemen, and learned in the Chriſtian Religion vnto him, who might ſhew his Wiſemen, that the Faith of the Chriſtians, was to bee preferred before all other Sects, and was the only way of ſaluation; and that the Gods of the *Tartars* were Deuils, and that they and others the people of the Eaſt were deceiued in the worſhip of their Gods. Hee gaue them alſo in charge to bring in their returne from *Ieruſalem*, of the Oyle of the Lampe which burneth before the Sepulchre of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt, to whom hee had great deuotion, and held him to bee true God. They therefore yeelding due reuerence to the Great *Can*, promiſe that they will faithfully execute the charge commited vnto them, and preſent the Letters which they receiued from him, written in the *Tartarian*, to be deliuered to the Biſhop of *Rome*.

They are ſent Ambaſſadours from the *Can* to the Pope.

He (according to the cuſtome of his Kingdome) commanded a Golden Tablet to bee giuen them ingrauen and ſigned with the Kings marke; carrying the which with them throughout his whole Empire, in ſtead of a Paſſe-port, they might bee euery-where ſafely conueyed through dangerous places, by the Gouernours of Prouinces and Cities, and receiue expenſes from them; and laſtly, how long ſoeuer they would ſtay in any place, whatſoeuer they needed to them or theirs, ſhould be miniſtred vnto them. Taking their leaue therefore of the Emperour, they take their Iourney, carrying the Letters and Golden Tablet with them. And when they had rid twentie dayes Iourney, the Baron aforeſaid aſſociated vnto them began to fall grieuouſly ſicke. Whereupon conſulting and leauing him there, they proſecute their intended Iourney, beeing euery-where courteouſly receiued by reaſon of the Emperours Tablet. Yet in very many places they were compelled to ſtay, by occaſion of the ouer-flowing of Riuers, ſo that they ſpent three yeares, before they came vnto the Port of the Citie of the *Armenians*, named *Giazza*. From

Golden tablet vſed as a Commiſſion vnder the broad Seale.

Giazza

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Giazza they goe to *Acre*, to wit, in the yeere of our Lord 1269. in the moneth of Aprill.

But hauing entred into the Citie of *Acre*, they heard, that Pope *Clement* the fourth was lately dead, and that no other was substituted in his place: for the which they were not a little grieued. At that time, there was a certaine Legate of the Apostolicall Sea at *Acre*, to wit, Master *Tibaldo de Vesconti di Piacenza*, to whom they declared all they had in commission, from the Great *Can*: and he aduised them, to expect the Creation of a new Pope. In the meane space therefore departing to *Venice* to visit their Friends, (purposing to remayne there vntill another Pope were created) Master *Nicolo* found that his wife was dead, whom (at his departure) hee had left great with child, but had left a sonne, named *Marco*, who was now * nineteene yeeres of age. This is that *Marco* which ordayned x this Booke, who will manifest therein all those things which he hath seene. Moreouer, the Election of the Pope of *Rome* was deferred two yeeres.

They (fearing the discontentment, and disquieting of the Emperour of the *Tartars*, who (they knew) expected their returne) goe backe againe to *Acre* to the Legate, carrying with them *Marco* aforesaid, and (hauing gone to *Ierusalem*, and fetched of the Oyle) with the Legats Letters, testifying their fidelitie to the Great *Chan*, and that a Pope was not yet chosen, they went againe towards *Giazza*. In the meane time whiles they were going, Messengers came from the Cardinals to the Legate, declaring vnto him, that he was chosen Pope: and he called himselfe d *Gregorie*. Hearing this, presently sending Messengers, hee calleth backe the *Venetians*, and admonisheth them not to depart, preparing other Letters for them, which they should present vnto the Great *Chan* of the *Tartars*; with whom he also ioyned two Preaching Friars, men famous for their honest conuersation and learning, whereof the one was called Friar *Nicolo Danicenza*; the other, Friar *Guielmo da Tripoli*. To these hee gaue Letters, and Priuiledges, and authoritie to order Priests and Bishops, and of all absolution as if himselfe were present, with Presents also of great value, and Crystall vessels to present the great *Chan*, together with his Benediction. They came to *Giazza*, a Port of the Sea in *Armenia*. And because *Bentiochdare* the *Sultan* of *Babylon* leuying a great Armie had then inuaded the *Armenians*, the two Friars mentioned, began to bee afraid of themselues, and deliuering the Letters and Presents to Master *Nicolo*, and *Maffio*, and *Marco*, desiring to auoide the danger of the wayes, and perill of warres, remayned with the Master of the Temple, and returned with him.

But the three *Venetians* exposing themselues to all danger, with many labours, and much difficultie trauelled many dayes, alwaies towards the North-east and North, till they after three yeeres and a halfe came vnto the Emperour of the *Tartars*, vnto the Citie called *Clemensu*: for in the Winter time their iourney had often and long hinderances, by reason of the snow and extreme cold, and inundations of waters. Moreouer, King *Cublai* hearing that they were comming, who were yet very farre off, sent Messengers fortie dayes iourney to meet them, who should conduct them, and minister all necessaries for the iourney.

Going therefore to the Kings Court, and being brought to his presence, they fell downe before him on their faces, yeelding the accustomed reuerence. Of whom being curteously receiued, they are willed to arise, and he commandeth them to declare, how they passed the diuers dangers of the wayes, and what they had treated with the Bishop of *Rome*. Then they orderly declare all things, and giue the Emperour the Popes Letters and Presents which they brought. Whereat the *Chan* wonderfull reioycing, commended their faithfull cares. The Oyle also brought from the Lampe of the Lords Sepulcher, and offered vnto him, hee reuerently receiued of them, and commanded it should bee honourably preserued. And asking of *Marco*, who hee was, Master *Nicolo* answered, that he was his Maiesties seruant and his sonne. Hee entertayned him with a friendly countenance, and caused him to write amongst other his honourable Courtiers: Whereupon he was much esteemed of all the Court, and in a little space learned the customes of the *Tartars*, and foure diuers Languages, being able to write and reade them all.

The great *Chan* to make his wisedome more apparent, committed an Embassage vnto him to be performed in a Citie called *Carahan*, vnto the which he could scarcely attayne in sixe moneths space. But he, carrying himselfe wisely in all things, discharged what hee had in comission, not without the commendation and fauour of the Prince. And knowing the Emperour was delighted with nouelties in the Countries which he passed thorow, he diligently searched the customes and manners of men, and the conditions of the Countries; making a memoriall of all which he knew and saw, to pleasure the Great *Chan*. And in sixe and twentie * yeeres which he continued one of his Court, he was so acceptable to him, that he was continually sent thorow all his Realmes and Signiories, for the affaires of the Great *Chan*, and sometimes for his owne, but by the *Chans* order. And this is the true reason that the said Master *Marco* learned and saw so many nouelties of the East, which follow in order diligently written.

But these *Venetians* hauing stayd in that Court many yeeres, and growne very rich in Iewels of great value, were inflamed with desire to visit their Countrey, fearing that if the *Chan* (now old) should die, they should not bee able to returne. One day Master *Nicolo* seeing the *Chan* merrie, craued licence to depart in the name of all three. Whereat hee was moued, and asked why

Acre or *Acon*, then in possession of the Christians, see before *l.8.c.4.*

Pope *Clement* the fourth.

* Another copie hath 15.

x For the Booke was written by a Gentleman of *Genoa* from his mouth: and therefore still in *Ramusio* *Marco* is mentioned in the third person, and not in the first: at least much of it was so written and the whole published by both.

d The tenth of that name.

Letters, and Preaching Friars sent vnto the *Tartar*.

The Citie *Clemensu*.

The adoration of the *Tartars*.

Marcus Paulus made one of the *Chans* Clerkes, and a Courtier.

Marcos Legation.

His wisedome in trauelling to a farre Countrey.

* This 26. yeers are to be reckoned to the time in which this booke was written, from 1272. to 1298. as in the Relation appeareth. The sense is that it was 26. yeers since he began to be a Courtier.

They desire to returne.

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why they would put themſelues on ſo dangerous a iourney: and if they wanted riches, he would giue them twice as much as they had: and in great loue would not permit their departure. Yet in the meane ſpace it happened, that a King of the *Indians*, named *Argon*, ſent three wiſe men vnto the Court of Great *Cublai*, whoſe names were *Vlatai, Apuſca, Coza*, to treat with him, that he wold deliuer him a wife; for his wife named *Bolgana*, being lately dead, begged this grace of the King at the point of death, and left in her Wil, that he ſhould not marrie a wife of another Familie then her owne, which was of *Catay*. King *Cublai* therefore yeelding to his requeſt, cauſed to be ſought out for them a faire young Mayden of ſeuenteene yeeres of age, named *Cogatin*, deſcended of the ſaid Queenes ſtocke, and to be the wife of *Argon*.

Argon, a King of the *Indians*. *Argon* is a Nation of *India*. And this King gouerned the ſame.

The will of Queene *Bolgana*.

Cogatin.

Theſe Embaſſadors departing, rode eight moneths the ſame way they came, but found ſo hot warres betwixt the *Tartars*, that they were conſtrayned to returne: and acquainted the *Chan* with their proceedings. Meane-whiles, Maſter *Marco* had returned from the parts of *India*, where he had beene employed with certaine ſhips, and declared to the *Chan* the nouelties of the places, and the ſecuritie of thoſe Seas: which words hauing paſſed him, the Embaſſadours conferred with the *Venetians*, and agreed that they with the Queene ſhould goe to the Great *Chan*, and deſire leaue to returne by Sea, and to haue the three *Latines*, men skilfull in Sea affaires, with them to the Countrey of King *Argon*. The Great *Chan* was much diſpleaſed with their requeſt, yet vpon their petition granted it: and cauſed *Nicolo, Maffio* and *Marco* to come to his preſence, and after much demonſtration of his loue, would haue them promiſe to returne to him, after they had ſpent ſome time in Chriſtendome, and at their owne houſe. And he cauſed to giue them a Tablet of Gold, in which was written his commandement, for their libertie and ſecuritie thorow all his Dominions, and that expenſes ſhould bee giuen them and theirs, and a Guide or conuoy for ſafe paſſage; ordayning alſo that they ſhould be his Embaſſadours to the Pope, the Kings of *France*, of *Spayne*, and to other Chriſtian Kings. Hee cauſed fourteene ſhips to be prepared, each hauing foure Maſts and able to beare nine Sayles in ſayling, the forme of which is too long here to relate. Foure of them, or fiue, had from two hundred and fiftie to two hundred and ſixtie Mariners each of them. In theſe ſhips the Embaſſadours, the Queene, and *Nicolo, Maffio*, and *Marco*, ſet ſayle, hauing firſt taken leaue of the Great *Chan*, who gaue them many Rubies and other precious gems, and expenſes for two yeeres.

After three moneths they came vnto a certaine Iland, named *Iaua*, and from thence ſayling through the *Indian* Sea; after eighteene moneths, they come vnto the Countrey of King *Argon*, ſixe hundred men of the Mariners and others, and but one of the Women and Damſels died in the iourney, and onely *Coza* of the three Embaſſadours was liuing. When they came to the Countrey of King *Argon*, they found that hee was dead, and that one *Chiacato* gouerned the Kingdome, for his ſonne being young. They ſent to acquaint him with their buſineſſe; who anſwered, that they ſhould giue her to *Caſan* the Kings ſonne, then in the parts of *Arbor ſecco*, in the Confines of *Perſia* with ſixtie thouſand perſons for the guard of certaine paſſages againſt the enemie. Hauing done ſo, *Nicolo, Maffio*, and *Marco* returned to *Chiacato*, and ſtayed there nine moneths. After this, taking leaue, *Chiacato* gaue them foure Tables of Gold, each a cupit long, fiue fingers broad, of the weight of three or foure Markes: in which was written, that in the power of the eternall God, the name of the Great *Chan* ſhould bee honoured and praiſed many yeeres; and euery one which ſhould not obey, ſhould be put to death, and his goods confiſcate. It was further contayned, that theſe three Embaſſadours ſhould be honoured, and ſeruice done them in all Lands and Countries, as to his owne perſon: and that Horſes, Conuoyes, expenſes and neceſſaries ſhould be giuen them. All which was duly put in execution, that ſometimes they had two hundred Horſes for their ſafeguard. In this their trauell they heard that the Great *Chan* was dead, which tooke from them all hope of returning thither. They rode till they came to *Trabeſonde*, and from thence to *Conſtantinople*, and after to *Negroponte*, and at laſt came with great riches ſafe to *Venice*, *Anno* 1295. And thus much may ſerue for a Preface to the following worke, whereby might appeare, how *Marco Polo* could come to the knowledge of the things therein contayned.

To ſupply a little more, deliuered by Tradition and recorded by Ramuſio: *he ſayth that theſe three being comne to* Venice, *like* Vlyſſes *in* Ithaca, *none knew them; all eſteeming them long ſince dead. Beſides, their voyage had ſo altered them, that they ſeemed rather* Tartarians *then* Venetians, *hauing in manner forgotten their natiue Language; their habite alſo was of thicke Cloth, like* Tartars. *They went to their houſe in Saint* Iohn Chryſoſtomes *Street, and is there ſtill to be ſeene, then a faire Palace, and now called, The Court of millions: which name it had by reaſon of* Marcos *relations of ſo many millions in this worke, and in his diſcourſes of the Great* Chans *incredible wealth. They found there inhabiting ſome of their kindred, nor knew how to make themſelues knowne. Therefore, as I haue often heard of* Magnifico Meſſer Gaſparo Malipiero, *a very old Gentleman of ſingular integritie, from the report of his Father and Grandfather, &c. they agreed to inuite many of their kindred to a feaſt, prepared in honourable manner with much Magnificence: in which at firſt all three came forth in Crimſon Sattin ſutes, and after the Gueſts were ſet, ſtripped themſelues, and gaue them to the Seruitors, comming forth in Crimſon Damaske; and at the next ſeruice in Crimſon Veluet, and after in the common*

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mon habit, giuing ſtill the former to the ſeruitors. Dinner ended and the Seruitors put foorth, Marco *brought forth their three habits of thicke Cloath in which they had comne home, and thence tooke and ſet on the Table an incredible quantitie of Iewels artificially ſewed therein, which was no leſſe maruell to the beholders, then euidence of their being of the* Polo *family as they pretended.* Maffio *was made a Magiſtrate in* Venice, Marco *was daily frequented with the youth; and all wanne great reputation. In few moneths after,* Lampa Doria *Generall of a fleet of* Genois *being come to the Ile* Curzola *with ſeauentie Galleyes,* Andrea Dandolo *was ſent againſt them, and in that Fleet* Marco *was made Captaine of a Galley, which by diſaduenture of Warre was taken, and he carryed priſoner to* Genoa. *Where his ſtrange trauels being made knowne, a certaine Gentleman daily reſorting to him (as did the whole Citie in admiration) cauſed and helped him to write this ſtorie, hauing ſent to* Venice *for his Notes. The booke was firſt written in* Latine, *and thence tranſlated into* Italian. *One of which Latine Copies very ancient and haply copied out of* Marcos *originall, I haue ſeene and compared with this which I heere Publiſh, lent me by a Gentleman of this Citie of the houſe of the* Ghiſi *my ſpeciall friend, which holds it in ſpeciall eſteeme. No price might ranſome him, inſomuch that his Father wanting an heyre to his wealth married againe, and had by his wife three Children.* Marcos *worthineſſe obtained that which no moneys worth could doe, and being at libertie hee returned and marryed, and had two Daughters (but no ſonne)* Moretta *and* Fautina, *&c.*

That Gentleman of Genoa *made a Preface to the Booke, and* Franciſco Pipino *a Frier Preacher which tranſlated the ſame, Anno* 1320. *out of the Vulgar (the Latine being rare, as well it might before Printing and perhaps neuer ſeene of him) into Latine. Both thoſe Prefaces are in* Ramuſio: *the latter commends* M. Polo *for a deuout and honeſt man, and ſaith his Father confirmed the truth of this Booke, and his vncle* Maffio *on his Death-bed to his Confeſſor.* Pipino *abbreuiated the Booke and perhaps gaue occaſion to that corruption which was after increaſed by others.*

§. II.

Obſeruations of M. POLO, *of* Armenia, Turkie, Zorzania, Baldach, Perſia, Chirmain, Cobniam, Ormus, Knaue-fooles Paradiſe, *and other Eaſterne parts in* Aſia, *and* Armenia *the leſſe.*

THere are two *Armenia's*, the greater and the leſſe. In the leſſe the King abides in a Citie called *Sebaſtoz*, which in all his Countrey obſerueth Iuſtice and good Gouernment. The Kingdome it ſelfe hath many Cities, Fortreſſes and Caſtles: the ſoyle alſo is fertile, and the Countrey lacketh no neceſſary thing, nor doth it want game of Beaſts and fowle: the ayre is not very good. The Gentlemen of *Armenia* in times paſt were ſtout warriours, but become now effeminate and nice, giue themſelues to drunkennes and ryot. There is a certaine Citie in this Kingdome ſeated neere the Sea, named *Giazza*, hauing an excellent Hauen whither many Merchants reſort from diuers Countries, euen from *Venice* and *Genua*, by reaſon of the diuers marchandiſes brought thither, eſpecially Spices of ſundry ſorts, and certaine other precious riches brought thither out of the East Countries for trading: for this place is as it were a certaine part of all the East Countries.

The manners of the Inhabitants.

Giazza.

In *Turchomania* are three ſorts of Nations; to wit, the *Turchomans* or *Turke-men*, which obſerue the law of *Mahumet*. They are men vnlearned, rude, and wilde, inhabiting the Mountaines and inacceſſible places, where they know are paſtures; for they liue onely of their beaſts. There are good Horſes, called *Turke-men*, (or *Turkie* horſes) Mules, of great eſtimation. The other Nations are *Grecians* and *Armenians*, who poſſeſſe the Cities and Townes, and beſtow their labour on Marchandiſe and Artes. They make the beſt Carpets in the world. And they haue many Cities, the chiefe whereof are *Cogno*, or *Iconium*, *Ceſarea*, and *Sebaſte*, where Saint *Baſil* ſuffered Martyrdome for *Chriſt*, and they acknowledge one of the Kings of the *Tartars* for their Lord.

Turchomania, or *Turkie.*

Armenia the greater, being a very large Prouince, tributary to the *Tartars*, hath many Cities and Townes. The chiefe Citie thereof is called *Arzuiga*, and the beſt Bukram is made there. Moſt wholſome hot waters alſo ſpring there, for the waſhing and curing of mens bodies. And the other more famous Cities next to the Metropolis, are *Argiron* and *Darziz*. In the Summer time, very many *Tartars* reſort thither with their Flockes and heards, allured through the fatnes of the paſture: and againe in the Winter depart for a certaine time by reaſon of the abundance of Snow. The Arke of *Noah* remained in the Mountaines of this *Armenia*. This Countrey hath the Prouince of *Moſull* and *Meridin*, bordering on the Eaſt. But on the North is *Zorzania**, in the confines of which a Fountaine is found, from which liquor-like oyle floweth, yet is it vnprofitable for the ſeaſoning of meat, but very fit for the making and maintaining of Lampes, and to anoint other things enough to lade Camels.

Of the *Georgians*

In *Zorzania* is a King called alway *Dauid Melicz*, or King *Dauid*: One part of the Prouince is ſubiect to him, the other payeth tribute to the King of the *Tartars*. The Woods there are of Boxe-tree. The Countrey abutteth on the two Seas, *Mar-maggiore*, and that of *Abaccu*,

Georgia.

(or

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(or the *Caſpian*) which containeth in Circuit twentie eight hundred Miles, and is like a Lake, not mingled with other Seas. In it are many Ilands, Cities and Caſtles, ſome of which are inhabited by thoſe which fled from the *Tartars* out of *Perſia*. The people of *Zorzania* are Chriſtians, obſeruing the rites of the *Chriſtians*. They keepe their hayre ſhort, like the Weſterne Clergie. The Inhabitants haue many Cities and Caſtles, and abound with Silke, of the which they make very faire Cloathes.

Moxul. *Moxul* is a Prouince in which dwell people of many ſortes, one called *Arabi* which are *Mahumetans*, other are *Chriſtians*, ſome *Neſtorians*, others *Iacobites*, and others *Armenians*: and they haue a Patriarch called *Iacolit*, which ordaineth Archbiſhops, Biſhops, and Abbots, and ſends them thorow all parts of *India*, and to *Cairo* and *Baldach*, and all parts where Chriſtians dwell, as doth the Pope of *Rome*. And all the cloathes of Gold and of Silke called Moſſulines are wrought in *Moxul*. But in the Mountaines of this Kingdome dwell the people called *Cordi*, whereof ſome are *Neſtorians*, other *Iacobines*, and ſome followers of *Mahumet*. They are wicked men and rob Merchants. Neare to them is another Prouince, called *Mus* and *Meridin*, wherein growes infinite ſtore of Cotton or Bombaſt, whereof they make Buckrams and other workes. They are all vnder the *Tartars*.

Baldach is a great Citie, in which was the *Chalifa* that is the Pope of all the *Sarcens*. A Riuer runnes thorow it, from whence to the Sea is ordinarily ſeauenteene dayes iourney. They ſayle by a Citie called *Chiſi*: but before they come thither is *Balſara*, about which grow the beſt Dates in the world. In *Baldach* are many cloathes of Gold and Silke: there are wrought Damaskes and Veluets with diuers figures of creatures. All the pearles (in manner) in Chriſtendome come thence. In that Citie is ſtudyed the law of *Mahomet*, *Negromancie*, *Phyſicke*, *Aſtronomie*, *Geomancie*, and *Phiſnomie*: It is the chiefe Citie in thoſe parts. When the *Tartars* begãn to raigne, there were foure Brethren, the eldeſt of which, *Mongu* raigned in *Sedia*. Theſe purpoſing to ſubdue the world, went one to the Eaſt, another to the North, to the South a third, which was *Vlau*, and the other to the Weſt. In the yeare from the Incarnation of our Lord 1250. *Vlan* hauing a great Army of one hundred thouſand Horſe, beſides Foot, yet vſed policie, and hauing hid a great part of his men brought by fained flight, the *Calipha* into his ambuſh, and tooke him, and the Citie: in which he found infinite ſtore of treaſure, inſomuch that he wondered.

Baldash. *Chiſi.* *Balſara.* *Vlau Alau, or Haalon.*

He ſent for the *Caliſa*, and reproued him that in that warre hee had not therewith prouided himſelfe of Souldiers for defence: and commanded that hee ſhould be incloſed in that Tower, where his Treaſure was, without other ſuſtenance. This ſeemed a iuſt iudgement from our Lord Ieſus Chriſt on him. For he in the yeare 1225. ſeeking to conuert the Chriſtians to *Mahumet*: And taking aduantage on that place of the Goſpell, that *hee which hath Faith aſmuch as a graine of Muſtard-ſeed, ſhould be able to remoue mountaines*, he Conuerted all the *Chriſtians*, *Neſtorians*, and *Iacobites*, and propounded to them in ten dayes to remoue certaine Mountaines, or turne *Mahumetans*, or be ſlaine, as not hauing one man amongſt them which had the leaſt faith. They therefore continued eight dayes in Prayer: after which a certaine Shoomaker by reuelation to a Biſhop, was deſigned to performe it. This Shoomaker once tempted to luſt by ſight of a young Woman in putting on her Shooe, zealouſly had fulfilled that of the Goſpell, and literally had put out his right eye: He now on the day appointed with other Chriſtians following the Croſſe and lifting his hands to Heauen, prayed to God to haue mercy on his people, and then with a loude voyce commanded the Mountaine in the name of the Father, Sonne, and holy Ghoſt to remoue, which preſently with great terrour to the *Caliſa* and all his people was effected. And that day is ſince kept holy, with faſting alſo on the euen.

Tauris. *Tauris* is a great Citie in the Prouince of *Hirace*. It is a moſt populous Citie. They liue of Arts and Merchandiſe. They make Cloathes of gold and ſilke. Foraine Merchants make there great gaine, but the Inhabitants are generally poore: a mixed people of *Neſtorians*, *Armenians*, *Iacobites*, *Georgians*, and *Perſians*, and *Mahumetans*. Theſe laſt are perfidious and treacherous, thinking all well gotten which they ſteale from men of other Religions. And this wickedneſſe of the *Saracens* hath conuerted many *Tartars* thereto. If the Chriſtians kill them in their robberie, they are reputed Martyrs. From *Tauris* to *Perſia* are twelue dayes iourney. In the confines of *Tauris* is the Monaſterie of Saint *Barſam*, the Monkes whereof are like *Carmelites*; they alway make girdles which they lay on the Altar, and giue to their friends, which deuoutly eſteeme of them.

Deuils Martyrs

Perſia containeth eight Kingdomes: whereof the firſt is called *Caſibin*, the ſecond *Curdiſtan*, the third *Lor*, the fourth *Supliſtan*, the fift *Spaan*, the ſixt *Siras*, the ſeauenth *Soncara*, the eight *Timochaim*, which is neere *Arboreſecco* towards the North. Faire and great Horſes are there, whence they are ſold into *India*. There are alſo very goodly and excellent Aſſes ſold dearer then the Horſes, for that they eat little, carrie much and farre. They haue Camels but not ſo ſwift. Theſe are neceſſary in thoſe Countries, which ſometime in a long way yeeld no graſſe. The people in thoſe Countries are very wicked, contentious, Theeues, and Murtherers, profeſſing the faith of *Mahumet*. Merchants are euery where ſlaine by thoſe Theeues, vnleſſe they trauell in troupes. Yet are there excellent Artificers in the Cities, who make wonderfull things in gold, ſilke,

The eight Kingdome of Perſia. *Horſes.* *Aſſes.* *The Inhabitants.*

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silke, and Embroyderie. They abound with Silke-wormes, Wheat, Barley, Milium, and other kindes of Corne: and haue also plenty of Wine and fruits. And though their Law forbid wine, yet they haue a glosse to correct or corrupt the text, that if they boyle it, then it changeth the taste, and therefore the name also of Wine. Fine distinction, as in a Popish fasts.

Iasdi is a great Citie in the confines of *Persia*, where much Trading is exercised. It hath also cunning Artificers who labour in Silke. *Iasdi.*

Chiermain is a Kingdome in the confines of *Persia* to the East, subiect to the *Tartars*. In the veines of the Mountaines the stones are found, commonly called *Turchisses*; veines also of *Azzaio* and *Andanico*. There are also made all Armes and munition for warre, and by the Women excellent needle-workes in Silkes, with the portraitures of all sorts of Creatures verie admirable. There are the best Falcons in the world, verie swift of flight, red brested, and vnder the trayne, lesse then those of other Countries. Proceeding further, you goe through a great Plaine, and hauing ended eight dayes iourney, you come vnto a certaine descent. In the Plaine many Partridges are found, and also Castles and Townes. But in that steepe descent are many trees and those fruitfull, but no habitation is there but of Shepheards. This Countrey in the winter time hath intollerable cold.

After this you come vnto a certaine great Plaine, where a certaine Citie is seated, named *Camandu*, which in times past was great, but is now destroyed by the *Tartars*, and the Countrey is called *Reobarle*. There grow Pomgranats, Quinces, *Adams*-apples, and diuers others fruits, which grow not in our cold Countries. It hath also very great Oxen, and all white, thin hayred with thicke blunt short hornes, with a Camels bunch on the backe, accustomed to beare great burthens. And when the packe-saddles are set vpon the bunch, they bow the knee like Camels, and hauing receiued the burthen rise againe, being so taught by men. The Sheepe of that Countrey are no lesser then Asses, bearing so long and broad a tayle, that they weigh thirty pound weight. They are very faire and fat, and good meat. Moreouer, in the plaine of this Countrey are many Cities and Townes, with high walls of Mud to defend them from the *Caraunas*, that is *Mestizos*, or mingled people of *Indian* women and *Tartars*, ten thousand of which bee conducted by one *Nugodar*, the nephew of *Zagathai* who ruled in the greater *Turkie*. This *Nugodar* hearing of the *Malabars* subiect to Soldan *Asidin*, without his Vncles knowledge went and tooke *Dely* with other Cities, and erected a new Seignorie, and mixing with the *Indian* women procreated these *Caraunas*, which goe vp and downe to rob and spoyle in *Reobarle* and other Countries. There they learned magicall and diabolicall Arts, by which the ayre is so darkned in the day time for a long space, that none may see them or preuent them. *M. Marco* one time thorow such darknesse did almost fall into their hands, but made shift to escape to a Castle called *Consalmi*: but many of his company were taken or slaine. *Camandu.* Oxen with a bunch on the backe. Sheepe of the bignes of Asses Their Inchantments. The Authors danger.

That Plaine whereof I now speake, is fiue daies iourney extended towards the South. But at the end therof, the way beginneth by litle and litle to descend for twenty miles together, & the way it selfe is very bad, and not without danger by reason of Theeues. At length you come to very goodly Plaines, which extend themselues two dayes iourney in length, and the place it selfe is called *Ormus*. That Countrey aboundeth with Riuers of water and Palme trees. There is also plenty of diuers Fowles, especially of Poppin-jayes, which are not like to ours. From hence you come vnto the Ocean, where on an Iland is seated, a Citie called *Ormus*, whereto many Merchants resort, bringing Spices, Pearles, precious Stones, cloath of Gold and Silkes, and Elephants teeth, and all other precious things from *India*. That Citie is a great Mart, hauing Cities and Castles vnder it, and is head of the Kingdome *Chermain*: the King is called *Ruchinedin Achomach*, who yeelds obedience to the King of *Chermain*. He makes himselfe heyre, if any Merchant dyes there. In Summer they by reason of the heat betake themselues to their Garden houses built on waters. And from nine till noone there blowes a winde with such extreame heat from the sands, that it swallowes vp a mans breath and stifleth him, which makes them lye in the water. The King of *Chermain* sent an Armie of sixteene hundred Horse, and fiue thousand Foot, against the Lord of *Ormus* for not paying his tribute, which were all surprised and stifled with that winde. The Inhabitants of the place eate no Bread made of Corne and flesh, but feed vpon Dates, salt Fish, and Onions. They haue not very sound Ships: for they fasten them not with yron nayles (by reason that the wood is brittle and would cleaue) but with woodden pins, with certaine threds made of the shels of *Indian* Nuts. These shels are dressed after the manner of Leather, out of the which, threds are cut, and of the thrids exceeding strong cordes are made, which are able to indure the force and violence of the water, and are not easily corrupted thereby. Those Ships haue one Mast, one sayle, one beame, and are couered but with one decke. They are not chalked with Pitch, but with the Trane of Fishes. And when they crosse the Sea to *India*, carrying Horses and other fraight with them, they lose many Ships, because that Sea is very tempestuous, and the Ships are not strengthened with yron. The Inhabitants of that Countrey are blacke, and addicted to the Law of *Mahumet*. It is the custome of this Countrey, when any Master of a family dyeth, that the wife left behind him should mourne for him foure weekes, once a day. They haue women which professe the practise of mourning and are thereto hired, to mourne daily for their dead. *Ormus.* Parrats. Their Ships An outward shell which growes vpon the *Caco* Nut, and yeelds a thready substance.

Returning

Returning from *Ormus* to *Chermain* is a fertile Plaine, but the bread made there, cannot bee eaten of them, who are not accuſtomed thereunto, it is ſo bitter by reaſon of the bitter water put therein, whereof are ſtore of hot Bathes good againſt diſeaſes.

A Deſart in which is Salt, bitter, laxatiue, greene water.

Going from *Chermain* in three dayes riding you come to a Deſart, which continued till you come to *Cobinam*, ſeuen dayes Iourney, which is extended. In the firſt three dayes you ſhall haue no water, ſaue a very few, and thoſe ſalt and bitter, of a greene colour in ſhew, as if it were the iuyce of Herbs: and whoſo taſteth but a little thereof, cannot eſcape looſeneſſe of the belly. The like alſo hapneth, if any taſte the Salt made of that water. It is therefore needfull, that Trauellers carrie ſome water with them, if they will not be indangered through thirſt. The beaſts alſo which are compelled to drink that water, eſcape not without ſcouring. In the fourth day they find a freſh Riuer vnder ground: the three laſt dayes are as the firſt.

Cobinam. *Tutia* and *Spodio.*

Cobinam is a great *Mahumetan* Citie; goodly, and great Looking Glaſſes of Steele, are made there. *Tutia* alſo which cureth the eyes; and *Spodio* and that, after this manner. That Country hath Mines, out of which they digge Earth, which they boyle caſting it into a fierie Fornace, an Iron grate receiuing the aſcending vapour from aboue, in the which, the conglutinated and clammie vapour becommeth *Tutia*. But the groſſer matter remayning in the fire, is called *Spodio*. The Inhabitants of this Countrey, are followers of *Mahumet*.

A Deſart of eight dayes Iourney.

Leauing the Citie *Cobinam*, you meet with another Deſart eight dayes Iourney in length, and in it there is great dryneſſe: it wanteth trees, and fruits, and waters which it hath are very bitter, ſo that the very beaſts refuſe to drinke them except they mixe meale therewith, and Trauellers carrie water with them. But hauing paſſed ouer this Deſart, you came to the Kingdome

Timochaim.

Timochaim in the North Confines of *Perſia*, where many Cities and Caſtles are. There is a great Plaine in which a great tree groweth, called the tree of the Sunne, which the Chriſtians call,

Tree of Sun, or *Arbor Secco.* a *Ricci.*

The dry Tree. This tree is very great and thicke, and hath leaues, which on the one ſide are white, and on the other ſide greene. It produceth prickly ſhales like thoſe of a Cheſnut, but nothing in them. The wood is ſolide and ſtrong, yellow like Boxe. There is no tree within one hundred miles, except on one ſide, on which are trees within ten miles. In this place the Inhabitants ſay, that *Alexander* the Great fought with *Darius*. The Cities are plentifull of good things, but *Mahumetan*, and of temperate Aire. It hath alſo goodly men, but ſpecially women, the moſt beautifull in my iudgement in the World.

Mulehet.

Mulehet is in *Saracen* Language, as much to ſay as a place of Heretikes, and of this place they call the men *Mulehetici*, that is, Heretikes in their Law, as with vs *Patarines*. Hauing ſpoken of the Countrey, the old man of the Mountayne ſhall bee ſpoken of, of whom *Marco* heard much from many. His name was *Aloadine*, and was a *Mahumetan*.

Aloadine the old man of the Mountayne.

Hee had in a goodly Valley betwixt two Mountaynes very high, made a goodly Garden, furniſhed with the beſt trees and fruits he could find, adorned with diuers Palaces and houſes of pleaſure, beautified with gold Workes, Pictures, and Furnitures of ſilke. There by diuers Pipes anſwering diuers parts of thoſe Palaces were ſeene to runne Wine, Milke, Honey and cleere Water. In them hee had placed goodly Damoſels ſkilfull in Songs and Inſtruments of Muſicke and Dancing, and to make Sports and Delights vnto men whatſoeuer they could imagine. They were alſo fairely attyred in Gold and Silke, and were ſeene to goe continually ſporting in the Garden and Palaces. He made this Palace, becauſe *Mahomet* had promiſed ſuch a ſenſuall Paradiſe to his deuout followers. No man might enter: for at the mouth of the Valley was a ſtrong Caſtle, and the entrance was by a ſecret paſſage.

Knaue-fooles Paradiſe.

Alaodine had certaine Youthes from twelue to twentie yeares of age, ſuch as ſeemed of a bold and vndoubted diſpoſition, whom hee inſtructed daily touching *Mahomets* Paradiſe, and how hee could bring men thither. And when he thought good, he cauſed a certaine Drinke to bee giuen vnto ten or twelue of them, which caſt them in a dead ſleepe: and then hee cauſed them to be carryed into diuers Chambers of the ſaid Palaces, where they ſaw the things aforeſaid as ſoone as they awaked; each of them hauing thoſe Damoſels to miniſter Meates and excellent Drinkes, and all varieties of pleaſures to them; inſomuch that the Fooles thought themſelues in Paradiſe indeed. When they had enioyed thoſe pleaſures foure or fiue dayes, they were againe caſt in a ſleepe, and carryed forth againe. After which, hee cauſed them to be brought into his preſence, and queſtioned where they had beene, which anſwered, by your Grace, in Paradiſe, and recounted before all, all before mentioned. Then the old man anſwered, This is the commandement of our Prophet, that whoſoeuer defends his Lord, he make him enter Paradiſe: and if thou wilt bee obedient to mee, thou ſhalt haue this grace. And hauing thus animated them, hee was thought happie whom the old man would command, though it coſt him his life: ſo that other Lords and his Enemies were ſlaine by theſe his *Aſſaſines*, * which expoſed themſelues to all dangers, and contemned their liues. Hereupon hee was eſteemed a Tyrant, feared in all thoſe parts; and had two Vicars one in the parts of *Damaſco*, and another in *Curdiſtan*: which obſerued the ſame order with young men. Hee vſed alſo to rob all which paſſed that way. *Vlaus* in the yeare 1262. ſent and beſieged his Caſtle, which after three yeares ſiege they tooke, ſlue him and ruined his Paradiſe, not being able for want of victuall to hold out longer.

* It is likely that the *Aſſaſines* mentioned in the eight & ninth Bookes were branches of this ſtock, Diſciples of his *Syrian* Vicar: or this of them.

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§. III.

Of Sapurgan, Balac, Thaican, Scassem, Balaxiam, Bascia, Chesmur, Vochan, Samarchan, Carchan, Peym, *the dreadfull Desart of* Lop *and* Tanguth.

DEparting from the foresaid place, you come vnto a certayne Country pleasant enough, which hath Hils, Plaines, and excellent Pasture, and lastly, fruits in great plentie: for the soyle thereof is very fruitfull. This continues sixe dayes, and then you enter a Desart of fortie or fiftie miles, without water. After this you come to the Citie *Sapurgan*, where plentie of all victuall is found; especially, Pompions the best in the World, sweet like Honey.

Large pleasant Countrey. A Desart. *Sapurgan.* Pompions.

Passing from thence, we came vnto a certayne Citie, named *Batach*, which in times past was great and famous, hauing sumptuous Marble Palaces: but now ouerthrowne by the *Tartars*. In this Citie they report, that *Alexander* tooke the Daughter of King *Darius* to wife. To this Citie (on the East and North-east) continue the Confines of *Persia*. But if you goe from hence, and proceed betweene the East, and the North-east, you cannot finde any Habitation for two dayes Iourney: because the Inhabitans of the place hauing endured so many grieuances by Theeues and Robbers, are compelled to flye vnto the Mountaynes, to wit, places of more safetie. Many waters are found there, and very much game of wild beasts: Lyons also are there. And because Trauellers find no food in that Iourney, they carrie victuals with them, which may suffice them for two dayes.

Stityta. Balach, perhaps in *Susa*.

That two dayes Iourney ended, which we mentioned, we met with a certayne Castle, called * *Thaican*; where is great plentie of Corne, and very goodly fields. The Mountaynes also on the South are high, some of which are of white and hard Salt, and the Inhabitants thirtie dayes Iourney about fetch it from thence, being the best World, so hard that they must breake it with Iron Instruments, so much that the whole World may haue sufficient Salt from thence. The other Mountaynes haue store of Almonds and Pistaches. Going betweene the East and North-east from hence the Countrey is fruitfull, the Inhabitants Murtherers, Perfidious, *Mahumetans*, Drunkards: Their Wine is boyled and excellent. They goe bare-headed, saue that the men bind vp their heads with a certaine string of ten hanfuls long. But they make them clothing of the skinnes of the wilde beasts which they take, as Breeches and Shooes, and vse no other Garments.

Thracian. Salt-mountaynes.

After three dayes Iourney is the Citie *Scassem* seated in a Plaine, and hath many Castle, in the Mountaines round about it. A certaine great Riuer also floweth through the middle thereof. There are many Porcupines in that Country, which they hunt with Dogges by the Hunters: and they contracting themselues with great furie, cast their prickly Quils against the men and the Dogges, and wound them. That Nation hath a particular language: the sheepherds thereof abide in the Mountaynes, hauing made Caues for their Habitation. You goe hence three daies Iourney without any Habitation at all, to the Prouince *Balaxiam*.

Scassem. Porcupines. *Porci spinosi.*

Balaxiam is a *Mahumetan* Prouince, and hath a peculiar Language. Their Kings who succeed one another by hereditarie right, are reported to haue deriued their discent from *Alexander* the Great, and from the Daughter of *Darius*, and are called *Zulcarnen*, which is to say, *Alexander*. There are found the *Ballasses*, faire precious stones, and of great value. No man without danger of life, dare either digge such stones, or carrie them out of the Countrey, but with the licence and consent of the King: for all those stones are the Kings, and he sendeth them to whom he pleaseth, either for a Present, or payment of Tribute: he exchangeth also many for Gold and Siluer. And this hee doth lest the stone whereof there is such plentie should become viler and cheaper. Other Mountaynes also in this Prouince yeeld stones, whereof the best Azure is made, the like whereof is not found in the World. The Mines also yeeld Siluer great store, and Brasse and Lead. The Countrey it selfe is very cold. It hath many Horses, and those excellent, great, and swift, which haue so hard and strong hoofes on their feet, that they need no Iron Shoots, although they runne through Rockes. It is said that not long since there were Horses of the Race of *Alexanders Bucephalus*, all with his forehead-marke, in the possession only of the Kings Vncle, who was slaine for denying the King to haue of them: whereupon his Widow in angry spite destroyed the whole Race. There are also excellent Falcons. The soyle thereof beareth notable Wheate, and Barley without huskes, and Oyle made of Nuts and Susimane, which is like to flaxe seed, more sauourie then other Oyle. There are strait passages and many stormie places. The men are good Archers and Huntsmen, clothed with beasts skinnes. The hils are steepe and high, large plaines, Riuers alongst the ruptures; and if any haue an Ague with abiding two or three dayes on the hils he recouereth, which *Marco* proued in himselfe after a yeares sickneſſe. The women in the skirts of their Garments put sixtie or eightie yards of Cotton, the greatest Bumsie Boncer seeming the goodliest Lasse.

Balaxiam. Couragious Horses, and vnshod. *Bucephalus* breed.

Baſcia. The Prouince *Baſcia* is ten dayes Iourney toward the South, diſtant from the Countrey *Balaxiam*. And the Countrie it ſelfe is very hot: whereby it commeth to paſſe, that the people are browne: they are expert Magicians, and continually attend thereto. They haue a peculiar Language: and weare Golden and Siluer Eare-rings with Pearles and ſtones artificially wrought in them. They eate fleſh and Rice, and are Idolaters, craftie and cruell.

Cheſmur. The Prouince *Cheſmur* is ſeuen dayes Iourney diſtant from *Baſcia*. The Inhabitants thereof haue a peculiar Language, and are Idolaters; beyond all others cunning Inchanters, forcing their Idols to ſpeake, and darkning the day. They are the chiefeſt Idolaters, and Idols are deſcended from them. From thence you may goe to the *Indian* Sea. The men and women are browne, not wholly blacke, the heate ſome-what tempered: their food is fleſh and Rice, yet are they exceeding leane. There are many Cities and Townes there. Their King is tributarie to none. There are certaine Heremites in this Prouince, who in Monaſteries and Cels worſhip Idols, honouring their Gods with great abſtinence of meate and drinke, and obſerue great Chaſtitie, are very cautelous not to offend their Idols, and liue long. Of theſe are many Abbeyes, and the people giue them great reuerence. The men of this Prouince kill no quicke creatures, and ſhed no bloud: and if they will eate fleſh, it is neceſſary that the *Saracens* which liue amongſt them, kill the creature. Corall is here ſold dearer then any where. Wee will leaue the way to *India* now and returne to *Balaxiam* and direct our way towards *Catay*, betwixt the East and North-east. Beyond *Balaxiam* is a certaine Riuer, whereon ſtand many Caſtles and Villages belonging to the King of *Balaxiams* Brother: and after three dayes Iourney is the Prouince *Vochan*, hauing in length and breadth three dayes Iourney. The Inhabitants thereof haue a peculiar Language, and worſhip *Mahumet*. They are good Liuers, ſtout Warriours, and good Hunters: for that Countrey aboundeth with wild beaſts. If you depart hence betwixt the North-east and the East, you muſt aſcend for three whole dayes together, vntill you come vnto an exceeding high Mountayne, then the which, there is ſaid to bee none higher in the World. There alſo betweene two Mountaynes, a great Lake if found, whence by a Plaine runneth a very goodly Riuer, neere vnto which are excellent Paſtures, ſo that in them a leane Horſe, or an Oxe, may bee fatted in ten dayes. There is alſo plentie of wild beaſts: eſpecially, exceeding great wild ſheepe, hauing hornes ſome of them ſixe palmes or ſpans long, of the which they make diuers kinds of veſſels. That Plaine contayeth twelue dayes Iourney in length, and is called *Pamer*; nor is there any humane Habitation there, and Trauellers muſt carry victuals with them. No Bird alſo appeareth there, by reaſon of the cold, and (it is reported for a Miracle) if fire be kindled there, it is not ſo bright nor ſo effectuall to boyle any thing, as in other places. From hence the way leadeth fortie dayes further, betweene the East and the North-east through the Mountaynes, Hils, and Valleyes, in the which many Riuers are found, but no humane habitation, nor any herbe: and the Countrey it ſelfe is called *Beloro*. Habitations of men are ſeene in the top of thoſe high Mountaynes, but ſuch as are ſauage, wicked, Idolatrous; who liue by hunting, and are clothed with the skinnes.

Vochan.

Higheſt mountayne.

Pamer.

Beloro.

Caſchar. After this you come to the Prouince *Caſchar*, which is tributarie to the great *Cham* and a *Mahumetan*. In it are Vines, greene Gardens, fruitfull trees, Cotton, Flaxe, and Hempe, and a fertile ſoyle. The Inhabitants haue a peculiar Language, and are Merchants, and Artificers, who are ſo couetous that they eate that which is bad, and drinke worſe. Some *Neſtorian Chriſtians* are found there, who alſo haue their Churches. The Countrey inlargeth it ſelfe fiue dayes Iourney.

Samarchan is a great and famous Citie in that Countrey, where are goodly Gardens and a fertile Plaine. It is ſubiect to the Nephew of the Great *Cham*. In it the *Chriſtians* dwell with the *Saracens*, whence little agreement is betwixt them. It is reported, that in this manner a Miracle hapned, the brother of Great *Cham*, named *Zagatai*, gouerned that Countrey, about one hundred yeares agoe, being perſwaded to become a Chriſtian, the Chriſtians through his fauour built a Church, in honour of Saint *Iohn Baptiſt*, with ſuch cunning that the whole Roofe thereof, was ſupported by one Pillar in the midſt, vnder which was ſet a ſquare ſtone, which by fauour of their Lord was taken from a building of the *Saracens*. *Zagathais* Sonne ſucceeded after his death in the Kingdome, but not in the faith: from whom the *Saracens* obtayned that the Chriſtians ſhould be compelled to reſtore that ſtone. And when they offered a ſufficient valuable price, the *Saracens* refuſed to receiue any other compoſition then the ſtone. But the Pillar lifted vp it ſelfe, that the *Saracens* might take away their ſtone, and ſo continueth.

Carchan. Departing againe from this Citie, you come into the Prouince *Charchan*, about fiue dayes Iourney in length. This Prouince hath plentie of all victuals, beeing ſubiect to the Dominion of the Nephew of Great *Cham*. The Inhabitants worſhip *Mahumet*, yet among them certaine *Neſtorian* Chriſtians dwell. They are great Artificers, and haue moſt of them great legges, and a great Wenne or Bunch in the throat, by reaſon of the waters which they drinke.

Wennes by bad waters happen alſo in the *Alpes*.

Cotam the name of a Prouince and chiefe Citie.

The Prouince *Cotam* followeth betweene the East and the North-east. It is ſubiect to the Dominion of the Nephew of Great *Cham*, and hath many Cities and Townes. The chiefe Citie thereof is called *Cotam*. The Prouince is extended eight dayes Iourney in length. There is no want therein of any thing, appertayning to the maintenance of life. It hath plentie of Cot-

ton,

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ton, Flaxe, Hempe, Corne, and Wine. But the people are not warlike, yet good Artificers and Merchants. They acknowledge *Mahumet*.

Proceeding further through the same Countrey, you meet with the Prouince *Peim*, extended fiue dayes Iourney in length. It is subiect to Great *Can*, and hath many Cities and Castles. The chiefe Citie thereof is called *Peim*, neere which runneth a Riuer; wherein precious-stones are found, to wit, Iasper stones and Chalcedonie. The Inhabitants of the Countrey worship *Mahumet*, and are Artificers and Merchants. There is a custome in this Prouince, that when any marryed man goeth into another place and returneth not home within twentie dayes, it shall be lawfull for the Wife to marrie another Husband, and the men also whereseoeuer they goe doe the like. All those Prouinces aforesaid, to wit, *Caschar*, *Cotam*, *Peim*, to the Citie of *Lop*, are in the bounds of Great *Turkie*.

Peim.

Adulterous custome.

Great *Turkie*, or *Turcomania*.

Ciarcian is subiect to the *Tartars*, the name of the Prouince and chiefe Citie; it hath many Cities and Castles. Many precious stones are found there in the Riuers, especially Iaspers and Chalcedonies, which Merchants carrie euen to *Ouchach* to sel, and make great gain. From *Peim* to this Prouince, and quite thorow it also, it is al Sand, with many bad waters and few good. When any Armie passeth through this Prouince, all the Inhabitants thereof with their Wiues, Children, Cattel, and all their houshold stuffe, flie two dayes Iourny into the sands, where they know good waters are, and stay there: and carrie their Corne thither also to hide it in the sands after Harueſt for like feares. The wind doth so deface their steps in the sand, that their Enemies cannot find out their way. Departing from this Prouince, you are to trauell fiue dayes Iourney thorow the sand, where no other water almost then that which is bitter is to be found, vntill youcome vnto the Citie named *Lop*.

Ciarcian.

Lop is a great Citie, from whence is the entrance of a great Desart, called also *Lop*, seated betweene the East and the North-east. The Inhabitants are *Mahumetans*, subiect to the Great *Can*. In it Merchants who desire to passe ouer the Desart, cause all necessaries to be prouided for them. And when victuals beginne to faile in the Desart, they kill the Asses and Camels and eate them. They most willingly vse Camels, because they are sustayned with little meate, and beare great burthens. They must prouide victuals for a moneth to crosse it ouer-thwart; for to goe thorow the length, would aske a yeares time. They goe thorow the sands and barren Mountaines, and daily find water, yet is it sometimes so little, that it can scarsly suffice fiftie or one hundred men with their beasts: and in three or foure places the water is salt and bitter: the rest (which are eight and twentie) good. In it are neither beasts nor birds. They say that there dwell many spirits which cause great and meruailous Illusions to Trauellers to make them perish. For if any stay behind that he cannot see his company, he shall be called by name, and so going out of the way is lost. In the night they heare the noyse as it were of a company, which taking to bee theirs they perish likewise. Other apparances as of their companions, or of enemies haue caused some to miscarrie. Consorts of Musicall Instruments are sometimes heard in the Ayre, likewise Drummes, and noyses of Armes. They goe therefore neere together, hang Bels on their beasts neckes, and set markes if any stay.

Lop.

Desart of *Lop.*

Illusions of Deuils. It seemeth that the compasse was not then found out, which of later times they vse in Desarts, as in the Sea.

Hauing passed ouer the Desart, you come vnto the Citie *Sachion*, betwixt the East and North-east, subiect to the Great *Can*, in the Prouince of *Tanguth*, where among the Worshippers of *Mahumet*, a few *Nestorian* Christians are found. Many Idolaters are also there, who haue their proper Language. The Inhabitants of this Citie, liue not of Merchandize, but the fruits of the Earth. This Citie hath many Monasteries, consecrated to diuers Idols, in the which many Sacrifices are offered, and great reuerence. And when a Sonne is borne vnto a man, hee presently commendeth him to some Idoll, and in honour thereof, nourisheth a sheepe that yeere in his house, which he presenteth before it together with his Sonne, the next Festiuall Day of that Idoll, with many Ceremonies and great reuerence. Afterward the flesh of the sheepe is boyled, and left so long before the Idoll, while their Prayers are finished, which they make for the conseruation of their Sonne, and the Idoll hath sucked out the sauour of the meate, after which their fancie all his kindred being gathered together, eate that flesh at home with great deuotion and ioy: but orderly keepe the bones in certayne vessels. The Priests haue the feete, head, inwards, skinne, and some part of the flesh for their share. In celebrating the Funerals of such as were of esteeme, the dead bodies are burned after this manner. The kindred send for the Astrologers, and tell them what yeare, moneth, day, and houre, hee who dyed was borne: who perceiuing the constellation, declare the day when hee is to be burned: so that when the Planet fits not, they reserue the dead bodie sometimes seuen dayes, and sometimes sixe monethes, preparing a Cheſt for it at home, and ioyning the sides together with such cunning Art, that no stinke can issue forth. They also imbalme the bodie it selfe with Spices, and couer the Cheſt fairely painted with a costly cloth: and euery day that the dead corps is kept at home, at the houre of Dinner, a Table is prepared neere the Cheſt, setting wine and meate thereon for the space while one might well eate a mealeſ-meat, supposing that the soule of the dead, feedeth of the sauour thereof. The Astrologers sometime forbid to carrie it forth at the chiefe gate, pretending some disastrous starres thereto, and cause them to carrie it out another way, and sometimes breake the

Sachion.

Tanguth.

The Sacrifice of the Birth-day.

The Rites of Funerall.

Astrologers.

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wall which is oppoſite to that place which the Planet makes more luckie; for otherwiſe the ſpirits departed would bee offended and hurt thoſe of the houſe. And if any ſuch euill happen, they aſcribe it to the dead thus wronged. When the bodie is carryed through the Citie to be burned without, woodden Cottages are erected in the way, with a porch couered with Silkes, in which they ſet the bodie, and ſet before it Bread, Wine, and Fleſh, and Delicate Cates, ſuppoſing the ſpirit to be refreſhed therewith, which muſt bee preſently preſent at the burning of the bodie.

And when they come vnto the place of burning, they write and paint vpon Papers made of the barkes of Trees, the Images of Men and Women, Horſes, Camels, Money, and Garments. (All the Inſtruments of the Citie meane-while reſounding) all which are burned together with the dead bodie. For they ſay, that that dead man ſhall haue ſo many Men-ſeruants, and Mayd-ſeruants, Cattell, and Money, in another life, as reſemblances, and Pictures were burned together with him, and ſhall perpetually liue in that honour and riches.

The Prouince *Chamul* lyeth in the great Prouince *Tanguth*, ſubiect to the Great *Can*, hauing many Cities and Townes: the chiefe Citie is called *Chamul*. The Land butteth vpon two Deſarts, to wit, the great Deſart, whereof wee haue ſpoken before, and a certaine other, that is leſſe, of three dayes Iourney. It aboundeth with ſuch things, which a man needeth for the ſuſtentation of life. The Inhabitants are Idolaters, haue a peculiar Language, and ſeeme to bee borne for none other purpoſe, but to apply themſelues to ſporting, ſinging, dancing, writing and reading after their faſhion, playing on Inſtruments, and to giue themſelues delight. When any Traueller paſſing by, turneth into any mans houſe for entertaynment, the Maſter of the Family receiueth him with great ioy, and commandeth his Wife and all the Family, that they as long as he will abide with them, obey him in all things. In the meane ſpace, he departeth not to returne ſo long as the Gueſt remayneth in his houſe. And meane-while hee lyeth with the Wife, Daughter, and the reſt, as with his owne Wiues. The women of that Countrey are beautifull, and readie to obey all thoſe Commandements of their Husbands, who are ſo beſotted with this folly, that they thinke it a glorious thing for them, and acceptable to their Idols, for which they proſper with plentie of all things. *Mangu Can* hauing heard of this folly, commanded them to obſerue this deteſtable cuſtome no longer; which they did about three yeares, and then ſeeing not their wonted fertilitie, and troubled with ſome Domeſticall croſſes, ſent Ambaſſadours to the *Can*, and inſtantly entreated, that he would reuoke ſo grieuous an Edict, and not aboliſh that Tradition which they had receiued from their Elders. The *Can* anſwered, ſeeing you deſire your reproch and ſhame, let it be granted you. Goe and doe herein after your wont. The Meſſengers returning with this Anſwer, brought great ioy to all the people: this cuſtome is obſerued by that people vntill this day.

Iouiall Lads.

Bawdes to their owne Wiues.

Kind Cuckolds.

After the Prouince of *Camul*, followeth the Prouince of *Chinchintalas*, which on the North boundeth vpon the Deſart, and is ſixteene dayes Iourney in length, ſubiect to the Dominion of Great *Cham*. It hath Cities and many Caſtles. The people thereof are diuided into three Sects. Some few acknowledge Chriſt, and theſe are *Neſtorians*: others worſhip *Mahumet*, the third, adore Idols. In this Prouince there is a Mountaine where are Mines of Steele and Andanicum, and alſo Salamanders, of the which cloth is made, which, if it bee caſt into the fire, cannot bee burned. But that cloth is made of the Earth in this manner (as one of my companions, a *Turke* named *Curcifar*, a man indued with ſingular induſtrie, informed me) who had the charge of the Minerals in that Prouince. A certaine Minerall of Earth is found in that Mountayne, which yeeldeth threeds, not vnlike to Wooll, which being dryed in the Sunne, are bruiſed in a brazen Morter, and afterward waſhed, and whatſoeuer earthy ſubſtance cleaueth vnto them, is taken away: laſtly, thoſe threeds ſo purged and made ſmall, are ſpunne like other Wooll, and wouen into cloth. And when they will whiten thoſe clothes, they caſt them into the fire for an houre, and then they are taken out of the flaming fire vnhurt, whiter then Snow. After the like manner they cleanſe them, when they haue taken any ſpots: for no other waſhing is added to them, beſides the fire. But touching the Salamander, the Serpent, which is reported to liue in the fire, I could ſearch out nothing in the Eaſt Countries. They ſay, there is a certayne Napkin at *Rome*, wouen of the Salamander, wherein the Handkerchiefe of the Lord is kept wrapped vp, which a certayne King of the *Tartars* ſent vnto the Biſhop of *Rome*.

This Chapter is not in *Ramuſios Italian* Copie which I haue (printed 1559.) yet is it mentioned there among the Prouinces of *Tanguth*.

And I haue not a little trauelled in Trauellers to find this Salamander, but haue found not a little; no Midwife to my throwes; which makes mee throw away that conceit.

After you are paſt this Prouince, you go betwixt the Eaſt and North-eaſt ten dayes Iourney, in which few Habitations or things remarkable are found; and then you come to the Prouince *Succuir*, which hath many Habitations and Townes. The chiefe Citie thereof is called *Succuir*. In this Prouince, among many Idolaters, a few Chriſtians are found: they are ſubiect to the Great *Can*. They apply not themſelues to Merchandize, but liue of the fruits of the Earth. The beſt Rhubarbe is found in great quantitie in this Prouince, which is carryed thence by Merchants, to diuers parts of the World. Strangers dare not go to the Mountaynes where it growes, by reaſon of venemous herbs, which if their beaſts ſhould eate them would loſe their hooſes; but thoſe of that Countrey know and auoyd them. The generall name of this Prouince, and of the two following is *Tanguth*.

Succuir.

Rhubarbe. Of this *Ramuſio* hath giuen a large diſcourſe from the Relation of *Chaggi Meneret*, which had beene in theſe parts.

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Campion is a great Citie, the principall in the Countrey of *Tanguth*. In it are *Christians* (which haue there three great and faire Churches, *Mahumetans*, and *Idolaters*. The *Idolaters* haue many Monasteries, where they worship their Idols. Moreouer, those Idols are made either of stone, wood, or clay, some ouer-layed with gold, and very artificially wrought. Among these, some are so great, that they containe ten paces in length, fastned to the earth, as if they lay vpright, neere vnto the which, little Idols are placed, which seeme to giue reuerence to the greater, and both are much reuerenced. The Religious men seeme to liue more honestly then other *Idolaters*, abstayning from certaine things, as Lecherie, and other things; although Lecherie seemes no grieuous sinne: for they say, if a woman seekes for loue to a man, he may vse her without sinne, but not, if he seekes first to her. They reckon the whole circuit of the yeere by Moones. In these Moones, they obserue fiue, or foure, or three dayes, wherein they kill no Beast, or Bird, nor eat Flesh (as is the vse with vs on Friday, Saturday, and Vigils.) The Lay-men marrie twentie or thirtie wiues, as they are able to maintayne: yet the first is accounted the more worthie, and more legitimate. The husband receiueth no dowrie from the wife, but hee himselfe assigneth conuenient dowrie, in Cattell, seruants, or money, according to his abilitie. If the wife become hatefull to the husband, it is lawfull for him to diuorce her from him, as he pleaseth. They take for wiues their Kinswomen or Mothers in law. *Marco*, together with his Father, and Vncle, remayned a yeeres space in this Citie, for the dispatch of certaine affaires.

Campion. Christian Churches. Idolatrous Monasteries. Idols of diuers kinds. The yeere of the Moone. Their many wiues.

From the Citie *Campion*, you goe twelue dayes iourney to the Citie *Ezina*, bordering vpon a sandy Desart towards the North, containe in the Prouince of *Tanguth*. Many Camels are there, and many other beasts; and Hawkes of diuers kinds. The Inhabitants are Idolaters, liuing of the fruits of the Earth, forbearing merchandise.

Ezina.

§. IIII.

Of Carchoran, *the Originall, proceedings and exploits of the* Tartars; *of Priest* IOHN *and his discendants. Customes of the* Tartars. *Of* Bargu, Erginul, Xandu *the* Cans *Citie and Palace; of Muske: of strange Sorcerers, and austere Monkes.*

ALl the Prouinces and Cities aforesaid, *Sachion*, *Chemul*, *Chinchitalas*, *Succuir*, *Campion*, and *Ezina*, pertayne to *Tanguth*. Hauing passed ouer the foresaid Desart, you come vnto the Citie *Carcoram*, which is in circuit three miles, strongly rampierd with earth, for they want stone. Neere it is a great Castle, and in it the Gouernors faire Palace. This was the first place neere which in old times the *Tartars* assembled themselues. And now we will declare how they began to raigne. They dwelt in the North parts, to wit, in *Cionza* and *Bargu*, where are many and great Playnes without Cities and Townes, but goodly Pastures, Riuers and waters. They had not a Prince of their Nation, but payed tribute to a certayne great King, named as I haue heard, in their language *Vncan*, which in some mens opinion in our tongue signifieth, *Presbyter* (or Priest) *Iohn*. To him the *Tartars* gaue yeerely the tenths of all their beasts. In processe of time, the *Tartars* so encreased in multitudes, that *Vncan* was afraid of them, and thought to disperse them into seuerall parts of the world. And therefore when any rebelled he sent three or foure of an hundred of the *Tartars* into those parts, so diminishing their power; and the like he did in his other occasions, deputing some of their principals to that purpose. They seeing their ruine intended and loth to be separated one from another, went from the places where they dwelt to the Desart towards the North, where by remotenesse they might be safe, and denyed to *Vncan* their wonted Tribute.

Carchoran, vide Rubr. of *Caracarum.* The originall of the Dominion of the *Tartars.*

It hapned that about *An.* 1162. the *Tartars* hauing continued some time in those parts, chose a King among themselues, a wise and valiant man, named *Cingis Can*. He began to reigne with such iustice, that he was beloued and feared of all as a God rather then a Prince, in somuch that his fame brought all the *Tartars* in all parts to his subiection. And hee seeing himselfe Lord of so valiant men would needs leaue those Desarts, and commanding them to prouide Bowes and other weapons, began to subdue Cities and Prouinces, in which Conquests hee placed such iust Gouernours, that the people were not offended. The chiefe of them hee carried alongst with him with great prouisions and gifts. Seeing therefore that he was aduanced to so great glorie, and power, he sent Embassadors politikly to *Vncan* to intreate, that he would bestow his daughter vpon him to be his wife. Which he taking, in very euill part, answered with indignation, and reiecting the Embassadors of *Cingis*, said, doth my seruant demand my daughter? Get ye out of my sight and tell your Master, if he euer make such demand againe, I will make him die a miserable death. But King *Cingis*, leuying a great Armie, went forth with an hostile minde, and incamped in a certaine great Plaine, named *Tanduc*, sending vnto the King, and signifying vnto him, that he should defend himselfe. But he, comming with a mightie Armie, descended to the Playnes, and pitched his Tents within ten miles of the Campe of the *Tartars*. Then *Cingis* commanded his Astrologers to shew him, what euent and successe the battell should haue. They cutting a Reed

The fruit of a wilde gouernment. *Cingis* goeth forth against *Vncan*. *Tanduc*. He consulteth with the Magicians.

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lengthwise in two parts, set the pieces themselues into the ground, and wrote vpon the one, *Cingis*; and on the other, *Vmcan*; and said vnto the King: In the meane space, while we reade the Coniurations, it shall come to passe by the Idols power, that these two parts of the Reed shall fight together: And whose part shall ascend vpon the other, that King shall obtayne victorie in the battell. The multitude therefore running together to behold that spectacle, the Astrologers beganne to mumble their prayers, and reade their inchantments, when presently the parts of the Reed being moued, fought together, vntill at length the part of *Cingis* ascended vpon the part of *Vmcan*. Which being seene, the *Tartars* assured of the future victorie, were encouraged to the battell, and *Vmcan* being slayne, the Victorie, and Kingdome, and *Vmcans* daughter remayned to *Cingis*. *Cingis* raigned sixe yeeres after this, in the which hee got many Prouinces: and lastly, when he endeuoured to winne a certaine Castle, called *Thaigin*, and came somewhat neere, being shot in the knee with an Arrow, he died, and was buried in the Mountaine *Altai*.

Hee vanquisheth the Enemie by warre.

He dieth with the shot of an Arrow.

Cingis Can.
Cyn Can.
Bathyn Can.
Esu Can.
Mongu Can.
Cublai Can.
Altai the Sepulcher of the Kings of the *Tartars.*

The first King of the *Tartars*, was called *Cingis*; the second, *Cyn Can*; the third, *Bathyn Can*; the fourth, *Esu Can*; the fifth, *Mangu Can*; the sixth *Cublai Can*, whose power is greater then all his Predecessors, hauing inherited theirs, and adding by Conquest in manner the rest of the World. For he liued neere sixtie yeeres in his Gouernment. The name *Can* signifieth Emperor. All the great *Cans*, and Princes of that bloud of *Cingis*, are carried to the Mountaine of *Altai* to be buried, wheresoeuer they die, although one hundred dayes iourney from it. And they which carrie the Corpse to the buriall, kill all those that they meet in the way, saying: goe, and serue our Lord the King in another life. They kill also the better Horses. When the bodie of great *Cham Mongu*, the Predecessor of *Cham Cublai*, was brought vnto the Mountaine *Altai* to bee buried, the Souldiers accompanying the funerall, are reported to haue slayne aboue ten thousand men, vpon the foresaid occasion.

Their cruell custome of funerals.

The marriages of the *Tartars.*

The *Tartarean* women are most faithfull to their husbands. Adulterie is a great shame with them: yet it is accounted lawfull, and honest, that euery one may marrie as many wiues as he is able to maintayne, although the first be iudged to be more principall and honorable then the rest.

Womens concord and industrie.

These liue together in the same house without one ill word in admirable concord, make their merchandises, buy, and sell, and chaffer all things necessarie to their husbands and households, the men medling with nothing but their hunting, hawking, and things pertayning to Armes. They haue the best Falcons in the World, and so they haue of Dogs. They liue onely of Flesh and Milke, and what they take in hunting. They eat Horses, Camels, Dogs, if fat; and drinke Mares milke, called Chemurs, so vsed, that it is like white [a] Wine. If the father dies, the sonne may haue all his wiues except his owne mother and sisters. So, the brother being dead, it is lawfull for the brother who remayneth aliue, to marrie the widdow of the brother. The husbands receiue no dowrie from the wiues, but they themselues assigne dowry to the wiues, and their mothers. Through the multitude of wiues, the *Tartars* haue many children. Nor is the multitude of Wiues very burdensome vnto the *Tartars*, seeing they gaine much through their labours. Besides, they are very carefull for the gouernement of the familie, and preparation of food: and with no lesse care, execute the other duties of the house. But the men apply themselues wholly to hunting, fowling, and exercise of Armes. The *Tartars* nourish many herds of Oxen, flocks of Sheepe, and other Beasts, and Cattell, and abide with them, in places of Pasture, in the Summer time, in the Mountaines, and colder places, where they finde Pasture, and Wood; but in the Winter, they remoue vnto the hotter Countreyes, where they finde Pasture for their Cattell: and goe forth-on two or three moneths together. Their houses are couered with sticks and felts, ordinarily round, which they carrie with them on Carts or Waggons of foure wheeles, whithersoeuer they goe. For they can fold and extend them, set them vp, and take them downe: and they turne the doore of them alwaies to the South. They haue also neat Carts of two wheeles (couered with Felt so well that rayne cannot pierce them) drawne by Oxen, and Camels, wherein they carrie their wiues, children, and necessarie household-stuffe with them, and defend them from the iniurie of foule weather, and rayne.

[a] Cosmos.

Their substance of Cattell.

Cottages.

The *Tartars*, if they be rich, are clothed with Sables, Ermins, and Cloth of gold, and all their furniture it costly. Their Armes are Bowes, Swords, Polaxes, and some Lances, but they can best vse their Bowes, whereto they are vsed from their childhood. They are hardie, valorous, cruell, will continue two dayes and nights on horseback armed; exceeding patient of difficulties, and exceeding obedient to their Lords. Their Cattell also are hardie.

The *Tartars* religion.

The Law and Faith of the *Tartars* is this. They say, that there is a great God, high and heauenly, of whom with daily incense they desire good vnderstanding and health. They haue another, which they call *Natigay*, which is like an Image couered with Felt, or some other thing, which euery one hath in his house. To this God they make a wife and children, placing the wiues Image at the left hand, and the representations of children before his face: This they call, The God of earthly things, which keepeth their Children, and their Beasts, and Corne; and giue it great reuerence. Before they eat themselues, they anoynt the mouthes of the Images with the fat of the sodden Flesh, and they cast the broth out of doores, in honour of other Spirits.

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Spirits, saying, that their God with his familie haue had their part; and after they eate and drinke at pleasure.

If the sonne of any *Tartar* die, who hath not yet beene married, and also the daughter of another die vnmarried, the parents of both the deceased parties meet together, and make a marriage betweene the dead: and making a draughter in writing, of that contract, they paintmen and women for seruants, Horses and other creatures, with clothes of all sorts and moneyes, in paper, and burne them together with the writing of contract; by the fumes whereof, they say that all these things are carried to their children in another world, where they are married, and the fathers and mothers thinke they are ioyned together through such a bond of affinitie, as if those marriages had beene celebrated, while the married couple yet liued. Painted Marriages.

When the *Tartars* goe to warre, their Prince conducteth about one hundred thousand Horse, appointing Heads ouer tens, hundreds, thousands, ten thousands, by which orderly subordination, commands are easily effected. Euery hundred is called a Tuc; ten, a Toman. When they set forth they send out men euery way, as Scouts that no Enemie may assault them vnprouided. Of Horse and Mares, there are for euery man about eighteene. They carrie also their like Felt houses vnder the which, they shelter themselues in the time of rayne. When there falls out some important employment, they will ride ten dayes together without victuals boyled, and liue of the bloud of their Horses, cutting a veyne and sucking it. They haue Milke dryed like Paste, which they make, boyling the Milke, and taking the Creame which swims on the top, put it in another vessell, and thereof make Butter: After, they set the Milke in the Sunne, and drie it; and when they goe in the Armie, carrie ten pounds thereof, and euery morning take halfe a pound, and put it into a little Flaske or Bottle of Leather, with as much water as he pleaseth: which while he rides, beats together: and this is his dinner. When they encounter with their Enemies, they ride here and there shooting, and sometimes make shew of flight, shooting as they flee, and finding the Enemies broken, redintegrate their forces, and pursue the victorie: hauing their Horses at command, with a signe to turne any way. But now the *Tartars* are mixed in diuers parts, and so are their fashions. Their warefare

They punish malefacters after this manner. If any steale a thing of small value, and hath not deserued to be depriued of life, he is seauen times beaten with a Cudgell, or seauenteene, or seauen and twenty, or thirty seauen, or forty and seauen, giuing the strokes according to the measure and qualitie of the offence, and that vnto an hundred; some doe often times dye, through these strokes. But if any haue stollen an Horse, or another thing, for the which hee deserueth to dye, he is cut a sunder with a Sword in the middle: but if hee will redeeme his life, he shall restore the theft nine fold. Such as haue Horses, Oxen or Camels, brand them with their markes, and send them to the pastures without a keeper. The mulct or penaltie of nine fold. The markes of the heards of Cattell.

Leauing the Citie of *Caracboran*, and the Mountaine *Altai*, you come vnto the champaine Countrey of *Bargu*, which extendeth it selfe Northwards about sixtie dayes iourney in length. The Inhabitants of those places are *Mecriti*, and they are subiect to great *Chan*, vsing the manners of the *Tartars*. They are wilde men, and eate the flesh of Beasts which they take by hunting, especially of Stagges, whereof they haue great plentie, and they make them so tame, that they may ride them. They want Corne and Wine. In the Summer they exercise great hunting and taking of wilde Beasts and Fowle, with the flesh whereof they may liue in the winter: For in Winter, as well fowle as other liuing creatures flie from thence, by reason of the exceeding and vntolerable cold of that Countrey. After the end of fortie dayes iourney, you come vnto the Ocean, neere which is a Mountaine where *Astori*, and strange Falcons breed, which are carryed thence vnto the Court of great *Chan*. *Bargu.* *Medita* Strange Falcons. This is either a coniecture or by relation hardly credible.

Heere we must returne vnto the Citie *Campion*. If therefore you proceed further fiue dayes iourney from the Citie *Campion* towards the East, (in the places lying in the middle, horrible voyces of Deuils are heard in the night time) you come to the Kingdome *Erginul*, in the Prouince of *Tangut*, subiect to the great *Cham*. In this Kingdome are many other Kingdomes which are Idolators. There are some *Nestorian* Christians, and *Turkes*. There are many Cities and Castles, of which *Erginul* is chiefe. From hence, if you proceed further to the Southeast, you may goe to the part of *Cathai*, going Southeast towards *Cathai*, there is a certaine famous Citie named *Cinguy*, (the name also of the Prouince) tributarie vnto great *Chan*: contained in *Tangut*: the people are some Christians, some *Mahumetans*, others Idolators. Their are also found wilde Oxen, neere as great as Elephants, very faire, hauing white and blacke hayre, short in other parts, and on the shoulders three palmes long, fine and white beyond silke: of which *Marco* brought some to *Venice* as a rare thing. Many also of these Oxen are tamed, and made to engender with tame Kine, and the breed of them are fitter for businesse then any other creatures, beare great burthens, are yoaked to the plow, and doe twise as much as others. The best Muske in the world is found in this Prouince, and is of a goodly beast of the bignesse of a Goat, hauing grosse hayre like a Stagge, feet and tayle like a Gazella but without hornes; it hath foure teeth, two aboue, and two beneath, of the length of three fingers, subtle, and white as Iuorie, and is a faire beast to see to, when the Moone is at full, neare the nauill vnder the belly there growes Night walking Spirits. *Erginul.* *Cathai.* Wilde Oxen of the bignesse of Elephants. Muske.

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to this beast an impostume or bladder full of blood, and at the full then they goe to hunt the said beasts and take away that swelling, which is dryed in the Sunne, and is the best Muske: the flesh also is good to eate. Master *Marco* brought to *Venice* the head and feet of this beast dryed. The men liue of Merchandise and Arts, and haue aboundance of Corne: they are Idolaters, of a fat body and a little Nose, blacke hayred, hauing no beard but foure hayres on their chin. The women are faire and white. And when the men desire to marry wiues, they rather seeke the beautifull, then the noble or rich. Whereby it commeth often to passe, that a great and Noble man marryeth a poore wife, but beautifull, assigning dowrie to her mother there. This Prouince extendeth it selfe fiue and twentie dayes iourney in length, and is very fertile. In it are exceeding great Feasants, hauing traynes eight or ten handfuls long. Many other kindes of Birds are also found there, which haue very goodly feathers, distinguished with diuers and excellent colours.

Beautie preferred before Nobilitie and riches.

Feasants.

Egregaia. Proceeding further towards the East, after eight dayes iourney, you meet with the Prouince *Egrigaia*, in the which are many Cities and Castles, all still in *Tanguth*. The principall Citie is called *Calacia*. The Inhabitants thereof are Idolaters, there are three Churches of *Nestorian* Christians, and are subiect to the great *Chan*. In the Citie *Calacia*, Chamlets are made, wouen of white wooll and the hayre of Camels, then the which, there are scarce any fairer found in the world.

Going to the East from the Prouince *Egrigaia*, the way leadeth vnto the Prouince *Tenduch*, in the which are many Cities and Castles: where also Presbyter *Iohannes* vseth to abide, who now payeth tribute to great *Chan*. This King of that progenie of Prieste *Iohn* is named *George*, and is a Priest and a Christian, and most of the people are Christians. All the Great *Chans*, after his death who was slaine in battell by *Cingis*, gaue their Daughters to those Kings to wife. This King *George* holds not all that Priest *Iohn* before held, and is the fourth of that progenie. There is a Nation there called *Argon*, more goodly men and fitter for Merchandise then the rest, descended of Idolaters and *Mahumetans*. There are also two Regions where they raigne, which in those parts are called *Og* and *Magog*, but they which dwell there call them *Vng* and *Mongul*: in *Vng* are *Gog*, and in *Mongul* the *Tartars*. Riding East seauen dayes towards *Catay*, are many Cities peopled with Idolaters, *Mahumetans*, and *Nestorians*. There is one Citie called *Sindicin*, where very faire and excellent Armes are made of diuers sorts, fit for Armies. In the mountaines of this Prouince are great Mines of siluer, and manifold game of wilde beasts, and the Countrey of the mountaines is called *Idisa*. Three dayes iourney distant from the foresaid Citie, standeth another Citie *Iangamur*, that is *White Lake*, wherein is a Palace, in which the great *Chan* most willingly remaineth, because there are many Lakes and riuers, many Swannes, and in the plaines, Cranes, Feasants, and Partridges, and store of other fowle. There are fiue sorts of Cranes there: some haue blacke wings like Crowes, others are white and bright, hauing their feathers full of eyes like Peacocks, but of a golden colour, the necke blacke and white very beautifull; a third sort of bigneste not vnlike ours; a fourth, little and very faire, intermingled with red and blew colours; the fifth, of a grizell or gray colour, hauing red and blacke heads, and these are very great. And neere vnto this Citie lyeth a certaine valley where many Cottages are, in the which an exceeding number of Partridges is maintained, which are kept for the King, comming to lodge there for a time.

Gog and *Magog*

The Citie *Sindicin.*

Idisa.

Cianganor.

Fiue sorts of Cranes.

Xandu. This Citie is three dayes iourney Northeastward to the Citie *Xandu*, which the great *Chan Cublay* now raigning, built; erecting thereing a maruellous and artificiall Palace of Marble and other stones, which abutteth on the wall on one side, and the midst of the Citie on the other. He included sixteene miles within the circuit of the wall on that side where the Palace abutteth on the Citie wall, into which none can enter but by the Palace. In this inclosure or Parke are goodly meadowes, springs, riuers, red and fallow Deere, Fawnes carryed thither for the Hawkes, (of which are there mewed aboue two hundred Gerfalcons which he goeth once a weeke to see) and he often vseth one Leopard or more, sitting on Horses, which hee setteth vpon the Stagges and Deere, & hauing taken the beast, giueth it to the Gerfalcons, and in beholding this spectacle he taketh wonderfull delight. In the middest in a faire Wood hee hath built a royall House on pillars gilded and vernished, on euery of which is a Dragon all gilt, which windeth his tayle about the pillar, with his head bearing vp the loft, as also with his wings displayed on both sides: the couer also is of Reeds gilt and varnished, so that the rayne can doe it no iniurie, the reeds being three handfuls thicke and ten yards long, split from knot to knot. The house it selfe also may be sundred, and taken downe like a Tent and erected againe. For it is sustained, when it is set vp, with two hundred silken cords. Great *Chan* vseth to dwell there three moneths in the yeare, to wit, in Iune, Iuly, and August. On the eight and twentieth day of August, he departeth to make a solemne sacrifice. He hath an herd of white Horses, and white Mares, about ten thousand of the milke whereof none may drinke except hee be of the progenie of *Cingis Can*, except one family, called *Boriat*, priuiledged hereto by *Cingis* for their valour. And these beasts as they goe vp and downe feeding are much reuerenced, nor dare any goe before them or hinder their way. The Astrologers or Sorcerers tell *Chan* that on the twentie eight of the Moone of August, he

Hunting with Leopards.

A goodly house of pleasure.

A solemne Sacrifice.

Mares milke.

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he ſhould diſperſe that milke heere and there, for the honour of all ſpirits and his Idols, that they might be carefull preſeruers of all thoſe things which he poſſeſſeth.

There are two ſorts of Idolaters, Sorcerers called *Thebeth* and *Cheſmir*, which in the midſt of ſtormes aſcend the Palace and ſuffer no rayne to fall thereon; which they make the people beleeue comes to paſſe by their ſanctitie: and therefore they goe ſlouenly and regardleſſe of their perſons, neuer waſhing nor combing themſelues. They alſo haue a horrible cuſtome to dreſſe and eate ſuch as are comdemned to death, but not thoſe which dye naturally. They are called alſo *Bachſi*, which is the name of their Order, as Friers Predicants or Minors with vs. They ſeeme by Magicke to doe what they liſt, when the great *Can* in his Hall ſits at his Table, which is eight yards high: and in the midſt of the hall a good diſtance from the table is a great Cupboard of plate furniſhed: They cauſe that the peeces full of Wine or Milke or other viands of themſelues, fill the goblets without any hand touching them, and goe ten paces in the ayre into the great *Cans* hand; and when he hath drunke, returne to their place. This they doe in the preſence of any man, when their Lord commands. Theſe *Bachſi* alſo when they will make feaſts to their Idols, goe to the *Can* and ſay; Sir, know that if our Idols be not honoured with Sacrifices, they will bring plagues to Corne and Beaſts. And therefore wee pray you to giue the fleſh of ſo many Sheepe with blacke heads, and ſo many pounds of Incenſe and Lignum aloes, that we may make them due ſacrifice and honour. This they ſpake not to him themſelues, but by certaine Lords deputed to that Office, who ſpeake to the *Can* and obtaine it. On the feaſt day they ſacrifice the ſaid beaſts, and ſprinkle the broath before the Idols. The Kings Magicians.

They haue great Monaſteries ſome of the bigneſſe of a Citie, in ſome of which are about two thouſand Monkes which ſerue Idols, ſequeſtred from the Laitie in their ſhauing and garments. For they ſhaue their heads and beards, and were a religious garment. Theſe in the ſolemnities of their Idols ſing with ſolemne ſongs and lights, ſome of them may marry. There are ſome of great abſtinence called *Senſim*, leading an auſtere life, for they eate nothing but Meale mingled with water till all the Flower be gone, and eate the branne without any ſauour. Theſe worſhip the Fire; and the men of other rules ſay that theſe which are ſo auſtere, are Heretikes againſt their Law, becauſe they worſhip not Idols as they doe; and there are great differences betwixt them: and theſe marry not in any caſe. They ſhaue their Head and Beard: they weare blacke hempen garments, and bright yellow. They ſleepe in thicke Mats, and liue the ſeuereſt life in the world. Shauings. Auſteritie.

§. V.

Of CVBLAI CAN, *his Raigne and Acts, Magnificent feaſts and Huntings, Court and Counſell. His Citie* Cambalu *and glorious Palace.*

IN this Booke I purpoſe to write of all the great and maruellous Acts, of the preſent *Can* called *Cublai Can*, which is in our Tongue *Lord* of *Lords*, the greateſt Prince in peoples, Cities and Treaſures, that euer was in the world. Hee being diſcended from the Progenie of *Chingis*, the firſt Prince of the *Tartars*, is the ſixth Emperour of that Countrey, beginning to raigne in the yeare of our Lord 1256. being twentie ſeauen yeares old, and ruling the people with great wiſedome and grauitie. He is a valiant man, exerciſed in Armes, ſtrong of bodie, and of a prompt minde for the performance of matters, before he attained to the dignitie of the Empire (which by his wiſdome he did againſt the will of his Brethren) he often ſhewed himſelfe a valiant Souldier in the warres, and carryed himſelfe like a wiſer and bolder Captaine, then euer the *Tartars* had. But ſince he ſwayed the Kingdome, he went but once into the Field, but ſends his Sonnes, and other Captaines in expeditions. Heere begins the ſecond Booke of *Marco Polo*, of which I thoght good to aduertiſe the Reader: as for the Chapters, the *Latine* and *Remuſio* ſo differ, that I haue left both and obſerued our owne diuiſions.

In the yeare of our Lord 1286. his Vncle named *Naiam*, being thirtie yeares of age, and hauing the command of many people, and Countries, ſo that hee was able eaſily to bring together foure hundred thouſand Horſe. Being puffed vp through youthfull vanitie, would now no longer be ſubiect, but would needs take away the Kingdome from his Lord *Cubai*, and ſent to another great Lord named *Caydu*, Lord of the parts towards great *Turkie*, who was nephew of the Emperour *Cublai*, yet hated him, who yeelding conſent to Rebellion, promiſed to come in proper perſon with an hundred thouſand Horſe. *Cingis* or *Chingis Can*. *Naiams* rebellion. *Caydu*.

Both of them began to gather Forces, which could not bee done ſo ſecretly but *Cublai* heard of it, and preſently tooke order to ſet guard to the wayes that no intelligence might paſſe that way: and then aſſembled all the Forces within ten dayes iourney of *Cambalu* with great ſpeed, ſo that in twentie dayes, were gathered together three hundred & ſixtie thouſand Horſe, and one hundred thouſand Foot, a great part of them Falconiers and men of his Houſhold. With theſe hee made all haſte day and night towards *Naiams* Countrey, where at the end of twentie fiue dayes he arriued, altogether vnlooked for: and reſted his men two dayes. Then hee called his Aſtrolo-

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Astrologers, and caused them before all the Armie to diuine who should haue victorie (a thing they alway vse to incourage their men) and they promised it to *Cublai*. One morning whiles *Naiam* was sleeping negligently in his Tent, hauing not so much as sent out any scouts to espie, *Cublai* made shew of his Armie vpon a hill to *Naiams*. Hee himselfe sate in a certaine Castle of wood, full of Archers and Crosse-bow men, borne by foure Elephants; on the top whereof was the Royall Standard with the Images of the Sunne and Moone. Hee deuided his Armie into three wings, of which he sent that on the right hand and the other on the left against *Naiams* Armie: To euery ten thousand Horse were assigned fiue hundred Foot with Lances, taught to leape vp behind the horse-men if any occasion of flight happened, and suddenly on aduantage to light and slay the enemies horses with their lances. *Caidu* was not yet come. The battels ioyned and made a cruell fight, which continued from morning till noone: and then was *Naiam* taken and brought before *Cublai*, who commanded that he should be sewed betwixt two Carpets, which should be tossed vp and downe till the breath were out of his bodie, that so the Imperiall blood might not be exposed to the Sunne and the ayre. The remainder of his people sware Obedience to *Cublai*, which were foure Nations, *Ciorza*, *Carli*, *Barscol*, and *Sitingui*.

Naiam was secretly baptised, and by profession a Christian, but no follower of the workes of Faith, and signed his principall Ensigne with the signe of the Crosse, hauing with him infinite store of Christians which were all slaine.

The *Iewes* and *Saracens*, that were in the Armie of *Cublai*, began to vpbraid the Christians with this disaster of the Crosse, who thereupon complained to *Cublai*. Hee then sharply reproouing the *Iewes* and *Saracens*, turning to the Christians saith; Surely, your God and his Crosse, would not giue any ayde to *Naiam*, but be not you therefore ashamed, because God beeing good and iust, ought not at all to defend Iniustice and Iniquitie. *Naiam* was a Traytour to his Lord, and contrary to all equitie raised rebellion, and sought the helpe of your God in his mischieuous purpose. But he as a good and vpright God, would not fauour his Designes. He returned after this with great triumph to *Cambalu*, and stayed there till Easter. On that day he called the Christians before him, and kissed their Gospels, and made his Barons doe the same. The like hee doth in the great Feasts of *Saracens*, *Iewes*, and *Ethnikes*, that *Sogomamber Can* the God of the Idols, *Mahumet*, *Moses*, or whosoeuer is greatest in heauen might helpe him. Yet he made best shew of liking to the Christian Faith, but pretended the ignorance of the Professors, and the mightie acts of the Sorcerers, to his not professing it.

Now for rewarding his Souldiers, he hath twelue Barons or wise Counsellours, which giue him notice of each Captaynes merit, who raiseth them command of one hundred to a thousand, and from one thousand to ten thousand, and so forward, giuing them Vessels of Plate and Tablets. The Captayne of one hundred hath a Tablet of siluer, and the Captayne of one thousand of Gold, or siluer gilded; the Captayne of ten thousand hath a Tablet of Gold with a Lions head on it: the weight of the Tablets differ also according to the worth and weight of the dignitie. On the said Tablet is written a command in this manner. *By the strength and power of the great God, and by the Grace which he hath giuen to our Empire, the name of* Can *be blessed, and let them all dye and be destroyed which will not obey him.* All they which haue these Tablets haue priuiledges in writing, of all things which they are to doe or demand. And the Generals when they ride in publike, they haue a cloth borne ouer their heads; and when they sit, sit on a Chaire of siluer. Their Tablet is of three hundred Saggi (fiftie ounces of Gold) with the Images of the Sunne and Moone. They whose Tablet haue a Gerfalcon, may take with them for their guard the whole Armie of a great Commander.

Cublai person described.

Cublai is a comeley and faire man of a meane stature, of a red and white face, blacke and goodly eyes, well fashioned nose, and all the lineaments of his bodie consisting of a due proportion.

His Wiues and Concubines.

He hath foure wiues which he accounteth lawfull, and the first-borne of them succeedeth him in the Kingdome. And euery one of these is called Empresse, and holdeth a peculiar Court, and that Princely in a proper Palace, hauing about three hundred chosen Hand-mayds, and Mayd-seruant, and many Eunuch seruants, and at least ten thousand persons in their Family. The King hath also many Concubines.

Vngut.

There is a certaine Nation of faire people, *Tartars*, called *Vngut*, whether euery second yeare he sendeth Ambassadors to purue the faireſt Lasses for him of greatest esteeme for beautie, which bring him foure or fiue hundred more or lesse, as they see cause. There are Prayers or Examiners appointed, which take view of all their beauties, examining Eyes, Nose, Mouth, &c. apart; and set price on them at sixteene, seuenteene, eighteene, nineteene, twentie or more Carrats. And they bring those of that rate which their Commission appoints. These hee causeth to bee reuiewed by other Examiners, and of so many chuseth perhaps thirtie for his Chamber of the chiefe; which he puts to some of his Barons Wiues, to see if they snore not in their sleepe, if in smell or behauiour they be not offensiue. Those which are approoued are by fiues diuided, each fifth part wayting three dayes and nights in his Chamber by course, the other in the next Lodgings preparing whatsoeuer these command them. The lesse prized are put to Cookerie, and other noble Officers. And sometimes the *Can* bestowes them on Gentlemen with great portions.

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The men of that Countrey esteeme it a grace and credit to haue Daughters worthy his liking: and thinke themselues borne vnder an ill Planet, if they haue not for his turne.

Cublai hath two and twentie Sonnes by his foure legitimate Wiues, and the first-borne of his first Wife was called *Cingis*, who should haue succeeded him in the Empire, if hee had not dyed before his Father. He left a Sonne named *Temur*, a valiant man, wise, and exercised in Armes, who is to succeed his Grand-father in the Empire, in stead of his deceased Father. But by his Hand-mayds and Mayd-seruants, he hath fiue and twentie Sonnes, all which are daily exercised in feats of Armes, and are great Lords. Seuen of his Sonnes by his Wiues are Kings of great Prouinces, and maintayne their states with great reputation. His children. *Temur.*

Three moneths of the yeere, to wit, December, Ianuarie, and Februarie, *Cublai* remayneth ordinarily in *Cambalu* which is at the North-east border of *Cataio*, and there on the South part by the new Citie is seated a great Palace. First, there is a square Wall, each square being eight miles, with a deep Ditch enuironing, and a Gate in the middle of each: after which is the space of a mile in circuit where Souldiers stand. After this is another circuit of sixe mile square, with three Gates on the South square, and three on the North: that which is in the midst being in both the greater, and kept shut, except when the *Can* passeth that way; the other alway open to others. In each corner of this Wall and in the midst is a faire Palace, eight in all, very large, in which are kept the *Cans* munitions and furnitures of all sorts, for Horses in one, in another Bowes and shooting Artillerie, in a third Coslets, Curasses and leather Armours, and so in the rest. Within this circuit is another wall-circuit, very thicke, and ten paces high, all the battlements white; the wall square, each square a mile in length, with sixe gates as the former, and eight Palaces also very great, wherein are the *Cans* prouision. Betwixt these two last walls are many faire trees and medowes, in which are Deere, Muske beasts, with other game, and store of grasse, the paths being heighthned two cubits to spare it, no durt, nor plashes of water being therein. Within this last wall is the Palace of the great *Can*, the greatest that hath beene seene, abutting with the wall on the North and South and open spaced where the Barons and Souldiers passe. It hath no seeling, but a very high roofe: the foundation of the pauement ten palms high, with a wall of marble round about it, two paces wide, as it were a walke. In the end of the wall without, is a faire Turret with Pillars. In the walls of the Halls and Chambers are carued Dragons, Souldiers, Birds, Beasts, of diuers kinds, histories of Warres, gilded. The roofe is so made, that nothing is seene but Gold and Imagery. In euery square of the Palace is a great Hall of marble, capable of great multitudes. The Chambers are disposed the best that may be deuised: the roofe is red, greene, azure, and of all coloures. Behind the Palace are great Roomes, and priuate store-houses for his treasures and Iewels, for his women, and other secret employments. Ouer against the said Palace of the *Can*, is another for *Cingis* his sonne, whose Court, was in all things like his Fathers. Neere this Palace towards the North is a Mount made by hand, a mile in compasse, one hundred paces high; beset with trees that are alwaies greene. Vnto this mountaine, the king commandeth all the best trees, to be brought from remote parts, lading Elephants with them, for they are taken vp with the roots, and are transplanted in this Mountaine. And because this Mountaine is alwaies greene it is called, The greene Mountaine. And where the earth of that Mount was taken away, are two Lakes answering each other, with a pretie Riuer filling them, stored with fish, and so grated that the fish cannot get forth. The greene Mountaine. Two Lakes.

The Citie of *Cambalu* in the Prouince of *Cathai*, seated on a great Riuer, was famous, and regall, from antiquitie. And this name *Cambalu* signifieth, The Citie of the Lord, or Prince. This Citie the great *Can* remoued vnto the other side of the Riuer where the Palaces are: for he vnderstood by the Astrologers, that it should rebell against the Empire *. This new built Citie is called *Taidu*: and he made all the *Catayans* to goe out of the old Citie into the new: which contayneth in compasse foure and twentie miles, euery side of the square contayning sixe miles. It hath walls of earth ten paces thicke at the bottome, and at the top but three, by little and little ascending thinner: the batlements are white. Euery square of the wall hath three principall Gates, which are twelue in all, hauing sumptuous Palaces built ouer each of them. There are also excellent Palaces in the angles of the walls, where the Armes of the Garrison (which are one thousand at each Gate) are kept. The buildings are squared out, & the streets laid very straight by line, throughout this Citie, so that from one Gate a free prospect openeth thorow the Citie, to the opposite Gate, hauing very goodly houses built on both sides, like Palaces with Gardens and Courts, diuided to the Heads of Families. In the middle of the Citie, a certaine sumptuous house is built, wherein hangeth a very great Bell, after the third knolling whereof in the night no man may goe out of his house, vntill the beginning of the day following, except it be for speciall cause, as for a woman in trauell, &c. And they are compelled to carrie a light with them. *Cambalu.* *The long storie of this rebellion is omitted. *Taidu.* Palaces. The equalitie of the streets.

Without the Citie of *Cambalu* are twelue great Suburbs, three or foure miles long, ioyning vpon each of the twelue Gates, more inhabiting the Suburbs then the Citie: heere Marchants and Strangers keepe, each Nation hauing a seuerall Store-house or Burse in which they lodge. No dead corps of any man is buryed within this Citie, but the bodies of Idolaters are burned Suburbs large.

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Burial without the Citie.

burned without the Suburbs, where the dead bodies of other ſects are buryed. And becauſe an huge multitude of Sorcerers conuerſe alwayes there, they haue about twentie fiue thouſand Harlots in the Suburbs and in the Citie, and theſe haue a Captaine appointed ouer euery hundreth, and thouſand; and one Generall; whoſe office is, that when Embaſſadours come, or ſuch as haue buſineſſe with the *Can* whoſe charges he findeth, this Captaine giueth euery Embaſſadour and euery man of his family, change of women nightly at free coſt: for this is the Queanes tribute. The Guards euery night caſt thoſe in priſon which they finde walking late: and if they be found guiltie they are beaten with Cudgels: for the *Bachſi* tell them that it is not good to ſhed mans blood. But many dye of thoſe beatings.

Harlots of the Suburbs.

The great *Can* hath in his Court twelue thouſand Horſe-men, which they call *Caſitan*, faithfull Souldiers of their Lord, who guard his perſon more for ſtate then feare. And foure Captaines haue the charge of theſe, whereof euery one commandeth three thouſand. When one Captaine with three thouſand Souldiers within the Palace, hath guarded the King for three dayes and nights, another Captaine with his Souldiers againe ſucceedeth: and ſo throughout the whole yeeare, this courſe of watching by courſe is obſerued.

The number of the horſe-men of the Courtiers.

The Guard.

Solemn feaſts.

When through occaſion of any feaſtiuall day hee keepeth a ſolemne Court, his Table being higher then the reſt of the Tables, is ſet at the North part of the Hall, and his face is to the South, hauing the greateſt Queene on his left hand, to wit, his principall wife, and his Sonnes, and nephews, and they of the blood royall on his right. Yet their table is in a lower place, ſo that they ſcarce touch the Kings feet with their heads; the ſeat of the eldeſt being higher then the reſt. The Barons and Princes, ſit in a lower place then that. Their wiues alſo keepe the like order, firſt the *Cans* ſonnes wiues and his kinſmens, ſits lower on the left hand, and after, thoſe of the Lords and of euery Captaine, and Noble-man, each in her degree and order. And the Emperour himſelfe, while he ſitteth at his table, may caſt his eyes vpon all that feaſt with him in that Hall. There are not Tables for all to ſit, but the greateſt part of the Souldiers and Barons eate on Carpets. At all the doores ſtand two giantly fellowes with Cudgels, to ſee that none touch the Threſhold, which if hee doe they take his garments away; which he muſt redeeme with ſo many blowes as ſhall be appointed, or elſe loſe them. They which ſerue the King ſitting at the table, all of them couer their mouthes with Silke, leaſt their breathing ſhould by any meanes touch the Kings meat or drinke. And when he hath minde to drinke, the Damoſell which giues it, goeth back three paces and kneeles downe, and then the Barons and all the people kneele, and the Muſicians ſound their Inſtruments. There is no cauſe why I ſhould write any thing concerning the meats which are brought to the Table, how daintie and delicate they are, and with what magnificence and pompe they are ſerued in. All the *Tartars* obſerue this cuſtome, to celebrate the Birth day of their Lord moſt honourably. The Feſtiuall birth day of *Cublai*, is kept the twentie eight of September, and this day hee accounteth more ſolemne, then any of the whole yeare, except the firſt of February, wherein they begin their yeare. The King therefore in his Birth day is cloathed with a moſt precious garment of Gold, and about two thouſand Barons and Souldiers, are cloathed of the ſame colour of gold (though of Silke ſtuffe) and a girdle wrought with gold and ſiluer, which is giuen them with a payre of ſhooes: ſome weare Pearles and Gemmes of great price, namely, the *Quiecitarie*, which are next to the *Can*: and theſe garments are not worne but on their thirteene ſolemne Feaſts according to the thirteene Moones of the yeare; all then cloathed like Kings. This cuſtome is alſo obſerued with the *Tartars*, that on the birth day of great *Cham*, all the Kings, Princes, and Nobles, which are ſubiect to his Dominion, ſhould ſend preſents vnto him, as to their Emperour. And they who deſire to obtaine any place of Dignitie or office of him, offer their requeſts vnto twelue Barons appointed for this purpoſe, and what they decree, is all one, as if the Emperour himſelfe had anſwered them. All people alſo, of what Faith or ſect ſoeuer, whether *Chriſtians*, or *Iewes*, *Saracens*, or *Tartars*, and other *Pagans* are bound, ſolemnly to call vpon their Gods, for the life, ſafetie, and proſperitie of Great *Can*.

The order of them that ſit downe.

Threſhold threſhing.

The Noble-men that carry diſhes, couer their mouthes.

The ceremonies while the King drinketh.

Conſorts of Muſicke.

The birth day of *Cublai*.

New Moone feaſt.

The preſents of the men of Dignitie, ſubiect vnto him

The like Cuſtome is ſtill vſed by the *Mogull*, as alſo the New-yeares day.

The twelue Barons.

The prayers of diuers Religions.

On the day of the *Kalends* of February, which is the beginning of the *Tartars* yeare, great *Can* and all the *Tartars*, whereſoeuer they are, celebrate a very great and ſolemne Feaſt, and all aſwell men as women, deſire to bee cloathed in white Garments. For they beleeue, that the white garment is a token of good lucke: Therefore that fortune might fauour them all the yeare, they weare white in the beginning of the yeare. Moreouer the Rulers of Cities, and Gouernours of Prouinces, mindfull of their dutie, ſend vnto their Emperour on this day preſents of Gold and Siluer, Pearles and Precious ſtones, many white Cloathes, and other white things, and many Horſes of a white colour: the reſt of the *Tartars* at the beginning of the yeare, ſend white preſents one to another. It is the cuſtome of thoſe which bring preſents, if they can, of each to preſent nine times nine; as if they ſend Horſes, to preſent nine nines, that is eightie one, and ſo of Gold, of Cloaths, & other things, that ſomtimes he hath by this reckoning one hundred thouſand Horſes. Alſo at this good lucke, all the Elephants which the Emperour hath (fiue thouſand in number) are brought vnto the Court, couered with Tapiſtrie, wherein the ſimilitudes of diuers Beaſts and Fowles are portrayed, carryiug vpon their ſhoulders two Cheſts full of golden and ſiluer

New-yeres day

The white colour accounted eminous.

New-yeares gifts.

See Sir *T. Roe* of the preſents to the *Mogull*.

The Kings Elephants.

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Siluer vessell. Many Camels also are brought, couered with faire Silken clothes, which bring other things, necessarie for the Court. And this day in the morning, all the Kings, Captaines, Barons, Souldiers, Physicians, Astrologers, Falconers, and the Gouernours of Prouinces, and Armies, and other Officers of the Emperour, assemble in the great Hall before the King, and they who happen to haue no place there, for the multitude of men, stand in another place where he may see them. All being placed in their order, and degree, one ariseth as it were some Prelate, and crieth out with a loude voyce, *Bow downe, and adore.* And presently all doe reuerence, bending downe their foreheads to the earth. Then he sayth, *God preserue our Lord with long life and ioy*; and all answere, *God grant.* Then he sayth, *God encrease and aduance his Empire, and preserue his Subiects in peace, good-will, and prosperitie*: and all answere, *God grant.* And this they doe foure times. The adoration finished, the said Prelate goeth to an Altar richly adorned, on which is a red Table, wherein is written the name of the *Can*, and taking a Censer, and putting odoriferous Spices therein, they perfume the Table and the Altar with great reuerence, in honour of great *Can*, and so returne to their places. After which, are offered the gifts whereof we haue spoken; and then the Tables are prepared, and a most solemne Dinner held, eating and drinking with great ioy with their wiues, in manner before described. And lastly, a domesticall Lion is brought vnto the King, which lying at his feet, like a gentle Whelpe, acknowledgeth his Lord.

The Feast.

A tame Lion.

In those three moneths, in which as we said before, the Emperour remayneth in the Citie of *Cambalu*, to wit, in December, Ianuarie, and Februarie, all the Hunters which the Emperour hath in all Prouinces, round about the Prouince of *Cathai*, apply themselues to hunting, and offer all the greater wilde-beasts, to wit, Stags, Beares, Roe-buckes, wilde Boares, Deere, and such like, vnto their Gouernours: who (if they be distant from the Emperours Court, lesse then thirtie dayes Iourney) send such beasts taken, by Waynes, and Ships vnto the Emperour, hauing first bowelled them. But such as are fortie dayes iourney distant from his Court, send onely the skinnes, which are necessarie for the making of Armour. Hee hath many Leopards, and Wolues for hunting, and many Lions also, greater then those which are in *Babylon*, in the haire whereof certaine little beames appeare of diuers colours, to wit, white, blacke and red, and they are accommodated to catch Boares, Beares, Stags, Roe-buckes, wilde Asses, and wilde Oxen; and it is maruellous to see the Lions fiercenesse and dexteritie in the act. Two Lions vse to bee carried in one Wagon, when they goe to hunt, and with them a Dog, with which they are tamed; and they carrie them on this fashion, because of their furie and vnrulinesse: and they must carrie them contrary to the wind; for else the beasts would scent them, and flee. Hee hath many tame Eagles, which are so fierce, that they take Hares, Roe-buckes, Deere, and Foxes: among which some of them feare not with great violence to seize vpon Wolues, and vexe them so sore, that without labour and danger, they may be taken by men.

The office of the Prouincial Hunters.

Tame Leopards, and Lions.

Eagles.

The great *Can* hath in his Court two which are brethren, one called *Bayan*, the other *Minghan*, called in the *Tartar* language, *Cuuies*, that is, Masters of the Game, whereof either hath the charge of ten thousand men: they which are vnder one of them, are clothed in red; the other in skie-colour, alway when they hunt. These keepe diuers sorts of Dogs, to the number of fiue thousand Mastiues and other. In hunting they goe with their people, one on the right, and the other on the left hand of the King: and they take vp so great a length of the Playne, that from one end to the other is a dayes iourney, so that no beast can escape them; and it is great pleasure when the *Can* goes in the midst, to see the Dogs follow Harts, Beares, and other kinds. And these Brethren are bound by couenant, from the beginning of October to the end of March, to bring to the Court, one thousand heads of beasts and birds, besides Quailes, and fishes the best they can, in great proportion.

The Masters of the Game.

The moneth of March comming in, great *Can* departeth from the Citie of *Cambalu*, and proceedeth North-eastward towards the Ocean distant thence two dayes iourneyes, bringing with him about ten thousand Falconers, who haue Falcons, Hawkes, Gerfalcons, and other kinds of Fowles of prey fit for hawking. These Falconers disperse themselues by an hundred of two hundred in a Companie: and the birds that are taken, for the most part, are brought vnto the King, who by reason of his Gout, sitteth in a woodden house, which two Elephants carrie, couered with the skins of Lions, and within hanged with cloth of Gold, hauing with him for his recreation, twelue choice Hawkes, and twelue fauoured Courtiers: many Noblemen and Souldiers ride by, who guard the Kings person. Who, when they see Pheasants, or Cranes, or other birds flying in the aire, declare it to the Falconers which are neere vnto the King: and they, signifying the same vnto the King vncouer the Kings House, and let their Falcons and Hawkes flie, and the King sitting on his Bed, beholdeth the pastime of the birds. Other ten thousand men also goe with the King, who in that hawking, runne hither and thither, by two and two, and marke whither the Falcons and Hawkes flie, that are cast from the fist, that (if need bee) they may helpe them. And these, in the *Tartars* Language, are called *Toscaol*, that is to say, Watch-men or Markes-men, being skilfull in a certaine kind of whistle, wherewith they call in the Hawkes that are flowen. Nor is it needfull, that the Falconer who let the Hawkes flie,

Hawking.

10000. Falconers.

The Kings Horse-litter.

Toscaol.

The markes of the Hawkes.

should follow her, seeing they, of whom I now speake, are busily imployed in taking vp the Hawkes, and are carefull that by no meanes they bee hurt or lost. And euery flying Hawke carrieth a little table of siluer on her foot, signed with the marke of her Master or Falconer, that if shee bee lost, shee may bee restored to her owner. But if the marke cannot be knowne, the Hawke is deliuered to a certaine Baron, who for this cause is called *Bulangazi*, to whom are brought all lost things (otherwise the Finder would be counted a Thiefe) and to him Losers resort to inquire of things lost. He hath a most eminent place, noted by his Ensigne, that in so great an assembly of people he may be knowne.

Whiles they are thus busied in sporting and hawking, they come vnto a certaine great Plaine, called *Caczarmodin*, where the Tents of the King and all the Courtiers are prepared, about ten thousand in number. The first and chiefe is the *Cans* Pauilion, vnder which ten thousand Souldiers stand; besides Barons and Noble-men, with the doore to the South: sustayned with three Pillars, wrought with diuers curious and excellent carued workes, and couered with the skinnes of Lions (and strakes of diuers colours) which keepe out rayne. But within, the walls of the Pauilions are couered with most costly skinnes of *Armelines* and *Sables*, although in those Countries these skinnes are accounted most precious, that sometimes skinnes worth two thousand Sultanines of gold are scarce sufficient for one paire of Vests. The *Tartars* call the *Sable*, the Queene of Furres. The Cordes, wherewith these Pauilions are supported, are of silke. There are also other Pauilions erected, wherein the Wiues, Sonnes, and Hand-maides of the King remaine. Further also, the Falcons, Hawkes, Owles, Garfalcons, and other Birds, which serue for Hawking, haue their Tents wherein they are contayned. For, there is so great a multitude of Tents, that to them that come thither, a farre off it seemeth that a famous Citie is built there. The King remayneth all March in that Plaine, and taketh innumerable Beasts and infinite multitudes of Fowle. For no man may else hunt in all the Prouinces of that Kingdome, at the least within fiue dayes iourney one way, ten another, and fifteene a third way of the *Cans* Court: nor keepe an hunting Dogge, or an Hawke: and specially, from the beginning of March vntill the moneth of October, no man is permitted to vse any deuice or engine whatsoeuer, to take Stagges, Deere, Roe-bucks, Hares, lest he should hinder their breede: and hereupon it is that there are such store.

The number and order of the Pauilions.

The huge price of Armelines, and Sables.

Hunting forbidden.

Barke or Paper money.

It is incredible what multitudes of People, Merchants, and merchandises of all sorts are seene in *Cambalu*. The Money of the Great *Can* is not made of gold or siluer, or other metall, but they take the middle barke from the Mulberrie Tree, and this they make firme, and cut it into diuers and round pieces, great and little, and imprint the Kings marke thereon. Of this matter therefore, the Emperour causeth an huge masse of money to bee made in the Citie of *Cambalu*, which sufficeth for the whole Empire: and no man vnder paine of death may lawfully coine any other, or spend any other money, or refuse it in all his Kingdomes and Countries. Nor any comming from another Kingdome, dare spend any other money in the Empire of Great *Can*. Whereby it commeth to passe, that Merchants often comming from farre remote Countries and Regions vnto the Citie of *Cambalu*, bring with them gold, siluer, pearle, and precious stones, and receiue the Kings money for them. And because this money is not receiued in their Countries, they change it againe in the Empire of Great *Can* for merchandise, which they carrie away with them. He also payeth stipends to his Officers and Armies of the mentioned money; and lastly, whatsoeuer thing he needeth in his Court he buyeth with this money. Wherefore, there is not a King to be found in the World, who exceedeth him in Treasure, not expended on the Mint as elsewhere.

Cambalu, the Mint of money.

The Great *Can* hath twelue Barons, as is said before, which are his Counsell of Warre, and dispose of martiall affaires, and the exalting or disgracing of Captaines and Souldiers. Their office is called *Thai*, that is, *The high Court*, because they haue none aboue them but the *Can*. Other twelue Barons are appointed Counsellors for the foure and thirtie Prouinces, which haue a faire Palace in *Cambalu*, in which is for euery Prouince a Iudge & many Notaries. These haue power to choose Gouernours of the said Prouinces, and present their names to the *Can* which confirmes them. These also haue the charge of the Treasure to exact and dispense the same. Their office is called *Singh*, that is, *The second Court*, subiect to none but the *Can*, yet reputed lesse noble then the former, that being a martiall State.

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§. VI.

The Cans *prouisions for Embassadors and for Posts; against Dearth; for High-wayes; for the Poore in* Cambalu, *for Astrologers;* Tartars *Wine, Fuell, Religion, Opinions, Behauiour, Court-neatnesse:* POLOS *proceeding from* Cambalu *Westward. Of* Pulisangan, Gouza, Tainfu, Pianfu, Thaigin, Cacianfu, Quenzanfu, Sindinfu, Thebeth, Caindu, Caraian, Carachan, Cardandan *and* Vociam.

WIthout the Citie of *Cambalu*, many publike wayes conduct to the neighbouring Prouinces, and in euery one of them alway at the end of fiue and twentie or thirtie miles, are Lodgings or Innes built, called *Lamb*, that is, *Post-horses*, with great and faire Palaces, Chambers furnished with Beds and other Prouisions, meete to entertaine great Men, yea to lodge a King; the prouisions laid in from the next adioyning places: where about foure hundred Horses are in readinesse for Messengers and Embassadors, which there leaue their ridden Horses and take fresh. And in mountaynous places, where are no Villages, he sends People to inhabite, ten thousand at a place where these *Lamb* are built, which till the ground for their prouisions; and this continueth vnto the furthest limits of the Empire: so that in the publique wayes, throughout the whole Empire, about ten thousand of the Kings Innes are to bee found. And the number of the Horses, appointed for the seruice of the Messengers in those Innes, are more then two hundreth thousand, a thing almost incredible to tell: so that in a little while with change of Men and Horse, intelligence might flie to the Court. And if any wonder how so many men and beasts should be prouided for, hee must consider that the *Moores* and *Gentiles* haue many women, and store of children, some hauing thirtie sonnes which follow them armed; and for victuall they sow three seeds, Rice, Panike and Mill, which yeeld an hundred fold: they make not bread, but boile these with Milke or Flesh. Wheat will not so encrease with them: nor suffer they any ground, which will beare, to lye vntilled. And their Cattell alway increase, that each of them carries with him six, eight, or more Horses into the field for his owne person. These Horses also take turnes, that of the foure hundred aforesaid two hundred are in the stables readie, the other two hundred at grasse by monethly courses. Their Cities adioyning to Riuers or Lakes, are appointed also to haue ferry Boats in readinesse for the Posts. And Cities adioyning to Desarts, are sessed at Horses and prouisions thorow those Desarts, but haue contribution from the *Can*. In cases of great import, the Posse rides with a Gerfalcon Table, and is trussed so that he will ride two hundred miles in a day, or two hundred and fiftie, sometimes also they ride the night, Foot-posts running by with lights, if the Moone shine not. They winde a Horne that the fresh Horses may be brought forth for them to mount presently, and hauing their bellies and heads girded runne as fast as the horse can: and those which are able to endure this excessiue riding are of great reputation.

Postes and Innes.

The *Romans* also had publike Stables, as appeares by *Constantine*, *Zos. l.* 2. and *Palladius* who in three dayes would ride from the Confines of the Empire to *Constantinople*, *Soc. l.* 7. *c.* 19.

There are also betweene the said Innes other habitations, three or foure miles distant one from another, where there are a few houses wherein Foot-posts dwell, hauing all girdels full of shrill sounding bells. These are alwayes readie, and as often as the Kings Letters are sent vnto them, conuey them speedily to the next habitation: who hearing the sound of the Foot-post comming afarre off, expect him, and receiuing his Letters, presently carrie them to the next watch: and so the Letters passing through diuers hands, are conueyed without any delay, vnto that place whither they ought to come. And it commeth often to passe, that the King vnderstandeth newes, or receiueth new fruits from a place, ten dayes iourney distant, in two dayes: as fruits growing at *Cambalu* in the morning, the next day at night at *Xandu*. But all the mentioned Postes are free from all exaction of Tribute, and receiue a good recompence of their labours from the Kings Rent gatherers besides. Some also are appointed to examine these Posts monethly, and to punish their faults.

Foote-postes. *Die Post boden.*

Their Priuiledges.

He sends yeerly vnto diuers Prouinces, subiect to his Empire, to inquire whether any harme be done to the Corne, by Tempests, Locusts, Wormes, or any other plague. And when he hath notice giuen him, that any Prouince or Citie, hath sustained any damage, he remitteth Tributes to that people for that yeere, and sendeth Graine for victuall and for Seede, out of his owne Garners. For, in the time of great plentie, the King buyeth abundant store of Corne, and keepeth it with great care of Officers, three or foure yeeres in Garners, that when there shall be scarcitie of Corne in one Countrey, that defect may bee supplied out of the Kings Store-houses. Hee selleth his graine for the fourth part of other mens price, and alway prouideth that his store-houses be stored. Likewise, when any murren lighteth among Cattell, hee sends them other Cattell which he hath for Tenths in other Prouinces. And if a thunder-bolt hath stricken any beast of any Herd or Flock, he will haue no Tribute thereof for three yeeres, be the Herd neuer so great: nor custome of a Thunder-stricken ship, thinking God is angrie with them which are so stricken: Likewise, that Trauellers may find the way in all places capable to beare Trees, He hath caused

Prouisions against dearth.

Fatherly Royaltie.

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Hence perhaps the walk from *Lahor* to *Agra* was occasioned.

Trees to be planted, a little distance one from another, neare vnto the principall wayes; and in Sandie and desart places, he hath caused to set Stones and Pillars for that purpose: and Officers are appointed to looke to these things. Hee plants Trees the rather because his Astrologers tell him, that planting Trees lengthens the life.

Their Rice-wine.

They make excellent drinke, in the Prouince of *Cathai*, of Rice and diuers Spices, which in the taste thereof excelleth the sweetnesse euen of Wine. And they who drinke more greedily therof then reason iudgeth to be fit, or the nature of the drinker requireth, sooner become drunke then if they had drunke Wine.

Coales taken out of mines, a thing strange to *Polo* an *Italian*, but common with vs, called *Sea-cole*, because they are brought by Sea from *Newcastle*, &c. *Eneas Syluius* and the *China* Iesuites, haue told wonders of these black stones, a wonderfull diuine bounty indeed to this Land, and specially to this Citie.

Throughout the whole Prouince of *Cathai*, certaine blacke stones are digged out of the Mountaines, which put into the fire burne like wood, and being kindled preserue fire a long time, as if they be kindled in the Euening, they keepe quicke fire all the night. And many vse those stones, because that though they haue store of wood, yet is there such frequent vse of Stoues and Bathes (thrise euery weeke) that the wood would not serue.

Cans charitie to the Poore.

It is not amisse also, hauing spoken of his Prouisions abroad, to mention his care for the poore of *Cambalu*. When he heares of any honourable Familie decayed by disaduentures, or of any which cannot worke, and haue no meanes: he causeth to giue to such Families the whole yeares expenses; each of such Families going to the Officers for that purpose, and shewing their Bill of allowance, receiue prouisions accordingly. There is a Palace deputed for those Officers. They are prouided also of garments for Winter, and for Summer; the *Can* hauing the Tenths of all Wool, and Silke, and Hempe, which he causeth to bee made into Clothes in a house thereto appointed: for all Trades are bound one day in the weeke to worke for him. He prouides also apparell for his Armies, and in euery Citie causeth Cloth to be made of his tithe wooll. You must vnderstand that the *Tartars* ancient customes knew no almes, but rather vpbraided such as were in necessitie, as hated of God. But the Idolaters, especially these *Bachsi*, haue propounded it as a good worke acceptable to God, and haue taught him to be thus bountifull, so that in his Court bread is neuer denyed to any which aske: and there is no day in which is not giuen away twentie thousand Crownes in Rice, Millet and Panike, whereby he is esteemed as a God.

The Tenths paid to the *Can*.

Weekly labour for him.

The Deuill an Angell of light.

Astrologers.

There are also in *Cambalu* of *Christians*, *Saracens*, and *Catayans*, about fiue thousand Astrologers and Diuiners, which the Great *Can* prouideth yeerly of foode and rayment, as those poore abouesaid. These haue an Astrolabe in which are marked the signes of the Planets, the houres and points of all the yeere. Herein all these Astrologers, each Religion apart, view the course of the yeere, according to euery Moone, obseruing the disposition of the weather, referring alway to God to doe more or lesse after his owne pleasure. They write also vpon certaine squares (they call them *Tacuini*) the things which are to come that yeere, which they sell to those that will buy them, and such as speake most truth are most honored. If any intend any great worke, or to goe a farre iourney, and will know the euent before-hand, he makes recourse to these Astrologers, to see it with their eyes in the Heauens, which they doe, comparing the present Constellation with that of his Birth (which they demand of him) so foretelling him the good or euill.

Tartarian computation of times.

The *Tartars* reckon the computation of their yeeres by twelues, the first signified by a Lion, the second by an Oxe, the third by a Dragon, the fourth by a Dogge, and so thorow the whole twelue: so that if a man be demanded when he was borne; he will answer, such a point of such an houre, of such a day in the yeere Lion (this their fathers exactly set downe in a booke) and when the twelue is complete, they goe ouer the same againe.

Their Religion.

Of their Religion we haue said that they are Idolaters, and for their Gods haue a Table set aloft in the wall of their Chamber, on which is written, a Name representing the *High God of Heauen*; and there euery day, with a Censer of incense, they adore it in this manner. They lift vp their hands aloft, and strike their teeth thrice, praying it to giue them a good vnderstanding and health; and desire thereof nothing else. Besides, on the ground they haue another statue, called *Natigai*, The God of earthly things, with his Wife and Children (as before is said) whom likewise they worship with incense, striking * or gnashing the teeth, and lifting vp the hands; and desire thereof temperature of the aire, fruits of the earth, children, and the like. They hold the Soule to be immortal, and that when a man dies, it enters into another bodie better or worse, according to the merits in the former life, as of a poore man to become a Gentleman, and after of a Prince or Lord, and so higher till it be assumpted in God: or if it hath ill deserued to be a poorer man, after a Dogge, alway descending to the lowest ranke of baseneſſe. They haue a comely speech, salute cheerfully and honestly, haue a gracefull carriage, and feed cleanly. They beare great reuerence to their Parents, and if any be vndutifull, or helpless to their necessitie, there is a publike Office designed to this particular, to punish vngratefull or disobedient children. Prisoners are released at three yeeres end, and marked in the cheeke, to be knowne Malefactors.

* *Sbattendo i denti.*

Opinions of the soule.

Their Customes.

Court reuerence.

The Barons and People which goe to the Grand *Can*, obserue these Rites. First, within halfe a mile of the place where the *Can* is, all is hush't and quiet without noyse or cryes, or any loud speech: and euery Baron carries continually a little faire vessell to spit in, after which hee couers it, none daring to spit on the Hall. They haue Furre buskins of white leather, which they put on when they enter the Hall, putting off the former and giuing them to the seruants, lest they should foule the faire artificiall Carpets.

Ten

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TEn miles off *Cambalu*, is a certayne great Riuer, named *Pulisangan*, emptying it selfe into the Ocean, by which many ships with much merchandise ascend. And in that place, there is a very faire Bridge, all of Serpentine stone curiously wrought, contayning three hundred paces in length, and eight in breadth, that ten men may ride abreast. On each side it is fairely mounted with a wall of marble, and Pillars set on a rew: and in the height of the ascent is a great and high Pillar, at the foote whereof is a great Lion, and on the top another. And so quite thorow the Bridge, one pace and halfe distant are Pillars with Lions on the top, and a faire well-wrought marble worke betwixt, to keepe men from falling. An admirable Bridge. *Ramusio* hath giuen a picture, *London* more.

Hauing passed ouer the Riuer and Bridge, proceeding thirtie miles westward (in which Palaces are continually seene with Vineyards and fertile Fields) you come to the Citie *Gouza*, both faire and great, hauing many Monasteries of Idols. Cloth of gold and silkes are made there, and the purest and finest Cambricks or Launes, and many common Innes for Strangers and Trauailers are found in that Citie: The Citizens are Artificers and Merchants. A mile without this Citie the way parteth, one leading West, the other South-east: that to the West leadeth through the Prouince of *Cathay*, but the other towards the Countrey of *Mangi*. From the Citie of *Gouza* to the Kingdome of *Tainfu*, you ride ten dayes thorow *Cataso*, alway finding many faire Cities and Castles, well traded with Vineyards and tilled Fields, from whence Wine is carried to *Cataio*, where it wants. There are many Mulberrie trees for Silke-workes: the People ciuill and Cities very frequent. The Citie *Gouza*. Parting of the way.

Tainfu is the name of the Kingdome, and of the chiefe Citie which is great and faire, hath much trading with store of munition, fit for the *Cans* Armies. The Wine about this Citie serueth the whole Prouince. Seuen dayes further westward is a goodly Countrey, beautified with many Castles and Cities, in which also great trade of merchandise is vsed. After which, you come to a Citie very great, named *Pianfu*, in which there is great abundance of Silke and Trading. *Tainfu*. Armes.

Westward from *Pianfu* standeth a very goodly Castle, named *Thaigin*, anciently built by a King called *Dor*. In it is a spacious Palace, wherein is a faire Hall, in which are painted all the famous Kings which haue reigned there; a faire spectacle. Of this King *Dor* they say that he was potent, and was attended onely by young Damsels, whereof his Court had great store. They also when hee listed to take his pleasure, carried him in a small light Chariot thorow the Castle, which is so fortified by Art and Nature, that the Gouernour thereof feared none, no not *Vncan* his Lord, against whom hee rebelled. But seuen men professing fidelitie and seruice to *Dor*, tooke him at aduantage in hunting, and brought him captiue to *Presbyter Iohn* or *Vncan*, who put him in vile clothes, and appointed him to keepe his Cattell, and set on him a strong guard till two yeeres were ended: after which, hee commanded him to bee brought before him, and attyred him in Princely apparell, and giuing him his pardon after sharpe admonition, sent him so well attended to the repossession of his Kingdome. *Dor* and his Damsel-court. The King of *Achen*, and the *Mogol*, doe likewise in part.

About twentie miles beyond the Castle *Thaigin*, is the Riuer *Caramoran*, which by reason of the exceeding bredth and depth thereof, hath no Bridge: and floweth to the Ocean. On the shoare thereof are many Cities and Castles built; wherein much trading is exercised. This Countrey aboundeth with Ginger, Silke, and Fowle, especially Feasants, that three of them are bought for a groat of *Venice*. There grow Reeds infinite store, so great that some are a foot, some are a foot and halfe in compasse, profitable to many vses. Passing this Riuer, after two dayes iourney is the famous Citie called *Carianfu*, where many clothes of Gold and Silke are made: heere growes Ginger, Galingale, Spike, and many Spices. The people are Idolaters. Proceeding seuen dayes iourney Westward, many Cities, and Townes, goodly Fields and Gardens are found; and euery where Mulberies for Silke-wormes. And they are *Idolaters*: but there are also *Christians*, *Turkes*, *Nestorians*, and some *Saracens*. There is much both of wilde Beasts and Fowle. If you proceed seuen dayes iourney further, you shall come to a certaine great Citie, named *Quenzanfu*, which is the chiefe Citie of the Kingdome, in which haue raigned many famous Kings: and at this day, the sonne of great *Can*, called *Mangalu*, hath the command thereof. That Countrey yeeldeth great plentie of Silke, Cloth of Gold, and all other things necessarie for furnishing of an Armie, and for preseruation of the life of Man. The Inhabitants worship Idols, and there are some *Christians*, and *Turkes*, and *Saracens*. Fiue miles without the Citie standeth the Palace of *Mangalu*, seated in a Playne, where are many Springs, Riuerets, and places of Game. There is a high wall encompassing fiue miles, where are all wilde Beasts and Fowles, in the midst is an excellent Palace, hauing many Halls and Chambers great and faire, all painted with Gold and Azure, and infinite Marbles adorning. The King with his Courtiers applieth himselfe to hunting of wilde Beasts, and taking of Fowle, and followeth his fathers steps in Iustice and Equitie, much beloued of his people. *Caramoran*. *Carianfu*. *Quenzanfu*. King *Mangalu*.

Going three dayes Iourney Westward from the said Palace, through a certaine goodly Plaine, where many Cities and Castles are (and abundance of Silke, Merchandise, and Arts) is a mountainous Countrie, where, in the Mountaines and Valleyes are frequent Habitations, and store of Lodgings, of the Prouince of *Cunchin*. The Inhabitants are Idolaters, and Husbandmen. Also, in *Cunchin*.

in that Countrie they hunt Lions, Beares, Stags, Roe-buckes, Deere, Wolues. That Plaine is two dayes iourney, and the Countrey is twentie dayes Westward all inhabited, hauing Mountaines, and Valleyes, and many Woods.

Achbaluch Mangi.

After that, twentie dayes towards the West, is a Prouince, named *Achbaluch Mangi*, that is, *The white Citie of the borders of Mangi*, which is wel peopled. This Prouince for two daies iourny hath a Plaine, with infinite habitations. After which follow Mountaines, Valleyes, and Woods, all inhabited twentie dayes iourney Westward. It hath store of wild beasts, and of those creatures which yeeld Muske. In this Prouince Ginger groweth in great plentie, as also Corne and Rice.

Mangi. Sindinfu.

After twentie dayes iourney thorow those Hills, is a Playne, and a Prouince in the Confines of *Mangi*, named *Sindinfu*. The chiefe Citie hath the same name, great and exceeding rich, being twentie miles circuit about. It hath had many rich and mightie Kings, but the old King dying, left three sonnes Successors of the Kingdome, which diuided the Citie into three parts, compassing euery part with their proper walls, all which notwithstanding were contayned within the former wall. But great *Can* subiected that Citie and Kingdome to his Dominion. Thorow this Citie runne many Riuers, in many places, and round about, some halfe a mile ouer, some two hundred paces, very deepe, and on them are many Bridges of stone, very faire, eight paces broad, set on both sides with marble Pillars, which beare vp a timber Frame that couers the Bridge; each Bridge hauing streets and shops all along st. When these Riuers are past the Citie, they becom one great riuer, called *Quian*, which runneth one hundred dayes iourney hence to the Ocean. Neere these Riuers are many Cities and Castles, and ships for Merchandise. Proceeding fiue dayes iourney further, through a certaine Playne, many Cities, Castles, and Villages are found, in which fine Lawnes are in great aboundance. Many wilde Beasts also are there.

Quian.

The greatnesse of the Prouince of *Tebeth*

After the Playne whereof wee now speake, is the Prouince of *Tebeth*, which great *Can* vanquished, and wasted: for in it are many Cities destroyed, and Castles ouerthrowne by the space of twentie dayes iourney. And becaus it is become a Wildernesse, wanting Inhabitants, wilde Beasts, and Lions are there encreased abundantly: and it is needfull that Trauellers carrie victuals with them. Very great Canes grow in this Countrey ten paces in length, and three palmes in thickenesse, and as much from knot to knot. When Trauellers therefore will rest by night secure from Beasts, they take great bundles of the greener Reeds, and putting fire vnder, kindle them. Which make such a cracking, and so great a noyse, that it may bee heard two miles off. Which terrible sound the wilde Beasts hearing, flee away. Moreouer, Horses, and other Beasts which Merchants vse for their iourney, hearing this noyse and cracking, are very much afraid, and many betaking themselues to flight, haue escaped from their Masters: but the wiser Trauellers binding their feet together with Fetters, detayne them with violence.

The subtill deuise of Trauellers.

Iustine in his 18. booke mentioneth the like of the *Cyprians.* *Ælianus V. H.* the 4. booke, chapter 1.

Twentie dayes Iourney ended, hauing passed ouer the Prouince of *Tebeth*, wee meet with Cities, and very many Villages, in which, through the blindnesse of Idolatrie, a wicked custome is vsed: for, no man there marrieth a wife that is a Virgin. Whereupon, when Trauellers and Strangers comming from other parts, passe through this Countrey, and pitch their Pauilions, the Women of that place hauing marriageable daughters, bring them vnto Strangers, desiring them to take them, and enioy their companie as long as they remayne there. Thus the pretier are chosen, and the rest returne home sorrowfull. And when they will depart, they are not suffered to carrie any away with them, but faithfully restore them to their Parents. The Mayden also requireth some toy or small Present of him who hath defloured her, which shee may shew as an argument and proofe of her deflouring. And shee that hath beene loued, and abused of most men, and shall haue many such fauours and toyes to shew to her Wooers, is accounted more noble, and may more easily and honourably be married. And when shee will goe honourably attired, shee hangeth all her Louers fauours about her necke, and the more acceptable shee was to many, of so much the more honour is shee adiudged worthie. But when they are once married to husbands, they are now no more suffered to be coupled with Prange men. And the men of this Countrie are very wary, that they offend not one another in this matter. They are Idolaters, and cruell men, thinking it no sinne if they rob, and exercise theft. They liue by hunting, and the fruits of the earth. Many beasts also are found with them, yeelding Muske called by them, Gudderi. They haue a proper Language, and haue no money, not the Paper money of *Can*, but spend Corals for money, and are clothed with the skins of beasts, or course Hempe. This Countrey appertayneth to the Prouince of *Tebeth*: for *Tebeth* is a very large Prouince, and hath beene sometime diuided into eight Kingdomes, hauing many Cities, and Townes, with many Mountaynes, Lakes, and Riuers, where Gold is found. The women weare Corall about their neckes, and hang it about the neckes of their Idols, as a precious thing. In this Countrey there are very great Dogs, as big as Asses, which take wilde Beasts, specially wilde Oxen, called Beyamini. They are exceeding Necromancers, causing tempests, lightnings, thunderbolts, and many other wonders. There are many sorts of Spices neuer brought into these parts. This *Thebeth* is (as all the former Prouinces) subiect to the *Can*.

Whose glorie is in their shame.

Corall money.

Eight Kingdomes of *Tebeth.*

Caindu.

On the West of the Prouince of *Tebeth*, bordereth the Prouince of *Caindu*, sometimes gouerned

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ned by her owne Kings, now by the Gouernours of the *Can*. By the West you must not vnderstand that the Countries are in the West, but that wee departing from those parts which are betwixt the East and North-east come hither Westward: and therefore reckon them Westward. The people are Idolaters, haue many Cities, the chiefe called by the name of the Prouince, *Caindu*, built in the entry of the Prouince. There is a great salt Lake, in which is store of Pearles, white, not round, so abundant, that the price of them would become little worth, if they were suffered to be carried away at mens pleasures. Whereupon, it is prouided vpon payne of death, that none should presume to fish for Pearle in this Lake, without the licence of great *Can*. There is also a Mountaine in which is found a Minerall of Turkesse stones, confined to the like licence. Many Gadderi are also in this Prouince, which yeeld Muske. That Lake also which ingendreth Pearle in such plentie, aboundeth with Fishes: and the whole Countrey is full of wilde Beasts, that is to say, of Lions, Beares, Stags, Deere, Ounces, Roe-buckes; and diuers kinds of Birds. Cloues are found there in great plentie, which are gathered from small Trees, which haue boughs and leaues like the Bay-tree, but somewhat longer and straighter, white flowers and little, as are the Cloues, and when they are ripe they are blacke and duskie. Ginger, Cinamon, and diuers other Spices grow there in great plentie, which are not brought vnto our Countries. Wine groweth not in it, but in stead thereof they make excellent Drinke of Corne, Rice, and diuers other Spices. The Inhabitants of this Countrey worship Idols, by which they are so besotted, that they thinke they deserue their fauour, if they prostitute their wiues, sisters, and daughters to bee abused by Trauellers. For, when any Stranger commeth amongst them, euery housholder seeketh to giue him entertainment, and goe their way, leauing the femals and house to the Strangers will, and returne not vntill they depart. And the women presently hang vp some signe till he be gone, that when the Master of the familie returneth, he may know he is there still, and goe away againe, staying without till he be departed: which hee doth for the glorie of his Idols, hoping they will be more gracious vnto him. Certaine twigs of Gold are their money, vsing weights, and according to the weight of the twig is the value of the money. And this money is the greater money without stampe. They haue also a lesser, which they make after this manner. They boyle Salt in a Caldron an houres space, of which being congealed, they make little lumps like two-pennie loaues, which being made solid, is signed with the Princes Stampe, and make great profit thereof in sauage places, remote from Cities which haue store of Muske and Gold, and want Chapmen. These bartar their Gold for Salt to vse in their meats. Leauing this Prouince, they proceed fifteene dayes iourney further, and in the meane space meet with Castles, and many Villages, whose Inhabitants haue the same customes, that the Prouince of *Caindu* hath, and at length they come vnto a Riuer, called *Brius*, where the Prouince of *Caindu* is bounded. In this Riuer Gold is found in great plentie, which they call, *Di Paiola* (washed in vessels to seuer it from the sands and earth.) On the bankes thereof Cinamon groweth in great abundance. This Riuer runneth to the Ocean.

Gadderi. Cloues. Ginger, Cinamon. The Inhabitants are Idolaters and Bawdes. Money of Salt. The Riuer *Brius* yeelding Gold.

Hauing passed ouer the Riuer *Brius*, they come westward to the Prouince *Caraian*, which contayneth seuen Kingdomes. It is subiect to the Great *Can*, whose sonne, named *Sentemur*, is made King of that Kingdome, who is rich, wise and iust. The Inhabitants thereof are Idolaters. You ride fiue dayes and finde it all well peopled. They liue of their Beasts and Fruits. The Countrey breedeth excellent Horses: and it hath a peculiar and difficult language. At the end of those fiue dayes is the chiefe Citie, called *Iaci*, and it is great and famous, hath in it many Merchants and Artificers, and many sorts of People, *Idolaters*, *Christians*, *Nestorians*, and *Saracens*; but the most Idolaters. It hath Corne, and much Rice, although they eate no bread of Corne, because it is not wholsome, but they make bread of Rice. They make drinke also of it, and diuers Spices very pleasant. They vse white Porcelanes in stead of money, and for ornaments which are found at the Sea. Much Salt is made in this Citie of the water of salt Wells, whereof the King hath great profit. The men of this Countrey care not if any man come to their Wiues, so they giue their consent. There is also a Lake there very full of Fish, contayning an hundreth miles in compasse. Those men eate raw flesh of Hennes, Beefe, Mutton and Buffals, but prepared after this manner. They first breake it into small pieces, and after season it with excellent Spices; but the poorer sort shred it and lay it in Garlicke sawce, and eate it as wee doe boyled meate.

The seuen Kingdomes of *Caraian*. King *Sentemur*. The Citie *Iaci*. Money of Stones. Raw flesh.

Departing from the Citie of *Iaci*, hauing trauailed ten dayes iourney westward, yee come to the Prouince named, as is the chiefe Citie, *Carazan*, which *Cogatin*, sonne of *Cublai*, gouerneth. The Riuers there yeeld very much gold *di paiola*, and also that which is more solid, and the Mountaines gold of the veine, and they giue one stone of gold for six of siluer. They spend Porcelanes for money, brought thither from *India*. The Inhabitants are Idolaters: very great Serpents are bred in this Countrey, whereof some contayne ten paces in length, and in thicknesse ten spannes. They haue two little feet before nigh the head, with three talons or clawes like Lions, and the eyes bigger then a Groat loafe, very shining. They haue their mouthes and jawes so wide, that they are able to swallow a man; great and sharpe teeth: nor is there any man, or other liuing Creature, which may behold those Serpents without terror: there are found lesse, of eight

Carazan. Riuers yeelding gold *di paiola*, that is washed in vessels from the sand & earth. Great Dragons.

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The taking of them.

eight, sixe, or fiue paces long, which are taken after this manner. In the day time they vse to lie hid, by reason of the heat, in holes, out of the which they goe by night to seeke their prey, and deuoure what soeuer they get, Lions, Wolues, or others: and then goe to seeke water, leauing such a tract with their weight in the sands, as if some piece of timber had beene drawne there. Whereupon the Hunters fasten vnder the sands sharpe Iron prickes in their vsuall tracts, whereon they are wounded and slayne. The Crowes presently ring his knell, and by their craing cries inuite the Hunters, which come and flay him, taking forth his gall, profitable for diuers Medecines (amongst other things, for the biting of mad Dogs, a penie weight giuen in Wine; and far women in trauell, for carbuncles and pushes) and they sell the flesh deare as being exceeding delicate. There are bred great Horses in this Prouince, which by Merchants are carried into *India*. They vse to take one bone out of the tayle, least he should bend his tayle hither and thither, and esteeme it more comely that it hang downe right. They vse long Stirrups as the *Frenchmen*; which the *Tartars* and other Nations for their shooting vse short, because when they shoot, they rise vp. They vse Targets and Armour in the Warres, made of the hides of Buffals: they haue Lances and Crosse-bowes, and poyson all their Arrowes. Some of them which are ill minded, are said to carrie * poyson about them continually, that if they be taken, they may suddenly swallow it and death together, to preuent torture. For which cause the great Lords haue Dogs dung ready, which they force them to swallow, and that forceth them to vomit the poyson. Before the great *Can* subiected them, they vsed, that when any Stranger which seemed of good presence and parts lodged with them, they slue him by night, supposing that those good parts of that man might abide afterwards in that house: and this was the death of many.

* Poyson and Dogs dung.

A wicked custome.

Cardandan. Vociam.

Going from the Prouince *Carazan*, after fiue dayes iourney Westward, is the Prouince *Cardandan*, which also is subiect to great *Can*. The chiefe Citie thereof is called *Vociam*. The Inhabitants thereof vse Porcelanes and weighed pieces of Gold in stead of money: for in that Countrey, and many other lying round about, Siluer mines are not found, and they giue one ounce of Gold for fiue ounces of Siluer, and great gayne is made by the change. The men and women of that Countrey couer their teeth with thinne plates of Gold, which they so fit vnto them, that the teeth themselues seeme (as it were) to be set in the plates. The men about their armes and legs make lists, pricking the places with Needles, and putting thereon a blacke indelible tincture. And these lists or markes are esteemed with them a great galantrie. They giue their minds to nothing but riding, hunting, hawking, and exercises of Armes, leauing the household cares to the women, who are helped therein by slaues which they buy or take in Warre. When a woman is brought to bed, shee forsakes the bed, washeth the child and dresseth it, and then the husband * lieth downe and keepes the child with him fortie dayes, not suffering it to depart: is visited meane while of friends and neighbours, to cheare and comfort him. The woman lookes to the house, carrie the husband his broths to his bed, and giues sucke to the child by him. Their Wine is made of Rice and Spice, their meat Rice, and raw flesh dressed, as is before mentioned. In this Prouince there are no other Idols, saue that euery familie adoreth the oldest man in the house, of whom they say come themselues and all they haue. They dwell for the most part, in wilde and mountainous places. But Forrainers come not to those Mountaines, because the ayre would kill them, being in Summer very corrupt. They haue no letters, but make their Contracts and Obligations by tallies of wood, the halfe whereof the one keepeth, and the other, the other: which being afterward payd, the tallie is rendred. There are no Physicians in this Prouince, nor in *Casndu*, *Vociam* and *Carazan*: but when any is sicke, they call the Magicians, or Idoll Priests together, and the sicke partie declareth his disease vnto them: then the Magicians dance, and sound certaine instruments, and bellow forth songs in honour of their Gods, while at length the Deuill entreth into one of them skipping and playing in the dance. Then leauing the dance, they consult with him that is possessed, for what cause that disease happned vnto him, and what is to be done for his recouerie. The Deuill answereth by him, because he hath done this or that, or because he hath offended this or that God; therefore, he fell into this disease. Then the Magicians intreat that God to pardon him that offence, promising, that if the sicke partie recouer, he shall offer a Sacrifice of his owne bloud. But if the Deuill thinke the weake partie to be sicke of such a disease that he caunot be freed from the same, he vseth to answere: This man hath so grieuously offended that God, that he cannot by any sacrifices bee appeased. But if he thinke he shall recouer, he commandeth to offer so many Rammes hauing blacke heads, and to prepare so many Magicians with their wiues, by them to offer Sacrifices, and that God may then bee appeased towards him. Which being heard, his kinsmen quickly cause those things to be done which the Deuill commanded: they kill Rammes, and sprinckle their bloud in the ayre, and the Magicians assembled with their Witches, light great Candles, and perfume the whole house with incense, making fume of *Lignum Aloes*, and sprinckle the broth of the flesh in the ayre, together with the potion made of Spices: all which being duely performed, they skip about againe in a dance in honour of that Idoll, which is supposed to haue beene fauourable to the sicke, singing, and making an horrible noyse with their voyces: These things

The rarenesse of Siluer.

Golden couerings for the teeth.

* *Strabo* in his third booke mention th the same to be done with the *Spaniards* in some places. *Apollonius* report th the like custome, with the *Tibareni*. *Lerius* of the *Brasilians*.

Tallies of contracts.

The deceitfull medicine of the Magicians.

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things being done, they aske the poſſeſſed againe, whether by theſe things the Idol be appeaſed. If he anſwer, No, they preſently prepare themſelues to fulfill another command of his. But if he anſwer, that he is ſatisfied, they ſit downe at the Table, and eate the fleſh offered to the Idoll with great ioy, and drinke the confections. And dinner being ended, and the Magicians payed, euery one returneth to his owne home. And when the ſicke hath thus eſcaped the diſeaſe, through the prouidence of God, and hath beene reſtored to health, they attribute it to the Idoll whom they ſacrificed. But if he die, then they ſay, the Idoll was defrauded, and that ſome of the Sacrificers taſted thereof firſt. This is not done to all but to the Richer, the Deuill deluding their blindneſſe.

§. VII.

Of the Prouince of Mien *and* Bengala, *how they were conquered to the* Can: *Of* Cangigu, Amu, Tholoman, Cintigui, *and ſome other parts of* Cataio. *And of the Conqueſt of* Mangi.

ANno *Dom.* 1272. the Great *Can* ſent an Armie into the Kingdome of *Vociam*, and *Carazan* to guard it, to the number of twelue thouſand expert warriors, vnder the conduct of *Neſtardin* a wiſe Captaine. As ſoone as the King of *Mien*, and the King of *Bengala* heard of their comming, aſſembling their forces, they ioyned Horſe and Foot together, about threeſcore thouſand, and about a thouſand Elephants bearing Caſtles, and in euery Caſtle twelue or ſixteene * armed men were placed. With this Armie the King of *Mien* ſpeedily marched towards the Citie *Vociam*, where the Armie of the *Tartars* reſted. *Neſtardin* comming forth with a manly courage to fight againſt the Enemie, encamped againſt a certaine great Wood, knowing that the Elephants with thoſe Towres were not able to enter into the Wood. Then the King of *Mien* marcheth forth to meete them. But the *Tartarian* Horſes perceiuing the Elephants to be preſent, which were placed in the firſt front of the battaile, were terrified with ſo great feare, that they could not by any violence or policy be prouoked againſt the Elephants. The *Tartars* therefore were compelled to alight from their Horſes, and tying them to the Trees of the Wood, they come to fight on foot againſt the Elephants. In the front of the battaile, all the *Tartars* purpoſely ſhot a multitude of Arrowes againſt the Elephants, which not able to indure the ſtrokes of the Arrowes, ſpeedily betooke themſelues to flight, and with ſwift courſe went all vnto the next Wood, and brake their Caſtles, and ouer-threw the armed men ſitting in them, which the *Tartars* ſeeing, runne vnto their Horſes, and getting vp vpon them, furiouſly fall vpon the Kings Armie with great violence: and many of either Armie fell, at length the King of *Mien* being put to flight, left the victorie to the *Tartars*, who haſten to the Wood, and taking many Captiues, vſed their helpe to take two hundred of theſe Elephants. And euer ſince Great *Can* hath vſed Elephants in his Armies which before hee had not accuſtomed. Hereupon alſo he vanquiſhed the Countries of the King of *Mien* and *Bengala*, and ſubiected them to his Empire.

* This by relation; for they vſe not to carry aboue three or foure.

His ſtratagem.

Fight & flight of Elephants.

Departing from the Prouince of *Cardandan*, is a great deſcent, which continueth two dayes and a halfe, nor is there any habitation there, but a very large Playne, in the which, three dayes in the weeke many men meete together for Trading. Many deſcend from the great Mountaines of that Countrey, bringing gold with them to change for ſiluer, to wit, giuing one ounce of gold for fiue ounces of ſiluer: whereupon, many Merchants from forraine Nations come thither, who bringing ſiluer carrie away gold, and bring thither merchandiſes to ſell to thoſe people. For to thoſe high Mountaines, in which, they who gather gold in that Countrey, dwell, no ſtranger can come, ſeeing the way is vnpaſſable and intricate. When you are paſt that Playne, going toward the South, *Mien* bordereth vpon *India*, and the way lyeth fifteene dayes iourney in places not inhabited and wooddy, in which innumerable Elephants, Vnicornes, and other wild beaſts wander.

Market in a diſ-habited Playne.

Change of gold and ſiluer.

Vnicornes or Rhinoceroteſ

After that fifteene dayes is found *Mien*, a great and noble Citie, the head of the Kingdome, and ſubiect to Great *Can*. The Inhabitants thereof haue a peculiar language, and are Idolaters. In this Citie there was a King, who being readie to die, commanded that neere to his Sepulchre, there ſhould be made two Towres in Pyramide faſhion, one at the head, the other at the feete, both of Marble, of the heigth of ten fathom. On the top was a round Ball. He cauſed one to bee couered all ouer with gold a finger thicke, and the other with ſiluer. And vpon the top round about the Balls, many little golden and ſiluer Bells were hanged, which at the blowing of the winde gaue a certaine ſound. The Moniment or Sepulchre was alſo couered with Plates, partly of gold, partly of ſiluer. He commanded this to be made in honor of his Soule, and that his memorie ſhould neuer decay among men. And when Great *Can* minded to ſubdue this Citie, hee ſent a valiant Captaine, and the greateſt part of his Armie were Ieſters, of which his Court is alway furniſhed. Theſe winning the Citie, would not violate that Moniment without the *Cans* knowledge,

Mien.

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knowledge, who hearing that the deceſſed had made it for the honor of his Soule, would not ſuffer it to be ſtirred: for the manner of the *Tartars* is, not to violate thoſe things which belong to the dead. In this Prouince are many Elephants, wild Oxen, great and faire Stagges and Deere, and other wild Beaſts of diuers kindes.

The pietie of the *Tartars* towards the dead

Bengala.

The Prouince *Bengala* bordereth vpon *India* toward the South, which Great *Can* ſubdued, when *Marco Polo* liued in his Court. The Countrey hath a proper King, and peculiar language. The Inhabitants thereof are all Idolaters: they haue Maſters which keepe Schooles and teach Idolatries and Inchantments; a thing common to all the great Men of that Countrey. They eate Fleſh, Rice and Milke: they haue Cotton in great plentie, and by reaſon thereof, much and great trading is exerciſed there: they abound alſo with Spike, Galangal, Ginger, Sugar, and diuers other Spices. Huge Oxen alſo are there, comparable with Elephants in height but not in thickneſſe. Many Eunuches are made in this Prouince, which are afterwards ſold vnto Merchants. This Prouince continueth thirtie dayes iourney, in the end whereof going Eaſtward is the Prouince of *Cangigu*.

Oxen as bigge as Elephants.

Eunuches.

Cangigu.

The Kings many wiues.

Cangigu hath his proper King and peculiar language. The Inhabitants thereof worſhip Idols, and are Tributaries to Great *Can*. Their King hath about three hundreth Wiues. Much gold is found in this Prouince, and many Spices, but they cannot eaſily be tranſported, ſeeing that countrey is farre diſtant from the Sea. There are alſo many Elephants in it, and much game of many wild Beaſts. The Inhabitants thereof liue with Fleſh, Milke and Rice. They want Wine, but they make good drinke of Rice and Spices. Aſwell the Men as the Women vſe to embroider their Faces, Necks, Hands, Bellies and Legs, making the Images of Lions, Dragons and Birds, and ſo firmely imprint them that they cannot eaſily bee put out: and the more ſuch Images any one hath, by ſo much is hee eſteemed themore gallant. And there be Profeſſors of this fooliſh Art of fleſh embroiderie, which vſe no other Trade but this Needle-worke, and dying of Fooles-skinnes.

Embroidred Gallants.

Amu.

Amu is an Eaſterly Prouince ſubiect to Great *Can*, whoſe Inhabitants worſhip Idols, and haue a peculiar language. They abound with Herds of Cattell, and haue plentie of Victuals, and many Horſes and thoſe excellent, which Merchants bring into *India*. They haue alſo many Buffes and Oxen, becauſe there are delicate Paſtures there. As well Men as Women, weare bracelets of gold and ſiluer of great value on their armes, alſo the like on their legs: but thoſe of the Women are of moſt value. From *Amu* to *Cangigu* are fiue and twentie dayes iourney.

Tho'oman.

The Prouince *Tholoman* is eight dayes iourney diſtant to the Eaſt from *Amu*, ſubiect vnto Great *Can*, hauing a peculiar language, and worſhipping Idols. The Men and Women thereof are tall and goodly, of a browne colour. The Countrey is very well inhabited, hauing many and ſtrong Caſtles and Cities. The men are exerciſed in Armes and accuſtomed to warre. They burne the bodies of their dead, and incloſing the Reliques of their bones in a Cheſt, hide them in the Caues of the Mountaines, that they cannot bee touched either of man or beaſt. Gold is in great plentie there, and in ſtead of money they vſe Porcelanes brought from *India*, as alſo in *Cangigu* and *Amu*.

From the Prouince *Tholoman*, the way leadeth towards the Eaſt on a Riuer, by which are many Cities and Caſtles, and at the end of twelue dayes you come to the great Citie *Cintigui*. The Countrey is ſubiect to Great *Can*, and the Inhabitants thereof are addicted to Idolatrie. Excellent Clothes are made in this Countrey of the barkes of Trees, wherewith they are clothed in the Summer. Very many Lions are there, ſo that for feare of them, none dare ſleepe without doores by night. The ſhips which goe vp and downe the Riuer, for feare of the Lions, are not faſtned to the banke. There are great Dogs in the ſame Countrey, ſo hardie and ſtrong, that they feare not to aduenture on the Lion: And it often hapneth, that two Dogs and one Archer kill a Lion: for the Dogs ſet on by the man giue the onſet, and the Lions nature is preſently to ſeeke ſhelter from ſome Tree, that the Dogs may not come behind him: neither yet will his great heart ſuffer him to runne from the Dogs, leſt he ſhould ſeeme afraid; but he holds his ſtately pace, the man meanwhile ſhooting, and the Dogs faſtning on his hinder parts, but with ſuch quickneſſe, that when the Lion turnes on them they are gone. And then doth this magnanimous Beaſt hold on his way againe to ſeeke ſuch Tree ſuccour, that with Bitings and Arrowes he ſometimes comes ſhort, and with expenſe of bloud dyeth by the way. This Countrey aboundeth with Silke, which by Merchants is carried to diuers Prouinces by the Riuer. They liue on Merchandiſe, their money is Paper. They are valiant in Armes. At the end of ten dayes is the Citie *Sidinfu*, and twentie dayes from thence is *Gingui*, and foure dayes thence is *Pazanfu* towards the South, and is in *Catai* returning by the other ſide of the Prouince. The people are Idolaters and burne their dead. There are alſo certaine *Chriſtians* which haue a Church: all vnder the *Can* and vſe Paper money. They make Clothes of Gold, and Silke, and Launes very fine. By this Citie (which hath many Cities vnder it) goes a great Riuer which carries ſtore of merchandiſe to *Cambalu*, made by many Channels to paſſe thither. But wee will paſſe hence, and proceeding three dayes iourney, ſpeake of *Cianglu*.

Cintigui.

Cloth made of Barkes: which are now vſed in *Congo*.

Great and hardie Dogs.

Sidinfu.

Cingui.

Pazanfu.

Cianglu.

Cianglu is a great Citie toward the South of the Prouince of *Catai*, ſubiect to the *Can*, the Inhabitants are Idolaters, and burne their dead. Their money is the (Mulberie) Paper coine of the *Can*.

Can. In this Citie and the Territories they make ſtore of Salt, for that Earth is very ſalt, and out of it they get Salt, after this manner. They heape vp Earth in manner of an Hill, and powre water vpon it, which drawes the ſaltneſſe of the Earth vnto it, and then runnes into certaine Conduits, and is boyled in Pannes till it be congealed to Salt faire and white, to the *Cans* and their great gaine, being carried into other Countries to ſell. There are great Peaches very good, which weigh two pounds a piece. Fiue dayes iourney beyond the Citie *Ciangiu*, in *Cataio* Southward ſtandeth another Citie, named *Ciangli* (in which way are many Cities and Caſtles, all ſubiect to the *Can*) through the middeſt whereof runneth a great Riuer, very conuenient for ſhipping laden with merchandiſes. The Salt of *Cangiu*. Great Peaches *Ciangli*.

Six dayes iourney thence to the South (all which way hath great Cities and Caſtles of Idolaters) is the noble Kingdome and great Citie *Tudinfu*, which had his proper King, before it was ſubdued to Great *Can*, *Anno* 1272. and hath eleuen Royall Cities, famous for traffick, ſubiect to the iuriſdiction thereof. It is very delectable for Gardens and Fruits, rich in Silkes. The *Can* ſent to the gouernment hereof one of his Barons, named *Lucanſor*, with eightie thouſand Horſe: who rebelled againſt his Lord, but was ſlaine by a power of one hundred thouſand vnder two other Barons ſent againſt him, and the Countrey reduced to obedience. Seuen dayes off (riding by many Cities and Caſtles of Idolaters, plentifull of all things) towards the South is the famous Citie, named *Singuimatu*, vnto the which on the South, a certaine great Riuer runneth, which being diuided by the Inhabitants of the place into two Riuers, floweth partly to the Eaſt towards *Cataio*, and partly to the Weſt towards *Mangi*. By theſe Riuers, innumerable Veſſels for multitude, and incredible for their greatneſſe and wealth, bring neceſſaries to both Prouinces. If you goe ſixteene dayes iourney towards the South from *Singuimatu*, you ſtill meet with Cities and Townes where much trading is exerciſed. The Inhabitants of theſe Countries are Idolaters, ſubiect to Great *Can*. *Tudinfu*. *Singuimatu*.

After that ſixteene dayes, you come vnto a great Riuer, named *Caramoran*, which is ſaid to flow out of the Kingdome of *Vncan* or *Presbyter Iohn*, of the North. It is very deepe, and carrieth Ships of great burthen: it is alſo ſtored with Fiſh. Within one dayes iourney of the Sea there are in this Riuer fifteene thouſand Saile, each of which carrieth fifteene Horſes and twentie Men, beſides Victualls and the Mariners. This is the *Cans* Fleet kept there in readineſſe, to carrie an Armie to any of the Ilands in the Sea, if they ſhould rebell; or to any remote Region Neere the banke of the Riuer where theſe Ships are kept, is *Coiganzu*, and ouer againſt it *Quanzu*, one a great Citie, the other ſmall. After you are paſt that Riuer, you enter into the noble Kingdome of *Mangi*. And doe not thinke that wee haue handled in order the whole Prouince of *Cataio*: yea, I haue not ſpoken of the twentieth part. For, *M. Polo* paſſing by the ſaid Prouince, hath onely deſcribed the Cities in his way, leauing thoſe on both hands, and thoſe betwixt theſe, to preuent tediouſneſſe. *Caramoran*.

The Prouince of *Mangi* is the moſt rich and famous that is found in the Eaſt: and *An.* 1269. had a certaine King, named *Fanfur*, richer and mightier then any which had reigned there in an hundred yeeres, but a man peaceable and full of almeſdeeds, ſo beloued of his ſubiects, that thereby, and by the ſtrength of the Countrie, he ſeemed inuincible. Whereby it came to paſſe, that the King aſwell as the People, loſt the vſe and exerciſe of Warre and Armes. All the Cities were compaſſed with Ditches, a Bow ſhoot broad, full of Water. Hee held in pay no Horſes, becauſe he feared none. And hence it came to paſſe, that the King giuing himſelfe to pleaſure more then was meete, enioyed continuall delights. He maintayned about a thouſand goodly Laſſes, with which he paſſed his time in pleaſure. He nouriſhed Iuſtice, and preſerued Peace. No man durſt offend his Neighbour, and diſturbe the Peace, for feare of ſeuere vnpartiall puniſhment. So that Artificers would often leaue their Shops full of Wares open by night, and yet none would preſume to enter into them. Trauailers and ſtrangers moſt ſafely walked day and night, throughout that whole Kingdom, fearing no man. The King himſelfe alſo was pitifull and mercifull towards the Poore, and forſooke not them that were oppreſſed with neceſſitie, or pinched with penurie. Beſides, euery yeere hee tooke vp twentie thouſand young Infants, caſt off by their Mothers, which through pouertie were not able to keepe them, which he brought vp, and ſet them when they were growne to ſome Trade, or married the young Men with the Maids which hee had in like ſort educated *Fanfur* King of *Mangi*, which is now called *China*.

Cublai Can was of a differing diſpoſition to *Fanfur*, and delighted onely in Warres and Conqueſts, and to make himſelfe Great; he ſent a great Armie leuied of Horſe and Foot, and made one, named *Chinſan Baian* (that is, *one hundred eyes*) Generall thereof. Hee, therefore comming with his Armie and a Fleet to the Prouince of *Mangi*, firſt ſummoned the citie *Coiganzu* to yeeld obedience to his Emperour. Who refuſing the ſame, hee departed without any aſſault giuen to the Citie: and required the ſame of the ſecond Citie; which likewiſe refuſing, he marched forward to the third, and fourth, and receiued the like anſwere of them all. But he aſſaulted the next with great courage, and vanquiſhed the ſame by force, and ſlue euery mothers child therein; which ſo affrighted and terrified the reſt, that they all preſently yeelded. Moreouer, Great *Can* ſent another great Armie after the former, with both which Armies hee marched againſt the chiefe Citie *Quinſai*, *Chinſan Baian*, another *Argus* in the ſignification of his name.

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Quinsai, the Kings Court.

Quinsai, where the King of *Mangi* resided: who mightily terrified, as neuer hauing seene any battell, fled with his wealth and treasures in ships which he had prepared to certaine impregnable Ilands in the Ocean (where he after died) committing the custodie of the Citie of *Quinsai* to his wife, bidding her to defend it as well as shee could; for being a woman shee need not feare death, if shee were taken. It is to be obserued, that King *Fanfur* had beene told by his Diuiners, that his Kingdome should neuer be taken from him, but by one which had an hundred eyes: which the Queene knew, and therefore was still in hope not to lose the Citie, howsoeuer streightned; thinking it impossible for one man to haue an hundred eyes. But one day she heard, that the Commander of the *Tartars* was called *Baian Chinsan*, that is to say, An hundred eyes, and was much terrified: wherefore, calling for the Commander of the *Tartars* Armie, thinking him to bee the man which the Astrologers spake of, shee deliuereth the Citie vnto him. Which being heard, the Citizens, and Inhabitants of the whole Prouince, reuolted to the obedience of great *Can*. The Queene was sent vnto the Court of great *Can*, and was most honourably receiued by him, and maintayned like a Queene. And now wee will speake of the Cities of * *Mangi*.

The flight of King *Fanfur*.

* This name *Mangi* and *China*, are so different that they may seem diuers Regions. But the Reader is to obserue, that *China* is a name to the *Chinois* vnknowne, and that Kingdome hath appellations diuersly diuersified: either from the Familie reigning (which now is called *Ciu*, and the Kingdome *Min*, and *Min Ciu*, are not farre from *Mangi*) and by the *Tartars*, when they reigned, it was called *Han*, and before, *Cheu*, which both put together make *Han Cheu*, without any great dissonance from *Mangi*: Or else by generall appellations common to all ages, &c. See our following relations of *Ricci* and *Trigautius*.

§. VIII.

Of the Cities of Mangi *(now called* China*) and the rarities thereof: the many wonders of* Quinsai, *the Palaces, Pleasures, Rites and Gouernment, obserued by the Natiues, and the* Tartars.

Coiganzu.

Coiganzu is a faire and rich Citie, situate towards the South-east, and East in the entrance of the Prouince of *Mangi*, (*from* Cataio, *whence the Authour passed*) where are alway great store of ships, being seated on the Riuer *Caramoran*. Great store of Merchandise is carried thither. Salt is also made there in great abundance.

The Salt of *Coniganui.*

Going from *Coiganzu*, you ride towards the South-east one dayes iourney on a stone * Causie; on both sides whereof are great Fennes with deepe waters, whereon they may passe with ships: neither is there any entrance into *Mangi* but by shipping (as the Captaine of the *Can* did) but by this Causie. At the end of that dayes iourney is a Citie called *Panghin* great and faire. The people make clothes of Gold and of Silke, are Merchants and Idolaters. The Paper money of great *Can* is receiued throughout that whole Countrey. It is plentifull of all necessaries of life.

* *Terraglio.*

Panghin.

Caim.

To the Citie *Caim*, is from *Panghin* one dayes iourney South-east, and this is also a famous Citie, abounding with fish, and game, of beasts, and fowle: especially Phesants are found there, in exceeding great plentie, as great as Peacocks, of which you may haue three for one *Venetian* groat.

Phesants.

Tingui.

Proceeding further hence one dayes iourney, you come thorow a well manured and peopled Countrey to the Citie *Tingui*, which although it be not great, yet hath it exceeding great plentie of victuals. They are Merchants, and very many ships are also there: plentie of beasts and fowles: It is seated to the South-east, and on the left hand towards the East three dayes iourney off is the Ocean: and in the space betweene, are very many Salt pits; and they make great store of Salt. After this, is *Cingui* a great Citie, whence the Countrey is furnished with Salt, whereof the *Can* makes great profit, beyond beliefe. They are Idolaters, and haue Paper money. From *Cingui* riding towards the South-east, you meet with the noble Citie *Iangui*, vnder the gouernment whereof are other Cities, seuen and twentie in number. And in that Citie resideth one of the twelue Barons which are Gouernours of Prouinces chosen by the great *Can*. They are Idolaters, and liue of Merchandise. They make Armes and Harnasse for warre. And Master *Marco* had the sole gouernment thereof by commission of the great *Can*, three yeeres together in stead of one of those Barons.

Salt pits. *Cingui.*

Iangui, Head of 27. Cities.

M. Polo Gouernour of *Iangui.*

* *Nanghin* is a Prouince to the West, one of the greatest and noblest of *Mangi*, a place of great Merchandise. They are Idolaters, spend Paper money, haue store of beasts and fowle, wilde and tame. They make clothes of Gold and Silke, and are rich Merchants, and the Countrey is very commodious to the *Can*, specially by Customes of Merchandise. There is great plentie of Corne. *Sianfu* is a noble and great Citie in the Prouince of *Mangi*, and hath twelue rich and great Cities subiect vnto her iurisdiction. They make great store of Silkes and cloth of Gold, haue plentie of game and fowle, and of all things pertayning to a Citie of note: so strong, that it was three yeeres besieged, and could not be vanquished by the Armie of the *Tartars*, when the Prouince of *Mangi* was subdued. For it is compassed on euery side with Lakes, that there was

Nanghin.

was no way vnto it, but on the North: so that ships came and went continually, bringing plentie of victuals: which not a little afflicted great *Can*. The two brethren Master *Nicolo*, and Master *Maffio*, then in his Court, hearing hereof, went to him, and offered their service to deuise certaine Engines after the manner of the West, able to shoot a stone of three hundred weight, thereby to kill men, and ruine houses. The *Can* appointed them the best Carpenters which were *Nestorian* Christians, who made three (*Mangani*) of those Engines in a short space, which were proued and approued before him, and by ships sent vnto his Armie. Planting them therefore against the Citie *Sianfu*; they began to cast great stones into the Citie: and the first falling vpon a certaine house, brake it for the most part, with the violence thereof. Which the besieged Inhabitants seeing, were very much astonished, and yeelded themselues, and became subiect to the obedience of great *Can*, on the same conditions with the rest of *Mangi*; to the great repute of the two *Venetian* brethren.

Mangani, a kind of Engines. It hereby appeares that they had not the vse of the Cannon.

From the Citie *Sianfu*, to a certaine Citie, named *Singui*, are numbred fifteene miles South-eastward, which although it be not great, yet hath it an exceeding multitude of Ships, being seated vpon the greatest Riuer in the world, called *Quian*, the bredth of which in certaine places, containeth ten miles, in other eight, and in some sixe. But the length thereof extendeth it selfe aboue an hundred dayes iourney from the head to the Sea. Innumerable other Riuers flow into it, which runne thorow diuers Regions, and are nauigable, and make it so great; incredible store of Merchandise is brought by this Riuer. There are also very many other Cities, in number about two hundred, which participate of this Riuer: it floweth through the bounds of sixteene Prouinces. The greatest commoditie is Salt, wherewith all the Cities which communicate in these waters are stored. Master *Marco* saw at one time at *Singui* fiue thousand ships, and yet other Cities on that Riuer haue more. All those ships are couered, and haue but one mast, and one sayle, and vsually carrie foure thousand, and so vpwards, some of them twelue thousand *Venetian* Cantari. Neither vse cordage of Hempe, except for the mast and sayle, but haue Canes fifteence paces long, which they riue into thinne parts from one end to the other, and binding the cut pieces together, and wreathing them, make very long ropes, so that some of them contayne three hundred fathom in length. And those lines are as strong as Hempen, and serue for hales and cables to draw their ships vp and downe the Riuer, each ship hauing ten or twelue Horses for that purpose. On that Riuer in many places are rockie hillockes, on which are built Monasteries to their Idols: and all the way are Villages and places inhabited.

Singui.

Quian.

Cayngui is a little Citie, vpon the foresaid Riuer South-eastward, where euery yeere is brought store of Corne and Rise, carried the most part to *Cambalu*. For they may passe thither by Lakes and Riuers, and by one deepe large hand-made Riuer, which the *Can* caused to be made for passage from one Riuer to another, and from *Mangi* to *Cambalu* without going to Sea. Which worke is goodly and wonderfull for the site and length, and more for the profit thereby to the Cities. Hee hath made also great Causies to goe on land by those waters commodiously. In the mids of the said Riuer is an Iland of a Rocke, on which is erected a great Temple and Monasterie, in which are two hundred Idolatrous Monkes. This is the Mother-temple and Monasterie of many others.

Cayngui.

Hand-made Riuer.

Cinghianfu is a Citie of *Mangi*, rich in Merchandise, plentifull of game, of wilde beasts and fowle, and of victuall. In it are two Churches of *Nestorian* Christians, built *Anno* 1274. when the great *Can* sent Gouernour thither, *Marsachis* a *Nestorian*, which built them.

Cinghianfu.

From the Citie *Cinghianfu*, in three dayes iourney South-eastward, you find many Cities and Castles all Idolaters, and at last come to the Citie *Tinguigui*, a great and faire Citie, abounding with all kinde of victuals. When *Chinsam Baian*, Generall of the Armie of the *Tartars* conquered the Prouince of *Mangi*, he sent many Christians (called *Alani*) against this Citie, which was double walled; into the inner they retired; into the other the *Alans* entred, and found there abundance of Wine, whereof after a bad iourney, they began to drinke so largely, that they were all drunke: and the Citizens in their sleepe suddenly falling vpon them, slue them all, none escaping. But *Baian* hearing this, sent another great Armie against those Citizens, which shortly vanquishing the Citie, in reuenge, put them all to the sword, leauing none aliue.

Tinguigui.

The great and excellent Citie *Singui*, containeth in circuit twentie miles. Great multitudes of people are in it: it hath many rich Merchants, and cunning Artificers, and it hath also very many Physicians, and Magicians, and Wisemen or Philosophers. In the Mountaines of this Citie, Rhubarb and Ginger grow in great plenty. This Citie hath sixteen Cities vnder the iurisdiction thereof, where much trading is vsed, and very many curious Arts are exercised. Very many Silkes are made there. The word *Singui*, in their language, signifieth, *The Citie of the Earth*, as also they haue another Citie, which they call *Quinsai*, that is to say, *The Citie of Heauen*. From *Singui* one dayes iourney is *Vagin*, where is also abundance of Silke, and cunning Artificers with many Merchants.

Singui.

Physicians and Philosophers.

Rhubarbe.

GOing from *Vagin* three dayes, continually you find Cities, Castles, and Villages, well peopled and rich. The People are Idolaters, vnder the *Can*: at the end of those dayes you

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Quinſai, the Earthly Citie of Heauen. O how much better is the heauenly Citie on Earth in grace, & more then moſt incomparable that heauenly Citie of Heauen in glorie? *ap.* 21. & 22.

comie to *Quinſai*, which for the excellency hath that name (interpreted *Citie of Heauen*) for in the World there is not the like, in which are found ſo many pleaſures, that a man would thinke he were in *Paradiſe*. In this Citie Maſter *Marco Polo* hath often beene, and conſidered the ſame with great diligence, obſeruing the whole ſtate thereof, ſetting downe the ſame in his memorials, as here ſhall be declared briefly. This Citie by common opinion, is an hnndred miles in circuit; for the ſtreets and channels thereof are very wide. There are Market places exceeding large. On the one ſide a cleere Lake of freſh water, on the other a great Riuer which enters in many places, and carries away all the filth of the Citie, and ſo runneth into that Lake, thence continuing his courſe to the Ocean: which cauſeth a good ayre, and commodious paſſage both by land, and by theſe channels. There may goe both Carts and Barkes to carrie neceſſaries: and the report is, that there are twelue thouſand Bridges great and ſmall, and thoſe on the chiefe channels are ſo high that a ſhip without her Maſt may paſſe vnder, and aboue, Chariots and Horſes.

The ſituation. 12000. bridges.

The Ditch.

On the other ſide the Citie is a Ditch, about fortie miles long, which encloſeth it on that ſide; large and full of water from the Riuer, made by the antient Kings of that Prouince, both to receiue the ouerflowings of the water, and to fortifie the Citie: the earth which was taken out being layd within as a banke or hill encompaſſing. There are *ten chiefe Market-places* (beſides infinite others along the ſtreets) which are ſquare, halfe a mile in each ſquare. And from the forepart of them is a principall ſtreet fortie paces wide, running right from one end of the Citie to the other, with many Bridges trauerſing it. And euery foure miles is found ſuch a Market-place, two miles, as is ſaid, in compaſſe. There is alſo *one large channell*, which runnes againſt the ſaid ſtreet, behind the Market-places, on the next banke whereof are erected great Store-houſes of ſtone, where the Merchants from *India*, and other parts lay vp their Merchandiſe, at hand, and commodious to the Market-places. In each of theſe Market-places is a concourſe three dayes in the weeke of perſons betwixt fortie and fiftie thouſand, which bring thither all things that can be deſired for mans life, of all beaſts of game, and fowles; that Lake yeelding ſuch commodiouſneſſe to bring them vp, that for a *Venetian* groat you may haue two Geeſe, and foure Duckes for as much. Then follow the *Butcher-rowes* of Veale, Beefe, Kid, and Lambe, which the great and rich men eat; for the poore eat vncleane meats without reſpect. There are all ſorts of herbs and fruits continually, and amongſt the reſt *huge Peares*, weighing ten pounds a piece, white within like paſte, and very fragrant: Peaches yellow and white very delicate: Grapes grow not there, but are brought from other places dried very good, and Wine alſo, but not ſo eſteemed in thoſe parts, that of Rice and Spices contenting them. Euery day from the Ocean is brought vp the Riner (which is the ſpace of fiue and twentie miles) great quantitie of fiſh, beſides that of the Lake, ſo much as a man would thinke would neuer be bought, and yet in a few houres is gone. All thoſe Market-places are encompaſſed with high houſes, and vnderneath are ſhops of Artificers, and all ſort of Merchandiſes, Spiceries, Iewels, Pearles, and in ſome onely Rice-wine. Many ſtreets anſwere one another in the ſaid Market-places. In ſome of them are many Baths of cold waters accommodated with attendants of both ſexes, a thing which from children they vſe themſelues vnto. There are chambers alſo in the ſaid Baths with hot waters for ſtrangers which are not accuſtomed to the cold waters. They waſh euery day; neither doe they eat before they haue waſhed.

Ten Market places.

The high ſtreet

The mayne Chanell.

The Markets.

Peares of ten pound.

Trades of diuers ſorts.

In other ſtreets are mercenarie Proſtitutes in ſuch number, that I dare not report it: and not onely neere the Market-places, where they haue their places appointed, but thorow all the Citie they ſtand very pompouſly with great odours, many ſeruants, and their houſes adorned. Theſe are very practike in making ſports, and daliances, and ſweeteſt pleaſures rauiſhing (*fooles*) forth of themſelues. In other ſtreets are the Phyſicians, the Aſtrologers, they which teach to reade and write, and infinite other Trades. At each end of euery Market-place is a Palace, where Lords and Gouernours are appointed by the King to determine difficulties which happen betwixt Merchants or others, as alſo to looke to the Guards on the Bridges, puniſhing the negligent. Alongſt the principall Street (whereof wee ſpake) on both ſides are great Palaces with Gardens; and neere them houſes of Artificers, and ſuch multitudes of people continually going to and fro, that a man would wonder whence ſuch multitudes ſhould bee prouided of victuals. And Maſter *Marco* learned of an officer of the Cuſtome-houſe in *Quinſai*, that by reckonings apeared the daily expence of Pepper in *Quinſai*, to be three and fortie *Some*, and euery Soma is two hundred twentie three pounds. Hence may be gheſſed the quantitie of Victuals, Fleſh, Wine, Spiceries, were there ſpent.

A ſaucy Citie.

The Inhabitants are Idolaters, ſpend Paper money, are white and faire complexion, apparelled for the moſt part in Silke, which growes in all that Territorie abundantly, beſides that which is brought from other places. There are twelue principall myſteries, each of which haue one thouſand ſhops; and in each ſhop or ſtanding, are ten men, fifteene, or twentie at worke, and in ſome fortie vnder one Maſter. The rich Maſters doe no worke with their hands, but ſtand ciuilly adorned, or rather pompouſly, eſpecially their wiues, with Iewels inualuable. And although the antient Kings ordayned, that the child ſhould bee of the fathers Trade; yet the

The *Quinſaian* Citizens and their conditions.

rich

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rich are permitted not to worke, but to keepe shop, and men working in the same Trade. Their Houses are well ordered, and wrought richly, adorned with Pictures and other stupendious costs. The Natiues are peaceable, know not to manage Armes, nor keepe them in their Houses: nor is there strife and debate amongst them. They make their workes with great sinceritie. They loue in such amitie, that one Street seemes as one House, without jealousies of their Wiues, which they hold in great respect, and it would be reputed great disgrace to speake a dishoneſt word to a married Woman. They entertayne Merchant-strangers kindly, both in their houses, and with best aduice for their affaires. But they are loth to see Souldiers and the Guards of the Grand *Can*, as by whom they are bereft of their naturall Lords and Kings. Great neighbourhood.

About the Lake are built faire Buildings and great Palaces of the chiefe men: and Temples of their Idols with Monasteries of many Monkes. In the midst of the Lake are two Ilands, vpon each of which is a Palace with incredible numbers of Roomes; whither they resort vpon occasions of Marriages or other Feasts; where Prouisions of Vessels, Naperie, and other things are maintayned in common for such purposes, one hundred sometime accommodated at once in seuerall Roomes. In the Lake also are Boates and Barges for pleasure, adorned with faire Seates and Tables, and other prouisions for Bankets, couered aboue and plaine, vpon which men stand with Poles to make the Boat goe, the Lake being but shallow. Within they are painted; without, are windowes to open and shut at pleasure. Nor can any thing in the World seeme more pleasant then in this Lake to haue such an obiect, the Citie so fully presenting it selfe to the eye, with so many Temples, Monasteries, Palaces, Gardens with high Trees on the Waters, Barges, People: for their custome is to worke one part of the day, and to dispense some part to this solace with their Friends, or with Women in the Lake; or else by Chariots riding thorow the Citie, which is also another of the *Quinsay* pleasures. For all the streets are paued with stone; as also are all the high Wayes in the Prouince of *Mangi*, onely for the Postes is left on the side, a space vnpaued. The principall street of *Quinsay* is paued ten paces on each hand, and in the midst it is full of Grauell with passages for the Water, which keepe it alway cleane. On this street are alway innumerable long close Chariots, accommodated with Clothes and Cushions of silke, for six persons; which solace themselues in the street, or goe to Gardens, and there passe the time in places made by the Gardeners for that purpose, and returne at night in the said Chariots. Pleasures. Stone wayes.

When one is borne, the Father sets downe the print of Time, and with that note goes to the Astrologer to consult of his future fortunes. Of these Astrologers are a great number in euery Market place. They will not celebrate a marriage without such consultation. When one dies that is of note, his Kindred clothe themselues in Canuasse, and so both Men and Women accompanie him to the burning place, playing on Instruments, and singing all the way prayers to their Idols: and being come to the place, cast into the fire many Papers of Cotton, whereon are painted Slaues, Horses, Camels, Clothes of gold and silke, Monies, which they thinke hee shall really possesse in another World; and make such minstrelsie, in conceit of the ioy wherewith the Idols there receiue his Soule, where hee beginneth (they say) to liue anew. In euery street are Towres of stone, whither in danger of fire they vse to carrie their goods, their timber houses being much subiect to such casualtie. Astrologers. Funerals.

The *Can* hath ordayned that on the most part of the Bridges, day and night, there stand vnder a couert ten Guardians, fiue by day and fiue by night: and in euery Guard is a Tabernacle of Wood with a great Bason, whereby they know the houres of the day and night, which at euery houres end the Warders strike to notifie what houre, one, two, &c. beginning at the Sunne rising, and then againe at the beginning of the night. They walke vp and downe, and if any haue a light or fire after the deputed time, they cause him to answer it before the Iustices or Gouernors aforesaid; or if any walke later. If any be not able to worke, they carrie him to Hospitals, of which are exceeding many founded by the Kings of old, with great reuenues, thorow the Citie. When they are well againe, they are compelled to worke. If a fire happen; these from diuers places come to quench it, and to carrie the goods into Boats, or the Ilands, or those Towres: for in the night the Citizens dare not come out, but those who are in danger. The *Can* alway keepeth here store of his best and faithfullest Souldierie, as being the best and richest place in the World. Within a mile of each other are builded Rampiers of wood, where a sound is made to be heard further off, for like purposes. Warders. Clocks. Hospitals. Larums.

When the *Can* had reduced all *Mangi* to his obedience, hee diuided it (being before but one Kingdome) into nine parts, and set a King ouer each, which there administers iustice. Euery yeere they giue account to the *Cans* Officers of the reuenues, and other accidents: and euery third yeere are charged, as all other Officers are. One of these Deputie-Kings is resident at *Quinsay*, who is Gouernour of aboue one hundred and fortie Cities, all rich and great. Nor may this be a wonder, seeing in *Mangi* there are twelue thousand Cities, all inhabited with rich and industrious people. In euery of which the *Can* maintayneth a Garrison, proportionable to the greatnesse and occasions, one thousand, ten or twentie thousand; not all *Tartars*, but *Catayans*; for the *Tartars* are Horse-men, and keepe where they may exercise their Horses. Into *Cathay* he sends Nine Vice-royes in *Mangi*. 12000 Cities, and their garrisons.

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those of *Mangi*, and *Cathayans* hither such as are fit for Armes, of which he makes choise euery third yeere: and sends for foure or fiue yeeres together into places twentie dayes iourney from their Countrey, and then suffers them to returne home, others succeeding. And most part of the *Cans* Receits are this way expended: and if any Citie rebell, he suddenly from the next Garrisons rayseth an Armie to reduce or destroy them. This Citie of *Quinsai* hath in continuall Garrison thirtie thousand Souldiers; and that which hath least, hath one thousand in Horse and Foote.

Fanfurs Palace

To speake now of the Palace of King *Fanfur*; his Predecessors caused to enclose a place of ten miles circuit with high walls, and diuided it into three parts. That in the midst was entred by one Gate; on the one side and the other were great and large Galleries, the Roofe sustayned by Pillars painted, and wrought with gold and fine azure: these were smaller at the entrie, and the further the greater; the fairest at the end, the Roofe fairely adorned with gold, and on all the Walls were painted the stories of the former Kings artificially. There euery yeere on certaine Idoll holy-dayes, *Fanfur* kept his Court and feasted his principall Lords, the great Masters, and rich Artificers of *Quinsai*, ten thousand at a time vnder those Terraces. This dured ten or twelue dayes with incredible magnificence, euery guest indeauouring to present himselfe in greatest pompe. Behinde this middle-most building was a wall, and going out which diuided the Palace; in which was, as it were, a Cloyster with Pillars, sustayning the Porch or Terrace round about the Cloyster: wherein were Chambers for the King and Queene curiously wrought. From this Cloyster was entrance into a Gallerie six paces wide, in length extending to the Lake, all couered. On each side of this Gallerie were ten Courts, answering one another fashioned like Cloysters, each Court hauing fiftie Chambers with their Gardens, and in them one thousand Lasses abode, which the King kept for his seruice, who sometimes with the Queene, sometimes with them, went in his Barge on the Lake for solace, or to visit his Idoll Temples.

Feasts.

1000. Women in 1000. chambers.

The other two parts of the Serraile were diuided into Groues, Lakes, Gardens planted with Trees; in which were inclosed all sorts of beasts, Roes, Bucks, Stags, Hares, Conies: and there the King solaced himselfe with his Damsels in Charets or on Horse-backe, no man entring there. There did he cause *These to hunt* with his Dogs, wearie whereof they went into those Groues, which answered one another ouer the Lakes, and there leauing their garments came forth naked, and set themselues a swimming in the Kings presence. Sometimes hee would take his repast in those Groues being serued by those Damsels, without once thinking of Armes, which *sweet meat* cost *him* the foure *sawce* yee haue heard. All this was told mee by a rich old Merchant of *Quinsai*, whiles I was there, one which had beene an inward familiar of King *Fanfur*, and knew all his life, and had seene that Palace flourishing, into which he would needs bring me. The Viceroy now resides there; and the first Galleries remayne as they were wont, but the Damsells Chambers are ruined; the wall also which encompassed the Woods and Gardens is fallen to the ground, the Beasts and Trees being gone.

Great Parke.

Twentie fiue miles from *Quinsai* is the Ocean betwixt the East and North-east, neere to which is a Citie, called *Gampu*, a goodly Port, where arriue the *Indian* ships of merchandise. Whiles *M. Marco* was in *Quinsai*, account being giuen to the Grand *Can* of the Reuenues, and the number of the Inhabitants, he hath seene that there haue beene enrolled one hundred and sixtie Toman of fires, reckoning for a *fire*, the Familie dwelling in one house: euery Toman contayneth ten thousand, which makes sixteene hundred thousand Families: of all which there is but one Church of *Christians*, and those *Nestorians*. Euery house-holder is bound to haue written ouer his doore, the names of the whole house-hold, Males and Females; also the number of Horses; the names added or blotted out as the Familie increaseth or decreaseth. And this is obserued in *Mangi* and *Catay*.

The Sea *Gampu*.

1600000. households in *Quinsai*.

Those also that keepe Innes, write in a Booke the names of their Guests, and the day and houre of their departure, which Booke they send daily to the Lords or Magistrates, which reside at the Market-places. In *Mangi* the poore which are not able to bring vp their children, sell them to the rich.

The Reuenues which accrew to the *Can* from *Quinsai*, and the others pertayning thereto, being the ninth part of the Kingdome of *Mangi*, are first, of Salt euery yeere eightie Toman of gold (euery Toman is eightie thousand Sazzi of gold, and euery Sazzo is more then one Florin of gold) which will amount to six Millions and foure hundred thousand Duckats. The cause is, that that Prouince being nigh the Sea, there are many Lakes where the water in Summer is coagulated into Salt, wherewith fiue other Kingdomes of that Prouince are serued. There is store of Sugar growing, which payeth as all other Spices doe, three parts and a third in the hundred. The like of Rice-wine. Also those twelue mysteries (which we said had twelue thousand shops) and the Merchants which bring goods hither, or carrie any hence by Sea, pay the same price. They which come from farre Countries and Regions, as from the *Indies*, pay ten *per cento*. Likewise, all things there breeding, as Beasts, and growing out of the Earth, and Silke, pay tithe to the King. And the computation being made in the presence of *M. Marco*, besides Salt before mentioned, yeerely amounts to two hundred and ten Toman, which will bee sixteene millions of gold and eight hundred thousand.

Reuenues of *Quinsai*, & the appurtenances twentie three Millions of Duckats, and 200000.

Customes.

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FRom *Quinsai* one dayes iourney to the South-east are all the way Houses, Villages, faire Gardens, plentifull of Victuals, at the end whereof is *Tapinzu*, a faire and great Citie, in the iurisdiction of *Quinsai*. Three dayes thence South-east is *Vguiu*, and two dayes further may you ride that way, all the way finding Castles, Cities, and cultiuated Places, in such Neighbour-hood, that they seeme to Trauellers all one Citie; all in the same iurisdiction of *Quinsai*. There are great Canes fifteene paces long and foure palmes thicke. Two dayes iourney further is the Citie *Gengui*, faire and great, and trauelling further South-east are inhabited places, full of People and Trades. And in this part of *Mangi* are no Muttons, but Beeues, Buffals, Goates, and Swine in great plentie. At the end of foure dayes iourney is found the Citie *Zengian*, built on a Hill in the midst of a Riuer, which with her parted Armes embraceth and encompasseth it, and then runne one to the South-east, the other to the North-west. They are in the iurisdiction of *Quinsai*, are Merchants, Idolaters, haue store of Game. Three dayes iourney thence, thorow a goodly Countrey exceedingly inhabited, stands *Gieza*, a great Citie, the last of *Quinsai* Kingdome, after which you enter into another Kingdome of *Mangi*, called *Concha*. (The principall Citie thereof is *Fugiu*) by the which you trauell, six dayes iourney South-east, thorow Hills and Dales, alway finding places inhabited and store of Game of Beasts and Fowle. They are Idolaters, Merchants, subiect to the *Can*. There are stout Lions; there growes Ginger and Galingale plentie, with other sorts of Spices, eightie pounds of Ginger for a *Venetian* groat. There is an herbe, whose fruit hath the effect and giues the colour and smell of Saffron, but is not Saffron, vsed in their meates. They voluntarily eate mans flesh, if they die not of sickenesse, as daintier then others. When they goe to Warres, they shaue to the eares and paint their faces with azure; they are all Foot saue the Captaine which rideth, and vse Swords and Launces: are very cruell, and when they kill an Enemie, presently drinke his bloud, and after eate his flesh.

Tapinzu. *Vguiu.* *Gengui.* *Zengian.* *Gieza.* *Concha.* *Fugiu.* Men eaters.

After those six dayes trauell is *Quelinfu*, a great Citie with three Bridges, each eight paces broad and aboue one hundred long; the Women faire, delicate; and they haue store of Silke and Cotton, are great Merchants, haue store of Ginger and Galingale. I was told, but saw them not, that they haue Hennes without feathers, hayrie like Cats, which yet lay Egges and are good to eate. Store of Lions make the way dangerous. After three dayes, in a populous Countrey which are Idolaters, and haue store of Silke, is the Citie *Vnguem*, where is great plentie of Sugar, sent thence to *Cambalu*, which they knew not to make good till they became subiect to the *Can*; in whose Court were *Babylonians*, which taught them to refine it with ashes of certayne Trees; they before onely boyling it into a blacke paste. Fifteene miles further is *Cangiu*, still in the Realme of *Concha*: and here the *Can* keepeth an Armie in readinesse for guard of the Countrey. Thorow this Citie passeth a Riuer a mile broad, fairely built on both sides, and stored with Ships of Sugar and other lading. This Riuer disembokes from hence fiue dayes iourney South-east, at *Zaitum*, a Sea Port, from whence the rich Ships of *India* come to this pleasant and fertile Citie, as is the way betwixt, in which are Trees or Shrubs of *Camfire*.

Quelinfu. Hayrie Hens. *Vnguem.* Sugar. *Cangiu.*

Zaitum is a famous Port, where many Ships arriue with merchandise, thence dispersed thorow all *India*. There is such store of Pepper, that the quantitie which comes to *Alexandria* to the West, is little to it, and as it were one of a hundreth: the concourse of Merchants is incredible, it being one of the most commodious Ports of the World, exceeding profitable to the *Can*, which Custometh ten of the hundreth of all merchandise. They pay so much for hire of ships also that there is not aboue one halfe of their merchandise remayning entire to themselues, and yet is that moitie very gainfull to them. The Citie is Idolatrous, giuen to pleasure; in it is much embroiderie and Arras worke. The Riuer is great, very wide and swift, and one arme of it goeth to *Quinsai*, at the parting of which is *Tingui* situate, where Porcelane dishes are made (as I was told) of a certaine Earth which they cast vp in great Hills, and so let lie to all weathers for thirtie or fortie yeeres without stirring: after which refining by time, they make Dishes, paint them and then put them in the Furnace. You may there haue eight Dishes for one *Venetian* Groat. In this Kingdome of *Concha* the *Can* hath as great Reuenue almost as of the Kingdome of *Quinsai*. In these two *M. Marco* was, and in none of the other nine Kingdomes of *Mangi* (in all which is one speech vsed, with varietie of Dialect, and one sort of writing) and therefore will speake no more of them; but in the next Booke discourse of *India* the Greater, the Middle, and the Lesse, in which hee was both in the seruice of the *Can*, and also in his returne with the Queene to *Argon*.

Zaitum. *Tinguy*, where Porcelane is made.

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§. IX.

The Ships of India *described, the Ile of* Zipangu, *the Sea* Chin, *and World of Ilands, the two* Iauas, Zeilan *and other Ilands, with the rarities therein.*

Here begins the third book of *M. Polo*.

Ships of *India*.

WE will now enter into *India* and begin with their Ships, which are made of Firre, and the Zapino Tree, with one deck, on which are twentie Cabbins (or lesse, as the Ships are in quantitie) each for one Merchant. They haue a good Roother, and foure Masts with foure Sailes, and some two Masts, which they erect or take downe at pleasure. Some greater Ships haue thirteene *Colti*, or diuisions, on the inside made with boards inchased, that if by blow of a Whale or touch on a Rocke water gets in, it can goe no further then that diuision; which being found is soone mended. They are all double, that is, haue two course of boards one within the other, and are well calked with Ocam, and nayled with Iron, but not pitched (for they haue no Pitch) but anointed with the Oile of a certayne Tree mixed with Lime and Hemp beaten small, faster then Pitch or Lime. The greater ships haue three hundred Mariners, others two hundred, one hundred and fiftie, as they are in bignesse, and from fiue to six thousand bags of Pepper. And they were wont to be greater then now they are; the Sea hauing broken into Ports and Ilands, that the defect of water, in some places, causeth them to build lesse. They vse also Oares in these Ships, foure men to an Oare; and the greater Ships haue with them two or three ships lesse, able to carry a thousand bags of Pepper, hauing sixtie or more Mariners, which lesse ships serue sometimes to tow the greater. They haue also with them ten small Boats for fishing and other seruices, fastned to the sides of the greater ships, and let downe when they please to vse them. Also they sheath their ships after a yeeres vsage, so that then they haue three course of boards; yea proceed on in this manner sometimes till there bee six courses, after which they breake them vp. Hauing spoken of the ships, we will speake of *India*, and first of certayne Ilands.

Zipangu.

Zipangu is an Iland in the East, one thousand and fiue hundred miles distant from the shoares of *Mangi*, very great, the people white and faire, of gentle behauiour, in Religion Idolaters, and haue a King of their owne. They haue gold in great store, for few Merchants come thither, and the King permits no exportation of it. And they which haue had commerce there tell of the Kings house couered with Gold, as Churches here with Lead, gilded Windowes, Floores of gold: there are many Pearles. Once; the fame of these riches made *Cublai Can* to send to conquer it, two Barons, with a great fleet of ships, one named *Abbaccatan*, the other *Vonsancin*, which going from *Zaitum* and *Quinsai* arriued there; but falling out betwixt themselues, could take but one Citie, and there beheaded all they tooke saue eight persons, which by an inchanted precious stone inclosed in the right arme betwixt the skinne and flesh, could not bee wounded with Iron; whereupon, with woodden Clubs, at the command of the two Barons they were slaine. It hapned one day that a Northerne winde made great danger to the ships there riding, so that some were lost, some returned further into Sea, and others with the two Leaders and other Principals returned home. Out of many broken ships some escaped by boards, and swimming on an Iland not inhabited foure miles off *Zipangu*, and were about thirtie thousand, without prouisions of victuals or Armes, against whom the *Zipanguanders*, after the Tempest was calmed, set out a fleet of ships and an Armie. These comming on Land to seeke the wracked *Tartars* without order, gaue occasion to the *Tartars* to wheele about, the Iland (being high in the midst) and to get vnseene to their ships, which were left vnmanned with the Streamers displaid: and with them they went to the chiefe Citie of *Zipangu*, where they were admitted without suspicion, and found few others but Women. The King of *Zipangu* besieged them six moneths, and they hauing no reliefe yeelded themselues, their liues saued: this happened *An.* 1264. The *Can* for this disorder of his two Commanders, cut off the head of one, and sent the other to a saluage Iland, called *Zorza*, where hee causeth Offenders to die, by sewing them, their hands bound, in a new-flayed hide of a Buffall, which drying shrinketh so as it puts them in a little-ease to a miserable death. The Idols in this and the adioyning Ilands are made with heads of Kine, Swine, Dogs, and other fashions more monstrous, as with faces on their shoulders, with foure, ten, or an hundred hands (some, and to these they ascribe most power and doe most reuerence) and say, that so they learned of their Progenitors. They sometimes eate the Enemies which they take, with great ioy, and for great dainties.

De magnis maioris golden fables; and make difference betwixt his owne Relations and those which he had at the second hand: although it be true of much gilding in *Edoo sup. l. 4. c. 1. & 3.*

This punishment the *Mogol* vsed to *Cursoroons* Captaines: and in many things you shall see Sir *T. Roe* and our *Mogol* Relations agree with these of *Polo*: the *Mogol* being of *Tartar* originall.

Note for *China*. *Cin* in *Italian* is pronounced *Chin*.

The Sea in which this Iland standeth, is called the Sea of *Cin* or *Chin*, that is the Sea against *Mangi*: and in the language of that Iland, *Mangi* is called *Chin*: which Sea is so large, that the Mariners and expert Pilots which frequent it, say, that there are seuen thousand foure hundred and fortie Ilands therein, the most part inhabited, and that there growes no Tree which yeelds not a good smell, and that there growes many Spices of diuers kindes, especially *Lignum Aloes*, and Pepper blacke and white. The ships of *Zaitum* are a yeere in their voyage, for they goe in Winter and returne in Summer, hauing Windes of two sorts, which keepe their seasons. And

The Monsons.

this

this Countrey is farre from *India*. But I will leaue them (for I neuer was there, nor are they subiect to the *Can*) and returne to *Zaitum*. From hence sayling South-westward one thousand fiue hundred miles, passing a Gulfe, called *Cheinan* (which continues two moneths sayling to the Northward, still confining on the South-east of *Mangi*, and elsewhere with *Anin*, and *Teloman*, and other Prouinces before named) within it are infinite Ilands, all in manner inhabited. In them is found store of Gold, and they trade one with the other. This Gulfe seemes another World.

After one thousand and fiue hundred miles sayling ouerthwart this Gulfe, is the Countrey *Ziamba*, rich and great, hauing a King and Language proper, Idolaters, and paying tribute to the Grand *Can*, of twentie Elephants, and *Lignum Aloes* in great quantitie yeerely. *Anno* 1268. the *Can* hearing of the riches of this Iland sent thither *Sagatu* with an Armie, to inuade it. *Accambale* the King thereof was old, and made this composition of tribute. There are many Woods of blacke Ebonie. *Ziamba.*

Sayling thence betwixt the South and South-east one thousand & fiue hundred miles, is *Iana*, supposed by Mariners, the greatest Iland in the World, aboue three thousand miles in circuit, vnder a King which payeth tribute to none, the *Can* not offering to subiect it for the length and danger of the voyage. The Merchants of *Zaitum* and *Mangi* fetch thence store of Gold and Spices. South and South-westward sixe hundred miles from *Iana* are two Ilands, one *Sondur*, which is the greater; the other *Condur*, lesse, both desolate. Fifty miles South-east from them is a Prouince of firme land, very rich and great, named *Lochac*, the people Idolaters, hauing a Language and King peculiar. There growes Brasill-wood in great quantitie, store of Gold, Elephants, wilde beasts, and fowle, a fruit called Berci, as great as Limons, very good. The place is mountainous and sauage, and the King permits not many to come thither, lest they should know his secrets. There is store of Porcelane shells for money transported to other places. *Iana maior*, I suppose this is *Borneo*, and *Iana minor* that which still is called *Iana*.

Fiue hundred miles Southward from *Lochac* is the Ile *Pentan*, a sauage place, which produceth in all the Woods sweet Trees: sixtie miles of the way the Sea is in many places but foure fathoms: after which being sayled to the South-east, thirtie miles further is the Iland and Kingdome of *Malaiur*, which hath a peculiar King and Language to it selfe; and here is much Merchandise of Spices. From *Pentan* one hundred miles South-east is *Iana* the lesse, encompassing about two thousand miles, and hath in it eight Kingdomes, and as many Languages. They are Idolaters, haue store of Treasure, Spices, Ebony, Brasill, and are so farre to the South, that the North Starre cannot there be seene. Master *Marco* was in sixe of those Kingdomes, of which shall here be spoken, leauing the other two, which he saw not. *Lochac*, A South Continent, if true. *Pentan*. *Malaiur*. *Iana minor*, in which are eight Kingdomes. The *Mahometans* by commerce first, and after by conquests & religion haue here altered all things, both Names, Peoples, and Rites; that hardly they can now be designed, and reconciled to later names.

One of those eight Kingdomes is, *Felech*: here the Idolaters by frequent Trade of *Saracens* are conuerted to the Law of *Mahomet*, in the Cities; the Mountainers being beastly, eating mans flesh and all impure food; and worship all day what they first see in the morning. Next to that is *Basma*, which hath a Language by it selfe; they liue without Law, like beasts, and sometimes send Hawkes to the *Can* (who challengeth all the Iland) for Presents. They haue wilde Elephants, and Vnicornes much lesse then Elephants, like the Buffals in haire. Their feet are like Elephants feet. They haue one horne in the midst of the fore-head and hurt no bodie therewith; but with the tongue and knee. For on their tongue are certaine long prickles and sharpe, and when they hurt any, they trample on him, and presse him downe with their knee, and then wound him with their tongue. The head is like to a wilde Boares, which hee carries downwards to the ground; and they loue to stand in the mire, and are filthie beasts, and not such as they (Vnicornes) are said to be in our parts, which suffer themselues to be taken of Maidens, but quite contrarie. They haue many Apes, and of diuers fashions. They haue Gosshawkes all blacke as Rauens, great, and good for prey. There are certaine small Apes faced like men, which they put in Boxes, and preserue with Spices, and sell them to Merchants, who carrie them thorow the World for *Pigmeys*, or little men. Vnicornes, or rather some kind of Rhinoceros. *Pigmeys* how made.

Samara is the next Kingdome where Master *Marco* stayed fiue moneths against his will, forced by ill weather. There none of the Starres of *Charles wane* are seene. Hee descended once on land with two thousand people, and there fortified for that fiue moneths, for feare of those brutish man-eaters, and traded meane while with them for victuals. They haue excellent Fish, Wine of the Date-tree, very medicinall for Phtisicke, Dropsie, diseases of the Spleene; some white, some red; and *Indian Nuts* as big as a mans head, the middle whereof is full of a pleasant liquor, better then Wine: they eat all flesh without any difference. *Samara*. See of this Wine (*Taddy*) in Master *Terry* pag. 1469 &c Coco-nuts.

Dragoian is another of those Kingdomes, claymed by the *Can*, hauing a proper King and Language. I was told of an abominable custome, that when one is sicke, they send to enquire of the Sorcerers whether hee shall scape; if the Deuils answere, No; the kindred send for some whose office it is, to strangle the sicke partie, after which they cut him in pieces, and the kindred eat him with great iollity, euen to the marrow of the bones, For (say they) if any substance of him should remayne, wormes would breed thereof, which would want food, and so die, to the great torture of the soule of the deceased. The bones they after take and carrie into some Caue in the hils, that no beast may touch them. If they take any stranger they also eat him. *Dragoian*.

Lambri

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Lambri. *Lambri* is a fifth Kingdome of *Iaua* in which is store of Brasil, of the seeds whereof Master *Marco* brought to *Venice*, and sowed them, but in vayne, the soyle being too cold. Some men (the most) in this Kingdome haue tayles more then a palme long, like Dogs, but not hairy; and these dwell in the Mountaines out of Cities. They haue Vnicornes in great plentie, and chase of beasts and fowles.

Fansur. *Fansur*, the sixth Kingdome hath the best Camfire, which is sold weight for weight with Gold. In that Prouince they take meale out of great and long trees, as great as two men can fathome, whence taking the thinne barke and wood about three fingers thicke, the pith within is meale, which they put in water, and stirre well, the lightest drosse swimming, and the purest setling to the bottome; and then the water being cast away, they make thereof paste, of which Master *Marco* brought to *Venice*, tasting like Barley bread. The wood of this tree throwne into the water sinkes like Iron, whereof they make Lances, but short, for the long would be too heauie to beare: these they sharpen, and burne at the tops, which so prepared will pierce an Armour sooner then if they were made of Iron.

Sagu, see in Sir F. Drake, and other *Indian* stories.

Heauie Wood.

About one hundred and fiftie miles from *Lambri*, saying Northwards, are two Ilands, one called *Nocueran*, in which they liue like beasts, goe all naked, men and women, and worship Idols, haue excellent Trees, Cloues, Sanders white and red, *Indian* Nuts, Brasil, and other Spices; the other, *Angaman*, sauage as the former, and I was told, they had Dogs heads and teeth.

Nocueran.

Angaman.

Zeilan. Saying hence one thousand miles to the West, and a little to the North-west, is *Zeilan*, two thousand and foure hundred miles in circuit, and of old encompassed three thousand and sixe hundred miles, as is seene in the Maps of the Mariners of those parts, but the North winds haue made a great part of it Sea. It is the best Iland of the World. The King is named *Senderaz*. The men and women are Idolaters, goe naked (saue that they couer their priuities with a cloth) haue no Corne, but Rice, and Oyle of Sesamino, Milke, Flesh, Wine of trees, abundance of Brasill, the best Rubies in the World, Saphires, Topazes, Amathists, and other Gems. The King is said to haue the best Rubie in the World, one palme long, and as big as a mans arme, without spot, shining like a fire, not to be bought for money. *Cublai Can* sent and offered the value of a Citie for it, but the King answered, he would not giue it for the treasure of the world, nor part with it, hauing beene his Ancestours. The men are vnfit for warres, and hire others when they haue occasion.

A glorious Rubie.

§. X.

Of the firme Land of the Greater India.

Malabar. FRom *Zeilan* saying sixtie miles to the West is the great Prouince of *Malabar*, which is not an Iland, but firme Continent, called *India the greater*, the richest Prouince in the World. There are in it foure Kings, the chiefe of which is *Senderbandi*, in whose Kingdome they fish for Pearles, to wit, betwixt *Malabar* and *Zeilan*, in a Bay where the Sea is not aboue ten or twelue fathome, in which diuers descend, and in bags or nets tyed to their bodies bring vp the Oysters in which they are. And because there are great fishes which kill the Fishermen, they hire certaine *Bramines* to charme them (being skilfull to charme all sorts of beasts also and birds) and these haue the twentieth, the King the tenth. These Oysters are found all Aprill, and till the midst of May, and not else: in September they finde them in a place aboue three hundred miles off, and till the midst of October. The King goeth as naked as the rest, saue that he weareth some honorable Ensignes, as a Coller of precious stones about his necke, and a threed of Silke to his breast with one hundred and foure faire Pearles (as Beads) to number his Prayers, of which he must daily say so many to his Idols: like Bracelets he weareth on three places of his armes, and likewise on his legs; and on his fingers also and toes. The prayers which he sayth are *Pacauca, pacauca, pacauca*, one hundred and foure times. This King hath one thousand women, and if any please his sense he takes her; as one he did from his brother, whence warres had followed, but the mother threatning to cut off her breasts which had nourished them, if they proceeded, stayed the broyle. He hath many Horsemen for his Guard which alway accompanie him, who when the King dies, throw themselues voluntarily into the fire wherein he is burned to doe him seruice in the next World. This and his brethren the Kings of *Malabar* buy their Horses from *Ormus*, and other parts. The Countrey breeds none, and if it happens sometimes, yet are they there bred ill-fauoured and naught. Condemned persons will offer themselues to die in honour of such an Idoll, which is performed with twelue Kniues, and twelue wounds in diuers parts of the bodie, at euery blow, saying, *I kill my selfe in honour of that Idol*, and the last he thrusts in his heart; and then is burned by his kindred. The wiues also cast themselues into the fire with their husbands; they being disreputed which refuse it.

See my *Pilg. l. 5. c. 12.*

Bread-deuotion.

Most of these following customes are still in vse, as in *Linschoten*, and in my *Pilg. l. 5.* is seene.

They worship Idols, and most of them Beeues, and would not eat of so holy flesh as Beefe, for

for all the World. There are some called *Gaui*, which eate those Beeues which dye alone, may not kill them, and dawbe ouer their houses with Oxe dung. These *Gaui* are of the Posteritie of those which slue Saint *Thomas*, and cannot enter the place where his bodie is, if ten men should carrie them. They sit on Carpets on the ground in this Kingdome, they haue no Corne but Rice, are no Warriours, kill no beasts, but when they will eat any get the *Saracens* to doe it, or other people; wash twice a day, morning and euening both men and women, and will not otherwise eate; which they which obserue not, are accounted Heretikes. They touch not their meat with the left hand, but vse that hand only to wipe, and other vncleane offices. They drinke each in his owne pot, and will not touch another mans pot, nor suffer their owne to touch their mouth, but hold it ouer and powre it in. To strangers which haue no pot they powre drinke into his hands to drinke with them. Iustice is seuerely executed for Crimes, and Creditors may encompasse their Debtors with a Circle, which he dares not passe till hee hath paid or giuen securitie: if he doth, he is to be put to death: and *M. Marco* once saw the King himselfe on Horse-backe thus encircled by a Merchant whom he had long delayed and frustrated, neither would the King goe out of the Circle which the Merchant had drawne till he had satisfied him, the people applauding the Kings Iustice. Det-circle.

They are very scrupulous in drinking Wine of the Grape, and they which doe it are not admitted to be Witnesse; a thing denyed also to him which sayles by Sea, for they say such men are desperate. They thinke Leachery no sinne. It is very hote, and they haue no raine but in Iune, Iuly, and August, without which refreshing of the Ayre they could not liue. They haue many Physiognomers and Sooth-sayers, which obserue beasts and Birds, and haue an vnluckie houre euery day of the weeke, called *Choiach*, as on Munday betwixt two and three, on Tuesday, the third houre, on Wednesday the ninth, &c. thorow all the yeare set downe in their Bookes. They curiously obserue Natiuities: at thirteene yeares old they put the Boyes to get their owne liuings, which runne vp and down to buy and sell, hauing a little stocke giuen them to begin: and in Pearle-season they buy a few Pearles, and sell them againe to the Merchants, which cannot well endure the Sunne for little gaine. What they get they bring to their Mothers to dresse for them, but may not eate at their Fathers cost. Boyes put to timely shifts.

They haue Idols Males and Females, to which they offer their Daughters, which when the Monkes (or Priests) appoint, sing and dance to cheere the Idols; and diuers times set victuals before them saying, that they eat, leauing it the space of a meale, singing the while, and then they fall to eating in deed, after which they returne home. The cause of these solaces is the household quarrels betwixt the God and his Goddesse, which if they should not thus appease, they should lose their blessing. Their Idols & Votaries.

The great men haue Litters of large Canes, which they can fasten artificially to some vpper place, to preuent *Tarantulas* byting and Fleas, and other Vermine; and for fresh Aire. The place of Saint *Thomas* his Sepulchre, is a small Citie, small frequented by Merchants, infinitely by Christians and *Saracens* for deuotion. The *Saracens* hold him a great Prophet, and call him *Ananias*, that is a holy man. The Christians take of the Earth where he was slaine, which is red, and carry it with them with great reuerence, and giue it mixed with water to the sicke. *Malabar* is by this Author extended to *Choromandel* also.

Anno 1288. A great Prince hauing more Rice then roome to lay it in, made bold with Saint *Thomas* his Church in the roome where Pilgrimes were receiued, but by a Vision of Saint *Thomas* in the night was so terrified that he quickly freed the place. The Inhabitants are black, not so borne, but often anoynt themselues with *Sessamine* Oyle to obtayne that beautie: they paint the Deuill white, and their Idols blacke. The Beeue-worshippers carry with them to battell, some of the haire of a wild Oxe as a preseruatiue against dangers: and therefore such haires are dearely prized.

Murphili or *Monsul* is Northward from *Malabar* fiue hundred miles, they are Idolaters. They haue Diamonds in their hils, which they search for after great raines. West-wards from Saint *Thomas* is *Lac*, whence the *Bramines* haue originall, which are the truest Merchants in the World, and will not lye for any thing, and trustily keepe any thing committed to their custodie, or sell, or barter Merchandice for others. They are knowne by a Cotton threed which they weare ouer the sholder tyed vnder the arme crossing the brest. They haue but one Wife, are great Diuiners, of great abstinence and long life: obserue their owne shadow in the Sunne when they are to buy, and thence coniecture according to their Discipline. They vse to chew a certayne Herbe which makes their teeth good and helpes digestion. There are some Religious of them called *Tingui*, which goe altogether naked, liue austerely, worshippe the Beeue, whereof they haue a little brasse Image on their forehead, and of the Oxe bones ashes make an Ointment, wherewith they anoynt their bodies in diuers places with great reuerence. They nor kill nor eate any quicke creature, nor herbe greene, or Root before it is dryed, esteeming all things to haue a soule. They vse no Dishes but lay their Viands on dry leaues of Apples of Paradize. They doe their Excrements in the Sands, and then disperse it hither and thither, lest it should breed Wormes which must presently dye for want of food. Some of them liue to one hundred and fiftie yeares, and their bodies after death are burned. *Murphili.* *Lac.* *Bramines.* *Betre*, or *Befele*, after called *Tembul* and *Arecca.*

In

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Adams ſepulchre. *Sogomonbarchan* the firſt cauſe of Idolatrie.

In *Zeilan* I had forgot to tell of a high Mountayne, which none can aſcend but by Iron chaines, as I was told, in the top whereof the *Saracens* ſay is *Adams* Sepulchre, the Idolater ſay it is the body of *Sogomonbarchan* the firſt Idol-founder, ſonne to a King of that Iland, which gaue himſelfe to a ſolitarie life on the top of this hill, whence no pleaſures nor perſwaſions could draw him. His Father made an Image after his death to repreſent him, all of Gold adorned with Gemmes, and commanded all the Ilanders to worſhip it; and hence began Idolatry. Hither they come from farre places in Pilgrimage; and there his haire, teeth, and a diſh of his are reſerued, and ſolemnly ſhewed. The *Saracens* ſay they are of *Adam*, which report cauſed the *Can*, *Anno* 1281. to ſend Ambaſſadors thither, who obtayned two teeth, and a diſh, and ſome of his haires by grant of the King of *Zeilan*; which he cauſed to be receiued by the whole people of *Cambalu*, without the Citie, and brought to his preſence with great honour.

Cans ſuperſtition.

Cael.

Cael is a great Citie gouerned by *Aſtar*, one of the foure Brethren, very rich and a good vſer of Merchants: he hath three hundred women. All the people haue a cuſtome to carrie in their mouthes chawing, a leafe called *Tembul*, with Spices and Lime. *Coulam* is fiue hundred miles North-weſt from *Malabar*, they are Idolaters: there are alſo *Chriſtians* and *Iewes* which haue a ſpeech by themſelues. They haue Pepper, Braſill, Indico, Lions all blacke, Parrets of diuers ſorts, all white as Snow, others Azure, others Red, and ſome very little: Peacockes and Peahens much differing from ours, and greater, as are their fruits. They are leacherous, and marrie their ſiſters and kindred. There are many Aſtrologers and Phyſicians. In *Cumari* are Apes ſo great that they ſeeme men: and here we had ſight of the North ſtarre. *Dely* hath a proper King and Language: the people Idolatrous and haue ſtore of Spices. The ſhippes of *Mangi* come thither.

Cumari or Cape *Comoro*. *Dely*.

Pirates, ſtill vſed.

Malabar is a Kingdome in the Weſt, in which and in *Guzzerat* are many Pirats, which come to Sea with aboue one hundred Sails, and rob Merchants. They bring with them their wiues and children, and there abide all Summer. In *Guzzerat* is ſtore of Cotton, the Trees ſix fathoms (or paces) high, and dure twentie yeeres; the Cotton of the old Trees is not good to ſpin, after they are paſt twelue yeeres old, but for Quilts. There are many * Vnicornes: they haue artificiall embroideries. In *Canam* is ſtore of Frankincenſe; it is a great Citie, where is great trade for Horſes. In *Cambaia* is much Indico, Buckram, and Cotton. *Seruenath* is a Kingdome of a peculiar language, Idolaters, Merchants, a good people. *Cheſmacoran* is a great Kingdome of Idolaters and *Saracens*, the laſt Prouince of the greater *India* towards the Northweſt (*vnderſtand the Author according to his iourney, from* China *or* Mangi *by Sea*) fiue hundred miles from which, are ſaid to be two Ilands, one of Men, the other of Women, thoſe comming to theſe, and there ſtaying March, Aprill, and May. The Women keepe their Sonnes till twelue yeeres, and then ſend them to their Fathers. It ſeemes the Ayre admits no other courſe. They are *Chriſtians* and haue their Biſhop, ſubiect to the Biſhop of *Soccotera*; they are good Fiſhers and haue ſtore of Ambar. *Soccotera* hath an Archbiſhop, not ſubiect to the Pope, but to one *Zatolia* which reſides in *Baldach*, who chooſeth him. The *Soccoterans* are Inchanters and great Witches, as any in the world (howſoeuer excommunicated therefore by their Prelate) and raiſe Windes to bring backe ſuch ſhips as haue wronged them, in deſpite of all contrarie working.

* Hereby appeares the Vnicorne hee mentions, is the *Rhinoceros*: for *India* hath no other.

These Relations which follow by relation of others, are of leſſe weight: yea, therefore I haue omitted the greateſt part. I had trouble enough to finde and tranſlate the truth: and for ſuch as loue ſuch heare-ſay-fables, as that of Ruch, &c. let them ſeeke elſewhere.

A thouſand miles thence Southward is *Magaſtar*, one of the greateſt and richeſt Iles of the World, three thouſand miles in circuit, inhabited by *Saracens*, gouerned by foure old men. The People liue of merchandiſe, and ſell great ſtore of Elephants teeth. The Currents in theſe parts are of exceeding force. They tell of Fowles, called Ruch, like an Eagle, but of incomparable greatneſſe, able to carrie an Elephant (*but I am not able to carrie it.*) *Zenzibar* alſo is ſaid to bee of great length, &c. there are Elephants, Giraffas, ſheepe vnlike to ours: the Men and Women are very deformed. I haue heard Mariners and great Pilots of thoſe parts report, and haue ſeene in their writings, which haue compaſſed the Sea of *India*, that there are in it twelue thouſand and ſeuen hundred Ilands, inhabited or deſart. In *India maior*, which is from *Malabar* to *Cheſmacoran* are thirteene Kingdomes. *India minor* is from *Ziambi* to *Murſili*, in which are eight Kingdomes, beſides Ilands many. The ſecond or middle *India*, is called *Abaſcia*. The chiefe King is a *Chriſtian*; there are ſix other Kings, three *Chriſtians*, and three *Saracens*, ſubiect to him: there are alſo *Iewes*. Saint *Thomas* hauing preached in *Nubia*, came to *Abaſcia*, and there did the like, and after to *Malabar*. They are great Warriors, alway in Armes againſt the *Soldan* of *Adem*, and the people of *Nubia*. I heard that *An.* 1288. the great *Abiſſine* would haue viſited *Ieruſalem*, but being diſſwaded by reaſon of *Saracen* Kingdomes in the way, he ſent a Biſhop of holy life to doe his deuotions, who in his returne was taken by the *Soldan* of *Adem*, and circumciſed by force: whereupon the *Abiſſine* rayſed a power, diſcomfited the *Soldan* with two other *Mahumetan* Kings, tooke and ſpoyled *Adem*. *Abaſcia* is rich in gold. *Eſcier* is ſubiect to *Adem* fortie miles diſtant South-eaſt: where is ſtore of white Frankincenſe very good, which drops from ſmall Trees by inciſion of the barke; a rich merchandiſe, &c. Some in that Countrey for want of Corne make Bisket of Fiſh, whereof they haue great plentie. They alſo feede their beaſts with fiſhes. They take them in March, April, and May, &c.

12700. Ilands. *India maior*, *media* and *minor*. *Abaſcia*, or *India media*. *Soldan* of *Adem*. Frankincenſe.

Hauing ſpoken of the Prouinces on the Coaſt, I will now returne to ſome Prouinces more to the

the North, where many *Tartars* dwell, which haue a King called *Caidu*, of the Race of *Cingis Can*, but ſubiect to none. Theſe obſerue the cuſtomes of their old Progenitors, dwell not in Cities, Caſtles, or Fortreſſes, but abide with their King in the Fields, Playnes, Valleyes, and Foreſts, and are eſteemed true *Tartars*. They haue no ſort of Corne, but liue of Fleſh and Milke in great peace. They haue ſtore of Horſes, Kine, Sheepe, and other beaſts. There are found great white Beares, twentie palmes long, black Foxes very great, wilde Aſſes, and little beaſts called *Rondes* which beare the Sable Furres, and *Vari arcolini*, and thoſe which are called *Pharaos rats*, which the *Tartars* are cunning to take. The great Lakes which are frozen except in a few moneths of the yeere, cauſe that the Summer is ſcarſe to bee trauelled for myre. And therefore the Merchants to buy their Furres, for fourteene dayes iourney thorow the Deſart, haue ſet vp for each day a houſe of Wood, where they abide and barter: and in Winter they vſe Sleds without wheeles, and plaine in the bottome, riſing with a ſemi-circle at the top or end, drawne eaſily on the Ice by beaſts like great Dogs * ſix yoked by couples, the Sledman only with his Merchant and Furres ſitting therein.

Caidu and his Northerne *Tartars*.

Tragale.

* Perhaps theſe are a kind of Deere.

In the end of the Region of theſe *Tartars*, is a Countrey reaching to the furtheſt North, called *Darkneſſe*, becauſe the moſt part of the Winter moneths the Sunne appeares not, and the Ayre is thicke and darkiſh, as betimes in the morning with vs. The men there are pale and great, haue no Prince, and liue like beaſts. The *Tartars* oft rob them of their Cattell in thoſe darke moneths, and leſt they ſhould loſe their way, they ride on Mares which haue Colts ſucking, which they leaue with a Guard at the entrance of that Countrey, where the Light beginneth to faile, and when they haue taken their prey giue reynes to the Mares, which haſten to their Colts. In their long continued day of Summer they take many the fineſt Furres (one occaſion of the *Tartars* going to rob them) of which I haue heard ſome are brought into *Ruſſia*. *Ruſſia* is a great Countrey in that Northerne Darkneſſe: the people are *Greeke Chriſtians*, the Men and Women faire, and pay Tribute to the King of the *Tartars* of the Weſt, on whom they border on the Eaſt. There is ſtore of Furres, Waxe, and Minerals of ſiluer. It reacheth, as I was told, to the Ocean Sea; in which are ſtore of Gerfalcons and Falcons.

Region of *Darkneſſe*.

Ruſſia.

To the Reader.

IN this admirable Voyage of Polo, *I confeſſe,* Inopem me copia fecit; *the Tranſlation which I had of Maſter* Hakluyts *from the corrupted* Latine, *being leſſe then nothing* (nimirum damno auctus fui) *did me no ſteed but loſſe, whiles I would compare it with the* Latine, *and thought to amend it by the* Italian; *and was forced at laſt to reiect both* Latine *and* Engliſh, *and after much vexation to preſent thee this, as it is, out of* Ramuſio. *I haue not giuen thee word for word as an exact Tranſlator, but the ſenſe in all things ſubſtantiall, with longer Relations then I haue admitted in others, becauſe many which haue read* M. Paulus, *neuer ſaw* M. Polo, *nor know the worth of the worthieſt Voyage, that perhaps any one man hath written; a man credible in that which hee ſaw himſelfe, in ſome things receiued by Relation, rather telling what he heard, then that which I dare beleeue, and ſpecially toward the end of his third Booke, which I haue therefore more abridged. Pitie it is that time hath ſo gnawne and eaten ſome-where, and ſome-where deuoured vtterly many his names and Tracts, which new Lords and new (Lawes, the* Saracenicall *Conqueſts, eſpecially euer ſince his time) in thoſe parts haue cauſed. And farre eaſier by the* Cans *greatneſſe then, and his employments vnder him, might hee know the World in thoſe times; then in the combuſtions long ſince begunne and ſtill continued, in diuerſified and quarrelling States is poſſible: the* Saracens *quarrelling with* Ethnikes, Chriſtians, *and other* Saracens; *the* Tartars *diuided and ſub-diuided into ſo many quarrelſome Serpentine heads, whereby that hugeneſſe is broken in pieces; the* Chinois *and others prohibiting ingreſſe of ſtrangers, egreſſe of their owne; that I mention not* Ethnike *and* Mooriſh *Diuiſions amongſt themſelues. In the ſame time with* Polo, *liued this following* Armenian, *of whom* Ramuſio *relateth, and this Diſcourſe intimateth that the* Holy Land *being quite loſt, Pope* Clement *the Fift minding to recouer it, was giuen to vnderſtand of helpes which might be gotten from the* Tartars, *and withall of this* Haiton *or* Antonie *a Kinſman of the King of* Armenia, *then liuing a Monke or Frier of the Order* Premonſtratenſis *in* Epiſcopia *in* Cyprus; *who in his young time had beene exerciſed in the Warres betwixt the* Tartars *and* Egyptian Soldans, *by whom he might receiue the beſt Intelligence of* Tartarian *Affaires. He therefore (as hee firſt remoued the Court from* Rome *to* France, *where it abode ſeuentie yeares) cauſed the ſaid* Hayton *to be brought from* Cyprus *to* France *with all his Memorials and Writings of that ſubiect, and being comne to* Poitiers, *cauſed one* Nicolo di Falcon *a* Frenchman *to write in* French, *which the other dictated in* Armenian, *which was done* Anno 1307. *A Copie of this Storie written aboue two hundred yeares ſince came to* Ramuſioes *hand (whereto I here, that I ſay not you, are beholden) whence hee tooke that which concerned the* Tartars, *omitting the reſt, or remitting rather his Reader to* M. Polo. *Betwixt which two ſome difference may ſeeme, but ſo little, that Wiſemen need no aduertiſement thereof.*

See *Tom.* 1. *l.* 8. *c.* 4. §. 3.

One thing is remarkable, that the Author and the next, who in many Geographicall Notes agrees with him, diuide Aſia *into two parts, one called* profound *or deepe, the other the greater, and diuided in the mids*

Haiton and *Mandeuils* agree in many things.

midst by the Caspian *Sea*, *and* Caucasus, *which our* Armenian *cals* Cocas, *which* Alexander *passed not, nor was euer well knowne to the Ancients, who called all beyond that Hill* Scythia, *as wee now call the most of it by a generall name* Tartaria. Strabo * *hath made like diuision of* Asia *into the* inner *and* vtter, Taurus *being the Vmpire, which Hill (with diuers Appellations) beginning at* Pamphylia *runnes Eastwards thorow the midst of* Asia *to the* Indies, *that part to the North beeing called* Asia within (Taurus) *and that to the South* Asia without. *Some ancient Geographers as* Dionysius *mentions, extended* Europe *to the* Caspian *Sea, which most of the Ancients thought to concurre with the Ocean, as the Mediterranean,* Arabian, *and* Persian *doe.* Dionysius *his Verses are worth obseruation,*

The reason of our method in thus ordering our Pilgrimes.

* *Strab. l.* 11. *ad eum Nat. Casaub.*

* *Dionys. Alex. περιηγησ. vid. & Eustach. com.*

Μέσα * γαίης πάσης Ἀσίης ὄρος ἀμφιβέβηκεν,
Ἀρξάμενον γαίης Παμφυλίδος ἄχρι κατ' Ἰνδούς, &c.

They called it *Taurus*, as there followes of the Bull-forme, &c.

Οὕνεκα Ταυροφανὲς τέκμωρ ὀξυκάρηνον ὀρθοῦ,

Hereof we are the more curious, to giue to the more curious a reason of our method in this Worke, who in our former Tome haue first encompassed the shoares of Asia *from the West to the East: and then in the In-land parts haue in the eight and ninth Bookes principally (as Voyages gaue leaue) viewed* Asia *without* Taurus, *and to the South of the* Caspian: *but this* Profound *or* Inner, *more vnknowne part, we surueay here, where we handle the Voyages and Discoueries of those parts of the World, which the Ancients knew very little or not at all. And indeed, how little was* Mangi, Cataio, *or* Tartaria *knowne, till the* Tartars *obtruded vpon the World, a terrible knowledge of themselues, in manner as* Rubruquius *and the former Friers, with these Gentlemen,* Polo *and* Haiton *describe? Yea, how were they by ignorance of following times buried againe, till* Portugall, English, *and other moderne Voyages haue reuiued them, as it were in a resurrection? and that often in new names, as if they had suffered that* μετεμψύχωσις, *so often here rehearsed, and so much credited in many Religions of those Easterne* Asians, *whence it comes that they are hardly knowne to be the same. The Reader must pardon me (or go to the Author himselfe) if I haue here omitted some peices of* Haiton, *which you haue had in* Polo *and others before, specially not so pertinent to our present* Tartarian *subiect. The figures note the Chapters, after the* Latine, *from which* Ramusios *Diuision is much diuided, and we therefore from both.*

CHAP. V.

The Historie of AYTON, *or* ANTHONIE *the* Armenian, *of* Asia, *and specially touching the* Tartars.

§. I.

Of the Kingdome of Cathay, *and diuers other Prouinces of* Asia, *and of the first habitation of the* Tartars: *and of* CANGIVS, *or* CINGIS *his beginnings.*

The largenesse of the Kingdome of *Cathay.*

THe Kingdome of *Cathay*, is the greatest that is to be found in the World, and is replenished with people and infinite riches; beeing situated on the shoare of the Ocean Sea; In the which there are so many Ilands, that their number can no wayes be knowne. For neuer was there any man that could say he had seene all those Ilands; But those of them which haue beene frequented, are found to abound with innumerable wealth and treasures; and that which is there most esteemed, and deerest sould, is Oyle of Oliues, which the Kings and Commanders there cause to be kept with great diligence, as a Souereigne Medicinable thing; And moreouer, in the Kingdome of *Cathay*, are many maruellous and monstrous things, which I forbeare to mention. The Inhabitants of those parts are exceeding wise and subtill, replenished with all kind of skill and cunning, insomuch, that they disdaine the endeauours of all other Nations, in all kind of Arts, and Sciences: saying, that they only see with two Eyes, the *Latines* but with one eye, and that all other Nations are blind. And albeit they are exceeding sharpe-sighted in the exercise of all bodily workes and labours; yet is there not amongst them any knowledge of spirituall things; the men of that Countrey are not bold, or couragious, but more fearefull of death then befitteth such as beare Armes; yet are they very ingenious, and haue oftner had victorie of their enemies by Sea, then by Land: the money vsed in those parts, is of square peeces of Paper, signed with the

Ilands.

Oile of oliues.

Their arrogant presumption.

Effeminate fearfulnesse.

the Kings ſigne, according to which ſigne or marke: the pieces are of greater or ſmaller value; and if they begin by age to be waſted, or worne out, hee that bringeth them to the Kings Court ſhall haue new for them; of Gold and other Metals, they make Veſſels, and other ornaments. Of this Kingdome of *Cathay* it is ſaid, that it is in the beginning of the World, becauſe the head thereof is in the Eaſt, and there is not knowne any other Nation to inhabit more Eaſterly thereabouts; on the Weſt it confineth on the Kingdome of *Tarſa*, on the North with the Deſert of *Belgian*. And on the South-ſide are the Ilands of the Ocean, afore mentioned. See Sir *Iohn Mandeuils* trauels.

2. In the Kingdom of *Tarſa* are three Prouinces, whoſe Rulers are alſo called Kings, the men of that Countrie are called *Iogour*, they haue alwayes worſhipped Idols, and yet doe except the ten Kindreds of thoſe Kings, who by the guiding of a Starre came to worſhip the Natiuitie in *Bethleem Iuda*. And there are yet found many great and noble among the *Tartarians* of that Race, which hold firmely the Faith of Chriſt. But the reſt which are Idolaters in thoſe parts, are of no eſtimation in matter of Armes, yet are they of a piercing wit for the learning of all Arts and Sciences. They haue peculiar Letters or Characters of their owne. And almoſt all the Inhabitants of thoſe parts abſtayne from eating of fleſh and drinking of Wine, neither would they by any meanes bee brought to kill ought that hath life. Their Cities are very pleaſant and they haue great Temples in which they worſhip their Idols. Corne groweth there abundantly, and all good kind of Graine. But they are without Wine, and hold it a ſinne to drinke it, as doe alſo the *Agarens*. This Kingdome of *Tarſa* on the Eaſt-ſide confineth with the Kingdome of *Cathay*, as aforeſaid; on the Weſt it bordereth on the Kingdome of *Turqueſtan*, on the North on a certayne Deſert, and on the South-ſide it adioyneth to a very rich Prouince called *Sym*, which is ſituate betweene the Kingdome of *India* and *Cathaia*, and in that Prouince are found Diamonds. Of the Kingdome of *Tarſa*. Wit and inclination. Manners and Rites. *Sym*.

3. The Kingdome of *Turqueſtan* on the Eaſt ſide is confined with the Kingdome of *Tarſa*, on the Weſt ſide with the Kingdome of the *Perſians*, on the North ſide with the Kingdome of the *Coraſmians*, and on the South it reacheth out to the Deſart of *India*. In this Kingdome are but few good Cities, but there are large Plaines and good feeding for their flockes, therefore the Inhabitants for the moſt part are Shepherds, dwelling in Tents, and houſes that may eaſily bee remoued from place to place. The greateſt Citie of that Kingdome is called *Ocerra*, there groweth but little Barley or Wheate: no Wine at all. Their Drinke is *Curſia*, and other made Drinks, and Milke, they eate Rice and Millet, and fleſh, and are called *Turkes*. And almoſt all of them are of the Sect of wicked *Mahomet*, yet there are ſome amongſt them of no Faith nor Religion. They haue no peculiar Characters of their owne, but doe vſe the *Arabike* Letters in their Cities or Campes. Of the Kingdome of *Turqueſtan*. The Inhabitants Shepherds. *Ocerra*. *Curſia*. *Turkes*.

4. The Kingdome of the *Coraſmians*, is well ſtored with good Cities and Townes, and there are many Inhabitants, becauſe the Land is fruitfull and pleaſant, and wheate, and other graine, is there in great quantitie; but they haue little Wine. This Kingdome is confined with a Wilderneſſe of one hundred dayes Iourney, in length on the Weſt-ſide, it reacheth out to the *Caſpian* Sea. On the North it bordereth on the Kingdome of *Cumania*, and on the South it hath the Kingdome of *Turqueſtan*. The chiefe Citie of that Kingdome is called *Coraſme*, and the people are called *Coraſmians*, being Pagans, which haue neither Learning, nor Religion. But thoſe wich are called *Soldini*, are very fierce in Armes, and haue their Language and Letters, and Ceremonies of the *Greekes*, and make the bodie of Chriſt after the *Greeke* manner, and are obedient to the Patriarkes of *Antioch*. Of the Kingdome of the *Coraſmians*. *Coraſme*. *Soldini*.

5. The Kingdome of *Cumania* is very great: yet by reaſon of the diſtemperature of the Ayre, it is ill inhabited: for in the Winter ſeaſon, the cold is ſo great in ſome places, that neither man nor beaſt can any way liue therein. And againe in ſome places, the heate of Summer is ſo great, that none can endure the ſame, nor the flyes which abound there. This Kingdome of *Cumania*, is in a manner all plaine, and there are no Trees, nor any Wood to bee found therein, vnleſſe it be about ſome Cities, which haue certayne Orchards. The people inhabit in Fields, and in Tents burning the dung of beaſts in ſteed of Wood: This Kingdome of *Cumania* on the Eaſt-ſide, hath the Kingdome of *Coraſmia*, and a certayne Deſert or Wilderneſſe; on the Weſt-ſide is the great Sea called *Pontus Euxinus*, and the Sea of *Tanais*: on the North-ſide it confineth on the Kingdome of *Caſſia*, and on the South-ſide, it reacheth out to a certayne great Riuer called *Etil*, which euery yeare is frozen, and ſometimes remayneth all the yeare ſo hardly frozen, that men and beaſts goe thereon as on Land, on the bankes of that Riuer, are found certayne ſmall Trees. But beyond and on the other ſide of that Riuer, are diuers and ſundry Nations inhabiting, which are not accounted of the Kingdome of *Cumania*, and yet are obedient to the King thereof: And ſome there are which inhabit about the Mountayne *Cocas*, which is exceeding great and high. The *Aſtures* and other rauenous Birds, breeding in that Mountayne, are all white, and that Mountayne is ſeated betweene two Seas; for on the Weſt is the great *Euxine* Sea, and the *Caſpian* Sea on the Eaſt, which *Caſpian* Sea hath no entrance into the Ocean, but is as a Lake which only for his greatneſſe hath the name of a Sea, for it is the greateſt Lake that is to bee found in the World, reaching from the ſaid Mountayne *Caucaſus*, euen to the head of the Kingdome of *Perſia*, and diuideth all *Aſia* into two Of the Kingdome of *Cumania*. This extremitie comes by the long preſence in Summer, and abſence of the Sunne by Winter. *Cocas* or *Caucaſus*. See after Chapter 47.

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two parts, whereof that which is towards the East is called *Asia profunda*, and that which is on the West is called *Asia maior*, or the greater *Asia*; and many good fishes are in that Lake.

India.

6. The Kingdome of *India* is very long, and situated on the Ocean Sea, which in those parts is called the *Indian* Sea. This Kingdome beginneth from the Confines of *Persia*, and extendeth by East vnto a Prouince called *Balaxia*, in which are found the precious stones which wee call *Balayes*. On the North-side is that long and great Desart of *India*, where the Emperour *Alexander* is said to haue found so many Serpents, and such diuersitie of Beasts inhabiting. In that Kingdome it is that Saint *Thomas* preached the Faith of Christ, and conuerted many people and Prouinces. But because they are so farre distant and remote from other places and parts of Christendome, the Christian Religion is there much diminished, for there is but one Citie that is inhabited with Chrrstians, the rest hauing wholy forsaken the profession of Christianitie. On the South-side of this Kingdome is a very long reach of the Ocean, in the which are many Ilands, but their Inhabitans be all blacke, going altogether naked for heat, and worship Idols like fooles. In those Ilands are found precious stones, Pearles, and Gold, and sundry Spices, and medicinable drugs helpfull vnto men. There is also a certayne Iland called *Celan* or *Zeilan*, knowne in ancient time by the name of *Taprobana*, in which are found Rubies and Saphires, and the King of that Iland hath the greatest and best Rubie that is any where to be found, which when hee is to be crowned King, he holdeth in his hand riding round about the Citie, and is afterwards obeyed of all as King.

Note that of *Alexander* the great, the *Saracens* and *Pagans* haue many and strange Fables, neuer heard of in these parts; as here of *Orlando*, *Arthur*, *Ogerus*, and others. See in *Polo*. *Persia* and *Media* are omitted.

Armenia.

9. In the Land of *Armenia* there are foure Kingdomes: yet haue they alwayes beene subiect to one King only. The length of the Kingdome of *Armenia* beginneth at the Confines of *Persia*, and reacheth out West-ward euen to the Kingdome of *Turkie*. The breadth of *Armenia* begins at the Citie *Miralis*, called the *Iron Gate*, and extendeth euen to the Kingdome of *Media*. In *Armenia* there are many great and very rich Cities, of which *Tauris* is the chiefe: they haue both Characters of their owne, called the *Armenian* Letters, and others also which they call *Haloen*. In *Armenia* is the highest Hill or Mountayne that is in the World, which is commonly called *Arath*, or *Ararat*, and on the top of that Mountayne, the Arke of *Noah* rested first after the Deluge. And albeit for the abundance of Snow which is alwayes on that Mountayne, both Winter and Summer none is able to goe vp the same, yet is there alwayes seene in the top thereof a certaine blacke thing, which men affirme to be the Arke.

Miralis, or the Iron gate, now *Derbent*.

Georgia.

10. The Kingdome of *Georgia* on the East-side, beginneth from a certayne great Mountayne, called *Alboris*, or *Albsor*. There doe inhabit many Nations, and thereof that Prouince is called *Alania*, or *Albania*, from whence the Kingdome of *Georgia* reacheth West-ward on the North-side to some Lands of the Kingdome of *Turkie*; the whole length of this Kingdome of *Georgia* lying vpon the great Sea, and on the South-side it is confined with *Armenia* the Great. This Kingdome of *Georgia* is diuided into two Kingdomes, one of which is called by the name of *Georgia*, and the other knowne by the name of *Albcas*, or *Albcase*: and they haue beene alwaies gouerned by two seuerall Kings. The one of which is subiect to the Emperour of *Asia*; namely, the King of *Georgia*, But the Kingdome of *Albcas* being mightie in people, and strongly situated and fortified, could neuer yet either by the Emperours of *Asia*, or by the *Tartarians* bee subdued. In this Kingdome of *Georgia* is a maruellous strange Wonder or Miracle, which I durst not haue reported or beleeued, if I had not seene it with my eyes. But because I haue personally beene there, and beene made the eye witnesse thereof, I say, that in those parts there is a Prouince or Countrey called *Hamsem*, being in circuit about three dayes iourney, whose whole extent is all couered ouer with such thicke and palpable darknesse, that none can see any thing therein, neither doe any dare to goe into that Land, because they know not the way out againe. Those that inhabit neere about it, affirme, that they haue often heard the sound of mens voices crying, of Cockes crowing, and the neighing of Horses in the Wood, and by the course of a Riuer that runneth out from that place, there appeare certaine signes that there are people inhabiting therein.

Chaldea.

11. The Kingdome of the *Chaldeans* beginneth on the East-side from the Mountaynes of *Media*, and reacheth out vnto *Ninive*. The Inhabitants of *Chaldea* are called *Nestorians*, because they are followers of the Errour of *Nestorius*, and they haue their peculiar *Chaldean* Characters, others there are amongst them that vse the *Arabian* Letters, and are of the Sect of the seducer *Mahomet*.

Mesopotamia.

12. The Kingdome of *Mesopotamia* on the East-side, beginneth at the great Citie *Mosel*, (called of the Ancients *Seleucia*) which is seated neere the Riuer *Tigris*, and stretcheth out vnto the Riuer *Euphrates*, and the Citie of *Robais* (or *Edessa*.)

Euphrates.

Turkie.

13. When the *Turkes* had inuaded the Kingdome of *Turkie*, and possessed themselues thereof, they could not preuayle against the Citie of *Trapezond*, nor the Territorie thereof, because of their strong Castles and other Fortifications, by reason whereof it remayned still vnder the gouernment of the Emperour of *Constantinople*, who vsed yearely to send thither a Ruler or Gouernour as his Deputie there, vntill at length one of them rebelling against him, made himselfe King in such sort that he which now holdeth that Land, is called Emperour of *Trapezond*. The

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Inhabitants are *Greekes*. In the Kingdome of *Turkie* are foure Nations inhabiting; namely, the *Greekes*, *Armenians*, and *Iacobines*, (or *Iacobites*, which are *Christians*, liuing on merchandise and manuring the Earth:) and the *Turkes*, which are *Saracens*, that haue inuaded that Land, and gotten the Gouernment from the *Greeks*. Some of them liue on merchandise, and labouring of the ground inhabiting in Cities and Townes: others keeping in the Woods and Fields, both Winter and Summer being Shepherds, and very good Bow-men. Nations of *Turkie*.

14. *Cilicia* at this day is called *Armenia*, by reason that after the enemies of the Christian faith had gotten that Countrey, and held it a long time from the *Greekes*, the *Armenians* endeauoured themselues so well that they wonne it againe from the *Pagans*. In so much that the King of *Armenia*, by the grace of God ruleth ouer *Cilicia* at this day: In the Kingdome of *Syria* are diuers Nations inhabiting, namely, *Greekes*, *Armenians*, *Iacobites*, *Nesterians*, and *Saracens*. There are also other Christian Nations, namely, the *Syrians* and *Maronines* (or *Maronites*.) *Syria*. *Cilicia*, how it came to bee called *Armenia*. *Cap.* 15. Of the *Saracen* Empire is omitted.

16. The Countrey in which the *Tartarians* first inhabited, lieth beyond the great Mountaine *Belgian*, mentioned in the Histories of * *Alexander*. And there they liued like brutish People without learning or Religion, feeding herds of Beasts, and going from place to place to seeke pasture. And being not exercised in armes they were despised of other Nations, and payed tribute to al. Of these in ancient time there were many Nations which by a common name were called, * *Mogls*, who vpon their encrease were after diuided into seuen principall sorts esteemed more noble then the rest. The first of these Nations was called *Tatar*, from the name of that Prouince wherein they first inhabited: The second, was named *Tangur*: The third, *Cunat*: The fourth, *Talair*: The fifth, *Senich*: The sixth, *Monghi*: And the seuenth, *Tebeth*. And whiles these seuen Nations liued vnder the subiection of their Neighbours, as is aboue said, it happened that a poore old man, being a Smith, saw a Vision in his sleepe; namely, a man armed all in white Armour, and mounted on a white Horse, which calling him by his name, said vnto him, *Changius, It is the will and pleasure of the immortall God, that thou be Lord and Ruler ouer these Nations of the* Mogli, *and that by thee they bee deliuered from the Dominion of their Neighbours, vnder which they haue long remayned: and they shall rule ouer their Neighbours, and receiue Tribute of them to whom they formerly paid Tribute.* *Changius* hearing this Word of God, was repleniſhed with exceeding ioy, and made publikely knowne the Vision which he had seene. But the Rulers and Commanders would not giue credite to the Vision, but rather despised and mocked the old man. But the night following, they themselues saw the same Vision of the Horse-man armed in white, who commanded them from the Immortall God, that they should be obedient to *Changius*, and cause all to obey his command. Whereupon, all the said Chieftaines and Gouernours of the seuen Nations of the *Tartarians*, calling the people together made them to yeeld obedience and reuerence to *Changius*. Then afterwards placing a Chaire for him in the midst of them, and spreading a blacke Felt Carpet on the ground, they set him thereon, and then the seuen chiefe Rulers lifting him vp, did place him in the Throne, or Chaire of State, with great triumph and acclamation, calling him *Can* their first Emperour, and doing him solemne reuerence, with bowing their knees as to their Lord and Gouernour. Of the Countrey where the *Tartarians* formerly inhabited. *Such dreames as the *Saracens* and *Asians* haue of *Alexander*, whom they cal *Bicornis* &c. as before. * *Moals*. *Changius* or *Cingis*.

Now, at this solemnitie of the *Tartarians*, and at the simplicitie of their blacke Cloth, vsed in the creating of their first Emperour, none ought much to wonder, either because haply they were not then furnished with any fairer Cloth of State, or else were so rude and ignorant at that time, that they knew no better or fairer fashion of State. But at this men might rather maruell, that the *Tartarians* hauing since that, conquered many Kingdomes, and gotten infinite riches, (and namely, commanding ouer the Dominions and wealth of *Asia*, euen to the confines of *Hungaria*) they will not yet leaue their ancient and accustomed manner; but at the confirmation of euery Emperour obserue the like order in euery point, whereof I can well be a witnesse, hauing beene personally present at the ceremonie vsed at the Confirmation of one of their Emperours. But to returne to our purpose, *Changius Can* being thus made Emperour by common consent of all the *Tartarians*, determined ere he attempted any thing, to make triall, whether they would all performe faithfull obedience to him, to which end he made certaine Ordinances to be obserued of all. See *sup. c.* 2. *Haiton*, an eye-witnesse of the *Tart.* Coronation. *Changius* ordaineth Lawes.

The first was, That all the *Tartarians* should beleeue and obey the Immortall God, by whose will hee was promoted to the Imperiall Dignitie: which Commandement they obserued and from thenceforth vntill this day haue euer continued to call on the Immortall God in all their occasions. Secondly, Hee willed that all the men that were able to beare Armes should be numbred, and that ouer euery ten should be one appointed, and ouer euery ten thousand a great Commander, and that also ouer euery thousand should bee a Colonell, or Conducter of a Regiment, and he called an Armie of ten thousand Souldiers, a Regiment. He commanded also the seuen Rulers ouer the Nations of the *Tartarians*, that they should forthwith dismisse themselues of their former dignities: which they relinquished immediatly. But another of his Ordinances was very strange and admirable, in which he commanded those seuen chiefe Rulers to bring euery of them his eldest sonne, and each with his owne hand to cut off his head. Which Commandement appearing to bee most cruell and vniust, yet was there none that would any way gainsay it,

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it, because they knew him to be set ouer them by Gods prouidence, and therefore they presently fulfilled it. When *Changius Can* had seene that they were readie to obey him, euen vnto death, he appointed them all a certaine day in which they should be readie to fight. And then they rode against them which bordered next vnto them, and subdued them. Whereby, they which had beene Lords ouer them, were brought into subiection vnder them. After, hee inuaded diuers other Nations, which hee conquered with great celeritie: For hee did all his exploits with a small troupe of men, and was successefull in his enterprises.

Preuayleth in fight against his borderers.

Yet, one day it fell out, that being accompanied with a small number he was encountred with a great troupe of his Enemies, in such sort, that the fight being begun betweene them, whiles he valiantly defended himselfe, his Horse was slaine vnder him. And the *Tartarians* seeing their Lord ouerthrowne, betooke themselues to flight; so that the Enemies being all busied in pursuing of those that fled, and hauing no knowledge of the Emperour, whom they had vnhorsed and ouerthrowne; he runne and hid himselfe among certaine shrubs for safety of his life. Whither when the Enemies were returned, with purpose to spoile the dead Carkasses, and to seeke out such as were hidden, it happened that an *Owle* * came and sate vpon those little trees or shrubs which he had chosen for his couert, which when they perceiued, they sought no further in that place, supposing that the said Bird would not haue sate there, if any man had beene hidden vnderneath. By which meanes in the dead time of the night he found meanes to escape thence, and came by diuers vnfrequented wayes vnto his owne people, and discoursed vnto them what had befallen him. For which the *Tartarians* rendred thankes vnto the Immortall God. And that Bird which vnder God was held to be the meanes of his escape, hath euer since beene held in such reuerence amongst them, that happie is he that can get but a Feather of an Owle, which they weare in their heads with great reuerence. Which I thought fit to set downe in this Booke, that the cause might be knowne for which the *Tartarians* vse commonly to weare Feathers on their heads.

He escapeth by meanes of an Owle. *Iosephus* in his 13. Booke chap. 8. reciteth a like matter of *Agrippa* the great. *Ramusio* hath *vn certo vccello chiamato Allocchio.* The *Allocho* honoured.

But their Emperour *Changius Can* hauing giuen great thankes to God: for his deliuerance out of so great a danger gathered his Armie together, and fiercely assaulted his former Enemies againe and brought them all vnder subiection, and so became Emperor of all the Countries lying on that side of the Mountaine *Belgian*, and possessed them quietly without disturbance, vntill it happened him to haue another Vision as shall after be declared. Neither is it any maruell that in these Histories I haue not set downe the certaine time, because albeit I haue sought of many to know the certaintie thereof, yet could I neuer finde any to instruct me fully therein: the reason thereof I take to be, because the *Tartarians* at the first were ignorant of all Learning, and knew no letters, and so passed ouer the times and memorable accidents without any Record or Register thereof kept, whereby they came afterwards to be forgotten.

A new Victory.

The Author excuseth himselfe.

§. II.

Of CHANGIVS Can *his second Vision and Conquests. Of* HOCCOTA *and his three Sonnes expeditions; of* GINO Can; *of* MANGV Can, *who was visited by the King of* Armenia, *and baptised; of the expedition of his Brother* HALOON.

17. AFter that *Changius Can* had subdued all the Kingdomes and Countries on that side of the Mountaine *Belgian*, he saw another Vision in the night. For the selfe-same Horsman armed in white Armour appeared vnto him againe, saying, Changius Can, *it is the pleasure of the Immortall God, that thou passe ouer the Mountaine* Belgian, *and direct thy course Westwards, where thou shalt possesse Kingdomes and Countries, and subdue many Nations. And that thou mayest be assured that the words which I speake vnto thee are from the Immortall God: Arise and goe with thy people to the Mountaine* Belgian, *to that part thereof which ioyneth to the Sea, there thou shalt alight from thy Horse, and kneeling downe nine times towards the East; thou shalt worship nine times the Immortall God, and he which is Almightie will shew thee the way by which thou mayest easily passe ouer the Mountaine.* At this Vision *Changius* reioyced exceedingly, and arose without farther doubt or delay: because the trueth which he had found in the first Vision gaue him assurance of the other: in such sort that he forthwith speedily assembled his people, and commanded them to follow him with their wiues and children, and all that they had. And so they went forwards vntill they came to the place where the great and deepe Sea did beate against the Mountaine, so that there appeared no way nor passage for them.

The second Vision. *Iosephus* mentions a vision of *Alexander*, one like the *Iewish* high Priest imposing on him his Expedition. The Sea also gaue him way, *Ant. l. 11. & l. 2.*

The fatall expedition.

There presently *Changius Can* as had beene commanded him by God, alighted from his Horse, and all his followers in like manner, worshipping nine times on their bended knees towards the East, they beseeched the Almightie and euerliuing God, that of his infinite mercy and grace he would vouchsafe to shew them the way and passage thence where they continued in prayer all that night. And in the morning arising, they saw that the Sea was departed from the Mountaine,

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taine, and had left them a way of nine feet in bredth to paſſe. Whereat they being all aſtoniſhed exceedingly, and rendring thankes to the Immortall God moſt deuoutly, they paſſed on the way which they ſaw before them, and directed their ſteps towards the Weſt. But as the Hiſtories of the *Tartarians* doe mention, after they had paſſed ouer thoſe Mountaines, they indured ſome hunger and thirſt for certaine dayes, becauſe the land was Deſart, and the waters were bitter and ſalt, which they could not by any meanes drinke, vntill at length they came where they had all neceſſaries aboundantly. In which place they abode many dayes. And there it happened by the will of God, that *Changius Can* grew dangerouſly ſicke, in ſuch ſort that the Phyſicians deſpaired of his recouerie.

The miraculous way.

The ſickneſſe of *Changius Can.*

By reaſon whereof he called before him his twelue ſonnes, and perſwaded them to vnitie and concord by an Example. For, he commanded each of them to bring with him an Arrow, which when he had receiued, and bound them altogether he willed the eldeſt to breake them if he could, which when he had tried, but could not performe, he deliuered them to the ſecond, and then to the third, and then to all the reſt, but none of them could breake them as they were. Then he commanded his youngeſt ſonne to take the Arrowes ſeuerally and breake them, which hee eaſily accompliſhed. Then ſaid *Changius Can* to his ſonnes: In like manner will it be with you; for, as long as you remayne in concord and vnitie, your Empire ſhall continue; but as ſoone as there commeth diuiſion amongſt you, your power is eaſily ouerthrowne. Many other good examples were giuen by him, and gathered by the *Tartarians*, which in their Language they call, *Iaſach*, or *Inſtructions of Changius Can.* And afterwards hee cauſed the wiſeſt and beſt of his ſonnes, called *Hoccota Can*, to be receiued as his Succeſſour in his Empire, before he died: and then reſted in peace. And his ſonne, called *Hoccota Can*, was placed in his Seat.

His allegorical exhorting of his ſonnes to vnitie.

The like Hiſtorie hath *Stobæus ſerm.* 82. of *Scilurus* ſee *Iornands* alſo of the ſonnes of *Attila* diſagreeing.

His death.

But before wee end this Hiſtorie we muſt ſhew how the number of Nine came to be of reuerence and ſacred eſtimation among the *Tartarians:* for of a memoriall of the nine kneelings which they made in the Mountaine *Belgian*, when they worſhipped the immortall God, according to the direction of him that appeared in white Armour, and their way of the bredth of nine feet, through which they paſſed, they hold that number Nine in very high eſtimation. Inſomuch, that if any will offer a Preſent to the *Tartarian* Emperour, it muſt bee preſented in forme of nine ſeuerall things, if hee will haue it graciouſly accepted; and ſo that the number of Nine be offered the gift is reputed happie, which Cuſtome is yet obſerued at this day among the *Tartarians.*

The number of Nine, eſteemed among the *Tartariant.* So they vſe ſtill to the *Mogull. ſup. pap.* 556

18. *Hoccota Can*, who ſucceeded in the Empire, was a man of much valour and wiſedome, which made him very well beloued of the *Tartarians*, who were alwaies faithfull and obedient vnto him. Hee therefore bethought himſelfe in what manner he might beſt ſubdue all *Aſia*, and thought good to make triall firſt of the mightieſt Prince therein before he attemped it himſelfe in perſon. On that enterpriſe therefore he ſent forth ten thouſand Horſe-men vnder the conduct of a wiſe and valiant Leader, called *Gebeſabada*, and commanded him to ſeeke out diuers Kingdomes and States, and when hee met with an Aduerſarie too mightie for him, to returne. Hee marched on, and tooke diuers Caſtles and Townes, and cruelly vſed thoſe which hee vanquiſhed in battell, for terrour to others, putting out their eyes, and taking away their Horſes and Victuals; dealing kindly with the weaker. Thus hee proceeded to the Iron Gate which *Alexander* built at the foot of *Cochas*, and razed it, leſt it might hinder his returne. *Tuannus* the Prince of *Georgia* came out againſt him, and in a Plaine, called *Mogran*, they fought, but the *Tartars* ouercame; and proceeded to *Arſcor* a Citie of the *Soldan* of *Turkie*, who was ſo well prouided to entertayne him, that *Gebeſabada* ſeeing his forces decayed, returned to *Hoccota Can*, then in *Cambalu.* Hee deſiring to ſubdue all *Aſia*, called three of his ſonnes, giuing to each a great Armie, *Iochi* the eldeſt he ſent Weſtward to *Tigris*; *Baydo*, to the North; *Chagoday*, to the South: and ſo diuided *Aſia* among his three ſonnes. *Hoccota Can* made choiſe of another skilfull and valiant Captaine, called *Baydo*, to whom he gaue thirtie thouſand *Tartarian* Souldiers, termed *Tamachi*, or Conquerours, and commanded them to ſet forward the very ſame way that the other ten thouſand went before, and not to make ſtay in any place till they came to the Kingdome of *Turkie*, and to trie whether they could withſtand the *Soldan* of *Turkie*, which was held the mightieſt of all the Princes in *Aſia.* And if haply they found him ſo ſtrong that they were not able to encounter him, they ſhould then forbeare to fight with him, and make choiſe of ſome place where they might reſt themſelues till they had receiued ſupplie of further aide from ſome of his ſonnes which ſhould bee neereſt vnto them, and that afterwards they might with more ſafety ſet vpon him. *Baydo* accordingly with his thirtie thouſand *Tartarians* came to the Kingdome of *Turkie*; and there hee vnderſtood that the *Soldan* which had diſcomfited the firſt *Tartarians* was dead, and that his ſonne *Guiatadin* ſucceeded him. And this man hearing of the *Tartarians* comming, was very much afraid, and got all the Mercenaries that he could to his ſuccour both *Barbarians* and *Latines*, and amongſt others hee had to his aide two thouſand *Latines* vnder his two Captaines, the one called, *Iohn de Liminado*, who came from the Ile of *Cyprus*, and the other *Bonifacius de Molin*, who was borne at *Genua.* The *Soldan* alſo ſent to his Neighbours, promiſing many fauours and benefits to ſuch as would aſſiſt him, by which meanes hauing

Gebeſabada.

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assembled a great number of men, hee went towards the place where the *Tartarians* made their abode, whom they found nothing astonished at his approach; for they manfully gaue him battaile at a place called *Couſedrack*, where they ouerthrew the Armie of the *Turkes*, and ſo the *Tartarians* wonne the Kingdome of *Turkie*, in the yeere 1244.

The *Turkes* ouercome by the *Tartarians.*

19. And after a little time *Hoccota Can* dyed, and a ſonne of his ſucceeded in the Empire, called *Gino Can*, whoſe life was but ſhort, and after him ſucceeded a Kinſman of his, called *Mango Can*, who was of very great power and ſubdued many Prouinces, and at length with a great ſpirit he went into the *Cathayan* Sea to take a certaine Iland, which whiles he held beſieged, the Inhabitants of thoſe parts being very ſubtile and ingenious, ſent certaine Diuers ſecretly vnder water, who continued ſo long vnder the Ship, in which hee was, vntill they had made many holes therein, ſo that the water came into it (no man obſeruing nor ſtopping the leake) vntill the Ship ſunke, and *Mango Can* was drowned therein. Whereupon the reſidue of the *Tartarians* returned home and choſe his brother, called *Cobila Can*, for their Emperour, who raigned ouer them two and fortie yeeres, became a *Chriſtian*, and founded a certaine Citie, called *Ions*, in the Kingdome of *Cathay*, which is reported to be greater then *Rome*; and in that Citie he dwelled vntill his dying day. But leauing him, let vs ſpeake of the three ſonnes of *Hoccota Can*, and of *Haoloon*, and of his Heires.

Of *Gino Can* the third Emperour.

The former Friars mention theſe two, *I. de Plano Carpini* was with the former, and *Rubruq.* with *Mangu.*

Mango Can drowned.

Cobila, or *Cublai Can.*

Ions the great Citie.

20. *Iochi*, the eldeſt ſonne of *Hoccota Can*, rode toward the Weſt with all that people which his Father had giuen him, and there finding fruitfull and pleaſant Countries, abounding in all kinde of riches, he fixed his Tents, and ruled ouer the Kingdome of *Turqueſtan*, and the leſſer *Perſia*, euen to the Riuer *Phiſon*, where his people inhabiting euer ſince, are exceedingly multiplied in perſons and riches, and the Heires of *Iochi* haue ſucceeded one the other in thoſe Dominions to this preſent, and thoſe Countries are at this day ruled by two Brothers, the one called *Chapar*, the other *Doax*, who haue diuided thoſe Countries betweene them, and doe poſſeſſe them peaceably.

Iochi raigneth ouer *Turqueſtan.*

See 47. Chapt.

21. *Baydo*, the ſecond ſonne of *Hoccota Can*, with the *Tartarians* which his Father gaue him, rode towards the North, vntill he came to the Kingdome of *Cumania*, where the *Cumanians* hauing many armed men, oppoſed themſelues, and defended their Land againſt them. But being at length ouer-come, they fled to the Kingdome of *Hungaria*, where are yet many *Cumanians* inhabiting. *Baydo* hauing beaten the *Cumanians* out of their Countrie, went to the Kingdome of *Ruſſia* and conquered it, and poſſeſſed the Land of *Gazaria* (which is in the Northerne part of *Taurica*) and the Kingdome of *Bulgaria*; and by the way which the *Cumanians* had fled, he came to the Kingdome of *Hungaria*. Afterwards the *Tartarians* went towards the parts of *Germanie*, till they came to a certaine Riuer that runneth through the Dukedome of *Auſtria*: where they thought to haue paſſed ouer a Bridge which they found there. But *Frederick* the Duke of *Auſtria*, and others, that bordered neere it, had fortified the Bridge ſo that the *Tartarians* were denyed paſſage. *Baydo* thereupon, incenſed with furie, commanded that all ſhould paſſe through the water, and himſelfe was the firſt that entred, expoſing thereby himſelfe and all his followers to apparant danger of death: for ſuch was the breadth of the Riuer and the violence of the ſtreame, that their Horſes were wearied before they could come to the farther banke of the Riuer. Which the reſidue ſeeing which were not yet entred into the water, they were confounded with griefe, and returned to *Ruſſia*, and *Cumania* which they formerly had conquered, as hath beene declared; and neuer ſince that haue the *Tartarians* attempted againſt *Germanie*. But the poſteritie of *Baydo* hath euer ſince ſucceſſiuely held thoſe Lands which he ſubdued. And he which now raigneth there, is called [a] *Tochai*, and ruleth peaceably and quietly.

The ſucceſſe of *Baydo* Northward.

His victorie ouer the *Cumanians*, ſo called as may ſeeme of the Caſtle *Cumania*, mentioned by *Plin. l. 6. c. 11.* now *Derbent.*

Now *Muſcouia.*

His drowning in *Auſtria.*

His poſteritie.

a Of him after 47. Chapt.

22. *Cangaday* (or *Chagoday*) with thoſe *Tartars* which his Father gaue him, rode towards the South, euen to the parts of *India* the leſſer. There he found many Deſarts, Mountaines, and drie Lands not inhabited, ſo that hee could not paſſe that way: but hauing loſt many of his People, Horſes, and other Beaſts, he turned him towards the Weſt, and after much labour came to his brother *Iochi*, to whom he related what had befalne him: who taking compaſſion on his brother, gaue him and his people a good part of thoſe Countries which hee had: and euer after, thoſe two brethren dwelled together and their Progenie, vntill this day inhabite in thoſe parts, yet in ſuch ſort, that thoſe which deſcended of the younger brother, doe beare a kinde of reuerence to the poſteritie of the Elder, and ſo being content with their Portions, they liue peaceably and quietly together: and that Succeſſor of [b] *Iochi* that now liueth is called *Barach.*

Cangadays enterprize.

b Or rather of *Bagoday* for the Succeſſors of *Iochi*, were named in the 20. Chapter.

23. In the yeere of our Lord 1253. *Haython*, the King of *Armenia*, ſeeing that the *Tartarians* had in a manner ſubdued all the Kingdomes, Countries, and Lands, euen to the Kingdome of *Turkie*, taking Counſell of the wiſe, he reſolued to goe in perſon to the Emperour of the *Tartarians*, the better to inſinuate himſelfe into his fauour, and to make league with him. But firſt he ſent his brother, Lord *Sinibald*, Conſtable of the Kingdome of *Armenia*, to obtayne ſafe conduct for him: who carrying with him many Preſents, and going attended with a goodly companie, diſpatched in good order the buſineſſe for which he was ſent, yet ſtayed hee by the ſpace of foure dayes before he came backe to *Armenia*: but at his returne, he related to the King what he had ſeene and done: who without delay departed in ſecret manner diſguiſed, becauſe it might

Of *Mango Can* the fourth Emperour.

be

be dangerous for him to be knowne in the Kingdome of *Turkie*, through which hee must needes make his iourney: and as God would, at his comming thither, he found that the *Soldan* of *Turkie* was ouerthrowne by a *Tartarian* Captaine; whom hee met with there and made himselfe knowne vnto him, who when he vnderstood him to be the King of *Armenia*, and that hee was going toward the Emperour, entertayned him very honorably, and caused him to bee conducted to the Kingdome of *Cumania*, and beyond the Iron gate. *Haiton* King of *Armenia* his iourney.

And afterwards, other *Tartarian* Captaines caused him to bee conducted ouer all other Countries and Places, vntill he came to [c] *Almalech* (or *Cambalu*) where *Mango Can* their Emperour resided; who reioyced much at the comming of the King of *Armenia*, and the rather for that from the comming of *Changius Can* ouer the Mountaine *Belgian*, no other great Prince had come to meet him, and therefore hee receiued and entertayned him with much honour and loue, and gaue vnto him some of the greatest persons about him to attend, and associate him at his pleasure, and did him many other fauours; But the King of *Armenia* hauing rested certaine dayes, intreated the Emperour to vouchsafe him Audience in those affaires, for which hee was come, and to giue him licence to returne. The Emperour very graciously answered him, that he would most willingly accomplish all his desires, and that it was very acceptable vnto him that he came of his owne accord.

c It seemes *Caracarum* which then was *Almalech*, the King Citie, or *Cambalu*, as *Ramusio* hath it.

The King with good deliberation made seuen Petitions. First, He desired that the Emperour and all his people would be baptized in the Christian Faith, leauing all other Sects. Secondly, That there might be a perpetuall peace and friendship established betweene the *Christians* and the *Tartarians*. Thirdly, That in all Countries which the *Tartarians* either had conquered or should conquer, the Churches and Churchmen, whether secular or religious, might be free and exempted from all seruitude and payments. Fourthly, That he would deliuer and free the holy Land, and the holy Sepulcher of our Lord, out of the hands of the *Saracens*, and restore them to the *Christians*. Fiftly, That he would endeuour the destruction of the *Caliph* of *Baldach*, who was the head and chiefe Doctor of the Sect of *Mahometisme*. Sixtly, Hee required that a speciall Charter might be granted him, that of whatsoeuer *Tartarians* especially such as should be neareste to the Kingdome of *Armenia* hee should bee occasioned to demand aide, they should forthwith be readie to assist him. Seuenthly, He craued that all the Lands of the iurisdiction of the Kingdome of *Armenia*, which the *Saracens* had inuaded, and were or should happen to be recouered by the *Tartarians*, might be restored to the King of *Armenia*, and that such as he should get from the *Saracens*, hee might peaceably and quietly enioy. *Mango Can* hauing considered the Petitions of the King of *Armenia*, calling before him all his chiefe Captaines and Counsellers in their presence, made him answere after this manner. Because that the King of *Armenia* of his owne accord, and not of compulsion, is come vnto vs from remote parts; it beseemeth the Imperiall Maiestie to yeeld him all his demands that are lawfull and honest: Therefore to you, O King of *Armenia*, Wee returne this answere, That wee will accept of all your Requests made, and will cause them all (God-willing) to bee duely accomplished: first, I my selfe being Emperour and Lord of the *Tartarians*, will bee baptised in that Faith which the *Christians* hold at this day; wishing and aduising all my Subiects to doe the like: yet not entending to force any thereunto. To your second, We will and agree that there be a perpetuall peace betweene the *Tartarians* and *Christians*, yet with this caution, that your selfe bee a chiefe Pledge and Suretie that the *Christians* obserue on their behalfe the like peace and amitie towards vs, as wee for our part intend inuiolably to keepe towards them. Wee grant also, That all the Churches of *Christians* and their Clergie-men whatsoeuer, either Secular or Religious, shall enioy their Priuiledge and Immunitie of Libertie and Exemption throughout the Dominions of our Empire, and that none shall molest them any kinde of wayes. Touching the matter of the holy Land, we say, That if we could conueniently we would willingly goe thither in person, for the reuerence we beare to our Lord Iesus Christ. But because we haue many occasions of importance to stay vs in these parts, wee will take order with our Brother *Haloon* for the due accomplishment of that seruice in all points as it behoooueth, for the freeing of the Citie of *Hierusalem* and all the holy Land, out of the hands of the *Pagans*, and restoring it to the *Christians*.

The King of *Armenia* his Demands.
1.
2.
3.
4.
5.
6.
7.

The answere of the *Tartarians*.
1.
2.
3.
4.

Concerning the *Caliph* of *Baldach*, We will giue order to *Baydo*, our Captaine of the *Tartarians*, which are in the Kingdome of *Turkie*, and the rest thereabouts, that they bee all obedient to our Brother, whom wee will haue to destroy the *Caliph* as our capitall and deadly Enemie. The Charter which the King of *Armenia* desireth for assistance from the *Tartarians*, Wee wish it to bee drawne according to his desire, and wee are readie in all things to confirme it. Lastly, whereas the King *Armenia* requireth, That the Lands of his Kingdome, which the *Saracens* had taken from, and haue since beene recouered by the *Tartarians*, may be restored vnto him, we freely and frankly accord it, willing our Brother *Haloon* to see such restitution made without delay.

5. See the 18. and 24. Chapters.
6.
7. *Polo* calls this *Haloon*, *Vlau*.

24. After that *Mango Can* had thus liberally accorded the Requests of the King of *Armenia*, and confirmed them by Charters, he would forthwith receiue the Sacrament of Baptisme, and was accordingly baptised by the hands of a certaine Bishop, who was Chancellor of the King of *Armenia*,

Mango Can with his people is baptised.

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Armenia, and all that were of his houſhold with many other great Perſonages of both Sexes. And then he made choice of ſuch as were to accompany his Brother *Haloon*, about the enterprize of the Holy Land. After *Haloon* and the King of *Armenia* departed, and rode both together vntill they paſſed ouer the great Riuer *Phiſon*; then *Haloon* with his mightie Armie inuaded the Countreyes and Lands euery where, and in leſſe then ſix moneths hee ſubdued eaſily the whole Kingdome of *Perſia*, becauſe it was without a Ruler, or Gouernour, and tooke in all the Countreyes without reſiſtance, euen till he came to the Land of certayne Infidels, which are called *Aſſaſſini*, hauing neither Law nor Religion, but liuing as their Prince and Lord, commonly called * *Sexmontio*, inſtructeth them at whoſe pleaſure and commandement they willingly and readily expoſe themſelues to death. Theſe had a certayne impregnable Caſtle, called *Tigado*, which was ſo well furniſhed with all kind of neceſſary prouiſion, and ſo ſtrongly built and ſeated, that they feared no aſſault. *Haloon* therefore commanded one of his Captaynes to take with him tenne thouſand of thoſe *Tartarians*, which hee had left in *Perſia*, and in no wiſe to depart from the ſiege of that Caſtle vntill hee had taken it, ſo that they remayned at the ſiege thereof, by the ſpace of ſeuen yeares both Winner and Summer, which at laſt was yeelded vp by the *Aſſaſſini*, only for want of clothes, but not for any penury of victuals, or ſcarſitie of any other thing, whiles *Haloon* employed himſelfe in ordering of the Kingdome of *Perſia*, and beſieging the Caſtle of the *Aſſaſſini*, the King of *Armenia* tooke leaue of him to returne, becauſe hee had beene long out of his Kingdome: *Haloon* therefore licenced him to depart, and giuing him many great gifts, directed his Precept to *Baydo*, reſiding in the Kingdome of *Turkie*, which he had ſubdued, that he ſhould conduct him ſafely to the entrance of his owne Kingdome, which in all things he fulfilled, ſo that after three yeares and a halfe of abſence, the King of *Armenia*, through the mercie of Ieſus Chriſt, came ioyfully home into his owne Countrey.

The Voyage of *Haloon* with King *Haython*.

Perſia poſſeſſed by the *Tartars*.

* *Senex de monte*, ſee *Polo* § 2.

Tigado beſieged.

In the *Latine* it is 27. *Ramuſ.* 7 *Polo* hath but 3.

25. *Haloon* hauing ordered the Kingdome of *Perſia* in conuenient manner, went into a certayne Prouince neere to *Armenia*, called *Sorloch*, where he repoſed and recreated himſelfe all the Sommer, and at the beginning of Winter he beſieged *Baldach*, in which the *Caliph* reſided, who was the chiefe Maſter and Doctor of the Irreligious Sect of *Mahometiſme*, for which Enterprize *Haoloon* re-enforced his Army with thirtie thouſand *Tartarians*, that were in the Kingdome of *Turkie*, and aſſaulting the Citie by the ſhoare, hee tooke the ſame without any great difficultie, or delay. The *Caliph* was brought aliue into the preſence of *Haloon*, and there was found in *Baldach*, ſo much Treaſure and Riches as would ſcarcely bee beleeued to bee in all the World beſides; This Citie of *Baldach* was taken in the yeere 1258.

Ha'oon ſoiourneth in *Sorloch*.

The ſiege of *Ba'dach*.

The Citie and *Caliph* taken.

26. When *Haoloon* had diſpoſed of the Citie of *Baldach*, he cauſed the *Caliph* to be brought vnto him, and all his Treaſure to be laid before him, Then he demanded of him whether he had beene Lord of all that Treaſure, who affirming, it was asked againe why hee had not made vſe thereof in procuring the ayde of his Neighbours, and leuyed mercenarie Souldiers to defend him and his Countrey from the power of the *Tartarians*, whoſe anſwere was that hee thought his owne people had been ſufficient. Then ſaid *Haloon* to the *Caliph*, thou art ſaid to be the chiefe Doctor & Teacher of all that beleeue the deceiuing Doctrine of *Mahomet*, & receiueſt rewards and Gifts of them all; therefore ſuch and ſo precious a Maſter muſt be fed with no other meate but with theſe precious things, which thou haſt loued and kept ſo carefully, all which wee giue thee for thy ſuſtenance: and ſo commanded that the *Caliph* ſhould bee ſhut into a Chamber, and that his Pearle and Gold ſhould bee ſet before him, that hee might eate as much as hee would thereof, but that no other meate nor drinke ſhould be giuen him; by which meanes the miſerable wretch ended his life after a miſerable manner. And there was no other *Caliph* in *Baldach* after him.

The Parſimonie of the *Caliph*.

His death amongſt his Treaſure.

27. After that *Haoloon* had ſubdued *Baldach* and all the Countrey round about, hee diſtributed the Prouinces amongſt his Captaines and Rulers as he thought good, giuing charge that the Chriſtians ſhould euerie where be louingly vſed, and be preferred to the gouernment of Caſtles and Cities, and the *Saracens* held vnder ſtreight ſubiection. *Haloon* had alſo a Wife called *Doucoſcaro* diſcended of thoſe Kings that came from the Eaſt being guided by the Starre of the Natiuitie of our Lord, which Ladie being a moſt deuout Chriſtian, was a great meanes of deſtroying the Temples of the *Saracens*, and prohibiting the Solemnities and Ceremonies of *Mahomet*, and finally raſed their Temples to the ground, and brought the *Saracens* in ſuch ſubiection that they durſt not ſhew their heads.

The fauour of *Haoloon* towards Chriſtians.

His Wife.

28. After that *Haoloon* had reſted a yeare, he ſent to the King of *Armenia*, to meete him at the Citie *Robays*, in the Kingdome of *Meſopotamia*, becauſe he entended to goe towards the Holy Land, that hee might reſtore it to the Chriſtians, whereupon, the King *Haython* of famous memorie tooke his Iourney, accompanied with a great Armie both of Horſemen and Footmen, for at that time the Kingdome of *Armenia*, was in ſo good eſtate, that it could raiſe a power of twelue thouſand Horſe, and threeſcore thouſand Footmen, whereof beeing an Eye witneſſe my ſelfe, I can will giue teſtimonie thereof, when the King of *Armenia* was come according to this appointment of *Haplan*, and had conference with him touching the Enterprize of the Holy Land, he aduiſed him that becauſe the *Soldan* of *Halappi*, ruled ouer all the Kingdome of *Syria*,

King *Haython* bringeth ayde to *Haoloon*.

Halappi, or *Aleppa*.

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ria, in which the Citie of *Ierusalem* was seated, the way to get the Holy Land, was first to besiege the Citie of *Halappi*, being the chiefe Citie of *Syria*, which when he had wonne, it would not be difficult for him to subdue all the rest of that Countrey: which aduise *Haloon* liked well, and besieged the Citie of *Halappi* (or *Aleppo*) which he found to be of great strength being well walled and inhabited: therefore with Mines vnder ground, with Slings and other Engines, hee begirt it so straightly, and assaulted it so manfully on euery side that albeit it seemed impregnable, yet in the space of nine dayes he obtayned it. In this Citie they found such incredible store of wealth as would hardly be beleeued, yet there was a Castle in the midst of the Citie, that held out eleuen dayes after the Citie was taken, which at length was wonne by vndermining. So the Citie *Halappi*, and afterwards the Kingdome of *Syria*, was taken by *Haolon* in the yeare of our Lord * 1240.

Baleftri.

Halapo taken.

* 1260. yet both *Latine* & *Italian* haue 1240.

29. But when the *Soldan* of *Halappi* named *Melechnaser* being then in the Citie of *Damascus*, vnderstood that the Citie of *Halappi*, with his Wife and Children in it, was taken, being vtterly destitute of Counsell hee came and cast himselfe at the feet of *Haloon*, hoping thereby that his Wife and Children with some part of his Dominions would bee restored him. But the *Soldan* found himselfe therein deceiued, for *Haloon* sent him with his Wife and Children into *Persia*, that thereby he might enioy the Kingdome of *Syria*, the more securely. These things thus disposed, *Haloon* gaue to the King of *Armenia* a great part of the spoile of *Halappi*, and of the Lands which he had inuaded, whereby the King of *Armenia* was strengthened with many Castles bordering on his Kingdome, which he fortified as he thought good; and after that *Haoloon* had setled the affaires of those Cities and Countries which he had wonne, intending to goe to *Ierusalem* to free the Holy Land from *Pagans*, and to restore it to the Christians. There came to him a Messenger the third day, who brought newes that the *Tartarian* Empire was vacant by the death of his Brother *Mango Can*, and that his comming was earnestly expected to bee his Successor therein, which report made him very sorrowfull: In regard whereof hee could now proceed no further in person, but left ten thousand *Tartars* to keepe the Kingdome of *Syria*, vnder the command of a Captayne called *Guiboga*, to whom he gaue order that hee should conquer the Holy Land, and restore it to the Christians. And so leauing his Sonne at *Tauris*, hee hastened Eastward himselfe by great Iourneyes.

§. III.

Of COBILA CAN *the fift Emperour, of the* Tartarians: *Of the Warre with* BARCHA, *and* Tartarian *quarrell with the* Christians, HAOLAONS *death. Acts of the* Soldan *of* Egypt. *Of* ABAYA *and other Sonnes and Successors of* HALOON.

BVt before he could come to the Kingdom of *Persia*, he heard that the Nobles & Princes had placed his Brother *Cobila Can* in the Imperial Seat of the *Tartars*, which he heard whilst he was at *Tauris*: where he vnderstood that *Barcat* (or *Barcha*) was marching thither with a great Armie, purposing to make himselfe Emperour. *Haoloon* therefore assembled his people and met with his Enemies, on a certayne Riuer which was frozen, where beganne a very great Battaile. But the Ice being broken by the great multitude of Horses and Men, there was drowned on the one side and on the other thirtie thousand *Tartars*; Insomuch, that the Armies on each side returned. But *Guiboga* whom *Haoloon* had left in the Kingdome of *Syria*, and the Prouince of *Palestina* held those Countreyes peaceably, and loued the Christians well, for he was of the Progenie of the three Kings which went to worship the Natiuitie of our Lord. But when he had laboured earnestly to reduce the Holy Land againe vnder the power of the Christians, the Deuill sowed the seed of scandall, and discord betwixt him and the Christians of those parts, which hapned on this manner. In the Land of *Belforte*, which is of the Territory of the Citie of *Sidon*, there were sundry Townes and Villages inhabited by *Saracens*, which paid certayne Tribute to the *Tartars*, on whom some of *Sidon* and *Belforte* made diuers rodes and spoyles killing sundry of the *Saracens*, and carrying others away Captiue with a great droue of Cattle. A Nephew of *Guiboga* remayning neere thereabouts, followed speedily after those Christians that had committed those out-rages to tell them on the behalfe of his Vncle, that they should dismisse their bootie. But some of them vnwilling to large their prey they had taken, ranne vpon him, and slue him, with diuers other *Tartarians* that accompanyed him. *Guiboga* hearing that the Christians had slaine his Nephew, rode presently and tooke the Citie of *Sidon*, dismanteled the walls thereof, and slue some few Christians, the rest sauing themselues in an Iland. And neuer after would the *Tartars* trust the Christians of *Syria*; neither durst they put confidence in the *Tartars*, who were afterwards driuen out of the Kingdome of *Syria* by the *Saracens*, as shall be declared.

The Ciuill warre betweene Haolon and Barcat or Barcha.

See Polo, §. 1. Guiboga of the Kindred of the three Kings that came to worship the Natiuitie of Christ.

Belforte.

He destroyeth the Citie of Sidon.

31. Whiles

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The *Soldans* enterprize against *Guiboga.*

31. Whiles *Haoloon* was busie in the warre with *Barcat*, as hath beene said, the *Soldan* of *Egypt* assembling his Armie came to the Prouince of *Palestina*, and in a place called *Hamalech*, he ioyned battaile with *Guiboga* and his *Tartars*, where *Guiboga* was slaine, and his Armie defeated. The *Tartars* which escaped went into *Armenia*, and by this meanes the Kingdome of *Syria* was wholly subdued by the *Saracens*, sauing certayne Cities of the Christians, which were seated neere the Sea. When *Haloon* vnderstood how the *Soldan* of *Egypt* had inuaded *Syria*, and driuen thence his people, he gathered his Armie and sent to the King of *Armenia*, and to the King of *Georgia*, and the other *Christians* of the East to prepare themselues against the *Soldan* of *Egypt* and the *Saracens*, and when his Armie was in readinesse a sickenesse seized him, of which he languished the space of a fortnight, and then dyed, by whose death the enterprize of the Holy Land had an end. *Abaga* his Sonne held the Dominion of his Father, who intreated the Emperour *Cobila Can* being his Vncle, to confirme him therein, to which he willingly accorded. So he was called *Abaga Can*, and began to reigne in the yeare of our Lord 1264.

Haolons preparing to renew the wars, dieth.

Abaga his Son and Successor.

32. *Abaga* was wise and gouerned prosperously in all things, two only excepted, one that he would not be a Christian, as his Father had beene, but worshipped Idols, beleeuing the Idolatrous Priests. The other, that he was alwayes in warres with his Neighbours, by reason whereof the *Soldan* was long in quiet, and the power of the *Saracens* much increased. Those *Tartars* (or rather *Turks*) which could escape from out the Dominion of the *Tartars*, fled vnto the *Soldan*, seeking to auoid the heauie burthens which the *Tartars* imposed on them. And the *Soldan* dealt politikely, for he sent Messengers by Sea to the *Tartars*, in the Kingdomes of *Cumania*, and *Russia*, and made composition and agreement with them, that whensoeuer *Abaga* should moue warre against the Land of *Egypt*, then they should inuade his Countrey, for which he promised them great gifts, by meanes whereof *Abaga* could not well inuade the Land of *Egypt*, but the *Soldan* could easily without resistance inuade the Christians in the parts of *Syria*, insomuch, that the Christians lost the Citie of *Antioch*, and diuers other places of strength, which they held in that Kingdome.

Bendocar Soldan of *Egypt* inuadeth *Armenia*, *Ramusio* cals him *Bunbocdare.*

33. Moreouer, *Bendocar* the *Soldan* of *Egypt* was so fortunate that he much abased the Kingdome of *Armenia*. For it hapned that the King of *Armenia* with many of his men was gone to the *Tartars*, which the *Soldan* hearing, sent a Captayne of his to inuade the Kingdome of *Armenia*. The Sonnes of the King of *Armenia*, gathering together all that could beare Armes, encountred the *Egyptians* in the Confines of their Kingdome, and resisted them couragiously; but the Armie of the *Armenians* being ouerthrowne, one of the Kings Sonnes was taken, and the other was slaine in battaile. So that the *Saracens* thereby wasted and spoyled all the Kingdome of *Armenia*, and carryed infinite riches thence to the great damage of the Christians, whereby the Enemies power was much encreased, and the Kingdome of *Armenia* wondrously weakned. The King whose endeauour was wholly bent about the destruction of the Infidels, hauing heard this most vnhappie newes of his owne Countrey, busied his thoughts night and day how to afflict the *Saracens*, and oft-times very earnestly dealt with *Abaga*, and his *Tartars* to attempt the ouerthrow of faithlesse *Mahomet*, and the relieue of the Christians. But *Abaga* excused himselfe by reason of the warres, in which he was daily entangled with his Neighbours. The King of *Armenia* seeing that hee could not haue any present ayde of the *Tartarians*, sent and made truce by his Messengers with the *Soldan* of *Egypt*, that he might redeeme his Sonne which was Prisoner. The *Soldan* also promised him that if he restored him a friend of his called *Angoldscar* whom the *Tartars* held captiue, and yeelded vp the Castle *Tempsach*, and some holds of the Citie of *Halappi*, which he had gotten in the time of *Haoloon*, hee would set his Sonne at libertie. Whereupon the *Soldan*, hauing receiued his friend, and the Castle of *Tempsacke* beeing yeelded, and two other Castles throwne downe at his appointment, deliuered his Sonne out of Prison, and restored him accordingly. Then afterwards King *Haython* of famous memorie, hauing reigned fortie fiue yeares, and done much good to the Christians, yeelded vp his Kingdome and Dominion to his Sonne *Liuon*, whom he had deliuered out of captiuitie, and renouncing this Kingdom of the World became professed in Religion, and was called *Macharius*, changing his name (according to the custome * of the *Armenians*) when they enter into Religion, and in short time after dyed in peace in the yeare of our Lord 1270.

He concludeth a truce with the *Soldan.*

* That the *Greeke* Monkes changed their names, appeareth by the example of *Alexander Comneus in Nicet. p.48.6.* and of *Andronicus* the Emperour *in Gregoras, lib.9 p.47* and of *Cantacuzenus* the Emperour in *Calcondilas lib.1.*

34. This King of *Armenia Liuone* was wise, and gouerned his Kingdom prouidently, and being much beloued by his owne People, and by the *Tartars*, he laboured earnestly to destroy the *Saracens*, so that in his time *Abaga* made peace with al his neighbors, who of long time had been his enemies. Then the *Soldan* of *Egypt* entred the Kingdome of *Turkie*, and slue many of the *Tartars*, and draue them out of many Townes. For a *Saracen*, called *Paruana*, being Captaine ouer the *Tartars* that were in *Turkie*, rebelled against *Abaga*, and sought the destruction of the *Tartarians*. *Abaga* hearing thereof, posted thither so speedily, that in fifteene dayes hee rode fortie dayes iourney. The *Soldan* hearing of his comming departed suddenly, not daring to make any longer abode. Yet could not so speedily withdraw himselfe, but that the *Tartars* following swiftly, ouertooke the rereward of his Armie in the entrie of the Kingdome of *Egypt*, in a place called *Pasblanke*. There the *Tartarians* rushing on them, tooke two thousand Horsemen of the

Abaga entred the Kingdome of *Egypt*, and destroyed *Turkie.*

Paruana.

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the *Saracens*, beside much riches, and fiue thousand of the *Cordines* which liued in that Countrie. *Abaga* being come to the Confines of *Egypt*, was perswaded to goe no farther for heat: for that Land is very hote, and his *Tartars*, and their beasts hauing come speedily from farre, could hardly haue indured it, by reason whereof hee returned into *Turkie*, and spoiled and wasted all the Countries that had rebelled, and yeelded to the *Soldan*. But he caused the Traytor *Paruana* with his partakers to be cut asunder in the midst, after the *Tartarian* manner, and part of his flesh to be serued in all his meats, whereof he and his Captaines did eat. Such was the reuenge of King *Abaga* on the Traitor *Paruana*.

Paruana cut asunder and eaten.

35. *Abaga* hauing effected his desires in *Turkie*, and enriched his *Tartars* with the spoyles of the rebellious *Saracens*, he called to him the King of *Armenia*, and offered him the kingdome of *Turkie*, in regard that his father and hee had beene euer faithfull to the *Tartarians*. But the King of *Armenia* being discreet and wise, rendred great thankes to *Abaga* for so great a Present, but excused himselfe from the accepting thereof, as vnable to gouerne two Kingdomes. For the *Soldan* of *Egypt* was in his full strength, and earnestly bent against the Kingdome of *Armenia*: so that hee had enough to doe to prouide for the defence thereof. Yet aduised him to settle and dispose the Kingdome of *Turkie* in such sort ere his departure, that there might bee no feare of Rebellion afterwards: and in any case to permit no *Saracen* to command there. Which aduice *Abaga* accepted of, and neuer after suffered any *Saracen* to beare rule in that Countrey. The king of *Armenia* then desired him to thinke of deliuering the Holy Land out of the hands of the *Pagans*: wherein he promised all his best endeauour: and wished the King to send messengers to the Pope, and to other Princes of *Christendome* for their assistance. So *Abaga* hauing ordered the affaires of *Turkie*, returned to the Kingdome of *Corazen*, where hee had left his familie. *Bendecar* the *Soldan* of *Egypt*, after he had receiued such damage by the *Tartars*, was poisoned, died in *Damascus*: whereof the *Christians* of those parts were very glad. And the *Saracens* very sorrowfull: for they had not his like after, as they themselues commonly reported. For his sonne, called *Melechahic*, succeeded him, who was soone driuen out of his Dominion by one called *Elsi*, who violently vsurping, made himselfe *Soldan*.

King *Liuone* refuseth the offer of the Kingdome of *Turkie*.

Hee vrgeth the deliuering of *Ierusalem* from *Pagans*.

Corazen.

The death of the *Soldan*.

Melechahic his sonne and successor.

Elsi the *Soldan*.

36. The time appointed being come, when *Abaga* was to begin his warre against the *Soldan* of *Egypt*, hee appointed his brother *Mangodanior* to goe to the Kingdome of *Syria* with thirtie thousand men, being *Tartars*, and couragiously to ouercome the *Soldan*, if he came in battell against him: or otherwise to take in the Castles and Holds of the Countrey, and deliuer them to the *Christians*, if the *Soldan* should shun the fight. When *Mangodanior* with his Armie setting forward, was come neere the Confines of *Armenia*, hee sent for the King of *Armenia*, who came presently vnto him with a goodly companie of Horse: so that they entred the Kingdome of *Syria*, and went spoyling and forraging, till they came to the Citie *Aman*, now called *Camella*, which is seated in the midst of *Syria*. Before this Citie lieth a faire great Playne, where the *Soldan* of *Egypt* had assembled his Power, intending to fight with the *Tartarians*. And there the *Saracen* on the one side, with the *Christians* and *Tartars* on the other side, fought a great battell. The King of *Armenia* with the *Christians* ruled and commanded the right wing of the Armie which inuaded the *Soldans* left wing manfully, and put them to flight, and pursued them three dayes iourney, euen to the Citie *Aman*. Another part of the *Soldans* Armie was also routed by *Amalech* a *Tartarian* Captaine, who pursued them also three dayes iourney, to a Citie called *Turara*. When they thought the *Soldans* Power vtterly ouerthrowne, *Mangodanior* who neuer had seene the conflicts of warre before, being afraid without any reasonable cause of certaine *Saracens*, called *Beduini*, withdrew himselfe out of the field, hauing the better, forsaking the King of *Armenia*, and his Captaine which had preuayled against his enemies. When the *Soldan*, which thought he had lost all, saw the field cleere, and all abandoned, he got vpon a little hill, with foure armed men, and stood there. The King of *Armenia* returning from the pursuit, and missing *Mangodanior* in the field, was much astonied, and imagining which way hee should be gone, followed after him.

Mangodanior deputed Generall by his Brother.

He commeth to battell against the *Soldan*.

Turara.

Almach.

But *Amalech* returning from the enemies whom he had pursued, abode two dayes expecting his Lord, supposing that he had followed after him, as he ought, for the further subduing of his enemies, and the Countrey which they had ouercome: till at last, hauing heard of his retrait, leauing his victorie, hee made speed after him; whom hee found on the banke of the Riuer *Euphrates* staying for him. And then the *Tartars* returned to their owne Prouince. But the King of *Armenia* sustained much losse, and hard aduenture in his returne: for the Horses of the *Christians* of the Kingdome of *Armenia*, were so wearied and spent with the length of the way, and want of Fodder, that they were not able to trauell, so that the *Christians* going scatteringly by vnusuall wayes, were often found out, and slayne without mercy by the *Saracens* inhabiting those parts: Insomuch that the greatest part of the Armie was lost, and in a manner all the Nobility. And this misaduenture of *Mangodanior* happened in the yeere of our Lord 1282.

The King of *Armenia*, his great losse at his returne.

1282.

When *Abaga* vnderstood the successe hereof, he assembled all his people, and when hee was readie to set forward with all his power against the *Saracens*, a certaine *Saracen*, the sonne of the Deuill, came to the Kingdome of *Persia*, and preuayled by giuing great gifts to some that serued

Abaga prepareth a reuenge

He is poisoned with his Brother.

serued neere about *Abaga*, in such sort, that both he and his brother *Mangodanior* were poysoned both in one day: and died both within eight dayes after. The trueth whereof was afterwards disclosed by the mischieuous Malefactors themselues. And so died *Abaga Can* in the yeere of our Lord 1282.

Tangodor the brother and Successor of *Abaga*.

37. After the death of *Abaga Can* the *Tartars* assembled themselues, and ordayned ouer them a brother of his, called *Tangodor*, who had ouergone the rest of his brethren. In his youth he had receiued the Sacrament of Baptisme, and was baptised by the name of *Nicholai*. But being come to riper yeeres, and keeping companie with *Saracens*, whom hee loued, hee became a wicked *Saracen*, and renouncing *Christian* Religion, would be called *Mahomet Can*, and laboured by all meanes to turne all the *Tartarians* to that irreligious Sect of *Mahomet* the sonne of Iniquitie; in such sort, that those that hee could not compell by violence, hee allured by preferments and rewards: insomuch that in his time many of the *Tartarians* became professed *Saracens*, as at this day appeareth. This Child of perdition commanded the Churches of the *Christians* to be destroyed, and forbade them to vse any of their religious Rites or Ceremonies. Hee caused the doctrine of *Mahomet* to bee publikely preached, the *Christians* to bee banished, and their Churches in the Citie of *Tauris* vtterly to bee destroyed. Hee sent Messengers also to the *Soldan* of *Egypt*, and concluded a Peace and a League with him, promising that all the *Christians* within his Dominion should become *Saracens*, or else lose their heads, which gaue the *Saracens* cause of much reioycing, and made the *Christians* very sad.

Of a *Christian* turneth *Saracen*.

Hee seeketh to betray the Kings of *Armenia* and *Georgia*.

Hee sent moreouer to the King of *Armenia* in *Georgia*, and to the other *Christian* Princes of those parts to come vnto him without delay. But they resolued rather to die in battell then to obey his commandement, for other remedie they could finde none. And the *Christians* being now in such anguish and bitternesse of heart, that they rather desired to die then to liue, euen God (which neuer refuseth them that put their trust in him) sent consolation to them all. For a Brother of this *Mahomet*, with a Nephew of his also, called *Argon*, opposing themselues, and rebelling against him for his euill deeds did signifie to *Cobila Can* the great Emperour of the *Tartarians*, how he had forsaken the steps of his Ancestors, and was become a wicked *Saracen*: labouring with all his might to bring the rest of *Tartars* to be *Saracens* also. Which when *Cobila Can* vnderstood he was much displeased thereat: insomuch that he sent and required *Mahomet* to reforme his euill wayes, for otherwise he would proceed against him. Which message repleniished him with wrath and indignation, insomuch that he being perswaded there was none that durst gainsay his proceedings but his Brother and his Nephew *Argon*, he caused his Brother to be slayne: and intending the like to his Nephew, he went against him with a mightie Armie. *Argon* being not of strength to withstand his forces, betooke himselfe to a strong Hold among the Mountaines; which that Sonne of Iniquitie besieged with his deuillish Armie.

Hee is accused to *Cobila Can*.

He slayeth his Brother.

Argon finally yeelded himselfe, with condition that he might still enioy his Dignitie and Dominion. But *Mahomet* deliuered him to the Constable and others of the Nobilitie, to bee kept in Prison. And departing towards the Citie of *Tauris*, where he left his wiues and children, he gaue direction that his Armie should come softly after him: but appointed the Constable, and such as he trusted most, to put his Nephew to death secretly, and to bring him his head. These things thus hastily ordered and directed, there was amongst those that had receiued the command of that bloudy execution, a man of some Place and Authoritie, brought vp vnder *Abaga* the Father of *Argon*, who hauing compassion of his distresse, tooke Armes, and in the night time slue the Constable of *Mahomet* and all his followers, and deliuering *Argon*, made him Lord and Ruler of all: some for feare, and others for loue being obedient to his will and commandement. *Argon* being thus established, accompanied with his faithfull followers, pursued presently after *Mahomet*, whom he ouertooke and seized on before he came to *Tauris*, and caused him after their manner, to be cut asunder in the midst. And such was the end of that cursed Caitiffe *Mahomet*, before he had sate two yeeres in his seat.

Argon of a Prisoner is made King.

His reuenge on *Tangodor*.

§. IIII.

Of ARGON *the Sonne of* ABAGA, *and* REGAITO *his Brother; of* BAIDO, *and of the exploits of* CASAN *against the* Soldan *of* Egypt, *and others.*

IN the yeere of our Lord 1285. after the death of *Mahumet*, *Argon* the sonne of *Abaga Can*, would not take on him the title of *Can*, vntill he had receiued commandement from the great *Can* Soueraigne Lord and Emperour, to whom he dispatched Messengers which were honourably receiued, and entertayned by the great *Can*, who reioyced much of his successe against *Mahomet* and sent some of his great Officers, to confirme *Argon* in his Dominion, who was thenceforth called *Can*, and much respected of all. For he was of a goodly aspect and presence, couragious and wise in his proceedings, much regarding and honou-

Argon is confirmed by *Cobila Can*.

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honouring the *Christians*. The Churches ouer-throwne by *Mahomet* he repayred. The Kings of *Armenia* and *Georgia*, with the other Christian Princes of the East, came vnto him, desiring his best counsaile, and helpe that the holy Land might be freed from the *Pagans*. *Argon* very graciously answered, That he would gladly doe any thing that might tend to the honour of God, and the aduancement of Christian Religion, and that he intended to make peace with his Neighbours, that hee might the more freely and securely follow that enterprise. But *Argon*, before the execution of these good designments, dyed in the fourth yeere of his raigne. And a Brother of his, called *Regaito*, succeeded him, who was a man of small valour, as shall be after declared. *He dyeth.*

39. In the yeere of our Lord 1289. after the death of *Argon Can*, his brother *Regaito* was his Successor, being a man of no Religion: in Armes he was of no valour, but was altogether giuen ouer to beastly luxurie, and satiating his insatiable appetite with superfluous meates and drinkes: and did nothing else by the space of six yeeres which he raigned, insomuch that being hated of his subiects and contemned of strangers, he was finally strangled by his Peeres. After whose death *Baydo*, a Kinsman of his succeeded him, who was vpright and constant in Religion, and did many fauours to the *Christians*, but he soone ended his dayes, as shall be declared. *Baydo* succeedeth him.

40. In the yeere of our Lord 1295. after the death of *Regaito*, his Kinsman *Baydo* ruled ouer the *Tartars*. He being a good *Christian* builded the *Christian* Churches, and commanded that none should Preach or publish the Doctrine of *Mahomet* amongst the *Tartarians*. But because those of the Sect of *Mahomet* were many, they could hardly be induced to bee obedient to that commandement of *Baydo*, and therefore sent Messengers secretly to *Casan* the sonne of *Argono*, promising to giue him the Dominion which *Baydo* held, and to make him their Lord and Ruler, if he would renounce the *Christian* Religion. *Casan* caring little for Religion, but greatly affecting Dominion, promised to doe whatsoeuer they would, and so began an open rebellion, whereupon *Baydo* assembled his people, thinking to haue taken *Casan*, not knowing of the Treason which his people had wrought against him. But when they came to the Field, all the *Mahometists* leauing *Baydo*, fled vnto *Casan*, so that *Baydo* being forsaken, thought to haue escaped by flight, yet was pursued and slaine by his Enemies. The death of *Baydo*.

41. After the death of *Baydo*; *Casan* being made Ruler ouer the *Tartars*, at the beginning of his raigne, durst not gainsay what hee had promised the *Mahometists* that had promoted him thereto, and therefore shewed himselfe for a while very austere to the *Christians*. But when hee found himselfe well and firmely settled in his Dominion, hee began to honour and cherish the *Christians*, doing them many fauours as shall be declared. First, therefore hee destroyed many great Ones, who had beene perswaders with him to become a *Saracen*, and to persecute the *Christians*. Then hee commanded all the *Tartars* within his Dominion, to bee readie with their Armour and all necessarie furniture, to attend him for a Conquest of the Kingdome of *Egypt*, and ouer-throw of the *Soldan*, and sent to the King of *Armenia*, and the King of *Georgia*, and other Christian Princes of the East in that behalfe. At the beginning of the Spring *Casan* gathered his forces, and first set forward towards *Baldach*: and at length turned towards the Land of *Egypt*. The *Soldan*, called *Melechnaser*, who had long before some intelligence of the comming of the *Tartars*, assembled all his power, and came before the Citie of *Aman*, which is seated in the middest of the Kingdome of *Syria*. *Casan* vnderstanding that the *Soldan* meant to giue him battaile, forbore to besiege any Citie or Castle, but hasted speedily to the place where the *Soldan* was, and pitched his Tents but one dayes iourney from him in certaine Meadowes, where was plentie of forrage and feeding, where he rested his Followers and their Horses which were wearied with their trauell. Amongst whom was a *Saracen*, called *Calphack* (or *Capchuck*) who had serued the *Soldan*, and was fled from him to *Casan*, for feare of imprisonment and punishments for his misse-demerits. This *Calphack* had receiued sundrie fauours and rewards of *Casan*, who reposed great confidence in him: yet, like a wicked Traytor, he disclosed the counsaile and purpose of *Casan* to the *Soldan* and *Saracens*, acquainting them by Letters how *Casan* meant to abide in those Meadowes, vntill they had sufficiently rested their Horses which were wondrously wearied, and therefore counsailed the *Soldan* to set vpon him before his Horses were refreshed, whereby he might easily ouer-come the *Tartarians*. *Melechnaser* the *Soldan*. *Calphacks* double dealing.

The *Soldan* who thought to haue expected the *Tartars* at the Citie of *Aman*, did hereupon change his resolution, and with a chosen companie hasted with all speede to assaile *Casan* at vnawares. But his Espials and Scouts giuing him notice of their approach. *Casan* commanded his men presently to be set in order and manfully to resist them. He himselfe more bold then a Lion with such companie as hee had about him, rode to meete the *Saracens*, who had approached so neere that they could not auoid the battaile. *Casan* seeing that the residue of his companie were spred so farre abroad in the Countrie for the feeding of their Horses, that they could not suddenly come to him, he commanded those that were with him to dismount from their Horses, and placing them in a Circle, made as it were a Wall of them, and with their Bowes and Arrowes caused his men to expect their Enemies, and not to shoote vntill they were sure to reach them, by which meanes the *Tartars* shooting altogether, wherein they are very skilfull and readie, wounded the foremost Horses of their Enemies in such sort that they fell before the rest, where- The *Soldans* sudden on-set. He dealeth politikely.

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by the rest following on with great furie, and finding the former ouerthrowne, fell themselues head-long ouer them: insomuch, that of all the *Saracens* there escaped few, which were not either ouerthrowne or else wounded to death, with the Arrowes of the *Tartars*.

The *Soldan* himselfe being in the Armie, fled as fast as hee could, which *Casan* perceiuing, made his men get vp on their Horses, and manfully to set on their Enemies, being himselfe the foremost amongst them that entred the Armie of the *Soldan*, who with some small companie remayning so long, sustayned the brunt, vntill the *Tartars* came in Troupes well ordered to fight, and then came the whole Armie on both sides to battaile, which endured from the Sunne rising till the Ninth houre. But in the end, the *Soldan* with his *Saracens* fled, being not able to withstand the courage of *Casan*, who did wonders with his owne hand, and pursued them with his people, killing on euery side vntill it was darke night, and made so great slaughter of the *Saracens*, that the Earth was couered euery where with their dead carkasses. That night *Casan* rested at a place, called *Caneto*, reioycing exceedingly at that great victorie which God had giuen him against the *Saracens*. This fell out in the yeere of our Lord 1301. on the Wednesday before the Feast of the Natiuitie.

He ouer-commeth.

Caneto.

42. Then *Casan* sent the King of *Armenia*, and a Leader of the *Tartars*, called *Molay*, with fortie thousand Horse, to pursue the *Soldan* as farre as the Desart of *Egypt*, being twelue dayes iourney distant from the place where the battaile was fought, and willed them to expect him or some Messenger from him at the Citie *Gazara*. And they departed speedily before the Sunne rising, to follow after the *Soldan*. But some three dayes after, *Casan* sent for the King of *Armenia* to returne, because he purposed to besiege the Citie of *Damascus*, and willed *Molay* with the fortie thousand *Tartars* to pursue with speede after the *Saracens*, and to put what hee could take to the sword. Yet the *Soldan* himselfe flying very swiftly, and riding on Dromedaries both night and day, in the conduct and companie of certaine *Beduini*, escaped into the Citie of *Babylon* very strangely. But others of the *Saracens* fled seuerall wayes, as they thought they could best saue themselues, and a great number of them going by the way of *Tripolis*, were slaine by the *Christians*, which inhabited the Mountayne of *Libanus*. The King of *Armenia* returning to *Casan*, found that the Citie of *Aman* had yeelded vnto him, so that the whole treasure of the *Soldan*, and his Armie was brought into his presence: which was so great that euery one maruailed, why the *Soldan* carried so much treasure with him when he went to fight. *Casan*, when he had gathered together all the riches and spoiles which they had gotten, bestowed them bountifully amongst the *Tartars*, and the *Christians* his followers, whereby they were all made rich.

Gazara.

Beduines are wilde *Arabs.*

Aman yeelded.

And I Friar *Haython*, the Compiler of this Historie, who was present in all Expeditions and Battailes, which the *Tartars* had with the *Soldan*, from the time of *Haloon* to this day, yet did I neuer see nor heare that any of the *Tartarian* Lords accomplished more in two dayes then did *Casan*. For the first day, with a small companie of his owne, he ouer-came a great Armie of his Enemies, and did such exploits in his Person, that he wanne fame and commendations aboue all the rest. On the second day, such was his largesse, and so great this liberalitie of his heart, that of all the infinite wealth and treasure which hee got, hee kept nothing for himselfe, but a Sword and a Purse, in which was contayned certaine writings concerning the Land of *Egypt*, and the number of the *Soldans* Armie. And this was most maruailous aboue all the rest, how in so little a body, and of so bad presence (for he seemed like a Monster) there could be so much vertue and rigour contayned: for among neere two hundred thousand Souldiers, there could hardly one of lesse stature, or of worse aspect be found. Therefore, because this *Casan* liued in our time, it is fitting wee made the more ample narration of his Acts. And in regard that the *Soldan* who was ouerthrowne by *Casan*, is yet liuing at the writing of this Historie, they which intend to destroy, or any wayes to endamage the *Saracens*, may receiue many aduertisements out of these Collections.

Ayton present at these and the other Expeditions, from *Haloon* till this time.

Casans dwarfish stature and ill-fauoured feature.

1307.

After some few dayes rest, *Casan* directed his course towards the Citie of *Damascus*: where the Citizens hearing of his approch, and fearing lest if hee tooke them by force, they should die without mercy, by the aduice of the wisest amongst them, sent with one consent their Messengers vnto him with offer of their Citie, which hee willingly accepted, and after a while rode towards the Riuer of *Damascus*, on whose Bankes hee pitched his Tents, forbidding any damage to bee done to the Citie. Then the Citizens sent him diuers gifts, and plentie of victuals for his Armie. There *Casan* made his abode fiue and fortie dayes with all his Followers, except those fortie thousand *Tartars* which were sent with *Molay*, who stayed his comming at the Citie of *Gaccara*.

43 While *Casan* reposed himselfe neere *Damasco*, there came newes vnto him, how a Kinsman of his called *Baydo*, had entred into the Kingdome of *Persia*, and committed great spoile there in his absence: and thereupon hee resolued to returne to his owne. Leauing therefore his chiefe Captaine *Cotoluſa*, with part of his Armie for the custodie of the Kingdome of *Syria* (whom hee willed *Molay* and the rest of the *Tartars* to be obedient vnto as to his Lieutenant) he set Rulers and Gouernours ouer all the Cities, and committed the gouernment of *Damascus* to the Traytor *Calfach*, being not yet acquainted with his trayterous disposition. Then calling

Cotoluſa.

to

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to him the King of *Armenia*, and acquainting him with his purpose, hee told him that hee would willingly haue deliuered the Lands which hee had conquered into the *Christians* hands, if they had come to him, and that if they came hee would giue order to *Cotolusa* to restore them the Lands which they had formerly holden: and to yeeld them conuenient supply for the repayring of their Castles and Fortresses. These things thus ordered, *Casan* tooke his iourney towards *Mesopotamia*, but when hee came to the Riuer *Euphrates*, hee sent word to *Cotolusa*, that leauing twentie thousand *Tartars* vnder the command of *Molay*, hee should come speedily to him with the rest of the Armie. *Cotolusa* did as was commanded him; so that *Molay* remayned Lieutenant in *Syria* for *Casan*, who eft-soones by perswasion of the Traytor *Calfach*, remooued towards the parts about *Ierusalem*, to a place called *Gaur*, to finde good feeding and prouision for his Horses. *Calfachs* treason. *Gaur.*

But in the Sommer time, *Calfach* (who had formerly hatched Treason in his heart against *Casan*) sent word secretly to the *Soldan*, that hee would restore him *Damascus* with the other Townes which *Casan* had taken. The *Soldan* liked hereof, and couenanted to giue him *Damasco* in perpetuall keeping, and part of his treasure with his sister to wife. Insomuch, that shortly after, *Calfach* became Rebell, and caused all the strong places to rebell against the *Tartars*; bearing themselues bold on the heate of Sommer, in which they knew the *Tartars* could not ride nor yeeld any aide vnto their friends. When *Molay* perceiued that they rebelled euery where, hee durst not stay any longer with so small a companie, but tooke the shortest way towards the Kingdome of *Mesopotamia*, and signified thence to *Casan* all that had hapned in the Kingdome of *Syria*. Who seeing hee could not any way redresse it at that season, by reason of heate, yet when the Winter approached, hee made very great preparation on the bankes of the Riuer *Euphrates*, and sent ouer *Cotolusa* before with thirtie thousand *Tartarian* Horse-men, directing him that when hee came to the parts of *Antiochia*, hee should call vnto him the King of *Armenia*, and the other *Christians* of the East, and of *Cyprus*, and with that strength should enter into the Kingdome of *Syria*, whiles hee prepared to come after with the strength of his Armie. *Cotolusa* did as hee was commanded, and with his thirtie thousand *Tartars* went forwards till hee came to *Antioch*, and then sent to the King of *Armenia*, who came vnto him with his Armie. The *Christians* also in the Kingdome of *Cyprus* hauing heard of the comming of *Cotolusa*, came speedily with their Gallies and other Vessels to the Ile called *Anterada*, among whom was the Lord *Tyron* brother to the King of *Cyprus*, Master of the Hospitall of the Temple, with their Brethren of their Societie. And these being all readie to vnder-goe the seruice of Christ, there came a rumour that *Casan* was dangerously sicke, that men dispayred of his recouerie. Whereupon *Cotolusa* with his *Tartars* returning towards *Casan*; the King of *Armenia* returned also into his Countrey; and the *Christians* at the Ile of *Anterada* to the Kingdome of *Cyprus*, by which meanes the businesse of the Holy Land was vtterly abandoned, which happened in the yeere of our Lord 1301. *Tyron.*

Againe, in the yeare of our Lord 1303. *Casan* assembling a mightie Armie, came with great preparation to the Riuer *Euphrates*, intending to enter into the Kingdome of *Syria*, and there to destroy the whole Sect of *Mahomet*, and to restore the Holy Land to the *Christians*. But the *Saracens* fearing the comming of *Casan*, and doubting that they should not be able to withstand him when they had reaped and gathered their Corne and other fruits of the Earth, and had housed their cattell in strong holds, they set fire on the rest, that the *Tartars* when they came might not find victuals for themselues, nor for forrage for their beasts. When *Casan* vnderstood what the *Agarens* had done, and how they had wasted all the Land, considering that his horses could not there be fed nor sustayned, he resolued to remayne that Winter vpon the bankes of the Riuer *Euphrates*, and to beginne his Iourney at the beginning of the Spring, when the grasse began to sproute. For the *Tartars* are euer more carefull of their Horses then of themselues, being contented with the smallest pittance of any kind of nourishment for themselues. *Casan* reneweth the warre of *Syria.* The *Saracens* burne and waste their owne Countrey.

Then *Casan* sent for the King of *Armenia*, who came to him without delay, and lodged himselfe on the Riuer. *Casan* extended three dayes Iourney in length euen from a certayne Castle called *Cacabe*, to another Castle called *Bir*, which Castles appertayned to the *Saracens*, yet yeelded without any assault vnto *Casan*. But while *Casan* abode there, expecting the conuenient season for effecting his desire on the *Saracens*, and to deliuer the Holy Land out of their hands, the Deuil cast a new Obstacle in his way, for he had newes againe that *Baydo* had entred, and made more spoyles on his Land then before; so that it was necessary for him to returne to his owne, whereat being much grieued, in respect that he was constrayned so long to delay the businesse of the Holy Land, he commanded his Captayne *Cotolusa* with fortie thousand *Tartars* to enter into the Kingdome of *Syria*, and to take *Damasco*, and kill all the *Saracens*; and that the King of *Armenia* should ioyne his people with *Cotolusa*. *Casan* then returned into *Persia*, *Cotolusa* and the King besieged the Citie *Aman*: and hauing certayne Intelligence that the *Soldan* was at the Citie *Gazara*, and would not stirre from thence, they tooke it by assault putting all the *Saracens* one with another to the sword. There they found great store of wealth and munition. *Caccabe.* *Bir.* *Baydo* rebelleth againe. *Cotolusa* the third time Lieutenant of *Syria.* *Aman* taken.

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Damaſcus beſieged.

Thence they went to the Citie of *Damaſcus* to beſiege it, but the Citizens ſent their Meſſengers, deſiring a Truce for three dayes which was granted them. The Scouts of the *Tartars* being almoſt a dayes Iourney beyond *Damaſcus*, tooke certayne *Saracens* whom they ſent to *Cotuloſſa* that he might examine them. *Cotuloſſa* being aduertized by theſe that there were about twelue thouſand *Saracens* Horſemen, with in two dayes Iourney from thence, which expected daily the comming of the *Soldan*. He rode preſently with all ſpeed, hoping to take them at vnawares: But it was almoſt night before *Cotuloſſa* and the King of *Armenia* could reach thither, and they had Intelligence that the *Soldan* was come newly before them. Therefore being deceiued of their expectation to aſſaile thoſe twelue thouſand alone, ſome aduiſed them for the beſt to repoſe themſelues that night being now ſomewhat late, and to ſet vpon the Enemie in the morning. But *Cotuloſſa* deſpiſing the *Soldan*, and his people would not hearken to any aduice, but commanded his Armie to bee forthwith put in order: which the *Saracens* perceiuing, kept their ſtanding, being on the one ſide fenced with a Lake, and with a Mountayne on another ſide, and knowing that the *Tartars* could not come to aſſault them without danger, they would not goe forth to fight, but remayned in the place where they were, and when the *Tartars* thought without any impediment to haue aſſailed their Enemies; they found a ſmall Riuer betweene them, which in ſome places had no paſſage ouer: by meanes whereof much time was ſpent before they could paſſe ouer the Riuer; but after they had paſſed the greateſt part ouer the Riuer, they ſet manfully on their Enemies. Yet the *Soldan* ſtood ſtill and would not remoue from the place he was in, betwixt the Lake and the Mountayne; which *Cotuloſſa* perceiuing, becauſe the darke night approched, he withdrew his company for that night and lodged them neere the Mountayne; only about a thouſand *Tartars*, which could not paſſe the Riuer, were not with him that night. The day comming, the *Tartars* againe couragiouſly ſet vpon the *Soldan*; but as before, he would by no meanes come forth to fight, but defended himſelfe in that place of aduantage. So the *Tartars* continuing their aſſault from the morning vntill the ninth houre, beeing thirſtie and ouer-wearie for lacke of water they retyred themſelues in good order, leauing the *Soldan* and came to the Plaine of *Damaſcus*, where they had plentie of paſture and water at will, where they determined to abide vntill they had ſufficiently repoſed themſelues and their Horſes.

The obſtinacie of *Cotuloſſa*.

The *Soldan* a wary Warrior.

Cotuloſſa his fruitleſſe attempt.

But the Inhabitants knowing, that the Armie of the *Tartars* was ſpread abroad in that Plaine, opened the Sluces of the Riuer in the night time, whereby the waters roſe ſo high in eight houres ouer all the Plaine, that the *Tartars* were conſtrayned on the ſudden to ariſe and depart, ſo that the night being darke, and the Ditches all filled with water, and no wayes nor pathes to be ſeene, they were all amazed in ſuch ſort that many Horſes periſhed, and much Armour was loſt, inſomuch, that the King of *Armenia* endured much loſſe, yet the day comming through the goodneſſe of God, they eſcaped the waters, but the Bowes and Arrowes of the *Tartars* being their chiefe weapons which they vſe, and the reſt of their Armour being all wet and vtterly vnſeruiceable, they were ſo aſtonied therewith, that if their Enemies had then purſued them, they might haue beene taken or ſlaine. Afterwards, the *Tartars* by reaſon that many had loſt their Horſes, returned ſoftly by ſmall Iournies to the bankes of the Riuer *Euphrates*, yet none of their Enemies durſt follow or purſue them, but the Riuer beeing riſen and ſwolne through the abundance of raine that fell, many of the *Armenians*, as alſo of *Georgians*, periſhed therein, more then of the *Tartars*, whoſe Horſes knew better to ſwimme: ſo returned they into *Perſia* ruined and diſgraced, not by the power of the Enemie, but by accident partly, partly by euill aduice. A great cauſe whereof was the obſtinacie of *Cotoluſa*, who would not regard any aduice that was giuen, for if he would haue harkened to the counſell of the wiſe, he might eaſily haue preuented thoſe dangers.

The *Tartars* indangered by the waters.

He aydeth him with men and money.

And I Frier *Haython* the Compiler of this Hiſtorie, was preſent at all theſe proceedings: and if happily I treate more largely thereof then ſhall be thought conuenient. I craue pardon in regard that I doe it to this end, that on like occaſions happening theſe courſes may bee called to minde. For theſe actions that are ordered by counſell, haue commonly good and commendable euents, but the raſh and improuident Enterprizes, doe vſually faile of their wiſhed ſucceſſe. After that the King of *Armenia* had paſſed the Riuer *Euphrates* with ſome loſſe, he reſolued to goe to *Caſan* before he returned to his Kigdome of *Armenia*, and therefore hee went ſtreight to the Citie of *Niniue* in which *Caſan* then reſided. He entertayned the King with much honour, kindneſſe, and magnificence, and being compaſſionate of his loſſes to make him ſome recompence of eſpeciall fauour vnto him, he granted him a thouſand *Tartarians*, continually in pay at his charge for the defence of his Kingdome, and alſo granted him out of the Kingdome of *Turkie*, a yeerely penſion, for the maintenance of another thouſand *Armenian* Horſemen yeerely at his pleaſure, the King thus recompenced, hauing taken his leaue, returned to the Kingdome of *Armenia*, which *Caſan* had enioyned him to watch warily ouer, vntill God pleaſed to enable him perſonally to goe to the reliefe of the Holy Land.

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§. V.

CASAN *dyeth,* CARBANDA *ſucceedeth; his Apoſtaſie. The Authors entrance into a Religious Habit. Of* TAMOR CAN *the ſixth Emperour, and of* CHAPAR, HOCHTAI, *and* CARBANDA, *three other* Tartarian *Kings.*

THe King of *Armenia* returned ſafely to his Kingdome, but after hee came thither hee found little reſt there, for after it ſo pleaſed God, that *Caſan* was ſurprized with a grieuous infirmitie, and hauing gouerned wiſely in his life, hee was no leſſe willing that his wiſdome ſhould bee commended in his death. Therefore hee made his laſt Will and Teſtament, appointing his Brother *Carbanda* (or *Carbaganda*) his Heire and Succeſſor and hauing ordered all things concerning the Affaires of his Kingdome and his Houſe in prudent manner, he made many good Ordinances and Lawes which for a memoriall he left behind him, being at this day inuiolably obſerued by the *Tartarians.* Then dyed *Caſan,* and his Brother *Carbanda* ſucceeded in his Kingdome. *Carbanda* his Succeſſor.

This *Carbanda* was the Sonne of a Ladie of famous memorie, called *Erockaton,* who was very deuout and religious in Chriſtianitie, while ſhe liued, and had euery day Diuine Seruice celebrated before her, keeping a Prieſt and Chappell of her owne, ſo that this *Carbanda* was baptized and named *Nicholas* in his Baptiſme, and continued a profeſſed Chriſtian as long as his Mother liued. But after his Mothers death, delighting in the ſocietie of *Saracens,* he forſooke the Chriſtian Religion to become a *Mahometiſt.* The King of *Armenia* vnderſtanding of the death of *Caſan,* was much troubled therewith, and his Enemies began to lift vp their Creſts very high. For the *Soldan* of *Babylon* thereupon fought by all meanes to endamage him and his people, ſending all the yeare almoſt euery moneth great troupes of armed Souldiers, which foraged and waſted the Kingdome of *Armenia,* and did more damage and ſpoyle on the plaine Countrey then they had euer ſuſtayned before in any mans memorie. But the Almightie and moſt merciſull God who neuer forſaketh altogether thoſe that put their truſt in him, had compaſſion on the poore afflicted Chriſtians: for it fell out that in the moneth of Iuly, ſeuen thouſand *Saracens* of the beſt Families vnder the *Soldan,* made a roade into the Kingdome of *Armenia,* waſting and ſpoyling all as farre as the Citie of *Tharſus,* in which the bleſſed Apoſtle Saint *Paul* was borne, and when they had committed many ſpoyles in that Prouince, and were vpon their returne, the King of *Armenia,* hauing gathered his people together, encountred and ſet vpon them neere the Citie of *Giazza,* where more by Gods goodneſſe then our worth, they were vtterly ouerthrowne in ſuch ſort, that of ſeuen thouſand *Saracens* there eſcaped not three hundred, but were either taken or ſlaine, albeit they thought in their Pride, they could haue ouer-runne the whole Kingdome of *Armenia,* and deuoure all the Chriſtians there at a morſell. This was performed on the Lords Day, being the eighteenth of Iuly, after which conflict, the *Saracens* durſt no more enter into the Kingdome of *Armenia.* But the *Soldan* ſent to the King of *Armenia* to make truce with him, which was agreed betweene them. The *Soldan* maketh roades into *Armenia.* The King of *Armenia* ouerthroweth his Enemies. The Victorie brings peace.

46. I Frier *Haython,* hauing beene preſent at all the ſaid proceedings, had purpoſed long before to haue taken a Regular Habit vpon me, and to haue entred into Religion. But by reaſon of many impediments and difficulties in the Affaires of the Kingdome of *Armenia,* I could not with my honour forſake my friends and kindred in ſuch extremities. But ſeeing that Gods goodneſſe had beene ſo gracious vnto me, as to leaue the Kingdome of *Armenia,* and the Chriſtian people there after my manifold labours and trauels in quiet, and peaceable eſtate, I then tooke the time to performe that Vow which before I had vowed. Therefore hauing taken my leaue of my Lord the King, and of the reſt of my kindred and friends, euen in that field where God gaue the Chriſtians Victorie ouer their Enemies, I beganne my Iourney, and comming to *Cyprus* in the Monaſterie of *Epiſcopia,* tooke a Regular Habit of the Order *Premonſtratenſis,* to the end that hauing ſerued the World as a Souldier in my youth, I might ſpend the reſt of my life in the Seruice of God, forſaking the pompe of this World, which was in the yeere of our Lord 1305. Therefore I render thankes vnto God, that the Kingdome of *Armenia,* is at this day in a good and peaceable eſtate, and well reformed by the Moderne King *Liuono,* Sonne to King *Haython,* who is a Looking-glaſſe or patterne to all other Kings in all kinde of eminent vertue. The Author of himſelfe. He taketh the Habit of a *Premonſtratenſis.* *An. Dom.* 1305.

Moreouer, the Compiler of this Worke affirmeth, that he hath come three manner of wayes to the knowledge of thoſe things which hee declareth and writeth in this Booke. For from the beginning of *Changius Can,* who was the firſt Emperour of the *Tartars* vntill *Mango Can,* who was their fourth Emperour, I faithfully deliuer what I gathered out of the Hiſtories of the *Tartarians.* But from *Mango Can* to the deh of *Haloon,* I write, that which I receiued of an The credit of this Hiſtorie.

Vncle of mine, who writ the same by the commandement of *Haiton* King of *Armenia*, and was present then at all the foresaid occurrences, and with great diligence did often discourse & make rehearsall of them to his Sonnes and Nephewes, that they might remayne the better to Posteritie, and from the beginning of *Abaga Can* to the end of this third part of this Booke, the Author relateth those things which hee knew of himselfe, as hauing beene present at them all, whereby he is enabled to giue testimonie of the truth. Now albeit we haue hitherto treated of the Histories and Deeds of the *Tartarians*, there remayneth yet somewhat to be said concerning their Power and Dominion, especially of those that are now liuing, that it may the better bee knowne.

Tamar Can.

47. The great Emperor of the *Tartars* which now holdeth the Empire, is called *Tamor Can*, being their sixt Emperour, who keepeth his Residence in the Kingdome of *Cathay*; in a very great City called *Iong*, which his Father caused to be built, as is aboue declared, his power is very great. For this Emperour alone is able to doe more then all the *Tartarian* Princes together, and the Nations vnder his gouernment are reputed more noble and rich, and better stored of all necessaries, because that in the Kingdome of *Cathay*, in which they now liue, there is great abundance of riches.

Iong, or *Ions*, see *sup.* 19. §. 1.

Three inferior Kings of the *Tartars.*

Besides this great Emperour, there are three other great Kings or Princes of the *Tartars*, which rule each of them ouer many Nations, yet are they all subiect to the Emperour, and acknowledge him their naturall and Leige Lord. And the differences which happen betweene them are decided in the Emperours Court, and determined by his Iudgement. The first of these Kings is called *Chapar*, another *Hochtay*, and the third *Carbanda*. This *Chapar* hath his Dominion in the Kingdome of *Turquestan*, being the neerest to the Emperour. It is thought that he is able to bring into the field foure hundred thousand Horsemen, and these are bold and good Warriours, but not so well furnished of Horse and Armour as were expedient. The Emperours subiects doe many times make warre vpon them, and they on the other side doe often inuade the people of *Carbanda*. The Dominion of this *Chapar* was in ancient time subiect for the greatest part to a Lord called *Doay*.

Chapar.
Hoctai.
Carbanda.
Chapar.

Hochtay keepeth his Seat of Residence in the Kingdome of *Cumania*, in a Citie called *Asaro*, (or *Sara*) and it is said, that he is able to bring six hundred thousand Horsemen to the fight, yet are they not so much commended in Feats of Armes, as the men of *Chapar*, albeit they haue better Horses. These make warre sometimes on the Subiects of *Carbanda*, sometimes against the * *Hungarians*, and sometimes amongst themselues. But *Hochtay* who ruleth at this present holdeth his Dominion peaceably and quietly.

Hoctay, of who came the *Zagatay Tartars*, and *Tamerlane.*
* That is the *Huns* of whom the *Hungarians* had originall.

Carbanda hath his Dominion in the Kingdome of *Asia* the Great; and maketh his chiefe abode in the Citie of *Tauris*, beeing able to bring three hundred thousand Horsemen to the field. But these are gathered out of diuers parts being rich and well furnished with necessaries. *Chapar* and *Hochtay* doe sometimes make warre vpon *Carbanda*, but hee neuer medleth first with them: neither moueth warres against any but that he sometimes inuadeth the *Soldan* of *Egypt:* against whom his Predecessors haue fought many Battailes. *Chapar* and *Hochtay* would willingly take from *Carbanda* his Dominion, if they were able to effect it.

Carbanda.

The reason whereof is this, *Asia* is diuided into two parts, the one part whereof being called the *Lower or Deepe Asia*, is inhabited by the Emperour, and those two Kings called *Chapar* and *Hoshtay*. The other part being the higher, is called *Asia the Greater*, in which *Carbanda* inhabiteth and hath Dominion. Now there are only three wayes by which men may passe out of the *Deeper or Lower Asia*, vnto the high Countrey called *Asia Maior*. The one is out of the Kingdome of *Turquestan*, to the Kingdome of the *Persians*; another way there is called *Derbent*, which lyeth neere the Sea where *Alexander* built the Citie called the *Iron Gate*, as in the Histories of *Cumania* appeares; the other way is to goe ouer the Sea, called *Mare maius*, which way lyeth through the Kingdome of *Barca*. By the first way the subiects of *Chapar* cannot passe to the Territories of *Carbanda*, without great danger and difficultie, because they should find no feeding for their Horses in many dayes trauailes, the Land being so dry and barren, that before they could come to any fruitfull inhabited Countrey, their Horses would be starued, or at least so faint and wearied that they might be easily ouercome, and therefore that way they will not take. By the way of *Derbent* the people of *Hochtay* may passe into the Countrey of *Carbanda*, only sixe moneths in the yeare, which is in the Winter time. But that way *Abaga* hath caused great Trenches and Fortifications to bee made in a place called *Ciba:* and is alwayes kept and especially in the Winter with a Garrison of armed men to defend the passage. The people of *Hochtay* haue assayed many times to passe that way by stealth and secretly: but they neuer could, neither can by any meanes doe: for in a Plaine called *Monga*, there are alwayes in the Winter time certaine Birds about the bignesse of Phesants hauing very faire feathers to behold, and these Birds (which are called *Seyserach*) when any people come into that Plaine, straight flye away ouer those Watchmen and their Trenches, whereby the Souldiers there are eft-soones assured of the comming of their Enemies, and preuent the surprize: and by the way of the Sea called *Mare maius*, they neuer attempted, because that way goeth through the Kingdome of

The diuision of *Asia.*

The *Derbent.*
The Citie called the *Iron Gate.*

The Birds called *Seyserach.*

Barca

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Barca, which is so mightie in people and so strongly situated; that they are without hope to preuayle there, and by meanes hereof hath *Carbanda* and his Predecessors beene secured from the power of so potent Neighbours. Now we will briefly say somewhat of the manners and fashions of the *Tartars*. *Barca* in the *Latine* Copie is called *Abcas*.

48. The *Cataians* do so much differ from other Nations in their fashions and manner of liuing, that it were tedious to treat of the manifold diuersitie and strange varietie found amongst them. They acknowledge and confesse one Immortall God, and they call vpon his Name: yet they neither fast nor pray, nor any wayes afflict nor humble themselues, for feare or reuerence of him, nor doe any good workes. The killing of men they hold to bee no sinne: but if they happen to leaue their Bridle in their horse-mouth when hee should feed, they thinke therein they offend God mortally. Fornication and Lecherie is held by them as no sinne. They marrie many wiues, and the custome is, that the Sonne must marrie his Step-mother after the death of his Father: and the Brother is married to his Brothers Wife after his decease. In matter of Armes they are very good, and more obedient to their Superiour then other Nations are: and doe easily know by certaine signes in Battaile the will of their Commander: whereby the Armie of *Tartarians* is easily ruled and commanded. Their Lord bestoweth not any stipend on them, but they liue on hunting and such prey as they can get: and their Lord may take from them when hee list whatsoeuer they haue. The Religion of the *Cataians*, or *Tartarians* of those parts. Impunitie of Manslaughter. Polygamie. Warfare.

When the *Tartars* ride vpon any enterprize, they take with them great store of Horse, drinking their Milke, and feeding on their flesh which they reckon very good food. The *Tartars* are very readie and excellent Archers on horse-backe, but on foot they are but slow; they are dexterous and ingenious in taking of Cities and Castles, and are for the most part victorious ouer their Enemies; yet will they not forbeare to turne their backes in the skirmish if it be for their aduantage. And this aduantage they haue in the field that they will fight with the Enemies when they list themselues, and yet they cannot be compelled to fight but at their pleasure. Their manner of fight is very dangerous, so that in one conflict or skirmish of the *Tartars* there are more slaine and wounded then in any great Battaile of other Nations, which happeth by reason of their Arrowes, which they shoot strongly, and surely out of their Bowes; beeing indeed so skilfull in the arte of shooting, that they commonly pierce all kind of Armour, and if they happen to be routed, yet they flye in troupes and bands so well ordered, that it is very dangerous to follow or pursue them, because they shoot their Arrowes backwards in their flight, wounding and killing oft-times both men and horses that pursue them. Eating of Horse-flesh.

The Armie of the *Tartars* maketh no great shew, because they goe trooping close together, so that an Armie of one thousand *Tartars* will scarse seeme fiue hundred. The *Tartarians* doe courteously entertayne strangers, giuing them part of their Viands, and expect the like offers to bee made them, for otherwise they will take it by violence. They are much more skilfull in conquering of Countries then in keeping of them. When they are weake they are humble and gentle; stout and proud when they are growne the stronger. They cannot endure lying in other men, yet themselues are much giuen to lying, vnlesse it be in two especiall things. The one being in matter of Armes, in which none dareth affirme, that he did any exploit which was not done by him, or denie any faire Act which hee hath committed: The other is, That whosoeuer hath done any offence, though it deserueth death, he confesseth it presently to his Lord if he be examined thereon. This may suffice at this time, concerning the manners of the *Tartars*, because it were long to rehearse all the different customes and kinds of behauiour. Their Hospitalitie. Delight in lying.

The other Chapters which follow, pertayning rather to aduice fitting those Times, and the holy Land affaires, then the Tartarian *Historie, I haue omitted. And in the next place will present some Extracts of our Countriman, that famous Traueller Sir* Iohn Mandevile, *whose Geographie* Ortelius *commendeth, howsoeuer he acknowledgeth his Worke stuffed with Fables. For my part, I cannot but deplore the losse of such a Treasure, but know not how to recouer or repayre it (as* Ramusio *hath done for* Polo) *and here haue beene forced to deale with him, as Historians doe with our famous* Arthur, *daring to say little, because others haue dared so much and such incredibilities. For his merit, and for his Nation I haue giuen a touch of him, these few Latine Extracts; referring him that hath a minde to reade him, to Master* Hakluits *first Edition of his Voyages, where his storie in Latine is to be seene at large. I suspect that some later Fabler out of the Tales of* Ogerus *the* Dane *hath stuffed this storie; some of which, for a taste, I haue here left remayning; not that I take pleasure in lyes, but that thou mayst see, from what Fountayne I suppose this corruption flowed: and in that mistie Age (when humaner learning was inhumanely imprisoned, and Diuine Scripture was vulgarly buried, and Printing not at all borne) what* Huskes *poore Christian* Prodigals *(prodigall to beleeue such lyes) were fed with in stead of* Bread; *not onely in the Church by Legends, but in their priuate studies, by* Arthurs, Orlandos, Beuises, Guyes, Robin Hoods, Palmerins, *and I know not what monstrous changeling-births of Historie. Such was this* Ogerus: *and in great part such was* Odericus *a Friar and Traueller, in whom perhaps some Friar hath trauelled, with him at least in this Author (whose age was before him, and therefore could not cite ought out of him.) Neither is it for nothing (though for worse then nothing, a lye is both) that Friars are in this storie so often mentioned and praysed: I smell a Friars (Lyars) hand in this businesse. Our* Man-

Ogerus a Dane, of whom they write that hee conquered *India, &c.* *Odericus* in M. Hak. published.

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Mandevile *trauelled from* Ieruſalem *beyond* Ierico, *from* Chriſtendome *to remoteſt* Ethnikes, *and hath* fallen among Theeues: *The Friarly* Prieſt and Leuite *not onely neglected him, but I am afraid played the Theeues thus to* rob and wound him; *maymed the two former parts, and iuggling in the third, which I haue therefore chopped off; not daring in the former but with the* Nilus *Dogge to taſte and away, for feare of a falſe Crocodile. Here you may finde lyes by retaile* efficta, afficta, affixa, *to this* Mandevile; *who there, is made a* maunde vile *full of ſuch pedlerie, vnworthy thy ſight.*

CHAP. VI.

Briefe Collections of the Trauels and Obſeruations of Sir IOHN MANDEVILE; *written by Maſter* BALE, *Cent. 6.*

IOhn *Mandevile*, Knight, borne in the Towne of Saint *Albons*, was ſo well giuen to the ſtudie of Learning from his childhood, that he ſeemed to plant a good part of his felicitie in the ſame: for he ſuppoſed that the honour of his birth would nothing auaile him, except hee could render the ſame more honorable by his knowledge in good Letters. Hauing therefore well grounded himſelfe in Religion by reading the Scriptures, he applyed his ſtudies to the Art of Phyſick, a Profeſſion worthy a noble wit: but amongſt other things, hee was rauiſhed with a mightie deſire to ſee the greater parts of the World, as *Aſia* and *Africa*. Hauing therefore prouided all things neceſſarie for his iourney, hee departed from his Countrey in the yeere of Chriſt 1332. and as another *Vlyſſes* returned home, after the ſpace of foure and thirtie yeeres, and was then knowne to a very few. In the time of his trauaile he was in *Scythia*, the greater and leſſe *Armenia*, *Egypt*, both *Lybias*, *Arabia*, *Syria*, *Media*, *Meſopotamia*, *Perſia*, *Chaldea*, *Greece*, *Illyrium*, *Tartaria*, and diuers other Kingdomes of the World: and hauing gotten by this meanes the knowledge of the Languages, left ſo many and great varieties, and things miraculous, whereof himſelfe had beene an eye witneſſe, ſhould periſh in obliuion, hee committed his whole Trauell of three and thirtie yeeres to writing in three diuers Tongues, *Engliſh*, *French*, and *Latine*. Being arriued againe in *England*, and hauing ſeene the wickedneſſe of that Age, hee gaue out this ſpeech: In our time (ſaid hee) it may bee ſpoken more truly then of old, that Vertue is gone, the Church is vnder foot, the Clergie is in error, the Deuill raigneth, and Simonie beareth the ſway, &c. Hee dyed at *Leege*, in the yeere 1372. the 17. day of Nouember, being there buried in the Abbey of the Order of the *Guilielmites*.

The Tombe and Epitaph of Sir Iohn Mandevile, *in the Citie of* Leege, ſpoken of by *Ortelius*, in his Booke called *Itinerarium Belgiæ*, in this ſort.

MAgnâ & populoſa Leodij *ſuburbia, ad collium radices, in quorum iugis multa ſunt, & pulcherrima Monaſteria, inter quæ magnificum illud, ac nobile* D. Laurentio *dicatum, ab* Raginardo *Epiſcopo. Eſt in hac quoq; Regione, vel ſuburbijs* Leodij, Guilielmitarum *Cœnobium, in quo Epitaphium hoc* Ioannis *à* Mandeville, *excepimus.*

Epitaphium. Hic jacet vir nobilis, *D. Ioannes de Mandeville*, aliter dictus ad Barbam, Miles, Dominus de Campdi, natus de Anglia, Medicinæ Profeſſor, deuotiſſimus, orator, & bonorum largiſſimus pauperibus erogator, qui toto quaſi orbe luſtrato, *Leodij* diem vitæ ſuæ clauſit extremum. Anno Dom. 1371. Menſis Nouembris, die 17.

Hec in lapide: in quo celata viri armati imago, Leonem calcantis, barba bifurcata, ad caput manus benedicens, & vernacula hæc verba: Vos qui paſeis ſor mi, pour l'amour deix proïes por mi. *Clipeus erat vacuus, in quo olim fuiſſe dicebant laminam æream, & eius in ea itidem celata inſignia, Leonem videlicet argenteum, cui ad pectus lunula rubea in campo cæruleo, quem Limbus ambiret denticulatus ex auro. Eius nobis oſtendebant, & cultros, ephipiaq;, & calcaria quibus vſum fuiſſe aſſerebant, in peragrando toto ferè terrarum orbe, vt clariùs teſtatur eius Itinerarium, quod typis etiam excuſum paſſim habetur.*

Epiſtola. PRincipi Excellentiſſimo, præ cunctis mortalibus præcipue venerando, Domino *Edwardo* ejus nominis Tertio, diuina prouidentia, *Francorum* & *Anglorum* Regi Sereniſſimo, *Hiberniæ* Domino, *Aquitaniæ* Duci, mari ac eius Inſulis Occidentalibus dominanti, Chriſtianorum encomio & ornatui, vniuerſorumq; arma gerentium Tutori, ac Probitatis & ſtrenuitatis exemplo Principi quoq; inuicto, mirabilis *Alexandri Sequaci*, ac vniuerſo Orbi tremendo, cum reuerentia non qua decet, cum ad talem, & tantam reuerentiam minus ſufficientes extiterint, ſed qua paruitas, & poſſibilitas mittentis ac offerentis ſe extendunt, contenta tradantur.

Cum

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Pars prima, continens capita 23.

Cap. 1. Commendatio breuis terræ Hierosolymitanæ.

CVm terra Hierosolymitana, *terra promissionis filiorum Dei, dignior cunctis mundi terris sit habenda multis ex causis, & præcipuè illa, quod Deus conditor cœli & mundi, ipsam tanti dignatus fuit æstimare, vt in eo proprium filium Saluatorem mundi Christum exhibuerit generi humano per incarnationem ex intemerata Virgine, & per eius conuersationem humillimam in eadem, ac per dolorosam mortis sua consummationem ibidem, atq; indè per eius admirandam Resurrectionem, ac Ascensionem in cœlum, & postremò quia creditur illic in fine sæculi reuersurus, & omnia iudicaturus: certum est, quòd ab omnibus qui Christiano nomine à Christo dicuntur, sit tanquam à suis proprijs hæredibus diligenda, & pro cuiusq; potestate ac modulo honoranda. Verum quia tam nostris temporibus verius quàm olim dici potest,* Virtus, Ecclesia, Clerus, Dæmon, Simonia, Cessat, calcatur, errat, regnat, dominatur, *ecce iusto Dei iudicio, credita est terra tam inclyta, & Sacrosancta impiorum manibus* Saracenorum, *quod non est absq; dolore pijs mentibus audiendum, & recolendum. Ego* Ioannes Mandeuil *militaris ordinis saltem gerens nomen, natus & educatus in terra* Angliæ, *in Villa Sancti* Albani, *ducebar in Adolescentia mea tali inspiratione, vt quamuis non per potentiam, nec per vires proprias possem præfatam terram suis hæredibus recuperare, item tamen per aliquod temporis spacium peregrinari ibidem, & salutarem aliquantulum de propinquo. Vnde in Anno ab Incarnatione Domini* 1322. *imposui me nauigationi* Marsilienſis *maris & vsq; in hoc temporis, Anni* 1355. *scilicet, per* 33. *annos in transmarinis partibus mansi, peregrinatus sum, ambulaui, & circuiui multas, ac diuersas Patrias, Regiones, Prouincias, & Insulas,* Turciam, Armeniam *maiorem & minorem,* Ægyptum, Lybiam *bassam & altam,* Syriam, Arabiam, Persiam, Chaldæam, Æthiopiæ *partem magnam,* Tartariam, Amazoniam, Indiam *minorem, & mediam, ac partem magnam de maiori, & in istis, & circum istas Regiones, multas Insulas, Ciuitates, Vrbes, Castra, Villas, & loca, vbi habitant varia gentes, aspectuum, morum, legum ac rituum diuersorum: Attamen quia summo desiderio in terra promissionis eram, ipsam diligentius, per loca vestigiorum filij Dei perlustrare curaui, & diutius in illa steti. Quapropter & in hac prima parte huius operis iter tam peregrinandi, quam nauigandi, à partibus* Angliæ *ad ipsam describo, & loca notabiliter sancta, quæ intra eandem sunt breuiter commemoro & diligenter, quatenus peregrinis tam in itinere quamin prorentione valeat hæc descriptio in aliquo deseruire.*

Ioannis Mandeuilli peregrinatio, per tres & triginta annos continuata.

Cap. 2. Iter ab Anglia tam per terras quam per aquas vsque in Constantinopolim. Regis Hungariæ olim potentia.

Qui de Hibernia, Anglia, Scotia, Norwegia, *aut* Gallia *iter arripit ad partes* Hierosolymitanas *potest saltem vsq; ad Imperialem* Græciæ *Ciuitatem* Constantinopolim *eligere sibi modum proficiscendi, siue per Terras, siue per Aquas. Et si peregrinando eligit transigere viam, tendat per* Coloniam *Agrippinam, & sic per* Almaniam *in* Hungariam *ad* Montlusant *Ciuitatem, sedem Regni* Hungariæ. *Et est Rex* Hungariæ *multum potens istis temporibus. Nam tenet &* Sclauoniam, *& magnam partem Regni* Comannorum, *&* Hungariam, *& partem Regni* Russiæ. *Oportet vt peregrinus in finibus* Hungariæ *transeat magnum* Danubij *flumen, & vadat in* Belgradum; *Hoc flumen oritur inter* Montana Almaniæ, *& currens versus Orientem, recipit in se* 40. *flumina antequam finiatur in mare. De* Belgrade *intratur terra* Bulgariæ, *& transitur per Pontem petrinum fluuij* Marroy, *& per terram* Pyncenars, *& tunc intratur* Græcia, *in Ciuitates* Sternes, Asmopape, *&* Andrinopolis, *& sic in* Constantinopolim, *vbi communiter est sedes Imperatoris* Græciæ. *Qui autem viam eligit per aquas versus* Constantinopolim *nauigare, accipiat sibi portum, prout voluerit, propinquum siue remotum,* Marsiliæ, Pisi, Ianuæ, Venetijs, Romæ, Neapoli, *vel alibi: sicq; transeat* Tusciam, Campaniam, Italiam, Corsicam, Sardiniam, *vsque in* Siciliam, *quæ diuiditur ab* Italia *per brachium maris non magnum. In* Sicilia *est Mons* Ætna *iugiter ardens, qui ibidem appellatur Mons* Gibelle, *& præter illum habentur ibi loca* Golthan *vbi sunt septem leucæ quasi semper ignem spirantes: secundum diuersitatem colorum harum flammarum æstimant Incolæ annum fertilem fore, vel sterilem, siccum vel humidum, calidum, vel frigidum: hæc loca vocant caminos Infernales, & à finibus* Italiæ *vsq; ad ista loca sunt* 25. *miliaria. Sunt autem in* Sicilia *aliqua* Pomeria *in quibus inueniuntur frondes, flores, & fructus per totum annum, etiam in profunda hyeme. Regnum* Siciliæ *est bona, & grandis Insula habens in circuitu ferè leucas* 300. *Et ne quis erret, vel de facili reprehendat quoties scribo leucam, intelligendum est de leuca* Lombardica, *quæ aliquanto maior est Geometrica; & quoties pono numerum, sub intelligatur fere, vel circiter, siue citra, & dictam intendo ponere, de* 10. Lombardicis *leucis: Geometrica autem leuca describitur, vt notum est, per hos versus.*

Mons Ætna.

Æolides Insulæ.

Temperies Siciliæ Insulæ.

Leuca Lombardica. Quid sit dicta.

Quinque pedes passum faciunt, passus quoque centum
Viginti quinque stadium, si millia des que
Octo facis stadia, duplicatum dat tibi leuca.

Cap. 3. De vrbe Constantinopoli, & reliquijs ibidem contentis

Constantinopolis *pulchra est Ciuitas, & nobilis, triangularis in forma, firmiterq; murata, cuius duæ partes includuntur mari Hellesponto, quòd plurimi modo appellant brachium Sancti* Georgij, *& aliqui* Buke, Troia *vetus. Versus locum vbi hoc brachium exit de mari est lata terra planities, in quâ antiquitus stetit* Troia *Ciuitas de qua apud Poetas mira leguntur, sed nunc valdè modica apparent vestigia Ciuitatis. In* Constantinopoli *habentur multa mirabilia, ac insuper multa Sanctorum venerandæ reliquiæ, ac super omnia, preciosissima Crux Christi, seu maior pars illius, & tunica inconsutilis, cum spongia & arundine, & vno clauorum, & dimidia parte Coronæ spineæ, cuius altera medietas seruatur in Capella Regis* Franciæ, Parisijs. *Nam & ego indignus diligenter pluribus vicibus respexi partem vtramq;: dabatur quoq; mihi de illa* Parisijs *vnica spina, quam vsq; nunc preciosè conseruo, & est ipsa spina non lignea sed velut de iuncis marinis rigida, & pungitiua. Ecclesia* Constantinopolitana *in honorem Sanctæ* Sophiæ, *id est, ineffabilis Dei sapientia dedicata dicitur, & nobilissima vniuersorum mundi*

Ecclesia Sanctæ Sophiæ.

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munds Ecclesiarum, tam in schemate artificiosi operis, quàm in seruatis ibi Sacrosanctis Relliquijs: nam & continet corpus Sanctæ Annæ *Matris nostræ Domine translatum illuc per Reginam* Helenam *ab* Hierosolymis: *& corpus Sanctæ* Lucæ *Euangelistæ translatum de* Bethania Iudeæ; *Et corpus Beati* Ioannis Chrysostomi *ipsius Ciuitatis Episcopi, cum multis alijs Reliquijs preciosis; quoniam est ibi vas grande cum huiusmodi reliquijs velut marmoreum de Petra Enhydros; quod ingiter de seipso desudans aquam, semel in anno inuenitur suo sudore repletum. Ante hanc Ecclesiam, super columnam marmoream habetur de are aurato opere fusorio, magna Imago* Iustiniani *quondam Imperatoris super Equum sedentis. De predicta terra* Thraciæ *fuit Philosophus* Aristoteles *oriundus in Ciuitate* Stageres, *& est ibi in loco tumba eius velut altare, vbi & singulis annis certo die celebratur à populo festum illius, ac si fuisset Sanctus. Temporibus ergo magnorum consiliorum conueniunt illuc sapientes terræ, reputantes sibi per inspirationem immitti consilium optimum de agendis. Item ad diuisionem* Thraciæ *&* Macedoniæ *sunt duo mirabiliter alti Montes, vnus* Olympus, *alter* Athos, *cuius vltimi vmbra Oriente sole apparet ad 76. miliaria, vsq; in Insulam* Lemnon. *In horum cacumine montium ventus non currit, nec aër mouetur, &c.*

Regina Helena Britanna.

Imago Iustiniani.

Aristotelis tumba & festum.

Cap. 10. De conductu Soldani, & via vsque in Sinai.

Priùs dictum est de reuerentia Soldani, *quando ad ipsum intratur exhibenda. Sciendum ergo, cum ab eo petitur securus conductus, nemini denegare consueuit, sed datur petentibus communiter sigillum eius, in appenditione absque literis: hoc sigillum, pro vexillo in virga aut hasta dum peregrini ferunt, omnes* Saraceni *videntes illud flexis genibus in terram se reuerenter inclinant, & portantibus omnem exhibent humanitatem. Verumtamen satis maior fit reuerentia literis* Soldani *sigillatis, quod & Admirabiles, & quicunq; alij Domini, quando eis monstrantur, antequam recipiant, se multum inclinant: Deinde ambabus manibus eas capientes ponunt super propria capita, postea osculantur, & tandem legunt inclinati cum magna veneratione, quibus semel aut bis perlectis, offerunt se promptos ad explendum quicquid ibi iubetur, ac insuper exhibent deferenti, quicquid possint commodi, vel honoris: sed talem conductum per literas* Soldani *vix quisquam peregrinorum accipit, qui non in Curia illius stetit, vel notitiam apud illum habuerit.* Ego autem habui in recessu meo, in quibus etiam continebatur ad omnes sibi subiectos speciale mandatum, vt me permitterent intrare, & respicere singula loca, pro meæ placito voluntatis, & mihi exponerent quorumcunq; locorum mysteria distincte & absque vllo velamine veritatis, ac me cum omni sodalitate mea benigne reciperent, & in cunctis rationalibus audirent, requisiti autem si necesse foret de ciuitate conducerent in ciuitatem. *Habito itaq; peregrinis conductu, ad Montem* Sinay, *&c.*

Literæ Soldani in gratiam *Mandevilli* concessæ.

Cap. 11. De Monasterio Sinay, & reliquijs beatæ *Catherinæ.* Omittuntur seq. v. d. *supr. l. 8. c. 13.*

Mons Sinay *appellatur ibi desertum* Syn: *quasi in radice Montis istius habetur Cœnobium Monachorum pergrande, cuius clausura in circuitu est firmata muris altis, & portis ferreis, pro metu bestiarum deserti. Hi Monachi sunt* Arabes, *&* Græci, *& in magno conuentu, multum Deo deuoti. Ostendere soleni & caput ipsius* Catherinæ *cum inuolumento sanguinolento, & multas per terea sanctas, & venerabiles reliquias, quæ omnia intuitus sum diligenter & sæpè, oculis indignis, &c.*

Cap. 14. De Ecclesia glorioſi Sepulchri Domini in vrbe Ierusalem.

Templum Sepulchri.

Ierusalem *cum tota terra Promissionis, est quasi vna de quinq; Prouincijs vel pluribus, quibus Regnum* Syriæ *distinguitur. Iungitur autem* Iudæa *ad Orientem Regno* Arabiæ, *ad meridiem* Ægypto, *ad Occidentem mari magno, & ad Aquilonem Regno* Syriæ. Iudeæ *terra per diuersa tempora à diuersis possessa fuit Nationibus,* Cananæorum, Iudæorum, Assyriorum, Persarum, Medorum, Macedonum, Græcorum, Romanorum, Christianorum, Saracenorum, Barbarorum, Turcorum, *&* Tartarorum. *Cuius rei causa merito potest æstimari, quod non sustinuit Deus magnos peccatores longo tempore permanere in terra sibi tam placita, & tam sancta.*

Itaque peregrinus veniens in Ierusalem *primo expleat suam peregrinationem, ad reuerendum & Sacrosanctum Domini nostri Iesu Christi Sepulchrum: cuius Ecclesia est in vltima ciuitatis extremitate, ad partem Aquilonarem, cum proprio sui ambitus muro ipsi ciuitati adiuncto. Ipsa vero Ecclesia est pulchra & rotundæ formæ cooperta desuper cum tegulis plumbeis, habens in Occidente turrim altam & firmam, in pauimenti Ecclesiæ medio ad figuram dimidij compassi habetur nobili opere Latonico ædificatum paruum Tabernaculum quasi 15. pedum tam longitudinis quàm latitudinis, & altitudinis miro artificio intus extraq; compositum, ac multum diligenter diuersis coloribus ornatum. Hoc itaq; in Tabernaculo seu Capella, ad latus dextrum, continetur incomparabilis thesaurus glorioſissimi Sepulchri, habentis octo pedes longitudinis, & quinque latitudinis. Et quoniam in toto habitaculo nulla est apertura præter paruum ostium, illustratur accedentibus peregrinis pluribus lampadibus, (quarum ad minus vna coram sepulchro iugiter ardere solet) ingressus.*

Sciendum, quod ante breue tempus solebat sepulchrum esse ingressis peregrinis accessibile, ad tangendum & osculandum: sed quia multi vel effringebant, vel conabantur sibi effringere aliquid de petra sepulchri, iste Soldanus Melech Mandybron *fecit illud confabricari, vt nec osculari valeat, nec adiri, sed tantummodo intueri. Et ob illam causam in sinistro pariete in altitudine quinque pedum immurari effracturam petræ sepulchri ad quantitatem capitis humani, quod tanquam pro sepulchro ibi ab omnibus veneratur, tangitur, & osculatur.*

Melech Mandybron Soldanus.

Ducitur ibi quoq; communiter præfatam lampadem coram sepulchro singulis annis in die Sanctæ Paraſcheues, hora nona extingui, & in media nocte Paschæ sine humano studio reaccendi. Quod (si ita est) euidens diuini beneficij miraculum est. Et quamuis id plurimi Christiani simpliciter in magno pietatis merito credant, pleriſq; tamen est in suspicione. Fortè talia Saraceni *custodes sepulchri fingentes diuulgauerunt, pro augendo emolumenta tributi, quod inde resultaret, seu oblationum quæ dantur.*

Mandevillus de hoc dubitat. vid. *sup. l. 3. c. 2.*

Singulis

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Singulis autem annis in die Cœnæ Domini in Paraſceue, & in vigilia Paſchæ, tribus his diebus manet Tabernaculum hoc apertum continuè, & patet omnibus Chriſtianis genibus acceſſus, alias verò non per annum ſine redditione tributi. Intra Eccleſiam, propè parietem dextrum, eſt Caluaria locus, vbi crucifixus pependit Chriſtus Dominus. Per gradus aſcenditur in hunc locum, & eſt rupis velut albi coloris, cum aliqua rubedine per loca commixta, habens ſciſſuram, quam dicunt Golgotha, *in qua maior pars precioſi ſanguinis Chriſti dicitur influxiſſe: vbi & habetur Altare conſtructum, ante quod conſiſtunt tumbæ* Godefridi *de* Bullion, *&c.* Tumba *Godefridi de Bullion.*

Vltrà duo ſtadia ab Eccleſia ad Meridiem ſancti Sepulchri habetur magnum hoſpitale ſancti Ioannis Hieroſolymitani, *qui caput & fundamentum eſſe dignoſcitur ordinis Hoſpitaliorum modò tenentium* Rhodum *Inſulam: in quo recipi poſſunt omnes Chriſtiani peregrini cuiuſcunque ſint conditionis, ſeu ſtatus, vel dignitatis. Nam* Saraceni *pro leui cura anxij rumoris, prohibent ne apud quenquam ſuorum Chriſtianus pernoctet. Ad ſuſtentationem edificij huius hoſpitalis, habentur in eo 124. columnæ marmoreæ, & in parietibus diſtincti 54. pilarij. Satis propè hunc locum in Orientem, eſt Eccleſia quæ dicitur de Domina noſtra magna: & indè non remotè alia, quæ dicitur noſtræ Dominæ* Latinorum, *edificata ſuper locum, vbi* Maria Magdalene, *&* Maria Cleophæ *cum alijs pluribus, dum Chriſtus cruci affigebatur, flebant & dolores lamentabiles exercebant.* Cap. 15. De tribus alijs Eccleſijs, & ſpecialiter de Templo Dominj.

Item ab Eccleſia ſancti Sepulchri in Orientem ad ſtadium cum dimidio habetur edificium mirabile ac pulchrum valdè, quod Templum Domini nominatur, quod conſtructum eſt in forma rotunda, cuius circumferentia Diameter habet 64. cubitos, & altitudo eius 126. & intrinſecus pro ſuſtentatione edificij, multis pilarij. In medio autem Templi eſt locus altior 14. gradibus, qui & ipſe columnis vndiq; eſt ſtipatus: & ſecundum quatuor mundi plagas habet Templum quatuor introitus per portas Cypreſſinas artificiosè compoſitas, nobiliterq; ſculptas, & exciſas. Et ante portam Aquilonarem intra Templum fons eſt aquæ mundæ, qui quamuis olim exundabat, tamen nunc minimè fluit. In toto circuitu edificij extrinſecus eſt valdè pro atrio latum ſpacium loci, ſtratum per totum pauimentum marmoribus. Hoc Templum non ducitur ſtare in eodem loco vbi Templum Dei ſtetit in tempore Chriſti, quo poſt Reſurrectionem à Romanis *deſtructo, iſtud longo poſt tempore* Adrianus *Imperator extruxit, ſed non ad formam Templi prioris: prædictum tamen excelſum in medio Templi locum vocant* Iudæi *Sanctum Sanctorum.*

Sciatis itaq; quòd Saraceni *magnam exhibent huic Templo reuerentiam, & honorem, ſapiùs illùc diſcalceati intrantes, & poſitis genibus deuotè Deum Omnipotentem exorantes, nulla enim ibidem habetur imago, ſed multæ lampades relucentes. Neminem Chriſtianorum ſeu* Iudæorum *ingredi ſinunt hoc Templum, reputantes eos indignos ad hoc, & nimium immundos, vndè niſi virtute literarum quas habui à* Soldano, *nec ego fuiſſem ingreſſus. Ingrediens autem cum meis ſodalibus depoſuimus calciamenta, recogitantes cum multa cordis deuotione, nos magis id facere debere, quàm incredulos* Saracenos. Literæ *Soldani* traditæ *Mandeuillo.*

Porrò in eo loco vbi ſtatuerat idem Rex ante Templum Altare holocauſti, videlicet extra portam Templi Occidentalem, habetur & nunc Altare, ſed non ad inſtar, nec ad vſum primi: Nam Saraceni, *quaſi nihil curantes, traxerunt in eo lineas tanquam in Aſtrolabio figentes in linearum centro batellum, ad cuius vmbram per lineas diſcernuntur diei horæ.*

Vlturo ad dextram ſatis de propinquo habetur & alia Eccleſia quæ nunc appellatur ſchola Salomonis: *rurſuſq; ad Meridiem eſt & aliud Templum ſiue Eccleſia, quæ vocatur Templum* Salomonis, *quòd olim fuit caput, & fundamentum totius ordinis Templariorum, &c.* Cap. 16. De pluribus locis ſacris iuxta vrbem.

Dominus Soldanus *quodam die in Caſtro, expulſis omnibus de camera ſua, me ſolùm retinuit ſecum tanquam pro ſecreto habendo colloquio. Conſuetum enim eſt ys eijcere omnes tempore ſecretorum: qui diligenter à me interrogauit qualis eſſet gubernatio vitæ in terra noſtra, breuiter reſpondebam, bona, per Dei gratiam, qui recepto hoc verbo dixit ita non eſſe.* Sacerdotes *(inquit)* veſtri, qui ſeipſos exhibere deberent alijs in exemplum, in malis iacent actibus, parum curant de Templi ſeruitio: habitu & ſtudijs ſe conformant mundo: ſe inebriant vino, continentiam infringentes, cum fraude negotiantes, ac praua principibus conſilia ingerentes. Communis quoque populus, dum feſtis diebus intendere deberent deuotioni in Templo, currit in hortis, in ſpectaculis, in Tabernis vſque ad crapulam, & ebrietatem, & pinguia manducans & bibens, ac in beſtiarum morem; luxuriam prauam exercens. In vſura, dolo, rapina, furto, detractione, mendatio & periurio viuunt plures eorum euidenter, ac ſi qui talia non agant, vt fatui reputantur, & pro nimia cordis ſuperbia neſciunt ad libitum excogitare, qualiter ſe velint habere, mutando ſibi indumenta, nunc longa, nunc curta nimis, quandoque ampla, quandoque ſtricta vltra modum, vt in his ſingulis appareant deriſi potius quam veſtiti: pyleos quoque, calceos, calligas, corrigias ſibi fabricant exquiſitas, cùm etiam è contra deberent ſecundùm Chriſti ſui doctrinam ſimplices, Deo deuoti, humiles, veraces, inuicem diligentes, inuicem concordantes, & iniuriam de facili remittentes. Scimus etiam eos propter peccata ſua perdidiſſe hanc terram optimam quam tenemus, nec timemus eam amittere, quamdiu ſe taliter gubernant. Attamen non dubitamus, quin in futurum per meliorem vitæ conuerſationem merebuntur de noſtris eam manibus recuperare. Colloquium *Soldani* cum *Mandeuillo.* Reprehenſio Sacerdotum. Reprehenſio vulgi turpiſſima Veſtimentorum varietas reprehenſa.

Ad hoc ego vltra confuſus & ſtupefactus, nequiui inuenire reſponſum; verebar enim obloqui veritati, quamuis ab Infidelis ore prolatæ, & vultu præ rubore demiſſo percunctatus ſum, Domine, ſalua reuerentia, qualiter poteſtis ita plenè hoc noſcere? De hominibus (ait) meis interdum mitto ad modum Mercatorum per terras & Regiones Chriſtianorum, cum Balſamo, Gemmis, Sericis, ac Aromatibus,

ac

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ac per illos singula exploro, tam de statu Imperatoris, ac Pontificum Principum, ac Sacerdotum, quam Prælatorum, nec non Æquora, Prouincias, ac distinctiones earum.

Igitur peracta collocutione vestra satis producta, egressos Principes in cameram reuocauit ex quibus quatuor de maioribus iuxta nos aduocans, fecit eos expresse ac debite, per singulas diuisiones in lingua Gallicana *destinguere per partes, & singularum nomina partium, omnem Regionem terræ Anglie, ac alias Christianorum terras multas, ac si inter nostros fuissent nati, vel multo tempore conuersati. Nam & ipsum* Soldanum *audiui cum ijs bene & directè loquentem idioma* Francorum. *Itaque in omnibus his mente consternatus obmutui, cogitans, & dolens de peccatis singulis, rem talster se habere, &c.*

Secunda pars. Cap. 26. De Æthiopia, & Diamantibus, & de infima India.

AEthiopia *consistit à terra* Chaldæorum *in* Austrum, *qua distinguitur in Orientalem Æthiopiam, & Meridionalem, quarum prima in illis partibus vocatur* Cush, *propter hominum nigredinem, altera* Mauritania.

De Æthiopia *intratur in* Indiam *mediam, nam triplex est, videlicet Infima, que in quibusdam suis partibus est nimis frigida ad inhabitandum: Media qua satis temperata est, & Superior, qua nimis calida, &c.*

India triplex.

Cap. 28. De Ecclesia & corpore sanctæ Thomæ Apostoli.

Hinin Meridiem pluribus exactis Insulis per viam decem dietarum venitur in Regnum Mabron. *Illic in ciuitate* Calamiæ, *seruatur in magno Templo corpus beatissimi* Thomæ *Apostoli Domini nostri Iesu Christi in capsa honorificata. In quo loco & martirizatus fuit, licet dicunt quidam, quod in Edissa ciuitate. Iste populus non est multum tempus transactum, quin fuit totus in fidei religione, sed nunc est ad pessimos* Gentilium *ritus peruersus.*

Regio Mabron vel Malaber. Calamia, vel Calumè.

Per certas historias habetur Ducem Danorum Ogerum *conquisiuisse has terras, & in exaltatione sanctarum Apostoli reliquiarum fecisse fieri prefatam spectatilem Ecclesiam, &c.*

Idolum in Templo sancti Apostoli erectum.

In hac ipsa beati Thomæ *Ecclesia statuerunt multa mira magnitudinis simulachra, ex quibus vnum quòd maius est multò alijs, apparet sedens homo in alto solio adoperto aureis sericis, & lapidibus pretiosis, habensq; ad collum suspensa pro ornatu multa cinctoria pretiosè gemmis, & auro contexta. Ad hoc autem Idolum adorandum confluunt peregrini à remotis partibus, & propinquis, in satis maiori copia, & valdè feruentiori deuotione quàm Christiani, ad sanctuum* Iacobum *in* Galizia, *quia multi eorum per totum peregrinationis iter, non audent erigere palpebras oculorum, ne fortè propter hoc deuotio intermittatur.*

Alij de propè venientes superaddunt labori itinerandi, vt ad tertium vel ad quartum passum semper cadant in genibus. Nonnulli quoque Demoniaca inspiratione semetipsos per viam peregrinationis lanceolis, & cultellis nunc minoribus, nunc maioribus sauciant vulneribus per singula corporis loca, & dum ante Idolum perueniunt, excisum frustum de carne propria proijcunt ad Idolum pro offerenda, ac plagis durioribus se castigant, & quandoque spontaneè penitus se occidunt: in solemnitatibus verò, sicut in dedicatione, & sicut in thronizatione simulachrorum, fit conuentus populi, quasi totius Regni. Et ducitur cum processione maius Idolum per circuitum ciuitatis, in curru preciosissimo, modis omnibus perornato, & precedunt in numero magno puelle cantantes bina, & bine, ordinatissimè; succeditq; pluralitas Musicorum cum instrumentis varijs simphonizantes, quos continuè subsequitur currus cuius lateribus coniungit se peregrinorum exercitus, qui & venerunt de remotis.

Ibique cernitur miserabilis actus vltrà modum. Nam aliqui victi vltrà modum diabolica deuotione proijciunt se sub rotis currus precedentis, vt frangantur sibi crura, brachia, latera, dorsa, nec non & colla in reuerentiam Dei sui (vt dicunt) à quo remunerationem sperant, venire ad Paradisum terrestrem.

Occidunt se in honorem Idoli

Et post processionem postquàm statuerunt Idolum in Templo suo loco, multiplicatur coram simulachris numerus sapè plangentium, & Occidentium vltrà quam credi sit facile. Ita quod quandoq; in illa vnica solemnitate inueniuntur ducenta corpora, vel plura occisorum. Et assistentes propinqui amici talium Diabolo martyrum, cum magna musicorum melodia decantantes in sua lingua offerunt Idolis corpora, ac demum accenso rogo omnia corpora comburunt in honorem Idolorum, assumentes sibi singuli aliquid de ossibus aut cineribus pro reliquijs, quas putant sibi valituras contra qualibet infortunia, & tempestates. Et habetur ante Templum, aqua lacus, velut seruatorium piscium, in quo proijcit populus largissimè suas oblationes, Argentum, Aurum, Gemmas, Cyphos, & similia, quibus ministri certis temporibus exhibentes prouident Ecclesia, ac simulachro, ac sibi ipsis abundanter.

Cap. 29. De Iaua, & quibusdam alijs meridionalibus Insulis.

Inde vlterius procedendo in Austrum *per multas & mirabiles terras quinquaginta duarum dietarum spacio, habetur magna Insula* Lamori. *Illic omnes nudi incedunt, & ferè omnia sunt singulis communia; nec vtuntur priuatis clauibus siue seris, imo & omnes mulieres sunt communes omnibus & singulis viris, dummodo violentia non inferatur: sed & peior est ijs consuetudo, quod libenter comedunt teneras carnes humanas; vnde & negotiatores adferunt eis crassos infantes venales: quod si non satis pingues afferuntur eos saginant sicut nos Vitulum, siue Porcum.*

Mandeuillus vsus astrolabio.

Hic apparet in bona altitudine Polus Antarcticus & incipit modò apperere in alta Lybia, *ita quod in alta* Æthiopa, *eleuatur octodecem gradibus, prout ipse probaui Astrolabio.*

Iaua Insula, grandis.

Et est valde grandis Regio Iaua, *habens in circuitu ambitum leucarum duarum millium. Huius Rex est valde potens, & imperans septem Insularum vicinarum Regibus. Terra ista est populosa, valdè, & crescunt in ea Species, & abundantia Gingiberis, Canella, Gariofoli, Nuces Muscata, & Mastix, cum*

Multa Aromata in Iaua.

Aro-

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Aromatibus multis. Sed & quod ibi nascatur vinum, non habent: Aurum & Argentum est ibi in copia immensa, quòd patet in Regis Iauæ *palatio, cuius palatij nobilitas non est facilè scribenda.*

Cuncti gradus ascendentes ad palatij aulas, & aularum cameras, & ad thalamos camerarum sunt solidi de argento vel auro, sed & omnis statura pauimentorum in alijs habetur ad similitudinem scacarij, vnam quadratam argenti, alteram auri, laminis valdè crassis, & in ipsis pauimentis, sunt exsculpta gesta, & historiæ diuersæ. In principali verò aula, est plenariè expressa Dani *Ducis* Ogeri *historia, à natiuitate ipsius, quousque in* Franciam *fantasticè dicatur reuersus, cum tempore* Caroli Magni *Regis* Franciæ, *ipse* Ogerus *armata manu conquisiuit Christianitati ferè omnes partes transmarinas à* Ierosolymis *vsque ad arbores Solis & Lunæ, ac propè Paradisum terrestrem.*

Pro hac Regione Iaua, *(quæ tangit fines Imperij* Tartariæ*) sibi subiuganda, Imperator* Grand Can *multoties pugnauit, sed nunquam valuit expugnare. Hinc per mare venitur ad regnum* * Thalamasse, *quòd & * Pachon dicitur, in quo habetur magnus numerus bonarum ciuitatum. Intra hanc Insulam, quatuor sunt genera arborum, de quarum vna accipitur farina ad panem, de secunda mel, de tertia vinum, & de quarta pessimum venenum. Extrahitur autem farina de suis arboribus isto modo.*

* Vel Thoiomassi.
* Vel Paten.
Farina ex arbore.

*Certo tempore anni percutitur stipes arboris vndique prope terram cum securi, & cortex in locis pluribus vulneratur, de quibus recipitur liquor spissus, qui desiccatus ad solis æstum & contritus reddit farinam albam, ac si de frumento esset confectus, attamen hic panis non est tritacei saporis, sed alterius valde boni. Simili modo de suis arboribus mel elicitur, & vinum * liquitur: excepto quod illa non sicut gramina prima desiccantur. Fertur quoque ibidem extractionem huius farinæ, mellis, & vini, per Angelum primitus fuisse ostensum prædicto* Danorum *Duci, illic fame cum suo exercitu laboranti. Contra venenum quod de quarto arboris genere stillat, solum est intoxicato remedium, vt de proprio fimo per puram aquam distemperato bibat.*

* Tadtic.

In littore maris Calanoch *miraculosè veniunt semel in anno, per tres continuos dies, quasi de omni genere piscium marinorum, in maxima abundantia: & præbent se omnibus liberè capiendos ad manum. Nam & ego ipse cepi quamplures. Vnde notandum, quod eodem tempore anni quo super dicta extrahitur farina, mel, & vinum, conueniunt in hoc isti pisces: quæ ambo mirabiliter fecit vno tempore Deus olim pro Duce suo* Ogero, *quæ & in memoria illius, vsque nunc, singulis annis innouantur.*

Calanoch.

Et sunt in hoc territorio testudines terribilis quantitatis, fitq; de maioribus Regi ac Nobilibus delicatus ac preciosis cibus: mentior, si non quasdam ibidem viderim testudinum conchas, in quarum vna se tres homines occultarent, suntq; omnes multum albi coloris. Si hic vir vxoratus moritur, sepelitur & vxor vna cum eo, quatenus, sicut ibi credunt, habeant eam statim sociam in seculo altero.

Testitudines grandissimæ.

In istis autem meridionalibus partibus apparebat mihi eleuatio poli Antarctici 33. graduum, cum 16. minutis. Et sciendum quod in Bohemia, *similiter & in* Anglia *eleuatur polus Arcticus 52. gradibus vel citra: Et in partibus magis septentrionalibus, vbi sunt* Scoti *62. gradibus cum 4. minutis. Ex quo patet respiciendo ad latitudinem cœli, quæ est de polo ad polum, itinerario meæ fuit per quartum Horizontis sphæræ terræ, & vltra per 5. gradus, cum 20. minutis. Cum ergo secundum Astrologos, totus terræ circuitus sit 31500. milliarium, octo stadijs pro milliario computatis, & septinginta stadia respondeant ad vnum gradum, quod patet ad latitudinem terræ, perambulani 66733. stadia cum vno tertio, quæ faciunt 4170. leucas Geometricas cum dimidia vel propè.*

Australis latitudo 33. grad. 16. minut.

Hæc erat Eratosthenis computatio.

Cum igitur tot & talia in istis Insulis vidimus monstra (quæ si explicarem scribendo vix à legentibus omnia crederentur) non curauimus vlterius procedere sub polo Australi, ne in maiora pericula incideremus: sed propter auditam & inuisam nobis famositatem potentiæ, nobilitatis, & gloriæ Imperatoris Tartarorum, *vertebam faciem cum socijs nauigare magis versus Orientem. Cumq; per multas dietas sustinuissemus multa pericula maris, peruenimus in Regnum* Manchus, *quod est in confinibus superioris* Indiæ, *& iungitur ab vna parte* Tartariæ. *Hæc Regio* Manchus *pro sua quantitate reputatur melior, delectabilior, & omnium bonorum abundantior de cunctis ibi propè Regionibus. Nam & homines, bestiæ, & volucres maiores & corpulentiores sunt alijs, & præ vbertate vix inuenirentur in vna ciuitate decem mendici. Formosi sunt viri, sed fœminæ formosiores. Sed viri loco barbæ, habent perpaucos pilos, rigidos, & longos ab vtraque oris parte, quemadmodum nostros videmus cattos habere.*

Cap. 32. De bona Regione Manchus (forte Mangi.)

Prima quam ingrediamur ciuitas est Lachori, *distans vna dieta à mari, & mirabamur, & gauisi sumus nos inuenisse integram ciuitatem Christianæ fidei. Nam & maior pars Regni credit in Christum. Ibi habetur in leui precio copia rerum omnium, & præcipuè victualium: vnum genus est ibi serpentum in abundantia quod manducant ad omne conuiuium, & nisi pro finali ferculo ministrarctur de illis serpentibus, conuiuium quàm modicum diceretur.*

Christiani.

Suntq; per hoc regnum pleraque ciuitates & Ecclesiæ, & religiones quas instituit Dux Ogerus, *quia hoc est vnum de quindecim regnis quæ quæsiuit, sicut infra dicetur. Illic sunt elegantes albæ gallinæ, quæ non vestiuntur plumis vt nostræ, sed optima lana. Canes aquatici, quos nos Latras nominamus, sunt ibi multi edomiti, quod quoties mittuntur in flumen, exportant domino piscem.*

Sunt huiusmodi etiam canes in India occidentali, teste *Petro Martyre*, in Decadibus.

Ab hoc loco per aliquas dietas, venitur ad huius regionis maximam vrbem Cansay, *hoc est dicere,* Ciuitatem Cœli, *imo de vniuerso orbe terrarum putatur hæc maxima ciuitatum; nam eius circuitus 50. leucis est mensus, nec est facile dicere, quàm compresse à quamplurimis populis inhabitatur. Hæc sedet in lacu maris, quemadmodum, &* Venetiæ: *& habentur in ea plures quàm mille ducenti pontes, & in quolibet turres miræ magnitudinis, ac fortitudinis, munitæ peruigili custodia, & pro vrbe tuendâ contra Imperatorem* Grand Can. *Multi sunt ibi Christiani, & multæ Religiones Christianorum,*

Cansay, vel Quinsay, & eius descriptio

ſed & de ordinibus Minorum, & Prædicatorum, qui tamen ibi non mendicant; eſt magna pluralitas ex diuerſis Nationibus Mercatorum. Per Regionem naſcitur vinum valdè bonum, quod appellatur Bigon. *Et ad leucam extra Ciuitatem, Abbatia magna eſt, non de Religione Chriſtiana ſed Pagana: & in ea forreſtum, ſiue hortus magnus vndiq; circumcluſus, conſitus arboribus, & arbuſtis in cuius etiam medio mons altus ſimul & latus, habens hortum vbi ſolum inhabitant beſtiolæ mirabiles, ſicut Simiæ, marmotæ, Lanbon, papiones, foreti & huiuſmodi ad varia & multa genera, & ad numerum infinitum.*

Eidem narrat *Odericus.*

Omni autem die poſt refectionem conuentus Abbatiæ, qui eſt valdè Monachoſus, deferuntur reliquiæ ciborum cum magno additamento, in vaſis auro lucentibus ad hunc hortum: & ad ſonitum Campanæ argenteæ, quam Eleemoſynarius manu geſtat deſcendentes, & occurrentes de beſtiolis duo millia aut plures ſeſe componunt reſidere ad circulum more pauperum mendicorum, & traditur ſingulis per ſeruos, aliquid de his cibarijs, ac denuò audita campana ſegregando recurrunt: Cumque nos tanquam redarguentes, diceremus, cur hæc non darentur egenis, reſponderunt, illic pauperes non habentur, quod ſi inuenirentur, potius tamen dari deberent beſtiolis. Habet enim eorum perfidia, & Paganiſmus, animas nobilium hominum poſt mortem ingredi corpora nobilium beſtiarum, & animas ignobilium corpora beſtiarum ignobilium & vilium, ad luenda videlicet crimina, donec peracta pœnitentia tranſeant in Paradiſum: ideoque nutriunt, prout dicunt, has nobiliores beſtias, ſiue beſtiolas, quòd à quibuſdam nobilibus fundabatur in principio hæc Abbatia. Multa ſunt alia mira in hac Ciuitate, de quibus ſciatis, quod non omnia vobis recitabo.

Cap. 33.

Inſula Pygmæorum *non eſt protenſa, ſed fortè* 12. *Ciuitatum. Quarum vna eſt grandis, & bene munita, & quam* Grand Can *facit cum fortibus armaturis curioſè ſeruari, contra Regem* Mangi.

Hinc procedtur per Imperium Grand Can, *ad multas Ciuitates, & Villas morum mirabiliter diuerſorum, vſq; in Regnum* Iamcham, *quod eſt vnum de* 12. *Prouincijs maximis, quibus diſtinguitur totum Imperium* Tartarorum. *Nobilior Ciuitas huius Regni ſeu Prouincia dicitur* Iamchan, *abundans mercimonijs, & diuitijs infinitis, & multa præſtans proprio Regi tributa, quoniam ſicut illis de Ciuitate fatentur, valet annuè Regi quinquaginta milia* * Cuman Florenorum *auri. Nota. In* Iamchan *Ciuitate eſt Conuentus fratrum Minorum: in hac ſunt tres Eccleſiæ Monaſteriorum: reditus ſimul aſcendit ad* 12. Cuman. Odericus. *Vnus* Cuman *eſt decem millium. Summa tributi annui, quinquaginta millia millium* Florenorum. *In illis namq; partibus magnas numerorum ſummas eſtimant per* Cuman, *numerum* 10 *millium qui & in* Flamingo *dicitur* laſte. *Ad quinque leucas ab hac Ciuitate eſt alia dicta* Meke, *in qua fiunt de quodam albiſſimi generis ligni Naues maximæ cum Aulis & Thalamis, ac multis ædificijs, tanquam Palatium tellure fundatum.*

Iamchan.

* Cuman.

Ciuitas Meke.

Maximæ naues, quales hodie oſtentat China.

Inde per idem Regnum ad viam octo diætarum per aquam dulcem, multas per Ciuitates, & bonas Villas, venimus a Laucherim, (Odericus *appellat* Leuyim) *vrbem formoſam opumq; magnarum, ſitam ſuper flumen magnum* b Cacameran. *Hoc flumen tranſit per medium* Cathay, *cui aqua infert damnum, quando nimis inundat, ſicut* Padus *in* Ferraria, Mogus *in* Herbipoli: *& illud ſequentes intrauimus principalem Prouinciam Imperij* Tartariæ, *dictam* Cathay Calay: *& iſta Prouincia eſt multum diſtenta, ac plena Ciuitatibus, & Oppidis bonis, & magnis omnibuſq; referta mercimonijs, maximè Sericoſis operibus, & Aromaticis ſpeciebus.*

a Siue Lanterin.

b Vel Caremoron.

Cathay Calay.

Nauigando per dictum flumen verſus Orientem, & itinerando per hanc Cathay *Prouinciam ad multas dietas per plurimas Vrbes & Villas, venitur in Ciuitatem* c Sugarmago, *abundantiorem omnibus in mercemonijs antedictis: quando ſericum eſt hic viliſſimum quadraginta libra habentur ibi pro decem* Florenis. *Ab hac Ciuitate, multis Ciuitatibus peragratis verſus Orientem, veni ad Ciuitatem* Cambalu, *quæ eſt antiqua in Prouincia* Cathay: *Hanc poſtquam* Tartari *ceperunt, ad dimidium miliare fecerunt vnam Ciuitatem nomine* Caydo, *& habet duodecim portas, & à porta in portam duo ſunt groſſa miliaria* Lombardica, *ſpacium inter medium iſtarum Ciuitatum habitatoribus plenum eſt & circuitus cuiuſlibet iſtarum ambit* 60. *miliaria* Lombardica, *quæ faciunt octo* Teutonica. *In hac Ciuitate* Cambalu *reſidet Imperator Magnus* Can, *Rex Regum terreſtrium, & Dominus Dominorum terreſtrium. Atq; indè vlterius in Orientem intratur vetus vrbs* Caydo, *vbi communiter tenet ſuam ſedem Imperialem* Grand Can *in ſuo Palatio. Ambitus autem vrbis* Caydo, *eſt viginti ferè leucarum, duodecim habens portas à ſe diſtantes amplius quàm ſtadia* 24.

c Engarmago.

Vilitas ſerici.

Vel Cambaleck.

Caydo Ciuitas.

Cap. 34. De Palatio Imperatoris Grand Can.

Palatium Imperatoris Grand Can, *quod eſt in* Caydo *Ciuitate, continet in circuitu proprij muralis vltrà duas leucas & ſunt in eo aulæ quàm plures, in forma nobiles, & in materia nobiliores. Aula autem ſedis, quæ eſt maxima cæterarum, habet intrinſecus pro ſui ſuſtentatione* 24. *æreas columnas factas opere fuſorio, de auro puro, & omnes parietes ab intus opertas pellibus quorundam animalium, quæ vocantur Pantheres: hæ ſanguinei ſunt coloris, & ita remicantes, vt Sole deſuper relucente, vix oculus valeat humanus ſuſtinere ſplendorem, tantæq; fragrantiæ vt illi approximare non poſſet aer infectus, vnde & iſta opertura parietum appreciatur ſuper tegmen aureorum laminarum, &c.*

Iſtius autem oſtia aulæ, dum in ea reſidet, aut deambulat Imperator, multi Barones ingreſſum ſeruant intentè & ne limen tangatur, quod hoc haberent pro augurio: & benè verberaretur, quia Imperatore præſente, nemo niſi adductus in quacunque camera, vel habitatione intromittitur, donec interrogatus inſſerit Imperator. Latitudinem huius Baſilicæ *æſtimo ad ſpacium de meis pedibus centum & longitudinem vltrà quatuor centum.*

Mandeuillus ſuis pedibus menſurauit aulam Imperatoris.

Præterea, iuxta Palatij ambitum, habetur grandis parci ſpaciamentum, diuerſi generis arboribus repletum, fructus ferentibus varios, & nobis inuiſos, & in parte media, aula ſuper excelſum collem de

tam

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tam mira & pulchra ſtructura, vt eius nobilitas de facili ad præſens non poſsit deſcribi. Et vndiq;, per collis gyrum aquæ foſſatum profundum, & latum, vltrà quod pons vnicus ducit ad collem. Atq; ex duobus montis lateribus, ſtagnum cum diuerſorum copia Piſcium, & volucrum indomitarum, vt anicarum, annatum, cignorum, ciconiarum, ardearum, & collectorum in magna pluralitate: nec non & per parcum, multæ ſyluęſtres beſtiæ, & beſtiolæ quatenùs per aulæ feneſtras poſsit Dominus pro ſolatio reſpicere volucrum aucupationes, beſtiarum venationes, & piſcium captiones.

Præter palatium hoc in Caydo, *habet Imperator ſimiliter tria: vnum in ciuitate* Sadus, *verſus Septentrionem, vbi competens eſt frigus, ibi moratur in æſtate.* Cambalu, *vbi competens calor, ibi moratur hyeme. Tertium in ciuitate* Iongh, *in quo & in iſto* Caydo, *vt ſæpiùs ſeruat ſedem, eò quòd in iſtis eſt aer magis temperatus, quamuis ſemper calidus videtur Noſtratibus.*

Haitonus meminit Iong.

Sciatis quòd ego, meiq; ſodales, pro fama magnificentiæ huius Imperatoris, tradidimus nos ſtipendiarios eſſe in guerris, contra Regem Mangi *prænominatum. Et fuimus apud ipſum 15. menſibus, & certè inuenimus multò maiorem partem hominum, in mediam partem nobis non fuiſſe relatam: hominum (exceptis cuſtodibus beſtiarum & volucrum) qui intra palatium certa gerunt miniſteria eſt numerus decem cuman.*

Cap. 35. De quatuor ſolennitatibus, quas *Magnus Can* celebrat in anno.

Nota. Traxi *moram in* Cambalu *tribus annis: fratres noſtri locum habent in Curia ſua ſpecialiter, & feſtis diebus ſtatutis dant benedictionem.* Odericus. *Et quoniam Imperator habet ſatis plures quàm decem mille Elephantes edomitos, & velut vltrà numerum alias beſtias (quarum quædam tenentur in caueis, ſtabulis mirabilibus, vel catenis) nec non & aues rapaces, & Accipitres, Falcones, Oſtrones, Gryfandos gentiles, Laueroys, & Satyros, ſed & Aniculas loquentes, & Papingos, & ſimiles, aliaſq; cantantes: reputatur numerus hominum de iſtis curam & laborem gerentium, vltrà ſex cumas, & præterea iugiter ad Curiam equites cum plenarijs armaturis, quinq; cuman, & de peditibus cum præliandi armaturis, cuman decem. Sed & omnes de natione quacunq; mundi venientes, qui petunt deſcribi pro Curia, recipiuntur. Sic enim iuſſit Imperator. Habet & medicos Paganos viginti, & totidem Phyſicos, atque ſine his Medicos Chriſtianos ducentos, & totidem Phyſicos, quoniam iſte* Grand Can *maiorem gerit confidentiam in Medicis Chriſtianis, quàm in ſuæ propriæ nationis medicis.*

Vixit in Cambalu tribus annis.

Sex cuman famulorum.

Quinque Cuman equitum.

Decem Cuman peditum.

Medici Chriſtiani, 200. in aula *Grand Can.*

Hoc ergò firmiter ſcias, quod de Curia Regis accipiunt neceſſaria ſua ingiter vltrà triginta cuman hominum, præter expenſas animalium & volucrum, cùm tamen in feſtis maioribus ſint homines propè in duplo tanti. Nec valet hic Dominus defectum vllum pati pecuniæ, eò quòd in terra ſua non currit moneta de argento, vel auro, aliòue metallo, ſed tantùm de corio vel papyro: horum enim forma denariorum ſigno Imperatoris impreſſorum preciatur minoris aut maioris valoris, ſecundùm diuerſitatem impreſſionis, qui per viſitationem, detriti vel rupti, cùm ad Regis theſaurarios deferuntur, protinùs dantur pro illis noui.

Vnus Cuman continet decem milia, vt in cap. 33.

Moneta de corio vel papyro.

Quater in anno celebrat Imperator feſtiuitates ſolennes. Primam de die propria Natiuitatis. Secundam, de die ſuæ primæ præſentationis in eorum Templo, quod appellant Moſcath, *vbi & ſit ijs, neſcio quod genus circumciſionis. Tertiam, in thronizatione ſui Idoli in Templo. Quartam, de die quo Idolum cœpit dare reſponſum, ſeu facere diabolica mira. Plures enim in anno non tenet ſolennitates, niſi ſi quando nuptias filij aut filiæ celebrat. Itaq; in iſtis ſolemnitatibus eſt populi multitudo abſq; numero, &c.*

Quatuor feſta.

Circumciſio quædam.

Cap. 36. De ludis & præſtigijs in ſuo feſto, & de ſuo comitatu.

Celebrato poſt hoc prandio ſatis morosè, quia nunquam eſt vltrà ſemel edendum in die, de quo & eius adminiſtratione nunc longum eſt ſcribere, adſunt geſticulatores, mira viſu, ſuauiaq; auditu pedibus, manibus, brachijs, humeris, capitibus, & toto corpore, ac ad ſingulos geſtus, correſpondentes debito vocis ſono. Et ſemper finem horum mirabilium cantilena ſubſequitur muſicorum. Ex hoc ioculatores præſtò ſunt, & Magi, qui ſuis incantationibus præſtant præſtigia multa.

Semel in die comedunt.

Magi inſignes.

Certum eſt illic homines eſſe ſubtiles ad quaſdam humanas artes, & ingenioſos ad fraudes ſuper omnes, quos noui mundi partes, vnde & inter ſe dicunt prouerbium, ſe ſolos videre duobus oculis, & Chriſtianos vno, cæteros autem homines cæcos: ſed mentitur iniquitas ſibi, quoniam ipſi vident ſolo oculo terrena & tranſitoria, & nos Chriſtiani duobus, quia cum terrenis videmus ſpiritualia, & manſura: percuſſit enim Naas, *id eſt, humani generis hoſtis cum illis fœdus, vt erueret omnibus oculos dextros, ſcilicet ſpirituales.*

Inſignis ſententia. 1. *Sam.* 11. 2.

Cap. 37. Qua de cauſa dicitur *Grand Can.*

Poſt annos Chriſti 1100. *prima* Tartaria *fuit nimis oppreſſa ſeruitute ſub Regibus circumiacentium ſibi nationum. Quando autem Deo placuit, maiores illius* Tartariæ *eleuauerunt de ſeipſis ſibi Regem dictum* Guis Can, *cui & promiſerunt ſubiectiſſimam obedientiam. Idem cùm eſſet prudens & ſtrenuus* 12. *viriles habens filios, debellauit cum ijs & populo ſuo, & vicit, ac ſubiecit cunctos in circuitu Reges, quibus terra indebitè diù ſubiacuerat. Quin etiam apparente ſibi in viſione Angelo Dei velut milite in albo equo, & candidis armis, & hortante ſe, vt tranſiret Alpes, per montem* * Beliam, *& per brachium maris, ad terram* Cathay, *& ad alias illic plurimas regiones tranſiuit, & cœpit cum filijs ſuis aliquas ex illis debellare, & ſubijcere, Deo in omnibus adiuuante potenter. Et quoniam in equo albo ei Angelus apparuit, qui etiam antè paſſum prædicti maris nouem orationes Deo facere iuſſit, idcò ſucceſſores vſque hodiè diligunt equos albos, & nouenarium numerum habent præ cæteris in gratia. Dunq;* Guis Can *morti præ ſenio appropinquaret, conuocatos ante ſe filios hortabatur, & monebat exemplo* 12. *telorum in ſimul colligatorum, quæ à nullo filiorum pariter frangi potuerant, ſed diſſoluta vnumquodq; per ſe facilè frangebatur: ſic filij (inquit) dilectiſſimi, ſi per concordiam vos inuicem dilexeritis, & vnxeritis ſeniori fratri obedientes, confido in Deo iuxta promiſſionem mihi ab Angelo factam, quòd omnem latiſſimam*

Vera ratio huius nominis *Can.*

Guis Can.

Vel Belgiam.

Cur albi equi, & nouenarius numerus Tartaris ſint in pretio.

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istam terram, & optimam illius imperio subijcietis, quod & post patris discessum strenuissimè, ac fidelissimè (Deo sibi prosperante) perfecerunt. Et quia cum proprijs nominibus habebant cognomen Can, *primogenitus pro differentia obtinuit nomen* Grand Can, *id est,* Magnus Can, *videlicet supra cæteros fratres, qui sibi in omnibus obediebant.*

Grand Can.

Ochoto Can. Gui Can. Mango Can.

Itaq; iste secundus Imperator vocabatur Ochoto Can. *Post quem filius eius regnauit dictus* Gui Can. *Quartus autem, qui* Mango Can *baptizabatur, permansitq; fidelis Christianus, qui etiam misso magno exercitu cum fratre suo* Hallaon *in partes* Arabiæ *&* Ægypti *mandauit destrui in toto* Mahometi *superstitionem, & terram poni in manibus Christianorum. Et fratre tum procedente, accepit rumores de fratris sui Imperatoris morte inopinata, quapropter & rediit negotio imperfecto. Quintus* Cobila Can, *qui etiam fuit Christianus, & regnauit* 42. *annis, & ædificauit magnam ciuitatem* Iong, *maiorem satis vrbe* Roma, *in qua & continetur valdè nobile palatium Imperiale. Hinc vsq; hodie omnes successores Paganismo fœdantur.*

Cobila Can.

Echiant Can, Imperator Tartarorum tempore Mandeuilli.

Tempore autem meo erat nomen Imperatoris Echiant Can, *& primogenitus eius* Cosue Can, *præter quem & alios filios habuit* 12. *de quorum nominibus conscribendis non est curæ præsentis.*

Prima vxorum suorum vocabatur Serochan, *quæ & est filia* Presbyteri Ioannis, *scilicet Imperatoris* Indiæ. *Secunda* Verouchan. *Tertia* Caranth Can.

Serochan vxor Grand Can.

Istis duobus Imperatoribus non creditur inueniri maior Dominus sub firmamento Cœli. In literis quæ huius Imperatoris Tartariæ *scribuntur nomine ponitur semper iste Titulus.* Can filius Dei excelsi, omnium viriuersam terram colentium summus Imperator, & Dominus dominantium omnium. *Circumferentia magni sui sigilli, continet hoc scriptum.* Deus in Cœlo, Can super terram, eius fortitudo. Omnium hominum Imperatoris sigillum. *Sciendum quoq; quod quamuis populi ibi discuntur, & sunt* Pagani, *tamen & Rex & omnes credunt in Deum immortalem; & Omnipotentem, & inuant per ipsum appellantes,* Yroga, *id est, Deum Naturæ. Sed nihilominus colunt & adorant Idola, & simulachra aurea, & argentea, lapidea, lignea, filtria, lanea, & linea.*

Yroga, Deus Naturæ.

Cap. 38. De Territorio Cathay & moribus Tartarorum.

Totum Imperium Imperatoris Grand Can *distinctum est in* 12. *magnas Prouincias, iuxta numerum duodecim filiorum primi Genitoris* Can. *Harum Prouinciarum maior, & nobilior dicitur* Cathay, *quæ consistit in* Asia *profunda. Tres enim sunt* Asiæ, *scilicet quæ profunda dicitur, &* Asia *dicta maior quæ nobis est satis propinquior & tertia minor intra quam est* Ephesus *beati* Ioannis Euangelistæ *sepultura, de qua habes in præcedentibus.*

12. Prouinciæ Chinæ. Cathay. Asia triplex.

Vestitus Tartarorum,

Omnes tam viri quam feminæ similibus in forma vestibus inducuntur, videlicet valdè latis & brenibus vsq; ad genua cum apertura in lateribus quam firmant (dum volunt) ansis quibusdam, nam vterq; sexus est brachijs seu femoralibus plenè tectus. Nunquam vtuntur toga aut collobio, sed nec caputio, vnde nec per aspectum indumentorum potest haberi differentia inter virum & mulierem innuptam. Sed nupta gestat per aliquod tegumentum in capite formam pedis viri. Nubit illic vir quotquot placet mulieribus, vt nonnulli habeant decem vel duodecim vxores aut plures. Nam quisq; maritus iungitur licenter cuilibet mulieri, exceptis matre, & amita, sorore, & filia. Sicut viri equitant, tendunt, & currunt per patriam pro negotijs sic & mulieres, quoniam & ipsæ operantur omnia ferè artificia mechanica sicut pannos & quicquid efficitur de panno, corio, sericoq;, minantq; carrucas, & vehicula, sed viri fabricant de ferro & de omni metallo lapidibus atq; ligno, nec vir nec mulier nobilis aut degener comedit vltra semel in die communiter. Multa nutriunt pecora sed nullos porcos, parum comeditur ibi de pane exceptis magnatibus & diuitibus, sed carnes edunt pecorum, bestiarum, & bestiolarum vtpote Boum, Ouium, Caprarum, Equorum, Asinorum, Canum, Cattorum, Murium, & Rattorum, ius carnium sorbentes, & omnis generis lac bibentes.

Porcus & panis rariss.

Formæ domorum.

Nobiles autem bibunt lac Equarum, seu iumentorum, pro nobilissimo potu & pauperes aquam bullitam cum modico mellis, quia nec vinum ibi habetur, nec ceruisia conficitur: & multi ac plurimi fontes consulunt in sua siti, per villas, & rura. Domus, & habitacula rotundæ sunt formæ, compositæ & contextæ paruis lignis, & flexilibus virgulis, ad modum cauearum quas nos facimus pro auiculis, habentes rotundam in culmine aperturam præstantem duo beneficia habitationi, quoniam & ignis quem in medio domus constituunt fumum emittit, & pro aspiciendo lumen immittit. Intrinsecus sunt parietes vndiq; de filtro, sed & tectum filtrum est: has domus, dum locum habitandi mutare volunt, vel dum in diutina expeditione procedunt, ducunt secum in plaustris quasi tentoria.

Tartari Hamaxouij, i. in plaustris viuentes.

Nouilunium in precio.

Ceremoniæ Tartarorum, & peccata.

Multas superuacuas obseruant ceremonias, quia respiciunt in vanitates & insanias falsas: solem & lunam præcipuè adorant, eisq; frequenter genua curuant, & ad nouilunium, quicquid est magni estimant inchoandum. Nullus omnino vtitur calcaribus in equitando, sed cogunt equum flagello scorpione, reputantes peccatum non leue, si quis ad hoc flagellum appodiat, aut iumentum percuteret suo frano: pleraque similia, quæ parum aut nihil nocent, ponderant vt grauia, sicut imponere cultellum in igne, os osse confringere, lac seu aliud potabile in terram effundere, nec non & huiusmodi multa. Sed super hæc, tenent pro grauiori admisso mingere intra domum quæ inhabitatur, & qui de tanto crimine proclamaretur assuetus, mitteretur ad mortem. Et de singulis necesse est vt confiteatur peccator Flamini *suæ legis, & soluat summam pecuniarum delicti. Et si peccatum deturpationis habitaculi venerit in publicum, oportebit reconciliari domum per Sacerdotem, prinsquam vllus audebit intrare. Insuper & peccatorem necesse erit pertransire ignem, semel, bis, aut ter iuxta iudicium* Flaminis, *quatenus per ignis acrimoniam turgetur à tanti inquinatione peccati.*

Neminem hominum prohibent inter se habitare, sed indifferenter receptant, Iudæos, Christianos, Saracenos,

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Saracenos, & homines cuiuſcunq; nationis, vel legis, dicentes ſe ſatis putare ſuum ritum non ita ſecurum ad ſalutem, niſi quandoq; traherentur ad ritum magis ſalutarem, quem tamen determinate nunc ignorant, imò multi de nobilibus ſunt iam in Chriſtianitate baptizati.

Porrò Tartari in pracincto expeditionis habent ſinguli duos arcus, cum magna pluralitate telorum: Nam omnes ſunt ſagittarij ad manum & cum rigida & longa lancea. Nobiles autem in equis preciosè phaleratis ferunt, gladios, vel ſpatas breues & latas, ſcindentes pro vno latere, & in capitibus galeas de corio cocto, non altas, ſed ad capitis formam depreſſas. Quicunq; de ſuis fugerit de prælio, ipſo facto conſcriptus eſt, vt ſiquando inuentus fuerit occidatur. Si caſtrum vel ciuitas obſeſſa ſe illis reddere voluerit, nullam acceptant conditionem niſi cum morte omnium inimicorum, vel ſi quis homo ſingularis ſe dederit victum nihilominus abſq; vlla miſeratione occidunt, detruncantes illi protinus aures, quas poſtea coquentes, & in aceto (dum habuerint) ponentes mittunt inuicem ad conuiuia pro extremo ferculo: dumque ipſi in bellis arte fugam ſimulant, periculoſum eſt eos inſequi, quoniam iaciunt ſagittas à tergo, quibus equos & homines occidere norunt. Et quando in prima acie comparant ad bellandum, mirabiliter ſeſe conſtringunt, vt media pars numeri eorum vix credatur.

Arma Tartarorum.

Tartari retro ſagittantes.

Generaliter noueritis, omnes Tartaros habere parvos oculos, & modicam vel raram barbam: In propriis locis rarò inter ſe litigant, contendunt, aut pugnant, timentes legum pergraues emendas. Et inuenitur ibi rarius viſpilio, latro, fur, homicida, iniurians, adulter, aut fornicarius, quia tales criminatores inueſtigatione ſollicita requiruntur, & ſine redemptione aliqua perimuntur. Dum quis decumbit infirmus figitur lancea iuxta illum in terra, & cum appropinquauerit morti, nullus remanet iuxta ipſum, cum verò mortuus eſſe ſcitur, confeſtim in campis, & cum lancea ſepelitur.

Tartari habent parvos oculos & raram barbam.

Mos ſepulturæ.

Imperator Grand Can poſtquam eius cognita fuerit defunctio, defertur mox à paucis viris in parco palatij, ad præiſſum locum vbi debeat ſepeliri. Et nudato prius toto illo loco à graminibus cum ceſpite figitur ibi tentorium, in quo velut in ſolio regali de ligno corpus defuncti reſidens collocatur, paraturq; menſa plena coram eo cibarijs precioſis, & potu de lacte iumentorum. Inſtabulatur ibi & equa cum ſuo pullo, ſed & ipſe albus, nobiliter phaleratus, & onuſtatus certo pondere auri & argenti. Et eſt totum Tentorij pauimentum de mundo ſtramine ſtratum.

Cap. 39. De ſepultura Imperatoris Grand Can, & creatione ſucceſſoris.

Tuncq; effodiunt in circuitu foſſam latam valde, & profundam vt totum tentorium cum omnibus contentis deſcendat in illam. Eoq; facto ita equaliter terram planificantes adoperiunt graminibus, vt in omni tempore locus ſepultura non valeat apparere. Et quoniam ignorantiæ nubilo turpiter excæcati putant in alio ſæculo homines delectationibus frui, dicunt quod tentorium erit ei pro hoſpitio, cibi ad edendum, lac ad potandum, equus ad equitandum, aurum & argentum ad reſpiciendum, ſed & equa lac ſemper præbebit, & pullos equinos ſucceſſiue generabit.

Poſt has itaq; Imperatoris defuncti miſeras exequias, nullus omnino audebit de ipſo loqui coram vxoribus & filijs, & propinquis, ſed nec nominare, quia per hoc putarent derogari paci, & quieti illius, qua non dubitant eum dominari, in maiori ſatis gloria Paradiſi quam hic ſtetit.

Breuiter & nunc intendo curſum deſcribere aliquarum magnarum Regionum & Inſularum Imperij Tartariæ. Et primo illas quæ deſcendunt à prouincia Cathay per ſeptentrionalem plagam, vſq; ad fines Chriſtianitatis Pruſſiæ, & Ruſſiæ.

Cap. 40. De multis regionibus Imperio Tartariæ ſubiectis.

Ergo prouincia Cathay deſcendens in ſui Oriente à regno Tharſis iungitur ab Occidente regno Turqueſcen, in quo & ſunt plurimæ ciuitates, quarum formoſior dicitur Octopar. Ipſum autem Turqueſcen regnum iungitur ad Occidentem ſui regno ſeu Imperio Perſiæ, & ad Septentrionem regno Coraſinæ, quod ſpacioſum eſt valde, habens verſus Orientem ſui vltra centum diætas deſerti: hoc regnum eſt multis bonis abundans, & appellatur eius melior ciuitas etiam Coraſine.

Turqueſtan. Octopar. Coraſine. Regnum Commanorum. Bocura, vel Bohare. Samarkand. Seu Neſſabon & Spahan Sarmaſane.

Iſti quoq; regno iungitur in Occidente verſus partes noſtras regnum Commanorum, quod & ſimiliter longum eſt, & latum, ſed in paucis ſui locis inhabitatum: Nam in quibuſdam eſt frigus niminm, in alijs nimius calor, & in nonnullis nimia muſcarum multitudo.

Sunt autem in Perſia duæ regiones: vna alta Perſiæ, quæ à regno Turqueſcen deſcendens, iungitur ad Occidentem ſui fluuio Pyſon. In iſta habentur renominata ciuitates, quarum meliores duæ dicuntur Bocura & Seonargant, quam aliqui appellant Samarkand: Et altera Regio Baſſæ Perſiæ, deſcendens à flumine Pyſon, qui ad ſui Occidentem iungitur regno Mediæ, & terræ minoris Armeniæ, & ad Aquilonem mari Caſpio, & ad Auſtrum terræ minoris Indiæ. In hac baſſa Perſia tres principaliores ciuitates ſunt Æſſabor, Saphaon, Sarmalaule, &c.

Tertia Pars.

Cap. 41. De magnificentia Imperatoris Indiæ & precioſitate Palatij. Seu Pentoxoria. Ciuitas Nyſe.

A finibus regni Bachariæ ſupradicti vbi contiguatur Imperio Indiæ, eundo per multas diætas intratur in regnum Pentoxyriæ quod eſt magnæ latitudinis, & abundantiæ in multis bonis: huius nominatior ciuitas, dicitur Nyſe, & in ea habet Imperator palatium Imperiale, in quo reſidet dum ſibi placet. Imperator iſte ſemper vocitatus eſt Presbyter Ioannes, cuius nominis cauſam audieram quandoq; non veram: ſed in illis partibus accepi rationem indubitatam, quam breuiter hic enarro. Circa annum ab Incarnatione Domini Octingenteſſimum, Dux Ogerus de Danemarchia, cum quindecim cognationis ſuæ Baronibus, & armatis viginti milibus tranſiuit mare Greciæ, & fauente ſibi Deo conquiſiuit Chriſtianitati per multa prælia pene omnes Terras, Regiones, & Inſulas, quas eſſe de poteſtate Grand Can prædixi, nec non & omnes, quæ ſunt de poteſtate Imperij huius Imperatoris Indiæ. Eratq; inter Barones vnus denominatus Ioannes filius Goudebucf, Regis Friſonum: qui dictus Ioannes Deo deuotus fuit, & dum licuit Eccleſiarum limina iniuit, vnde & Barones ei dabant quaſi per iocum Presbyter Ioannes vocabulum. Dum ergo Ogerus dictas regiones expugnatas diuideret in hys quindecim ſuis cognatis, &

Fabula de rebus geſtis Ogeri Ducis Daniæ, quales de Orlando, Guidone, Beuis. &c. Vnde Presbyter Ioannes, ſit dictus.

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4000. *Insule.*

& quemlibet eorum in suo loco constitueret Regem, quatenus Christiana religio in illa Orbis superficie semper stabilis permaneret, tradidit isti Presbytero Ioanni *superiorem* Indiam, *cum* 4000. *Insulis, Regionibus, & ipsum præfecit Imperatorem super reliquos cognatos, vt ei certa tributa impenderent, & in omnibus obedirent, atq; ex nunc omnes successores* Indiæ *sunt vocati* Presbyter Ioannes, *& vsq; in hodiernum tempus boni manserunt Christiani, & Religionis æmulatores, &c.*

CHAP. VII.

The Voyage of NICOLO di CONTI *a* Venetian, *to the* Indies, Mangi, Cambalu *and* Quinsai, *with some Obseruations of those places.*

This is taken out of *Ramusios* discourse of this voyage.

NIcolo di Conti *a* Venetian, *hauing trauelled quite thorow* India, *after fiue and twentie yeeres returned home; and because to saue his life he had made deny all of his Faith, hee went to the Pope (then* Eugenius *the Fourth,* An. 1444.) *being at* Florence *to obtayne absolution; who enioyned him in way of penance, truly to make Narration of his Voyage, and whole Peregrination to his Secretarie* Poggius, *who writ it in the Latine tongue.* Ramusio *sought for it in* Venice *and other Cities of* Italie *in vaine, and at last heard that it was translated into* Portugall *by the care of King* Emanuel, *An.* 1500. *a Copy whereof he procured from* Lisbon, *but so corrupt, that he doubted to publish it, which yet for want of better he did; and we out of him these Obseruations.*

Nicolo di Conti a Venetian being a young man, then at *Damasco*, and hauing learned the *Arabike* Language, went with his merchandise in a Carauan of six hundred Merchants, with whom he trauelled into *Arabia Petræa*, and thence into *Chaldæa*, till he came to *Eufrates*. In the Desart-deuills. Deserts of *Arabia*, once about midnight they heard a great noyse, which they thought were the wilde *Arabs* comming to rob them, but saw a great multitude passe by neere their Tents without hurting them, which some of the Merchants said were Deuils which hanted these Deserts.

Baldac. From *Baldac* is eight dayes iourney to *Balsera*, and thence foure dayes to the *Persian* Gulfe, where the Sea ebbeth and floweth. After fiue dayes sayling therein, he came to *Calcum*, and after to *Ormuz*; thence to *Calatia* a Port of *Persia* of great traffick, where he remayned to learne the *Persian* tongue. Afterwards clothed in the habit of the Countrey (which hee vsed to doe in all his iourney) he went with certaine *Moores* and *Persians*, hauing sworne to be faithfull to each other, and sayled to *Cambaia*, and after to *Pacamuria* and *Dely*, where store of Ginger growes.

Ormua. Calatia.

Bisnagar. Thence they went farre into Sea, and came to *Bisinagar* sixtie miles about, at the foot of a high Mountayne; in which are one hundred thousand men fit for armes; they marry as many wiues as they will, which are burned with them when they die. The King is the mightiest King in *India*, and hath twelue thousand Women, foure thousand of which attend him on foot whither soeuer he goeth, and are busied in the seruice of his Kitchin; foure thousand others ride on Horses, or are carried in Litters; two thousand are to burne with him, which is holden a great honor. *Pelagonga* is subiect to him, eight dayes iourney thence and ten miles in circuit: from whence in twentie dayes by Land hee came to *Pudisetania* (leauing in the way *Odeschiria*, and *Cenderghisia*, where red Sanders grow) and thence went to *Malepur* where Saint *Thomas* is buried in a great and faire Church. The Inhabitants are *Nestorians*, which are *Christians* dispersed thorow all *India*, as *Iewes* amongst vs. And all this Prouince is called *Malabar*.

Pelagonga.

Nestorians dispersed thorow *India.*

Malabar.

Cinamon. At the end of that Country is *Zeilam* a famous Iland, two thousand miles about, where are Rubies, Saphires, *Cats-eye* stones; and store of good Cinamon; the Tree like a Willow but thicker, the boughs growing more in breadth then height, the leaues like those of the Bay Tree, but greater: the Barke of the boughs is best, that of the Trunke is not good: the fruit like Bayberries of which they make good Oile to anoint them. There is a Lake in which is a Citie of three miles circuit, gouerned by *Bramines*, which spend their liues in the studies of Philosophie, and are much giuen to Astrologie.

After that is a great Iland called *Sumatra*, which the Ancients called *Taprobana*, where hee stayed a yeere. There growes the best Pepper, the Tree like to Iuy. In a part of the Iland, called *Batech*, they eate mans flesh. Thence he sayled to *Ternassari*: and thence to the mouth of *Ganges*, and vp the streame (which is very great) to *Cernouem*, and to *Maarazia*; whence crossing ouer Land he came to *Racha*, and thence in seuenteene dayes to *Aua* fifteene miles about, where they are much giuen to spend the Time in drinking and fellowship both Men and Women. There are certaine old women which get their liuing by selling Bels of gold, siluer, brasse, of the bignesse of Nuts, which they put in mens yards betwixt the skin and flesh, when they are of age to vse Women, and in short time cure the place; and the men much please themselues to heare the sound of them as they goe. *Here the Copy is defective.*

Aua.

This Bell or Ball fashion is there still in vse.

Mangi

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Mangi is full of Elephants of which the King nourisheth ten thousand: they serue him in the warre, and carrie Castles in which stand eight, ten, or twelue men with Lances, Bowes and Slings. They take them with a tame female Elephant, vsed to feed in a place encompassed with a wall with two gates to goe in and out; into which in the coupling season the male enters at one gate, and shee flees out at the other, many men attending with deuices to take him, both gates being shut; and with fasting, and accustoming other tame Elephants to him, tame him in few dayes.

Either this story is not true, or this *Mangi* is not *China* but *Polos Mien*, or some other place.

The men of this Countrey haue but one wife, and all both men and women paint or embroider their skinnes with Iron pennes, putting indelible tinctures thereunto. They worship Idols, yet when they rise in the morning, they turne to the East, and with hands ioyned, say, *God in Trinitie keepe vs in his Law.* This Countrey produceth Serpents as grosse as a man, sixe cubits long, without feet, which they eate for great dainties; as they doe also certaine red Ants. There is a beast headed like a Swine, tayled like an Oxe, with a horne in the forehead like an Vnicorne a cubit long, of the colour and stature of an Elephant; with whom hee continually fighteth. The horne is much esteemed against poyson. In the furtheft parts of this Countrey towards *Cataio*, are white and blacke Kine, some haired and tayled like Horses, some with haires like feathers of which they make Fannes.

Beyond *Mangi* is the greateft Prouince in the World, called *Cataio*, the Lord whereof is called the great *Can* which signifieth Emperour: and the chiefe Citie is called *Cambalu*, which is foure square and hath eight and twenty miles in circuit. In the midst thereof is a Fortresse, and in it a Palace for the King; and at euery of those foure corners is a Castle, each foure miles about, in which are Armouries of diuers sorts, and Engines for battery. From the Palace is a way on the wall to all those Castles, that if the people rebell he might betake himselfe thither. Beyond this Citie fifteene dayes iourney is *Quinsai* another great Citie, which within this little while hath beene new made by this King. It hath thirty miles compasse, and is more peopled then the former. In these two Cities it was told him that the Houses and Palaces are after the manner of *Italie*, and the men richer and wiser then in other places.

Cataio.

Note.

After he was gone from *Ana*, alongst the Riuer to the Sea in seuenteene dayes he arriued at *Zaiton*, a great Port, where he tooke Sea, and in ten dayes came to a great and populous Citie, called *Pauconia*, which is of twelue miles compasse where he stayed foure moneths. There are a few Vines, which runne vpon Trees, and they make no Wine of them. There grow Abrecockes, white Sanders, and Camphire, &c.

Zaiton.

Pauconia, perhaps *Paquin.*

I am loth to returne into India *with this Author, whose defects and corruptions haue made him so little seruiceable, together with the changed names of places since his time. It is remarkable that hee sayth that the* Indian *Mariners sayled by the Starres Antartike, and not by the compasse; vsing certaine measures and rules in that Starre-obseruation. Hee also relateth the huge greatnesse and treble sheathing of their Ships. But of India, whereof all his Relations are, wee haue already giuen you better, that is more punctuall, methodicall, and credible Authors. Yet before we leaue him, let vs obserue what* Æneas Syluius, *or Pope* Pius *Secundus hath, cited out of him. Hee sayth, that hee sayled the* Indian *Sea a moneth beyond* Ganges, *and then came to the Riuer* Ratha, *which being sayled in sixe dayes, hee found a Citie called by the same name. And thence after seuenteene dayes passing desart Hills he came into champaine Countries; which hauing passed in a fortnight with great labour, hee found a Riuer greater then* Ganges, *called* Dua: *and hauing sayled therein a moneth, came to a famous Citie fifteene miles in circuit, named* Dua, *where the women are exceedingly libidinous, the men contented with one wife, The Prouince is called* Macin, *full of Elephants, ten thousand of which the King keepes for his warres, and is himselfe carried on a white Elephant, wearing a golden Chayne distinguished with gemmes, and hanging to his feet. The men and women raise themselues, &c. (as before) but of the Kine, he sayth, that the same Kine haue tayles long and hairy to the feet, the haires subtile like Feathers, of much esteeme, and vsed on the tops of Lances as Ensignes. These things hath this* Nicholas *(sayth* Siluius*) of* Macin, *noting without doubt, the Region* Serica. *For our age placeth the Easterne* Scythians *in* Cathay. *That * of* Dua *greater then* Ganges, *and that of ten thousand Elephants nourished by a King not knowne by fame, are hard to be beleeued: but longinquitie cannot easily be confuted.*

No compasse; which yet in the next age was there in vse.

Æn. Syl. de 2. Asiæ parte c. 10.

Macinum: hereby appeares his *Macin* is about *Siam* or *Pegu*, &c.

* And yet how many things more incredible are now found true?

TO THE READER.

READER, *I here present thee a piece of a Historie, so much as abuts on* Tartaria, *and* China. Alhacen, *a learned* Mahumetan *was the Authour; whether an exact Historian, euery where literally to be vnderstood; or whether in some part he be parabolicall, and presents a* Tamerlane *like* Xenophons Cyrus, *(in some things rather what he should haue beene, and what the Authour could say, then what he was) I vndertake not to determine. The Abbat of* Mortimer *takes it for a iust Storie, and so doth Master* Knolls *in his* Turkish Historie. *If it be an Historie partly parabolicall, yet doth the decorum exact of the Authour a verisimilitude euery where of actions and places (sufficient to procure our pardon, if not thankes) the veritie of a great part being euident in other Stories. It is true that some things seeme*

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ſeeme falſe for want of truth in our intelligence, rather then in themſelues. And ſo hath it fared with all (the ſubiect of this Booke) Tartarian *and* Chineſian *affaires: of which we had as little knowledge as of* Tamerlan, *farther then terrors of* Tartarian *Armes, and ſome mens* ſpeciall *occaſions and trauels haue giuen vs light. Euen the Sunne riſeth in thoſe parts whiles it is not day-breake with vs, and hath attayned almoſt his Noon-point before we ſee him: and worthy wee are ſtill to abide in a blacke night of ignorance, if we welcome not what light we can get (if we cannot get what wee would) from ſo remote an East. Once;* Tartarian *affaires (as it happens in Conqueſts) were changeable, and their New Moone was quickly at the full; diuers chances and changes ſucceeding after Poles dayes to theſe; ſuch wealth whetting the* Tartars *to get and hold, and no leſſe the* Chinois *to recouer, the* China *State being vnquiet ſo long as the* Tartar *greatneſſe continued, and freed (for the moſt part) with their diminiſhing, and diuiſion into diuers Eſtates. As for theſe times of* Tamerlan *(if this Story be exact) it is like the* Can *held the North parts of* China *from* Quinſay *forward, with* Cataio; *and the King of* China *the reſt; then* Nanquin *being the Seat Royall, as ſince the expulſion of the* Tartars Paquin. *Or perhaps the* Quinſay *heere mentioned, is that which* Conti *hath in the former Page told vs, was lately built by the* Can: *and not that which* Polo *ſpeakes of; in* Catay *and not in* China: *which cleareth this doubt of the* Cans *reſidence and rule in* China. *To reconcile all doubts is for mee too hard a taske, becauſe* Cataio *and* China *are euen ſtill themſelues, and leaue their Surueyers perplexed, bounding the ſearch of the moſt curious in ſearching their iuſt bounds, how farre they are the ſame or differing; wherein our* Ieſuites *will more amuſe and amaze vs (where wee will cleare our ſelues as well as we can) when wee come to them. I haue premiſed* Conti, *though* Tamerlane *be a little Elder for his Religions ſake, and to recreate with a little Relation, before this longer Storie.*

CHAP. VIII.

Extracts of ALHACEN *his* Arabike *Hiſtorie of* TAMERLAN, *touching his Martiall Trauels, done into* French *by* IEAN DV BEC, *Abbat of* Mortimer.

§. I.

TAMERLANS *Birth and Perſon, his Expedition againſt the* Muſcouite; *his Marriage with the* Cans *daughter; his ouerthrowing of* CALIX.

The Hiſtory of *Tamerlan* famous amongſt the *Turkes* and *Arabians.*

SVndry Hiſtories doe attribute, as a great want vnto the happie fortune of *Tamerlan*, not to haue a Writer in his dayes, which might haue left in writing his Hiſtorie vnto poſteritie. But without any cauſe did they moane him, inſomuch as his Hiſtorie is very famous amongſt the *Turkes*, and *Arabians*; his Conqueſts very largely diſcourſed, and many of his worthy and notable ſayings collected, with an infinite number of Noble deeds left vnto the memoriall of poſteritie. Very true it is, that he had not an *Homer*, but a great and worthie perſon, learned as well in naturall Philoſophie, as in Aſtrologie, who was in the time of this Prince, a companion and familiar of his Conqueſts, named *Alhacen*, an *Arabian* by birth, and of *Mahomets* Religion. This Authour then being fallen into my hands, in my Voyage into the Eaſt Countrey, I cauſed the ſame to be interpreted vnto mee by an *Arabian*, who did ſpeake *Frank* (as they terme it) that is to ſay, *Italian*, and ſome time I ſpent, in aſſociating my ſelfe ſo with this man, who commended greatly vnto me the eloquence and grauitie of this Authour, wondering at his digreſſions, and entring againe into his matter ſo well to the purpoſe. It grieued mee much that I had not the perfection of this Language, to be a helpe vnto the richer of this Hiſtorie, for to deliuer it vnto my Nation with ſome grace: but I tooke thereof as much as I could in his Language, which was corrupted, as is the *Franke* Tongue (ſo they terme it) which is a kinde of *Italian*, mingled with *Slauon*, *Greeke*, and *Spaniſh* Tongues very common at *Conſtantinople*, with the *Arabian* and *Turkiſh* Tongues: ſo as I could not gather but onely the trueth thereof, and not the drifts and grauitie of the Declaration, wherein the Authour had collected it for poſteritie (and as he ſaid) by the commandement of the Prince, who was a louer of learning, and excellent in the knowledge of Aſtrologie and Diuinitie, as the cuſtome of thoſe Nations is to ioyne them ordinarily together, ſtudying vpon the vertue of names, and of the turning of letters, euen in their placing, writing them vnderneath Starres, whereof they make ſentences, by meanes whereof they wrought miraculouſly in the things of Nature. This is that *Zoroaſtrien* and *Bactrien* Science, that of *Balaam*, and ſome others in my opinion, which hath ſucceeded vnto ſo many

Alhacen.

The *Franke* Tongue amongſt the *Turkes.*

Yee often haue reade that *Franke* in the Eaſt, euer ſince the *Frankes* taking *Ieruſalem* ſignifies all the Weſt of *Europe.*

Tamerlan his learning.

The *Tartarians* ſtrange kinde of Aſtrologie.

Arabian,

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Arabian Astrologians. Now then, this Prince was endued with such knowledge, as made him admired of the people where he commanded, who are for the most part great wonderers, insomuch as this caused him to be accounted a Prince accompanied with the Diuine vertue, considering the iustice he vsed in all his actions. This hath proceeded euen so farre that some *Italians* haue written foolish things thereof, as of certaine kinds of Tents which he caused to be pitched, when he besieged any Citie; one white, signifying peace, it yeelding vnto his mercy; another red, signifying cruelty to follow; and the third blacke, signifying mourning to ensue. But I finde not this in our Author, and I beleeue them to be fables.

I will now declare vnto you with my *Arabian*, who this great Prince *Tamerlan* was. Hee was then of the bloud of the *Tartarian* Emperours, and his father *Og* had for his portion the Countrey of *Sachetay*, whereof hee was Lord. This Countrey lying betweene the North and the East, is the antient Countrey of *Parthia*, vpon the Coast of the *Zogdians*, and the chiefest Citie of his estate was *Samercand* situated vpon the Riuer of *Iffarle*. Some of our Historiographers would needs haue him to be the sonne of a shepheard; but this haue they said, not knowing at all the custome of their Countrey, where the principall reuenue of the Kings and Nobles consisteth in Cattell, despising Gold and Siluer, but making great reckoning of such riches, wherein they abound in all sorts: this is the occasion wherefore some call them Shepheards, and say also that this Prince descended from them. So his Father *Og* was Prince of * *Achetay*, abounding in such kinde of wealth. And being come vnto the age of fifteene yeeres, his father being already old, deliuered vp vnto him the gouernment of his Kingdome, with the commandement ouer all his Men of warre. His father *Og* being giuen vnto peace, withdrew himselfe vnto a solitary life, for to serue God, and end the rest of his dayes in quiet. Hee gaue vnto his sonne *Tamerlan* (which signifieth *Heauenly grace* in their Tongue) two sufficient personages for to guide and assist him in the gouernment of his Estate: the one was called *Odmar*, and the other *Aly*, persons in great dignitie and credit with his father. Now this Prince was well instructed in the *Arabian* learning, and exercised himselfe much therein, and at such time as they thought him to be either in the Bathes, wherein they are very curious in that Countrey being their chiefest delicacies, he was in the contemplation and studie of heauenly things. This Prince had within his eyes such Diuine beautie, being full of such maiestie, that one could hardly indure the sight of them without closing of their eyes, and they which talked with him, and did often behold him, became dumbe, insomuch as he abstayned with a certaine modestie and comlinesse, to looke vpon him that discoursed vnto him. All the rest of his visage was curteous and well proportioned: he had but little haire on his chinne: hee did weare his haire long and curled, contrary to the custome of his Countrey, who are shaued on their heads, hauing the same alwaies couered, but he contrariwise was alwaies in a manner bare-headed, and said, his mother came of the race of *Samson*, for a marke whereof shee aduised me to honour long haire. This was the cause that made him respected of his men of Armes, and the most part of them did beleeue there was some vertue in those haires, or rather some fatall destinie, the which many did beleeue to be so; and verily they were of a dusky colour drawing toward a violet, the most beautifull that any eye could behold. His stature was of the middle sort, somewhat narrow in his shoulders, he had a faire leg and strong, the strength of his body was such as no body did surpasse, and often on the festiuall dayes he made triall of his strength with the most strong: and this he did with such grace and humanitie, that he whom he ouercame held himselfe therein most happie, although it bee a disgrace amongst the *Tartarians* to bee throwne to the ground in wrastling. Now, as he was Martiall, and desirous of glorie: the first warre that hee attempted was against the *Moscouite*, who came and spoyled a Citie which had put it selfe into his protection, and had entred also into his Countrey, and being retired, proclaymed open warre against him, gaue him battell neere to the Riuer *Masch*, although the *Muscouite* had a great Armie, which hee had gathered together long before. On the other side, the Prince determining to resist him, assembled all his forces, and those of his allyes. Now the *Muscouite* had very great forces, and men well trayned vp in the warres, hauing had alwaies warres with his neighbours, the King of *Polonia*, with whom hee had then friendship, and the ayde of ten thousand very good Horse. There were also with him many *Hungarian* Gentlemen, led by *Vdecelaus* a *Hungarian* Gentleman, who had brought with him more then eight thousand Horse; the opinion was, that hee had in his Armie fourscore thousand Horse, and a hundred thousand foot-men. Our Prince *Tamerlan* had in his Armie about six-score thousand Horse, and a hundred and fifty thousand men on foot, but not so skilfull in points of warre as those of the *Moscouite*: for our Estate had long enioyed peace, and our Souldiers were indeed trayned vp in discipline of warres, but not in the practice thereof. The order of *Tamerlan* was this; that is, he caused all his Armie to bee diuided into squadrons, each consisting of sixe thousand Horse, except his owne, which was of ten thousand, so as he made eighteene squadrons, his owne being reckoned which made nineteene. The Auant-guard was conducted by *Odmar*, who led nine squadrons, flanked with fortie thousand men on foot, diuided both on the right and left sides, who should shoot an infinite number of Arrowes. The Battell was conducted by *Tamerlan*, who led ten squadrons, his owne being therein

The off-spring and stocke of *Tamerlan*.

The flockes of the *Tartarian* Kings are their stockes, and the *Tartars* beasts are their best wealth.

* This name seems deriued from *Sochtai*, mentioned before in *Haiton* of whom these *Tartars* are still called *Zagetai*.

Tamerlans name: some make it to signifie *Lame-leg* by reason of that accident, falling from his Horse, *Michou*.

Tamerlan his studies and learning.

Maiestie in his eyes. The like is reported of *Augustus*.

The custome of the *Tartarians*.

Tamerlan wore long haire, and why.

The description of *Tamerlan*.

Our Authors tell vs he was lame, and that he was therefore so called.

Tamerlan his first warre against the *Moscouite*.

The Armie of the *Moscouite*.

The Armie of *Tamerlan*.

The order of *Tamerlans* Battell.

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therein cloſed, and fiftie thouſand Foot-men, the beſt and choiceſt Souldiers of his whole Armie. Prince *Thanais*, a kinſman vnto the Prince, led the Arere-ward, with fortie thouſand Foot-men, and ſixe ſquadrons: hee had ſome three thouſand Horſe aduenturers, whom they call *Oliagues*, in their Tongue, the ſame which wee tearme, *The forlorne hope*.

The *Moſcouite* did not obſerue that order, but did fight by double Rankes with Lances, and there was a ſpace to helpe themſelues therein, and to breake them, notwithſtanding thoſe Nations doe not breake them at all, and they ſeemed to bee a greater number then wee, making a great noyſe. At the length multitude and skill ouercame the force and valour of the *Moſcouites*, the victory bending to the *Parthians* ſide, the which they did purſue hotly. *Tamerlan* was hurt on the fore-head vpon the ſide of the left eye, and had two Horſes ſlaine vnder him in the fight. *Tamerlan* employed himſelfe in giuing God thankes for this victory, after hee had purſued the enemy three leagues; the next day he reuiewed his Armie, and found that he had loſt of his ſide for his part betweene ſeuen and eight thouſand Horſe-men, and betweene three and foure thouſand Footmen. The *Moſcouite* loſt ſome ſeuen and twenty thouſand Foot-men, and betweene fifteene and ſixteene thouſand Horſe-men. This ſame day was *Odmar* the ſafegard of his Prince; but he loſt *Hally*, who was ſlaine by the blow of an Arrow. The Prince did ſlacke no time after ſo great a victory: He ſet forward, and came into the borders of the *Moſcouite*, whom he enforced to capitulations, that they ſhould become Tributaries of a hundred thouſand Duckets, and ſhould pay all the charges of the War, amounting vnto the ſumme of three hundred thouſand Duckets, he then would ſend backe againe all the Priſoners, and withdraw his Armie; that for ſecuritie hereof they ſhould giue him pledges, which ſhould be changed euery yeare; vnto all which they agreed. So was this Warre ended to his contentment, returning with glorie vnto the Prince his Father.

Now *Tamerlan* was receiued into all his Countries with much honour and triumph. The great *Cham* of *Tartaria*, Brother vnto his Father, ſent Preſents to gratifie him, making offer vnto him of his Daughter in Marriage, and that in marrying of her, hee would cauſe him to bee acknowledged as Emperour throughout all his Kingdomes, as his next heire, himſelfe being now old, and out of all hope to haue any more Children. Hereupon hee preſently tooke his Iourney towards him, being in the City of *Quanicay*, where he was receiued with all kind of Triumph and Magnificence; there did he ſhew himſelfe braue in all manner of gallant Showes and Combats, as well in jeſt as in earneſt. And as theſe Nations are full of vanitie, and deſirous to make ſhew of their ſtrength and agilitie, *Tamerlan* carryed away the Prize therein, whether it were in ſhooting neere with his Bow, or in changing Horſes in the middeſt of the courſes, or in breaking an Iron in running at the Quintaine; he made euery one wonder at his dexteritie, and was crowned the ſixt day after his comming thither with the joyfull conſent of all the Subiects of the Emperour his Vncle, and of all the Court. After that, he married the Emperours Daughter, deſiring firſt to bee crowned before the Marriage, to the intent that none ſhould thinke that the Crowne came vnto him by meanes of her, but by ſucceſſion, the Daughters not at all ſucceeding into Empires. It was alſo to aſſure his eſtate, and hauing remayned in that place by the ſpace of two moneths, hee returned from thence with his Wife to *Samercand*, in which Citie hee delighted greatly to remayne, becauſe the ſituation thereof was very faire; and for that the Citie is accompanied with a faire Riuer, which cauſeth great Traffique, and maketh it richer then any Citie within that Countrey. *Odmar* alone was called by him, at ſuch time as the great *Cham* his Vncle did impart vnto him his Affaires: and amongſt other matters, he propounded vnto him the Enterprize of *China*, promiſing him aſſiſtance and ayde, and giuing him to vnderſtand how neceſſarie it was to vndertake this Warre for the better aſſuring of his eſtate, ſeeing the King of *China* had much gone beyond his ancient bounds.

He had in his Court a Chriſtian whom he loued much, and euery one greatly reſpected, named *Axalla*, a *Genuois* by birth, brought vp from his youth about his perſon. This man principally did ſtirre him vp vnto great Enterprizes, and notwithſtanding his Religion, hee truſted him. Now he had all Religion in reuerence, ſo as it did worſhip one onely God, Creator of all things. He often ſaid, that the greatneſſe of Diuinitie conſiſted in the ſundry kindes of people which are vnder the Cope of Heauen, who ſerued the ſame diuerſly, nouriſhing it ſelfe with diuerſitie, as the nature was diuers where it had printed his Image, God remayning, notwithſtanding, one in his Eſſence, not receiuing therein any diuerſitie. This was the reaſon that mooued him to permit and grant the vſe of all Religions within the Countreyes of his obedience, alwayes prouided (as I ſaid before) that they worſhipped one onely God. He determined to make Warre with the King of *China* (who is called the *Lord of the World, and Childe of the Sunne*) which was no ſmall Enterprize. But before hee would begin the ſame, hee ſent vnto the ſaid King of *China*, for to demand right for ſome Countreyes (which they call *Hordus*) abiding places, which this Prince of *China* had vſurped long before, and euen the paſſages of a Riuer called *Tachij*, which is beyond his limits, which are *Walls which are betweene the Kingdomes of the great* Cham, *and of our* Tamerlan, *builded of purpoſe by this King of* China, *to defend him from the Roades of the* Tartarians, *and forces of our Prince*, ſo as this was begun with the aduice of the great

Quanicay, if not *Quinſay*.

The *Tartarian* Exerciſes.

Tamerlan his Marriage with the great *Chãs* Daughter.

The ſeituation of the Citie of *Samercand*.

This may bee prooued in a *Pagan* and *Infidell*, but not in a *Chriſtian* Prince.

Quiubique eſt nuſquam eſt. He which is of all Religions, is of none.

Hordas, are the moueable populations of the *Tartars*.

A wall builded by the King of *China*.

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great *Cham*, and for his benefit as well as for the Princes. Therefore to accompliſh his Enterprize, in the meane-time that he attended for the returne of his Embaſſadors, he cauſed his forces to come forwards from all parts, appointing vnto them for the place of meeting his owne at the *Horda* of *Baſchir*, where all his Armie aſſembled: and other ayding troupes of the great *Cham* in the Deſerts of *Ergimul*, at a certayne day, in which place he ſhould joyne with all his Army. The Army of the great *Cham* conſiſted of two hundred thouſand fighting men, wherein were all the braue men of his Court, who were accuſtomed vnto the Wars, the Emperour which then raigned, and was old, hauing greatly increaſed his limits, and conquered a great Countrey, ſo as theſe men were well trayned vp in the Wars, and accuſtomed vnto trauell and paines. Now then the Embaſſadors which were ſent, returne and informe the Prince of the will of *(this proud King of the World)* this King of *China* (who was named ſo) who puffed vp with vaine glorie, was aſtoniſhed how any durſt denounce Warre againſt him, making this proud Anſwere, That *Tamerlan* ſhould content himſelfe that hee had left him that which hee might haue taken from him, and that his Armes and Forces were of another ſort, then thoſe of whom he publiſhed the victorie, to bring thereby terrour vpon his Neighbours.

This was as the *Chinois* report built before, and perhaps now by age ruined, (which may be a cauſe *Polo* mentions them not) and by this King repayred 100. yeares after *Polos* time. In which ſpace alſo the *Chinois*, if this ſtory be true, had recouered part of their Empire conquered before by *Cublai*.

This Anſwere being heard, our Prince marched directly vnto the Army, and gaue order for the conueyance of victuals from all parts, ſent to haſten forward his Confederates, emparted the Anſwere vnto the Emperour by Embaſſadours diſpatched from him, cauſed the boldneſſe of the King of *China* to be publiſhed, to make manifeſt vnto all the World the juſtneſſe of his cauſe. Before his departure he went to take leaue of his Father, who endued with a ſingular and Fatherly affection, ſaid he ſhould neuer ſee him againe, and that he haſtened vnto his laſt reſt, and hauing made ſolemne Prayers ouer the Prince his Sonne for his proſperitie, kiſſing him a thouſand times, drew off his Imperiall Ring, and gaue it vnto him, not asking whether his Iourney tended: and calling *Odmar*, he bade him farewell, recommending his faithfulneſſe vnto his Son. Then he departed and drew towards *Samarcand*, where the Empreſſe his Wife remayned; whom he carryed with him as is the cuſtome of that Nation, and after he had (being Religious) viſited the Tombe of his Seruant *Hally*, hee cauſed his ſoule three dayes to bee prayed for, according to the Rites of his Law: whereupon he preſently departed, hauing taken order for the well gouerning of his Kingdome in his abſence, committing the charge thereof vnto *Samay*, a man well practiſed in Affaires, and he who had the charge of our Prince in his youth. So then he marched forward in the middeſt of his Army, which conſiſted but of fiftie thouſand Horſe, and one hundred thouſand men on foot, relying principally on the Forces of the great *Cham* his Vncle; who aboue all deſired this War: he did not forget to giue in charge, that the reſt of his Forces ſhould be readie vpon the firſt Commandement, as ſoone as he ſhould be ioyned with the forces of the great *Cham*, and marching forwards he had ſtayed by the way by reaſon of ſome diſtemperature which had ſurprized him through changing of the Ayre, as the Phyſicians affirmed. But yet, notwithſtanding, the forces which *Catiles*, Captayne of the Army of the great *Cham* conducted, went daily forwards. Now the newes was ſpred into an infinite number of places of his diſtemperature, yet did he not neglect to ſend vnto the great *Cham*, and often aduertize him of the eſtate of his health, to the end the ſame ſhould not cauſe any alteration, the which hee did fore-ſee by reaſon of his preferment vnto this Empire, by the great *Cham* his Vncle: and hee was in doubt of a certayne Lord named *Calix*, who was diſcontented therewith, and had not as yet neither gratified nor acknowledged him as all the other ſubiects had done.

Samay made Gouernour of *Sachetay* in *Tamerlans* abſence. *Tamerlan* his Armie marching againſt the King of *China*.

Now concerning his delay, it was by ſundry diuerſly interpreted; ſome ſaid that hee had bin aduertized of ſome vproare to be attempted, when he ſhould be farre ſeuered from thence, and had paſſed ouer the Mountaynes of *Paſanſu*, and that *Calix* ſtayed vpon nothing elſe, inſomuch as the Companies of the great *Cham* were gone forwards, euen beyond the Mountaynes, hauing paſſed the Riuer of *Meau*, and were encamped at *Bouprou*, the which *Calix* vnderſtanding, thought he ſhould haue the meanes to worke his enterprize. Thereupon hauing aſſembled great ſtore of his moſt faithfull followers, he tooke counſell with them, that this was the meanes to ouerthrow the purpoſes of *Zachetay*, who would reigne ouer, and bring them vnder his Empire: & that ſeeing their Prince had bin ſo badly minded as to do the ſame of his own mind without calling of them which had intereſt in that election, that now was the time to aſſure their libertie, which was in doubt to be loſt, & cauſed alſo a rumor to be ſpred of the ſicknes of this Prince, that the great *Cham* was old, the greateſt part of his forces, far ſeparated from him, forthwith diſpatching a Meſſenger vnto the great *Cham* their Prince, to aſſure him that they bent not their forces againſt him, but were his faithful and obedient ſubiects: but they armed themſelus, becauſe they would not be gouerned by the *Parthians*, their ancient enemies. Thus *Calix* thought greatly to trouble him, when he roſe in Armes againſt him, and did thinke that he had already aſſaulted the Wall which the King of *China* had made againſt the *Tartarians*. As ſoone then as the Prince was aduertized of the pretences of *Calix* thus diſcouered, hee marched one dayes Iourney forward, to the end he might approach vnto *Calibes*, and impart the ſame vnto him, what face ſoeuer *Calibes* ſet on the matter, he harkened what would become of *Calix*, that hee might likewiſe make ſome commotion: there was left with him to command ouer the *Parthians*, the

The conſpiracie of *Calix* againſt *Tamerlan* in his abſence.

Prince

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Prince of *Thanais*, without whom he could not doe any thing, for that hee led the Auantgard. Thus was the Army deuided in two parts; the King of *China* remayning long before he was aduertized of all this, and thought he had all the forces both of the *Tartarians* and *Parthians* vpon his Armes, so as this was of no small importance to fauour our Affaires: for *Tamerlan* had especially giuen commandement, that the passages which are easily gotten, might as diligently bee kept, to the end that the King of *China* should not be aduertized of the tumult. Then *Tamerlan* set forward his Auantgard vnder the leading of *Odmar:* hee promised vnto himselfe shortly a happie successe in his Affaires, and aduertized the Emperour of all: but it came vnto him when he was sicke. And surely it was high time for *Tamerlan* to march forward, or else all had beene reuolted, so leauing his Footmen, he made great Iournies. Now during the time that he had bin aduertized, and made his abode to consult, which was the space of two moneths: *Calix* hauing presented himselfe with a hundred thousand fighting men before *Cambalu*, a very great Citie, and chiefe of the Prouince of *Catayo*, the Inhabitants thereof came out to meete him, and did also receiue him with all the joy that might be.

Good directions from Tamerlan.

Now whilst our Army marched towards *Caindu*, and from thence vnto *Calatia*, whether our Army went easily, looking for the Forces of his Natiue Countrey of *Zachetay*, to come and joyne with him: he did not yet forget to send forward daily of our Souldiers towards *Cambalu*, so as they supposed all our Forces to be on the necke of them already, which gaue great terrour vnto the people. *Calix* perceiuing that the people did repent, hee thought best to withdraw himselfe out of *Cambalu*, determining to oppose himselfe against *Tamerlan*, and sent for his power from all places, putting all vpon the euent and hazard of a battell. He drew out of *Cambalu* full fiftie thousand men, as well Burgesses, as Souldiers which were there in Garrison, hauing wonne all the Captaynes which the old Emperour had placed there in Garrison, amounting to the number of thirty thousand men, and him that commanded ouer them, who had consented vnto the reuolt of this great Citie. To make it short, hauing assembled all his Forces, he had fourescore thousand Horse, and a hundred thousand Footmen, the which hee had gathered together from all parts. Our Army then marched with all diligence, in such sort as certayne Scouts which were two thousand Horse, had newes of the Armie of *Calix*, the which came forwards directly towards vs, whereof they caused the Emperour to be certified speedily, who sent thither two thousand Horses more, to the end they should keepe the passage of a Riuer called *Brore*, by the which our victuals were conueyed vnto the Armie, and also for to winne alwayes time, the Prince knowing right well that the motions of Ciuill Warres bee furious at the beginning, and that it is the best to resist them slowly, drawing them alwayes out at length if it be possible. For the people in the end acknowledging their faults, their meanes and money fayling them, and oftentimes victuals also. On the contrary side in a Royall Army none of all this doth happen, where all things are fauourable, and the Souldiers well disciplined, obedience and order beeing wisely obserued. Then had the Emperour the guiding of his owne purposes, for he had receiued commandement from the Emperour his Vncle, to hazard therein all for all, deliuering vp into his hands the safegard of his life and estate, that he might thereby end his dayes in peace, willing him likewise to punish this arrogant fellow and his partakers. By this meanes came forces from all parts vnto *Tamerlan*; but on the contrary part, the Enemies Army was then in his chiefest force, and began to feele the want of victuals.

Brore.

Calix was of the age of fortie, he was a Captayne renowmed with the great *Cham*, hee was one of the chiefest in dignitie and place, and they had alwayes respected him within *Tartarie* as a person most worthy of the Empire, if the glory of *Tamerlan*, and his reputation had not so far excelled. The Armies began to be viewed the one of the other about eight of the clock in the morning, where there were very many skirmishes before they came vnto the mayne Battayle (according to the fights of these Nations) it was a great Plaine wherein they met at that time, with like aduantage on eyther part; *Odmar* led the Auantgard, wherein there was fortie thousand Horse, and threescore thousand Foot-men; he made three Squadrons, whereof hee set forward one before him that began the Battayle. *Tamerlan* marched in the same order, but his Squadrons were much stronger, the Foot-men both of the Auantgard and of the Battayle were on the right and left wings. *Tamerlan* had drawne out sixe thousand *Parthian* Horse, and two thousand *Tartarian* for the Arier-ward, and had committed the charge thereof vnto a faithfull Seruant of his called *Axalla* (a *Genuois* borne) a man of great judgement, his vnderstanding being good and quicke, and a Captayne in great estimation amongst the Souldiers, although hee worshipped God in another manner then wee did, and was a Christian. And hee had many of them with him, whom he caused to come from the *Georgians*, and from *Pont Euxin*, who fought with great agilitie; this day did hee shew his great fidelitie and courage vnto his Prince. *Calix* on the other-side, who was a well spoken man, was encouraging his Souldiers to fauour his fortune, and the libertie of his Nation: he had diuided his troupes into three mayne Battayles onely, his Foot-men vpon the right hand, his owne person was in the middest of the mayne Battayle, with many Foot-men which compassed him round about (according as wee vse to fight.)

Axalla.

Many Christians.

In

In the end, valiantly fighting, he fell into *Axallas* hands, which with one voyce he proclaymed through all his Campe, which ouerthrew the courage of all his Souldiers. Hee was kept vntill the next day, and was iudged by all the Counsell worthy of punishment: whereupon *Tamerlan* caused his head to bee smitten off, the which hee sent to bee presented vnto the Inhabitants of *Cambalu:* he caused the like to be done vnto all the chiefe Leaders, not for crueltie, but for necessitie, knowing very well, that the meanes to cut off the Foot of ciuill warres, is to punish the Heads of the same, for they be *Hydras* which grow vp too fast.

Calix taken prisoner by *Axalla.*

Calix beheaded.

§. II.

Cataio, Cambalu; TAMERLANS *expedition into* China, *entring the Wall, conquering the King, and disposing of the Countrey, and returne to* Cataio.

AFter this the Armie marched into the Kingdome of *Cataio*, a Countrey rich in grasse, and in all kinds of pastures, abounding with great quantitie of Beasts, and People, which knew not what warre meant. The Prince gaue commandement that these people should not be accounted as Enemies, but his good Subjects, that hee would vse all the Cities well, as *Cangi, Sochgi, Gonza, Tagni, Togara, Congu*, which had reuolted, and were come to sue for pardon at his hands, in humbling themselues before him; the which he granted vnto them, enjoyning them onely to prouide sufficient victuals for his Armie: which was of no small importance for the appeasing of others, who had put all their hope in extremitie, which is in losing their owne liues to make others doe the like: and especially the Inhabitants of *Cambalu* had taken this resolution: but being informed of the Emperours clemency, changed their opinions. In the meane while our Armie daily approched, and at such time as we came neerest, the more did the feare of all the Citie increase, insomuch as the Prince was aduertised daily from those which fauoured his side, of all things within the Citie, and he was assured that euery one determined to obey the Conqueror, and to doe what soeuer he commanded. The which being knowne vnto the Prince, he left all his Armie at *Gonsa*, and himselfe went directly vnto the Citie of *Cambalu*, where all things were made quiet, by the meanes of thirtie thousand Souldiers, being the ordinarie Garrison, whom hee caused to enter thereinto before him, and two houres after entred into the same himselfe, being receiued with great magnificence, not yeelding as yet to pronounce the word of pardon, referring all vnto the Emperour, and to the ordinarie course of Iustice. He stayed for the returne of one of his Fauourites, whom he had sent vnto the Emperour, to carry him newes of the victorie, and of the death of *Calix*, and that the chiefe of this Faction remayned prisoners with him; also to know what Iustice the Emperour would appoint to bee inflicted on those Citizens, which were the first beginners of the reuolt of this Citie: for the Prince being desirous to be esteemed mercifull, and to win loue within this great Citie, would not execute iustice of himselfe, nor in his owne name, but by the Emperour his Vncle, whom hee did gratifie herein, leauing the authoritie wholly vnto himselfe; and by this meanes hee was not esteemed cruell. Thus the Prince after hee had remayned here eight dayes, departed. He was not many dayes iourney from the Citie before he receiued tydings, how the great *Cham* his Vncle, willed that iustice should bee executed on them which were the first Mouers of this reuolt; the which was executed accordingly in the name of the Emperour, and by his speciall ministers; in such sort, that as the people accused the crueltie of the Emperour, they commended the mercy of *Tamerlan*. Thus was this warre brought vnto an end, to the great honour and reputation of *Tamerlan*.

The ordinarie Garrison at *Cambalu* of 30000. Souldiers.

As soone as our Prince was returned vnto his Army where hee found *Odmar*, who there attended his comming, hee was receiued of his Souldiers, and with a loud voyce called by all his Captaines and Souldiers; *Most great Emperour and most victorious*, as they are accustomed to doe amongst the *Tartarians*. The Prince after he had long discoursed with his Captaines both of the beautie and greatnesse of the Citie of *Cambalu*, hee arriued at his Tent, where after hee had declared vnto *Odmar* in what sort all things had passed at *Cambalu*: he asked his aduice, whether hee should goe and visit the Emperour his Vncle. *Odmar* well perceiued that the Prince desired it, and called vnto his remembrance the honour which hee had receiued when hee was at *Quinzai*, and that hee would haue beene very willing to spend the Winter with the Empresse, staying for the Spring for to returne vnto the enterprise of *China*, with a long speech dissuaded him. The Emperour answered him, that he had euer knowne his fidelitie and loue, and that the cause of his sadnesse was, for that hee did not find in himselfe abilitie to recompence the same: and that when he thought to giue himselfe some ease, then was the time hee must in stead of the delicacies and pleasures of *Quinzay*, make the Desarts of *Cipribit* the resting place from the trauailes of his new victorie: that it was ended, and his purposes determined: I haue also heard the Prince say, that *Odmar* did not speake vnto him like an earthly but diuine man, and that he verily beleeued that God by his meanes did call him back from some misse-hap which would haue light vpon him, to make his glorie increase the more. Now, the rumour was alreadie

Tamerlan welcommed vnto his Armie, with new and strange acclamation.

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spread ouer all, that the Princes determination was to goe and visit the Emperour his Vncle, the which tickled euery man with desire to returne into his Countrey, hoping to inioy the sweetnesse of his natiue soyle. When as commandement was giuen for a generall reuiew of the whole Armie: where the Emperour spake vnto his Souldiers in this manner: *Wee haue begunne (my faithfull Souldiers) an enterprise to goe and assault the King of* China, *who hath of late repulsed euen beyond the Mountaynes the* Tartarian *name; but wee were hindered to our great griefe by the foolish-rashnesse of* Calix, *and were driuen to turne the bridle for to punish him, wherein you haue all assisted mee. It grieueth mee that I cannot as well bragge of the fresh spoyles of a stranger, as I may vaunt (by the meanes of your weapons) of those our vnfaithfull Citizens; and in times past with your owne selues making tryall of my first Armes against the boldnesse of the fierce* Moscouite, *although for this last ciuill victorie I am further indebted vnto you, for your greater endeuour, and the hazarding of your persons being much greater, so were they our owne people, who would not acknowledge vs, whereof I cannot speake without shedding of teares, desiring rather to burie such a victorie, what glorie and honour soeuer wee haue gotten thereby. Neither doe I recount these things vnto you, but for to manifest that I forget not your faithfulnesse, and the great trauaile you haue endured with mee. Wee must not therefore bee wearie, but must turne our weapons against those which thinke that wee are greatly troubled, whereas wee are victorious. Wee haue left our Companions, who haue temporized to heare the euent and successe of our affaires, all our munitions bee there; wee must in that place (my Souldiers and friendly Followers) passe ouer the rest of Winter; our Companions looke for vs. The Enemie is secure and looketh not for vs at this season of the yeere: for hee perceiueth that our Armie which is there is not sufficient for offence, but onely for defence. You shall receiue double pay, the better to furnish you against the iniurie of cold: and as wee shall bee clothed with double garments, I hope wee shall bee also apparelled with double glorie. Let vs march on merrily, I my selfe will goe with you, and bee companion of your glorie.* After hee had thus spoken vnto his Souldiers, they all cryed *One God in Heauen, and one Emperour on the Earth:* and bowing downe all their heads in token of humilitie, they shewed how agreeable they were to obey that which he commanded.

Tamerlan his Oration vnto his Souldiers vpon his going forward against the King of *China*.

The crie of the Souldiers vpon the Emperours Oration.

Thus euery one returned into his Tent, where they abode yet eight dayes more. The Prince sent back againe *Zamai* vnto *Sachetay* with some fiue and twentie thousand Horse, and fiftie thousand Foot-men, for the safetie of his estate in those parts. Thus after prayers were said, all the Armie being assembled together in the presence of the Prince (according to the custome of our Emperours) our Armie began to march forward. Hee forgat not likewise to dispatch one vnto the Emperour his Vncle, to giue him vnderstanding of all this resolution, the which hee very well liked of. The Prince by the same Messenger did beseech him, to send vnto him in the Spring of the yeere some fiftie thousand men to repayre his Armie, and certayne money also for the payment of his men of Warre, which hee granted him. Moreouer, the conducting of good store of warlike munition, and plentie of victuals for to renew ours: for this warre was principally enterprised for the profit and greatnesse of the *Tartarians*, and for the importance which the losse of the Lordships of *Paquin* and *Quinsa* was vnto them, whereby the King of *China* had greatly strengthened and assured his estate, in so much as hee might at his pleasure enter vpon the *Tartarians*, and the *Tartarians* could not enterprise against him without great forces, for that hee had *caused a wall to bee made betweene the spaces of the Mountaynes, which was fortie leagues long*, so as they were defended hereby from the ordinarie incursions, the which continually did greatly enrich them, because they brought much Cattell through the same, wherein the Countrey of *China* doth greatly abound, by reason it is situated in a temperate ayre, being neither too hot nor cold. This was the cause that made the Emperour his Vncle to desire this warre; whom our Prince, according to his dutie, would to the vttermost of his power gratifie, as also his new Subiects.

A wall builded by the King of *China*, fortie leagues long. Perhaps this was not the ancient wall, of which the *Chinois* write, but some other betwixt *Cathay* and those parts of *Mangi* which the *Tartars* hauing gotten in *Polos* dayes, might soone after lose, and the *Chinois* recouer; the *Tartarians* stil holding *Quinsay* & some other parts of *Mangi* or *China*, as this storie (if wholly true) seemes to import.

So wee began to march, and in thirtie eight dayes wee arriued at *Cipribie*, the Armie hauing found great discommodities: there had wee newes of *Calibes*, who was very glad to vnderstand how the affaires had passed: hee came to visit the Prince, who shewed vnto him a very good countenance, and gaue him particular vnderstanding of his determination, and vnderstood at large of *Calibes*, all that had passed within the Kingdome of *China*. The next day the Prince mounted on horse-back, and came vnto *Pazanfou*, where the forces commanded by *Calibes* were at that present, the which had often fought with and tryed the forces of the *Chinois*: but found them much inferiour vnto their owne. The Emperour caused a generall reuiew to bee made of all the forces which were vnder *Calibes*, and after he beheld the countenances of these Souldiers throughout all their rankes, he caused them to muster, and to receiue money, euery one crying, *God saue the victorious and inuincible Emperour*, according to their custome.

The Prince of *Thanais* gayneth a Lord of the Mountains to doe the Emperor seruice. *Vaucheſu.*

The Prince of *Thanais* (who commanded the Armie in *Calibes* absence, going to meet *Tamerlan*) with great diligence had marked *the Wall*, and the places by the which hee might enter by force, and sent many Spyes into the Countrey of *China*, by certayne little wayes that were within the Mountaynes, who aduertised him of all. Hee had also gayned through his courtesie a Lord of the same Mountaynes (called the Lord of *Vaucheſu*) who ruled a great Countrey, with whom

whom he had ſo well profited, that he made him deſirous of a new Maſter, and to ſubmit himſelfe vnto the Emperour, receiuing daily great diſcommoditie by the warres which the *Tartarians* and *Chinois* made: ſo as he comming to viſit the Prince of *Thanais*, hee aſſured him of his deſire to doe the Prince ſeruice, and to helpe him in the warre againſt the *Chinois*, the which the Prince of *Thanais* had wiſely concealed from *Calibes*. But as ſoone as the Prince was arriued, he imparted the ſame vnto him; the which made *Tamerlan* deſirous to haue ſome ſpeech with him, ſo that as ſoone as the Prince had receiued commandement from the Emperour, hee ſent vnto *Vaucheſu* to aduertiſe him of the Princes arriuall, and of the commandement which hee had receiued: whereof the other was very glad, and hauing appointed a day, the Prince tooke his iourney (without ſtirring of the Armie) into the campe of the Prince of *Thanais*, which was neere vnto the Riuer of *Languenne*, whither hee had cauſed this foreſaid Lord to come, who met him there.

Then the Prince after he had heaped vpon him gifts of faire Horſes, rich Furres, and other rare things, he willed him to vtter that which he had to ſay vnto him. This Lord ſpake then in this manner: *Know my Lord, that it is but loſſe of time to thinke; that with your Armes you ſhould bee able to force the Wall, which the* Chinois *haue built againſt the incurſions of your ſubiects, the Defendants haue too much aduantage therein. I doubt not of your Souldiers ſtoutneſſe and of their courage, I know you haue conquered many Nations with them, and that whatſoeuer you command them, they will die or doe the ſame. I know you haue great and wiſe Captaines with you, that your Perſon is onely of all the World worthy to command them: but all this will bee but in vaine againſt the Wall of the* Chinois, *where I aſſure you there are fiftie thouſand men to keepe it, and you cannot ſtay there ſo ſhort a time, but there will come thither fiftie thouſand more, led by the* Xianxi *who hath ſuch a commandement. The King of* China *will himſelfe march forward alſo, who will giue you battell with two hundred thouſand Horſe and as many Footmen. After you haue fought, I beleeue that the fortune and valour of your men may obtayne the victorie, the which will coſt you deare: but for to ſhew vnto you how much the reputation and mildneſſe of your men hath bound mee vnto them, I will ſhew you a meanes by the which you may cauſe fiftie thouſand men to enter into the Kingdome of* China, *whom I my ſelfe will conduct; and they ſhall bee on them which keepe the Wall, in a manner as ſoone as they ſhall perceiue it. In the meane time you ſhall cauſe your men to goe vnto a place that I will tell you, which will bee very diſcommodious vnto the* Chinois, *by reaſon of a Mountayne ouer againſt them, which you muſt cauſe them to winne: for I aſſure my ſelfe, that when they ſhall perceiue your Souldiers to bee paſſed, they will loſe their courage, and you may eaſily winne the paſſage for to fauour thoſe men of yours which ſhall bee paſſed ouer with mee. And for to ſhew vnto you the affection and fidelitie of that I ſpeake, I will deliuer into your hands an onely Sonne I haue, and two little Daughters with my Wife: I haue alſo one Brother, who I am aſſured will follow mee to doe you ſeruice.* The Prince hauing heard this Lord ſpeake, receiued great ioy thereof, hoping that his affaires ſhould happily ſucceede, and this hee kept very ſecret, for euen the Prince of *Thanais* knew not the meanes that this Lord had, ſeeing there was onely preſent the Prince and an Interpreter, and the Prince after hee had thus ſpoken vnto him, gratifying him with all hee could poſſibly, this Lord retyred himſelfe, accompanyed with the Prince of *Thanais*, who conducted him backe againe with all the honour that might bee. So the Emperour returned from thence into his quarter, and the next day after hee had imparted the whole vnto *Odmar*, and heard *Calibes* concerning that which hee had learned of the departing of the King of *China*, and of his preparation, which was great. This enterpriſe ſeeming hard vnto him, after due reuerence yeelded vnto the Prince, hee ſpake vnto him in this manner: Know my Lord, that I am your Slaue for to obey you: but ſeeing you require mee to giue you an account of all that I know of the eſtate of the Kingdome of *China*; for that I haue remayned theſe ſix moneths vpon the borders by your commandement, to hinder them from paſſing the ſame, whereby they might hurt your enterpriſes, I can affirme vnto you, that the King of *China*, who raigneth at this preſent, is of great reputation, and hath increaſed the limits of his Kingdome more then any of his Predeceſſors. His ſtrength conſiſteth in this Wall oppoſed againſt vs, the which hee hath cauſed to bee made by reaſon of the ordinarie roades of our Nation. I am of opinion, that there bee betweene fiftie and threeſcore thouſand men at the guard of that Wall, men for the moſt part trayned vp in the Garriſons of the King of *China*, and his beſt Souldiers, and I know no good meanes to force this Wall without great hazard and much loſſe of your men. I haue vnderſtood, that towards the Lake *Hogeen* you may finde more eaſie entrance into the Kingdome: after euery one had declared his opinion, hee ſaid; that hee hoped the great God (the Vnitie, of whom hee would maintayne againſt ſuch Idolaters) and his iuſt right ſhould anſwere the reaſons which doe contradict his purpoſe, and the valiant arme of his Souldiers ſhall quite ouerthrow whatſoeuer oppoſeth it ſelfe againſt the ſame; and concealed from his Souldiers that which hee held as aſſured to execute it, to the end, the honour of a happy conducting might be aſcribed vnto him onely.

The ſpeech of the Mountaine Lord vnto Tamerlan.

Calibes Oration vnto Prince *Tamerlan.*

The Lake *Hogeen.*

Now, our Prince hauing ſatisfied euery one of the Kings and Lords that did accompany him, hee appointed the meeting place for his Armie to bee at a certayne place, where hee meant to

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choose fiftie thousand fighting men, and deliuer them vnto the commandement of the Prince of *Thanais*, vnto whom he ioyned the Lord *Axalla* a *Gennois* (for that hee knew him to bee discreete) for to accompanie him, commanding him to giue credite vnto him, for his experience and fidelitie. The day appointed being come, the Lord with his brother came to the Emperor, hauing viewed the place againe, and found it to bee forceable and fit to passe, assuring the Prince once againe of the happy successe of their enterprise, and the Prince beeing assembled with them to conferre together, resolued in the end, that his person with all the army should approach vnto the walles directly ouer against *Quaguifou*, in which meane space the fiftie thousand men should march forwards vnto the place appointed, and where they were assured to passe, conducted by the *Chinois* Lord, vnder the charge of the Prince of *Thanais* and *Axalla*. The Emperour hauing not failed to deliuer vnto them the best souldiers of his armie, and hauing set downe the order by them to bee obserued, hee willed that the Lord *Axalla* should leade twentie thousand of them, and should march the first, the rest led by the Prince of *Thanais*, and that euery one should haue one of those Lords to guide them, that by their meanes the enterprise might bee more safely directed. So hauing marched ten leagues, they arriued at the passage, the which was won, not finding any man there to resist them: and hauing taken a light repast, they beganne to march forward other ten leagues which yet remained, where the *Chinois* were, who suspected no such thing, hauing onely an eye vnto them which marched for to force their walles, assuring themselues to haue the mastry, considering their aduantage.

Quaguifou.

Fiftie thousand men sent into *China* by a secret passage, vnder the leading of the Prince of *Thanais* and *Axalla*.

A secret way found into *China*, by the conduct of the mountaine Lord.

But it fell out much otherwise, for euen at the very same time the *Chinois* did perceiue the Princes armie to approach vnto their wall, as soone did they discry *Axalla* with twenty thousand men, who aduanced forward being followed by the Prince of *Thanais* with thirtie thousand souldiers chosen out of the whole army, who without any communication set vpon the *Chinois*, which came presently vnto them, hauing left a certaine number of their Campe for the guard of the wall: but they were presently won by the footmen led this day by *Odmar*, who passed ouer so as the *Chinois* were cut off betweene our Armies. When *Axalla* began the battaile, he ouerthrew them in a manner all, the Prince of *Thanais* not hazarding himself therein: there was great riches gotten this day, the King of *China* his Cousin (whom he called King) was taken prisoner: There was a great quantity of gold amongst them, as well on their armes as on their horse and furniture: they shewed no great stoutnesse.

Axalla ouerthrew the *Chinois* that kept the wall of partition.

The newes heereof being come vnto the King of *China*, who at that present time was at *Quantou*, brought vnto him great astonishment, for that hee iudged it a thing that could not possibly come to passe, you might haue seene euery one filled with fright, teares and cries, bewailing the losse of their friends. The King gathering together souldiers from all parts (as the custome is of these people) caused all the Priestes and such as had the charge of holy things to come vnto him, and after exhortations vsed, he (as their head) commanded them to offer sacrifice vnto their Gods, of whom the Sunne is the principall commanding in heauen (whom they hold opinion to bee the chiefest *cause of their being, accounting it immortall and impassible, mouing it selfe onely for the benefit of liuing creatures*) this did hee command to bee obserued through out all his Cities, and the second thing was, that euery one able to beare armes should mount on horsebacke, and come vnto the King at *Paquinfou*, whither hee doubted that we would go, because it was one of the neerest townes vpon the borders.

Quantiou.

The custome of the *Chinois* in religion.

I haue forgotten to declare that this Lord who had the charge to conduct fiftie thousand men vnto the frontiers, at such time as they which were there had need thereof, was soone in a readinesse, and came to oppose himselfe against the Princes Armie which entred, and being skilfull in the wayes of the country, troubled much the Armie: for a great number of his men were on horsebacke. The Prince determined to beate downe all the wals, the better to assure his returne, as also all the fortresses which were there vpon all the passages, all of them hauing yeelded themselues after his victorie, shewing himselfe very courteous vnto the people of these mountaines, he gaue vnto this Lord a small portion of land, wherein there be seuen or eight good townes, *Archij*, *Ymulij*, *Faliquien*, *Fulij*, *Cohensen*, *Qualij*, *Pulij Quiaulu*, who came and deliuered vp their keyes vnto him, being neighbours vnto this Lord, and gaue him the gouernment of the frontier prouince of *Xianxij*, shewing himselfe to be a Prince of his word, and acknowledging the notable seruices the which this Lord had done him. He referred the honouring of his brother vntill he had meanes to doe the same: the Prince had receiued newes, how that the King of *China* assembled his forces & marched forwards, and that he was there in his owne person, & that he strengthened also his Cities which are sufficiently fortified; and vpon these doubts hee thought good to haue the aduice of his Captaines, and after sundry opinions, his resolution was, to leaue nothing behind him, and to assault some famous Citie, and take it, by meanes whereof he may nourish his Armie, and secondarily call the enemie vnto battell. The which the conqueror should alwaies seeke, & the defender the latest he can hazard the same. For that it is a very doubtfull thing to commit themselues vnto a battell, his dutie being rather to delay, vndermining the conqueror by lengt hand by wearinesse, and light skirmishes, then to fight in open field.

The Emperour wonne the wals of *China*.

The mountain Lord rewarded with great gouernment.

A good aduertisement for Generals.

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It was concluded, and the aduice of euery one was, to conquer the Countrey by little and little, ſo as their enterpriſe was to draw directly vnto *Paguinfou*, which as it was a great Citie, and one of the chiefeſt, ſo is it alſo ſtrongly fortified, and well repleniſhed with people.

Then he diſpatched *Odmar* with fourteene thouſand Horſe, to aduance forward and ſummon the ſame, as for to hinder victuals from being conuayed thereinto out of the champaine Countrey: to the end that the Cattell remayning in the fields, ſhould be a meanes to maintayne and nouriſh his Armie. I had forgotten to tell you, that for the acknowledging of the Lord *Axalla* his ſeruices, the Prince had made him Captaine generall of all his Foot-men, which was one of the principall honours of the Armie. Hee cauſed the ſaid Lord *Axalla* to march after *Odmar*, with all the Foot-men, which was very neere a hundred and fifty thouſand men, well trayned vp in the warres, and good expert fighters. He marched himſelfe immediatly after with all his Horſemen, Artilleries, Engines, and other munitions belonging vnto warre, directly vnto *Paguinfou*. *Odmar* did ride twentie *French* leagues this day, ſo as he arriued there contrary to their expectation, looking rather for the King then for the Enemie, and hauing taken much Cattell, wherewith the Countrey greatly aboundeth, he pitched his Tents, leauing the Citie betweene him and vs, and ſtayed for his footmen, who marched forwards in the meane ſpace, ſending continually vnto the warre, for to wearie the Enemie. This endured three or foure dayes, vntill our footmen led by this braue Chriſtian *Gennois*, ſhewed themſelues in the Playne of *Paguinfou*. Then the Citie was ſummoned to yeeld obedience vnto the Emperour, or elſe they ſhould receiue the Law of the Conquerour. They made anſwere, that they were determined to liue and die in the ſeruice of their Prince.

Axalla made Captaine generall of all the foot-men.

Paguinfou beſieged.

Now you muſt vnderſtand that it was fortie yeeres, or thereabouts, ſince the Father of the King which raigneth at this preſent ouer the *Chinois*, had conquered it from the Empire of the *Tartarians*, and hauing driuen out all the Inhabitants, they had planted therein new Colonies, ſo thorowly, that there were but few of the firſt remembrance, but only they of the flat Countrey, and ſmall walled Townes, who came from all parts and brought their Keyes, moſt willingly ſubmitting themſelues vnto the obedience of the Prince: ſo as there was great abundance of victuals within our Armie: and if wee had beene within our owne Countrey, there could not haue come greater ſtore; a thing which made our Prince hope for a happie ſucceſſe, there being no other difficulty which for the moſt part can ouerthrow a great Armie as ours was, and withdraw them from their enterpriſe. And thus the Citie of *Paguinfou* is beſieged, and our footmen camped round about within an Arrowes ſhot of the walls. They within the Citie did vſe great endeuour for their defence, and our Prince omitted nothing for their offence.

Note theſe changes of ſtate betwixt the *Tartars* and *Chinois*.

Axalla hauing viewed a great and ſtrong Suburbe, which was in length almoſt halfe a league, ſuppoſed that thoſe of the Citie kept no watch there: that this muſt needs bee, for that they would not make him obſtinate; he had a determination to winne it in the night, and hauing imparted it vnto the Prince, vpon the firſt watch all his men were ready, all of them hauing made prouiſion of Ladders, and of ſuch things as are neceſſary for winning thereof with hand-blowes, and hauing aſſaulted it on ſundry parts, after the fight had continued two houres, *Axalla* remayned the Conquerour, and cut in pieces eight thouſand men at the leaſt which were within the ſame: the ſpoyle was great, there were many of *Axalla* his men ſlayne of one ſide, which was that by the which they doubted to be aſſaulted. But on the other ſide, by the which it was taken, there was ſcarce any one ſlayne. The taking of this Suburbe did greatly aſtoniſh thoſe of the Citie, who had marked the luſtineſſe of our men, and beganne to enter into doubt of their ſafety, which vnto this day they accounted as moſt aſſured. Now you muſt vnderſtand that the ſituation of the Citie was of hard acceſſe, being ſeated vpon a Playne, the which was enuironed round about with Mountaines, one of them onely approaching the Citie, which ouerlooked it on front vpon the North ſide, where was a Valley by the which they paſſed, and there did runne a Riuer: on this ſide was the Suburbe ſituated which had been taken, ſo as the meanes to ſuccour the Citie was ſtopped, our Souldiers keeping the paſſages of theſe Mountaines, the which were in the old time the borders of the Kingdome: for *Paguinfou* was once gouerned by the *Tartarians*, which kept it for a defence againſt the *Chinois*, but had loſt the ſame, and theſe Mountaines were the limits of *China* againſt the aforeſaid *Tartarians*, who gouerned *Paguinfou* at that time, ſo as theſe Mountaines were of hard acceſſe, and there remayned no other way but on the ſide of the Suburbe, the which a Riuer compaſſeth about, running all along the ſide of a bordering Mountaine, vpon the which wee cauſed many bridges to be built, for to haue thereby a way for to ſuccour our Souldiers, which kept the paſſages of the Mountaines on the enemies ſide.

A great Suburbe wonne by *Axalla* in the night.

The ſituation of the Citie of *Paguinfou*.

In this meane time the King of *Chinaes* Armie approached which was very great, as they brought vs word daily, the Prince determining to goe in perſon and meet with the Enemie, accompanied with his principall Horſ-men, and to leaue the greateſt part of his Foot-men at the ſiege, whereunto he had a great deſire, omitting nothing that might wearie the beſieged, who defended themſelues couragiouſly. So the Prince beganne to batter, cauſing his Engines to approach; as Rammes, and other munitions: inſomuch as the Citie was aſſaulted on two ſides ve-

The ſiege of *Paguinfou*.

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ry couragiously. In the end through the valour of *Axalla*, who gaue an assault with twenty thousand of his best Souldiers, he wonne the wall, and lodged there, the Prince hauing so commanded him to doe, to stop the heat of the Souldiers from going any further. Now the Princes purpose was to compound for the Citie, and not to force it, for two reasons. The first was, for that he feared, the Citie being great and rich, that when the Souldiers should sacke it, the Enemie who was but thirty leagues from thence, should come vpon them, and by this meanes his Armie should be found in disorder, also rich Souldiers neuer serue well: The other was, for that hee would draw out of that Citie which was rich and wealthy, those commodities which were necessary for the sure accomplishing of his enterprise, seeing it was necessary to haue such a Citie for to make a Store-house of necessary things for the Armie. Thus although the wall was won, the Enemies wanted not courage yet to defend themselues valiantly, looking for ayde according to the newes they had receiued, that the Kings Armie marched forward. Whilest these things were in doing, one of our Engines shooting a bullet, slue the Gouernour, whereupon they did resolue for to yeeld themselues vnto the Princes mercy, sauing their liues, and the Souldiers enioying their horse and weapons. The conditions were agreed vpon, and there came out of the Citie eighteene thousand Souldiers, the Inhabitants remayning in a manner all: there were therein thirtie thousand Souldiers at the beginning: the siege continued two moneths. The honour of taking the Citie and the happy successe therein was attributed vnto *Axalla*, to whom was giuen the gouernment of the Citie with the Countrey already conquered. But hee beseeched the Prince that it would please him to bestow it vpon some other, and for himselfe hee reserued the hope of his Master, wherein hee should haue part. This answere did greatly content the Prince, for hee greatly desired the seruice of *Axalla*. Vpon his refusall this charge was bestowed vpon the Prince of *Thanais*, with the Title of Vice-roy. Now, as I haue already told you, our Prince after hee had giuen such order as was necessary, and aduertised his friends in all parts, and aboue all the Emperour, he marched forward, hauing contented his Souldiers, and made a generall muster of his Armie, as well of the horse as footmen, the which hee found to be diminished of ten thousand men onely. Now, our Prince after he had solemnely called vpon the Immortall, Inuincible, and Incomprehensible God, and spent one whole day in prayer, wee enterprised to goe on forward, and to goe directly vnto the Enemie, who was at *Sintchu*, with all his owne forces, and of all his Allies. As soone as he receiued newes that our Armie was passed ouer the Riuer of *Chulifu*, the King of *China* marched directly vnto vs with great magnificence: there was nothing to bee seene but gold and precious stones in his Armie: hee himselfe was commonly in a Chariot, wherein there was such a quantitie of gold and rich stones, that euery part was full of Diamonds, Rubies, and Pearles.

The King of *China* was of the age of three and thirtie yeeres, who for the most part had beene brought vp in pleasures, and not in militarie exercises, nor vnder the bloudie ensigne of *Mars*; loden with Iron, boysterous and furious, not with gold, precious stones, and with such kinde of riches: so as he was very insolent in threatnings, brauadoes, and in defying vnto the battaile. He often said that we had surprised him, and had not warned him to prepare himselfe, and that we had stricken him without speaking any word: for this is the custome of the people in those parts, to doe in this manner. Hee had two or three Kings also with him, his Neighbours and Allies, who marched with the same preparation. The rumour of these riches gaue great courage to the Souldiers, for they were couetous of iust gayne, as is that gotten by a battaile. So both our Armies went forward each to approch the other, and there was a Citie yeelded vnto the Prince called *Tunicheuoy*, the which helped our Armie greatly. The next day, to the end wee might giue occasion vnto the Enemie for to approch neerer, we sent to summon, and at the same time to take possession of the Citie of *Pannihu*, the which in aduancing forward wee left a little behinde vs. The King of *China* had put many men thereinto, and it was a Citie sufficiently well fortified: from *Tiaucheuoy* to *Paguinuhu* there were ten leagues. He aduanced his Armie within a league of the Citie *Tiaucheuoy*, about noone the next day they had more certaine aduertisement of the Enemies comming. The Prince commanded his Armie to take the place for the battaile, which he had chosen in his iudgement with most aduantage, and hauing set downe vnto *Odmar* the order he would haue to be obserued, he desired to see the comming of this Armie: so sending before him fiue or six thousand Horse as Scouts, hee aduanced forward, and *Calibes* with him. After he had seene this great confused Armie which continually came forward, hee commanded *Calibes* to retyre himselfe as soone as they drew neere vnto him, and bring vnto him this great cloud, the which hee hoped soone to disperse. So the Prince returned backe vnto his men for to assure them of the battaile: hee caused all his footmen to bee placed all along by a great Mountayne, so as they had but one head for to doubt. And hee planted great store of Artillerie for the guard of his footmen. I am of opinion, that the Prince had about six-score thousand footmen, whereof many were armed after the *Christian* manner, and all they were commanded by sundrie Captaines; but all obeyed *Axalla*, who commanded them as Generall.

Our Horse-men were in battaile array in a great leuell Playne, hauing the Footmen on the left

The Citie of *Paguinfou* yeelded vnto *Tamerlan* vpon the death of their Gouernour.

Axallas choise.

Tamerlan his kind of godlinesse.

The King of *China* his magnificence.

The custome of the *Chinois*.

Tunicheuoy.

Pannihu.

Tiaucheuoy.

The order of the Princes battaile against the King of *China*.

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left hand, and on the right was the comming of the Enemie, so as vpon the least disfauour that might happen, hee would retyre to bee assisted by his footmen. Wee had foure score thousand horse: *Calibes* with the *Scythians* were in the Auantguard, and had the commandement of thirtie thousand horse, who should receiue him at such time as he did draw on the Enemie, as he was commanded. It was diuided into three troupes, each one consisting of ten thousand. *Odmar* had also thirtie thousand horse who should assist him. The Prince remayned in the Arier-ward at the one of the wings of his footmen, which held one of his principall forces: his purpose was to suffer the threescore and six thousand horse to maintayne the fight against the *Barbarians*; being led by two good Captaines, and if any of them remayned, the Emperor hoped after of them to haue a good market, by causing his footmen to march forward, and himselfe with whom there abode twentie thousand of the best horse, which were sufficient without hazarding his Person for to giue a new battaile, if so be that any disfauour should happen vnto them: for hee had vnderstood that this was the custome of the Kings of *China*, to enclose themselues within the middest of their Chariots with their footmen, and not to hazard themselues but vpon the extremitie. So the Enemie fayled nothing at all to march directly vnto *Calibes*, and all the Armie marched after following of him and setting vpon him, and hee euen as the *Scythians* are alwayes accustomed to doe, with his six thousand horse in retyring gaue many charges, killing some of them, and they likewise killing some of his men. It was a beautifull sight to see this great Armie march, for it seemed to bee twise as great as ours, therein being an infinite number of armed Chariots, wherein he put his principall trust against the furie of our Souldiers; so many gildings of gold and siluer as well in the trappings of their Horses, as on their Armour, that it glittered, and was of vs all much admired. The Prince who with a troupe of horse did see the Armie march after *Calibes*, commended greatly the manner of casting their men out of the rankes, for to compell this troupe vnto fight, and did see this Armie come in good order, and he tryed with his eye to note the place where the Kings Person was, hauing neere him the *Chinois* Lord to instruct him, who knew well their manner of fighting. Now, they had neither Auantguard nor battaile, but onely an Arier-ward commanded by the King, and inclosed (as I haue said) with his Chariots: the which being shewed vnto him by this Lord, the Prince turned himselfe vnto vs, and in our language said: *Yet must wee this day disperse this cloud here so gilded, and the King of* China *and my selfe must make a partition thereof.*

The beautie and richnesse of the King of *Chinas* Armie.

Tamerlan his speech of the King of *China*.

Now, hauing seene the Enemie sufficiently aduanced, and iudging that he had had seene them march a good league, he thought it not conuenient to suffer them for to take breath; nor for to put themselues againe into their order; he sent vnto *Calibes* for to will him to set forward the fight, and that if those whom he had led with him should be weary, they should come vnto him; but it was not in *Calibes* power to haue this commandement ouer them. For as soone as they heard this word of fighting vttered, they required the first charge, with a young Lord, who commanded ouer them, called *Zioctabanes*, who made appeare vnto the *Chinois* to what end their flight was, charging very stiffely vpon the foremost of the Enemies, the which was an occasion to begin the first fight. And I assure you, there could not be seene a more furious thing, nor any for to fight with more desire to manifest the valour of his Nation, and for to procure honour vnto his Prince. Now, this endured a long houre before the *Chinois* had ouerthrowne *Calibes*. The Prince did see all patiently, saying alwayes, that the great multitude how confused soeuer it were, would carry it away from the order and valour of his Souldiers: you could not yet perceiue any alteration in the Princes countenance, Aduersitie and Prosperitie were so indifferent vnto him. His thirty thousand Horse were all *Scythians*, who obserue not the same order the *Parthians* doe. Now, before the Prince retyred with his men, hee did see the first charge giuen. *Calibes* being wounded, retyred himselfe neere vnto the Prince, hauing with him two thousand horse ioyned together againe, and many more ioyning themselues together neere vnto the Prince, who commanded that they should cure *Calibes*, viewing the place of his wound, hee caused him to bee conducted behind his footmen, and the other which were hurt with him also. Now, *Calibes* was not able to pierce through this Armie, being beaten back; but *Odmar* with almost all the *Parthian* horse-men, did handle them more roughly, for hee ranne cleane thorow them, and returned by one of the right wings of the Armie, where hee fought most valiantly, and hauing beaten them back euen within the Kings Chariots, he thought that he should not doe wisely to goe about to breake such forces.

The battaile betweene the King of *China* and *Tamerlan*.

The King of *China* comming forward, and the horse-men which had beene broken by *Odmar*, ioyning themselues together for his ayde, *Odmar* onely remayning in the battaile sent vnto the Prince for the footmen, and for to set forward the Artillerie, and that hee should assure himselfe of the victorie. The Prince, who had already set forward, kept aloofe off, and sent vnto him fiftie thousand footmen, with a part of the Artillery, giuing charge thereof vnto *Axalla*, who forthwith set forward, hauing commandement to set vpon the Chariots, and to make an entrance: he set forward the Artillery before him, the which did greatly astonish the enemies: for the Gouernours of the horses, belonging to the Kings Chariots, could not hold them; it made also a great spoyle. As soone as he perceiued this disorder, hee set forward, and came

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came to hand-blowes, there were a hundred and fiftie thousand men, as yet about the Kings person. *Axalla* full of courage fought so valiantly, that they neuer beheld any doe more brauely. *Odmar* during this fight charged againe the Horsemen, who were retyred vnto the Kings ayde, whom he put to flight. Then the Prince aduanced forward with the rest of his Foot-men, gaue ayde vnto *Axalla*, and came euen vnto the person of the King of *China*, who was as yet enclosed within a second ranke of Chariots with thirty or forty thousand men: and after hee had fought two or three houres, the Horse-men assisting the Foot-men, and they principally whom the Prince had reserued, the King remayned wounded within the power of the Prince, the battaile being wonne, and all the Enemies Campe forced; the fight endured eight houres, and it was euen night, which saued the liues of many of the Enemies. There were slaine two Kings the Allyes of the King of *China*, and one taken Prisoner: there was inestimable riches gotten, as well in golden Vessell as precious stones, and the most rich and faire Chariots that could be seene.

The King of China wounded and taken Prisoner.

Tamerlans victory ouer the King of China.

The Prince would not see the captiued King vntill the next day, beeing mounted on Horse-backe, and passing through the Campe of the Battayle for to stay the slaughter, and to ioyne together againe his men, to the end the accustomed watch might bee kept, whereof hee gaue the charge vnto *Axalla*; to whom he gaue likewise commandement to keepe the King of *China* within the middest of his Souldiers, hauing bin already dressed of a wound he had receiued in his right arme. It was a strange thing to behold the Enemies Weapons, and the diuersitie of streamers wherewith they were decked, the which seemed vnto vs afar off as beautifull, as the diuersity of colours plentifull. But to say the truth, the multitude was great which this King had, notwithstanding there was much difference betweene their valour and ours: and it is reported, that hee had ranged in Battayle this very day three hundred and fifty thousand men, whereof there were an hundred and fiftie thousand Horse-men, the rest on foot: the greatest part of them were rude and barbarous people, which suffered themselues to bee slaine one vpon another, not marking their aduantage, nor hauing any Warlike knowledge, as our men haue: there were slaine of the Enemies some threescore thousand. Now the next day after the buriall of the dead, the Prince hauing giuen thankes vnto God for his victorie, caused the wounded to bee cured, and amongst the others *Calibes*, who by reason of the vntemperateness of the Ayre, rather then by the blow of the wound he had receiued, found himselfe very ill, yet would he not omit his dutie, to command alwayes his Auant-gard, the which was a great pleasure vnto the Prince, for he alone had Commandement ouer the Emperours Forces, beeing a *Scythian*, and greatly beloued of his Nation.

Pannihu.

The Prince dispatched away thirty thousand Horse in the pursuit of one of the King of *Chinas* Brothers, who was fled away, hauing ioyned together againe some twelue or fifteene thousand Horse. The Prince sent to summon *Pannihu*, the which did yeeld it selfe vnto him: whereupon our Army approached neere vnto it, for to aduance our selues the further into the Countrey. Now I forget to declare how the Prince hauing the next day caused his Tents to bee pitched most stately, and his Guards ordered according to his greatnesse, the principall of his Army being also neere his person: for all the night hee had remayned continually on Horse-backe, vntill about two of the clocke, when as they brought him a Tart and his water, for hee neuer dranke Wine; and lay downe on a Carpet where hee passed the rest of the night. I was neere vnto him and neuer left him: but I neuer heard any vaunting or boasting to proceed out of his mouth. Then hee sent a commandement vnto *Axalla* to bring vnto him the imprisoned King: who beeing come, the Emperour issued out of his Tents, and went to receiue him. This King of *China* came with a very proud and haughtie countenance, and like a couragious man, approaching neere vnto the Emperour, hee demanded of *Axalla* by an Interpreter, which was the Emperour, and being shewed him, hee spake fiercely vnto him after this manner: The Gods whom I worship, being prouoked against my Nation and people, and conspired against my good fortune, haue made mee at this day thy Prisoner: but forasmuch, as it is reported ouer all the World, that *Tamerlan* maketh warre for the honour of his Nation: thou shouldest be contented that thou hast wonne it this glory, that the *Lord of the World, the Child of the Sunne*, is in thy power, to receiue such Law as it shall please thee to prescribe him. This hee said in a braue manner, and without any other humbling of himselfe. The Emperour on the other-side hauing saluted him very courteously, led him into his Tent.

Tam. dranke no Wine.

The comming of the King of China prisoner vnto the Emperour Tamerlan.

He is surely a great Prince, and which hath had two hundred famous Cities within his Kingdome. There be many Mynes of Gold and Siluer, much Muske, and also of an Herbe which the *Christians* call *Rhubarbe*. There bee in like manner within the Kingdome of *China* fifteene very large Prouinces, the which haue Gouernours. It is reported that hee hath threescore and tenne Kings wearing Crownes, Tributaries vnto him. We call this Region *China*, the which they in their Language name *Tame*, and the people *Tangis*, the which we call *Chinois*. This Kingdome doth abound in fish, and in great numbers of wild-fowle, by reason of the great abundance of running waters which doe ouerflow the Countrey, the which is reasonable temperate: they abound greatly in Silkes, and the meanest are apparelled therewith, hauing small quantitie of

200. Cities. A description of China. Rhubarbe.

Tame, or Tamin and Tangius.

Wooll

Wooll, and not vſing the ſame: they haue much Cotton and Linnen in ſtead thereof. The men doe weare their haire long, the women combe them: they haue as many Wiues as they are able to maintayne. Next vnto the King, there is a Gouernour Generall whom they call *Tutan*, the which was the Brother vnto the impriſoned King. The Prince hauing aſſembled his counſell, to to the end he might be aduiſed how he ſhould vſe his Priſoners and the reſt of the Victory: hee receiued newes by *Odmar*, how that the Kings Brother was arriued at *Quanton*, the which hee had fortified, and that great ſtore of forces did ioyne themſelues vnto him. This was the cauſe that the Prince hauing ſomewhat reſted his forces, commanded two thouſand *Parthian* Horſe to conuey the Priſoners vnto *Paguinfou*, and from thence after they had made abode there, to paſſe ouer the Mountaynes, and to remayne at *Burda* (a Citie of olde time faithfull vnto the Emperours of *Schytia*) and there to keepe them faithfully. The purpoſe and reſolution of the Prince was, that it behooued to aſſault *Quanton*, and to ſhut vp, if it were poſſible, the Kings Brother within the ſame, being one of the principall ſeates belonging vnto the King of *China*, and a Citie greatly peopled and ſtrong: it was forty leagues from the place where the battayle was fought. But *Odmar* being aduanced thither, would not retyre before he had expreſſe Commandement from the Prince, who hauing ſent thither, pitched his Tents round about the ſaid Citie: hauing ſummoned many ſmall Cities, the which yeelded themſelues wholly vnto the Princes mercy, making great lamentation for their King taken. Notwithſtanding, the gentleneſſe vſed by the Conquerour made them to take all their loſſes with patience: and becauſe it was alſo reported, that he had vſed the King moſt friendly, and all the Priſoners: the Kings Brother had ſent Embaſſadours to obtayne leaue for to know of the Kings health, and for to ſee him, the which the Prince did willingly ſuffer, to the end this other ſhould not declare himſelfe King, who would haue brought him more trouble then the other. He attended for the euent of *Quanton*, and had his eye vpon the ſucceſſe of this ſiege. Now the Kings Brother hauing receiued newes of the Affaires of the beſieged, he determined eyther to ſuccour it, or to fight a Battle, and came ſtraight vnto *Porchio*, and made a bridge of Boats, whereof there be great ſtore in theſe ſame Countreyes.

Quanton.

Burda.

Porchio.

Now being enformed when the halfe part were paſſed, which was fiftie thouſand men good, *Odmar* finding them in very ill order, and nothing at all aduertiſed of the Enemies nearneſſe, gaue the charge, and vtterly ouerthrew them: there remayned dead vpon the ground ſome fiftie thouſand men, but it was not without great fight, ſtrengthened with the fauour of water, and a great Mariſh wherein they were encamped. Notwithſtanding, our Foot-men hauing wonne the banke of the Riuer, beganne alſo to winne the Boats, and to ſeuer them by the meanes of a great Boat, the which we with diligence cauſed to runne downe beeing full of artificiall fire, ſo as at the ſame very time that they which were within the Boate did draw neere, they retyred out of the ſame, hauing firſt kindled the fire within the Boate, the which with a great force ruſhed againſt the Bridge of Boats and ouerthrew it, and where it was reſiſted did burne. This did greatly aſtoniſh them that were paſſed, to ſee their returne cut off. The Kings Brother was not yet paſſed vnto the other-ſide of the water, and he which firſt had gone ouer was the King of *Cauchina*, who was ſlayne at the firſt charge, fighting very valiantly, in the fore-front. The Kings Brother did ſee his men ſlayne and drowned, and could not remedie the ſame. This ſecond ouerthrow was of no ſmall importance, although it was but the third part of the Kings Brothers Army, and that there remayned vnto him as yet a hundred thouſand fighting men: but there was no great hope that he durſt preſent himſelfe before our Army. The newes hereof being reported at *Quantiouſou*, they deſired to make tryall of the Emperours clemency. *Axalla* diſpatched one of his faithfull friends of his Countrey vnto the Prince, to carry vnto him theſe good newes: which was more welcome vnto the Prince, then the ouerthrow he had giuen vnto the Enemy, and agreed vnto all that *Axalla* demanded, referring all vnto his ſufficiencie and fidelitie. The Kings Brother hauing ſent to demand ſafety for to treate, the Prince granted ſo much vnto them, for ſuch as would come vnto him.

Odmar ſet vpon the Kings Brother at the paſſing of a Riuer, and ſlue fifty thouſand of his men. A ſtratagem.

In this meane-time *Quantouſou* yeelded it ſelfe into the hands of *Axalla*, who cauſed the Garriſon to come out of the ſame, receiued the Inhabitants into the Princes protection, and they which would might remayne therein vnarmed: and he entred thereinto with the joy of all the Inhabitants, who did determine to receiue the Emperour into the ſame with all the magnificence that might be. He cauſed thirty thouſand men of War to enter thereinto; vnto whom was money deliuered for to maintayne them there, vntill ſuch time as all the Foot-men ſhould receiue pay for three monethes due vnto them, whereof the Inhabitants of *Quantouſou* did furniſh the Prince, to the ſumme of eight hundred thouſand Tentins, the which do amount vnto foure hundred and fifty thouſand crownes or therabout. The Prince at this preſent ſent me vnto *Axalla*, whom I found feaſting of his Captaines and ſouldiers, ſtaying for the commandement that I brought vnto him, the which was to remaine within *Quantouſou*, and to cauſe all his footmen to ſet forward directly vnto him, the which was done by the Prince, to the end it ſhould ſtrike a greater terror into the minds of the enemies, who ſeeing all his footmen arriued, he ſuppoſed they wold nothing doubt (*Quantouſou* being taken) but that he would march forward, inſomuch

as

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as he hoped this would greatly aduance his Affaires, considering the estate they were in. I returned from *Quantoufou* vnto the Emperour, hauing seene a beautifull and great Citie well fortified, and wonderfully peopled, and round about it there was a fruitfull Countrey.

Thus the Embassadors being arriued, who were of the Kings chiefest Vassals, *Tamerlan* receiued them with all humanitie, causing his greatnesse to appeare vnto them; and therewithall the agilitie of his Horsemen, to make them see with their eyes, that it would be the destruction of the *Chinois* name, if he proceeded any further. So hauing saluted the Emperour with all reuerence, they vttered their Embassage vnto him, which was that the Kings Brother had sent them vnto him to treat for two causes: the one, was for the liberty of their King, the other, for preseruation of their Countrey. The Prince hauing heard them, answered them, that they had reason to trust vnto his mildnesse, and seeing at this present, they desired it, he would yeeld thereunto. Thereupon the Prince rose vp, and caused to be said vnto them, that they should deliuer their offers in writing, and that present answere should bee made thereunto. Thus went they out of the Princes presence with great joy, and as it were assured of Peace, and to recouer their former prosperities. The conditions which they offered, were to leaue *Paguinfou*, and all the Countrey beyond it, with all the Fortresses of the Mountaynes; that they would pay all the charges of his Army, since the day of answere made vnto his Embassadors; that they would giue two Millions of Gold, for their King. This being presented vnto the Lord, hee made answere thereunto, which was; that he would keepe that which hee had conquered within the Countrey, which was his owne justly, seeing his armes had giuen it vnto him; that hee would haue the Riuer where he was now encamped to be his Frontier, stretched vnto *Hochioy, Tahancezng, Cauchio, Lulun*, euen vnto *Peschio* bordering vpon the Sea; that the King of *China* should pay vnto him yearely three hundred thousand Crownes, the which should bee deliuered at *Paguinfou*, for acknowledgement of submission vnto the Empire, as well for his Successors as himselfe; that they should pay fiue hundred thousand Crownes in ready money for the charge of the Army; that the King of *China* should be deliuered, and all the *Chinois* Prisoners should pay ransom vnto particular men that took them, except those which carryed the name of Kings, who should pay one hundred thousand Crownes for peace with his Armes: that no *Chinois* should bee kept as slaue, nor sold for such hereafter, beeing vnder the Princes obedience, that Traffique and Entercourse of Merchants should be free betweene both the Nations; that the King of *China* should deliuer his Brother as Prisoner, and two Kings named, with twelue principall men of the Countrey for assurance of the peace. They accepted of such conditions of peace as pleased the Conquerour, hoping that time would bring againe vnto them their ancient liberty, and that for a time it behooued them to beare with patience the yoke of their bondage. Now the Prince had sent two thousand Horse, to fetch the King of *China*, to the end that being at liberty, he might sweare to the peace solemnly, the which he hauing performed at *Quantoufou*, whither the Prince caused him for to come, he brought with him vnto *Paguin*, all the pledges, and amongst the rest, the Kings eldest Sonne, and his Brother. The King beeing departed for to performe his promise, according to the Treaty by him confirmed, he was receiued, and as it were worshipped within his Countrey, with all the joy that might be.

An Embassage from the King of *Chinas* Brother vnto *Tamerlan*, to treat for peace, and the Kings deliuerance.

Conditions agreed vpon betweene *Tamerlan* and the *Chinois*.

In the meane-time the Emperour, after hee had prouided for the assurance of his new conquest, he left *Odmar* there to gouerne them, and gaue vnto him an estate of thirty thousand Horse and fifty thousand Foot-men, to furnish all the Fortresses and strong places, the Prince hauing led with him many of the new conquered people, desiring to haue them for to dwell within his Countrey, and to send other Colonies in their places, to assure himselfe the better of the lightnesse of this people, hauing noted them to bee inclined vnto Nouelties. Hee gaue in charge vnto *Odmar* to make his principall abode at *Quantoufou*, and to fortifie well the passage: and also commanded a Fortresse to be made at *Dermio*, the better to strengthen his Borders: and after he had left him all things necessary, he recommended vnto him the seruices of that Lord, who had manifested vnto him his great affection. The Emperour hauing well tryed his faithfulnesse in his Affaires as they fell out, he carryed with him a Brother of his, vnto whom he gaue great gifts within *Sachetay*.

Odmar left Gouernour of *China* for *Tamerlan*.

Then we turned our faces straight vnto *Cambalu*, hauing aduertized the Great *Cham* of the happy successe of our Affaires. The Prince remayned in deed King of *China*, holding in his possession, two of the faireſt and greateſt Cities of all the whole Countrey, hauing an hundred good leagues thereof vnto himselfe, and many lesser Cities, hauing extended his Borders vnto a Riuer, by which he might goe vnto the Enemy, but they could not come vnto him without passing ouer the same: hauing good meanes to keepe it and with aduantage. Now the Prince desired aboue all that the Idols which were within his Conquest, should be beaten downe, and commanded the worship of one God, establishing the same after the forme of his owne Countrey, for he made account that in short time all would bee reduced vnto our customes. Our Army wherein was much sickneſſe, began to march, and on the third day hauing newes of forces which came towards vs, the Prince sent them a Commandement not to come any further forward, and that they should march straight vnto *Cambalu*, where the Prince did suppose to finde the Emperour his

his Vncle, who had set forward towards that place to haue the good hap for to see him, being determined to receiue him at *Cambalu* with magnificence and triumphs, as hee well deserued.

Now I will declare by the way, how *Odmar* being seuered from vs, all the Princes fauour was turned vnto *Axalla*, vnto whom hee committed the whole charge of his Armie, insomuch as *Axalla* although he was alwaies in great reputation, notwithstanding the same was much encreased by the Prince at *Quantousou*, where the Prince did trust him with the Armie, in so weighty an enterprise as that was, and the which he so gloriously atchieued: likewise the manner of entring into the Kingdome of *China*, the intelligences hee had: so as the report of his valour did flie throughout all the Empire. *Calibes* led the Auant-guard, and *Axalla* was in the battell neere vnto the Emperour, who gaue him the chiefest place, bestowing vpon him two hundred thousand crownes yeerely, for to maintayne his ordinary expences. After certaine dayes iourney, wee receiued newes of the Emperours arriuall at *Cambalu*, the Prince hauing left his Armie in a faire Countrey for to winter, where he dismissing many of our Souldiers, wee arriued within foure leagues of *Cambalu*, whither all the Princes of the Emperours Court, came for to receiue him, together with all the principall Inhabitants, for to gratifie our Prince for his happie Voyage. The Prince hauing receiued euery one, according to his wonted curtesie, retayning notwithstanding conuenient Maiestie, hee was beheld to the great contentment of all his Subiects. Hee had with him the Empresse his wife, who had not left him in his Voyage. The next day the Emperour did him so much honour, as to come and meet him, with all the magnificence that might bee. Hee gaue a present vnto the Emperour his Vncle, of all the richest Chariots, and faireſt Horses hee had wonne. The Emperour was very desirous to see his daughter: he caused her Chariot to bee vncouered, and caused her to enter into his: but the Prince remayned on Horse-backe, whom the eyes of all the people could not be satisfied with admiring. The Prince presented *Calibes* vnto the Emperour, and making a recitall of his faithfulnesse, and the endeauour of euery one, hee caused the Emperour to giue vnto him an hundred thousand crownes of encrease vnto his pension. *Axalla* was also presented vnto the Emperour, who being informed of his valour, hee was receiued with all the best fauours that might be, and he gaue vnto him of the reuenues belonging vnto the Empire, an hundred thousand *Tartarins* of gold in a Principalitie, that he might the better declare vnto him how much he esteemed of his fidelitie.

Tamerlan turned his fauour vnto *Axalla*.

200000. crownes of yeerley rent giuen vnto *Axalla* by *Tamerlan*.

The meeting betweene the great *Cam* and *Tamerlan* at the Citie of *Cambalu* in *Cataio*.

Axalla rewarded by the great *Cam* for his good seruice and faithfulnesse.

§. III.

The differences betwixt TAMERLAN *and* BAIAZET *the* Turke; *his returne to* Samercand, *and expedition against* BAIAZET; *the battell, and victorie, his caging of* BAIAZET, *and making him his Foot-stoole.*

THis ioy and pleasure continued with vs all the Winter, where the Prince hauing receiued aduertisement how *Baiazet* Emperour of the *Turkes*, had enterprised to ioyne the Empire of *Greece* vnto his owne, and fully determined to besiege *Constantinople*: the which he vnderstanding, and succour being required of him by the *Greeke* Emperour, he dispatched one towards *Baiazet*, for to declare vnto him his pleasure herein, and warned him on his behalfe, not to trouble the Emperour *Paleologue* who was his confederate. Now this motion came from Prince *Axalla*, who had wrought this league, being of kinne vnto *Paleologue*, and also thrust forward with desire to maintayne his Religion in *Greece*, where he was borne of the *Genuois* race. Whereunto being answered very proudly, by *Baiazet* vnto our Emperour, asking *what he had to doe therewith*, and that he should content himselfe, with enioying lawes vnto his Subiects, and not vnto others, seeing he was not borne his Subiect. This answer being made, *Axalla* procured to be very ill accepted of the Emperour, and in such sort, that he determined to hinder this enterprise of the *Ottomans*.

A message sent by *Tamerlan* vnto *Baiazet*.

The proud answer of *Baiazet*.

Now the Prince had obtayned of the Emperour his Vncle an hundred thousand Foot-men, and foureſcore thousand Horse, hoping to haue as many from *Sachetay*, besides the Lords who would accompanie him for to winne glorie, from whom he made account also of fifty thousand men more that they would bring vnto him, besides the other forces. Hee supposed that he had abilitie to deliuer the Empire of *Greece* from the bondage of the *Ottomans*. Thus the Prince departed, leauing the Empresse with the Emperour her father, for to serue him as a comfort of his age: it was not without a hard farewell of the Emperours part towards his Nephew; but more grieuous on the Princes part towards his wife, who had neuer left him since the time they were married: but nothing with-held our Prince, where there was either glorie, or meanes to encrease his reputation, and profit the Common-wealth: saying often, that he was borne to this end, and that he must take in these exercises his principall delights: for euery other thing wherein he did exercise himselfe was but borrowed, being appointed and called of God to *punish the pride*

Heauy parting.

A notable saying of *Tamerlan*.

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Tamerlan his dreame.

pride of Tyrants. Neither will I here omit a dreame, which our Prince had the night before hee departed from *Cambalu*, which was, that he did ſee as hee thought, a great multitude of reuerent men, who put forth their hands vnto him, requiring his ſuccour againſt the violence of certaine Tyrants, who did afflict them with ſundry kinds of torments: he ſaid, that he did neuer ſee more reuerent countenances, & that ſome of them were apparelled in white, and others in cloth of gold, ſome hauing as it were Crowns of gold vpon their heads, and it ſeemed vnto the Prince, that he gaue them his hand, and lift them very high. This dreame he recited vs the next morning, but no body was able to giue him the interpretation thereof, & himſelfe thought no more of it.

Tamerlan iourney againſt the *Turke.*

The Prince was accompanied alſo with *Calibes*, & he commanded the Prince of *Tanais*, to take vpon him the ſtate of Colonell of the footmen, which *Axalla* had left: vnto whom he gaue the charge of Lieutenant generall within his Armie, with commandement to leade his Auant-guard, and *Calibes* the Arere-ward, being accompanied with farre greater forces then euer he had in any of his Armies: for they came vnto him from all parts. The *Chinois* Lord was licenced by *Odmar* to goe with 20000. men of the ſubiects newly conquered, being deſirous to ſhew himſelfe vnto the Emperour, as alſo for to learne our manners and faſhions. The Prince tooke his Voyage directly vnto *Samercand*, the place of his birth, three yeeres being paſt ſince hee had beene there. *Zamay* came to meet him, and I verily beleeue, a million of men, bleſſing and prayſing him in all manner of ſongs. All the Princes of the Countrey alſo ranne to viſite him; he abode there a moneth. *Axalla* in this meane time was already at the meeting place at *Ocera*, who prepared all things, looking for the Princes commandement for to goe vnto him, aduertiſing him often of the doings of *Baiazet.*

Tamerlan returneth from the conqueſt of *China* vnto *Samercand.*

Conſultation about the way the Armie ſhould take to the *Turkes* Empire.

We departed from *Samercand*, for to goe vnto *Ozara*, where was the meeting place for all the Princes troupes: and hauing in that place taken aduice for his iourney, that is to ſay, for to know whether ſhould be moſt expedient and fauorable, either to goe by the coaſts of *Moſcouie* directly vnto *Capha*, or rather on the other ſide of the Sea *Bachu* to paſſe by the skirts of *Perſia.* It was reſolued in the end, after ſundry opinions, although the way were the longer, to paſſe vnto *Capha* for to come vnto *Trebiſonda*, and to the *Georgians*, and from thence to enter into the limits of the *Ottomans.* Then our Armie after the accuſtomed ceremonies & prayers made vnto God, wherein our Emperor hoped to finde his principall ſuccours, we drew ſtraight vnto *Maranis*, where the Armie abode three dayes, looking for the forces which *Odmar* did ſend, whereof they receiued newes. There did the Emperour cauſe all his Armie to be payd, and a generall muſter was made. He had newes alſo there of the forces that the *Moſconite* did ſend vnto him: he likewiſe cauſed an infinite quantitie of victuals, and the moſt part of his furniture to be conuayed by the Sea of *Bachu*, there being ſome twentie leagues where was want of water and victuals, through the which our Armie muſt needs paſſe, cauſing all things neceſſary to be carried by water, the which was a great commoditie vnto vs: and there was a commandement giuen at all the ſhoares of the Sea, that they ſhould bring all the veſſels for to carrie the munition of the Armie: ſo as this foreſight did greatly eaſe our Armie. The Prince went continually coaſting the Sea-ſhoare, paſſing away his time in hunting, and his Armie came not neere him by ten leagues, except ſuch as came to ſeeke neceſſaries for the Armie, the which did extend it ſelfe ſome twenty leagues, it was ſo great. The Prince abode at *Saraſich* during the time his Army paſſed the Riuer of *Edel* at *Mechet*, and at two or three other Bridges, the which they had cauſed to bee made; there had hee ceataine newes how *Baiazet* marched vnto the ſiege of *Conſtantinople*, hauing reduced vnto his obedience all *Bythinia*, and *Burſia* a very noble Citie, the which hee cauſed to bee fortified, and diuers other Cities, vſing all the cruelties that might be, inſomuch as all the adioyning Prouinces yeelded themſelues his tributaries: amongſt the reſt the noble Citie of *Capha*: the Citie was by the Prince giuen vnto *Axalla* for to diſpoſe of the ſame: which hee did, going thither to ſee his kinſ-folke, and to take ſuch order there, as he thought was for the preſeruation of the Citie, as one not vngratefull vnto his Countrey: he rather placed his hope in this little ſhoare of *Mar Maiore*, then in the limits of *Scythia* and *China*, and for to ſucceed after his Maſter vnto all his great conqueſts, for that he had all the Souldiers at his commandement, and great credit amongſt all the people ouer whom his Prince commanded. *Baiazet* hauing a very great and mightie Armie, neither beleeued, nor once thought that wee would come vpon him, ſo exceeding barbarous was he, that he would not indure any man ſo much as to ſpeake onely vnto him of our Armie, as deſpiſing it, he was ſo proud: and there he cauſed all the bordering people publikely to bee forbidden, to make any vowes and prayers for our proſperitie. Iuſtice raigned ſo amongſt vs, inſomuch as if a Souldier had taken but an Apple, he was put to death, and this was ſeuerely obſerued ouer all, a thing vſuall, and eſpecially in this Iourney, the which was the onely cauſe of ouerthrowing the tyrannie of the *Ottomans*, and of this proud *Baiazet.* So we arriued at *Bachichiche*, where the Armie refreſhed it ſelfe for the ſpace of eight dayes. Vnto this place came the Embaſſadours of *Guines*, vnto the Emperour, whom the Prince did greatly reuerence for his holineſſe. The Emperor after he had cauſed generall prayers to be publiſhed, *Tamerlans* Armie departed from *Bachichiche*, and they reckoned that there was in our Armie, three hundred thouſand Horſe-men, and fiue hundred thouſand Foot-men, of all kinds of Nations. Our

Bachu.

Tamerlan his chiefeſt truſt.

Tamerlan hunted by the way towards the *Turke.*

Baiazet marched vnto the ſiege of *Conſtantinople.*

The gouernment *Axalla* did chuſe.

Notable iuſtice amongſt the *Tartarians.*

Armie

Armie came vnto *Garga*, where it passed the Riuer *Euphrates*, the Auant-guard at *Chinserig*; and the generall meeting of the Armie was appointed to bee at *Gianich*, the which did yeeld it selfe: and there had we newes that *Baiazet* his Armie was neere vnto vs, within some thirty leagues, which caused vs to march more close. All the Cities yeelded, the Emperour receiuing them graciously, and those which refused obedience, were cruelly punished, especially such Inhabitants as were *Turkes*, but the *Christians* set in full libertie, vnder the name of the *Greeke* Emperour *Emanuel*, whom the Emperour would wholly gratifie, *Axalla* hauing receiued this commandement from the Prince: so hee caused them to sweare fidelitie vnto *Emanuel*. The great Armie of *Baiazet* thought to haue surprised our men within *Semnas* (which they had taken) but as soone as they drew neere, our men set it on fire, and the greatest part retyring, there remayned some hundred Horse to performe the same, who retyred themselues in very great disorder. Now, the Prince of *Ciarcan* had diuided his men into two troupes, and giuen commandement vnto the first troupe, that as soone as they perceiued the Enemies to pursue the hundred Horse, they should receiue them, and retyre ioyntly together. Now, hee had the rest of his power in a valley neere vnto a Wood, and hauing suffered some two thousand of the Enemies Horse. *Turkes* Auant-currers to passe by him, he charged them behind, and fought with them, they not fighting but flesing as soone as they did see themselues pressed: many were slayne, and many were taken prisoners. This was the first time wee fought, and carried away the victorie: all the prisoners were sent vnto the Prince, amongst the rest the *Bassa* of *Natolia*, who led this troupe. The next day *Baiazet* his Armie drew neere vnto the sight of ours, the which marched two leagues: and wee encamped within a league the one of the other. All the night long you might haue heard such noyse of Horses, as it seemed the heauens were full of voyces, the aire did so resound, and euery one was desirous to haue the night passed, for to come each one vnto the triall of his valour. Vnto the *Scythian* Nation, the which is desirous of goods, they propounded the great riches they should get by the victorie ouer the *Ottomans*. Vnto the *Parthian* Nation ambitious of rule, the honour and glorie of the Nation, being Conquerours of them, who onely were able to take from them the Empire of *Asia*. The *Christians* who made the fourth part thereof, assured themselues to conquer their greatest Enemie. Behold, now euery one spake during the night time, according to his humour. The Prince this night went through his Campe hearing all this, and was very glad to see the hope that euery one of his Souldiers did conceiue already of the victorie; and I being neere him, he did me the honour to tell me, that at the time he fought the battell against the *Mosconite*, he did heare all the night long all kindes of songs, the which resounded in his Campe, seeing in a manner no bodie sleepe: I hoped then (said hee) to haue some good hap, and I trust to receiue the like now. Now after the second watch the Prince returned vnto his lodging, and casting himselfe vpon a Carpet, hee meant to sleepe: but the desire of day would not suffer him; he then commanded me to giue him a booke, wherein he did reade: therein was contayned the liues of his Father and Grandfather, and of other valiant Knights, the which he did ordinarily reade: he called me, hauing light vpon (in reading) the discourse of a battell that his Grandfather had lost against the *Persians*, the which he had thought to haue gotten (very vndiscreetly) hauing assaulted his Enemie, many aduantages being propounded vnto him, whereof he might haue made good vse, all which he neglected, trusting vnto his owne valour and that of his Souldiers. And hauing ended his speech, he commanded mee to reade the same before him, and said vnto me, I alwaies reade this before I beginne a battell, to the end I should not so much trust vnto the Lions skin, wherein I wrap my arme, that I should not serue my selfe with the Foxes, to wrap therewith my head: for thus (said he) my Grandfather was in a place of aduantage, and he went out of it to seeke his Enemie, who was lodged strongly, and whatsoeuer his men said to him, hee went on headlong, shutting his eares against all the counsell and aduise of his seruants.

The causes of *Tamerlans* warre against the *Turkes*.

A stratagem.

How *Tamerlans* Armie passed the night before the battell fought against the *Turke*.

Tamerlan his custome before a battell.

Seeing the *Turkish* Foot-men march, whom they doe call *Ianizaries*, the which were placed in the middest, and vpon the two fronts, two great squadrons of Horse-men, the which seemed to be thirty thousand Horse, and another which aduanced and couered the battalion of the *Ianizaries*: Hee thought this order to be very good, and hard to breake, and turning himselfe vnto *Axalla*, who was neere vnto him, he said, I had thought to haue fought on foot, but it behoueth me this day to fight on horsebacke, for to giue courage vnto my Souldiers to open the great battalion: and my will is, that they come forward vnto mee as soone as they may: for I will aduance forward an hundred thousand Foot-men, fifty thousand vpon each of my two wings, and in the middest of them forty thousand of my best Horse. My pleasure is, that after they haue tryed the force of those men, that they come vnto my Auant-guard, of whom I will dispose (and fifty thousand Horse more) in three bodies, whom thou shalt command, the which I will assist with fourescore thousand Horse, wherein shall be mine owne person, hauing an hundred thousand Foot-men behind me, who shall march in two troupes; and for my Arere-ward forty thousand Horse, and fifty thousand Foot-men, who shall not march but vnto my ayde. I will make choise of ten thousand of the best Horse, whom I will send into euery part where I shall thinke needfull within my Armie, for to impart my commandements. Ouer the first forty

The manner of the march of the *Turkish* Foot-men.

The order of *Tamerlan* his battell.

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thousand the Prince *Ciarcian* commanded: ouer the foremost footmen was the Lord *Synopes*, a *Genuois*, kinsman vnto *Axalla*, and he which was his Lieutenant ouer the footmen, a Captaine of great estimation. That ouer which the Prince *Axalla* commanded, consisted of fiue squadrons of horsemen. *Baiazet* his Armie seemed faire and great, which was aduanced continually forward towards vs, who stirred not one whit from the place of the battaile. There were many light horsemen, as well *Scythians*, *Parthians*, as *Moscouites*, who left their rankes, and shot Arrowes, and brake Lances betweene the two Armies. There was a Spie who brought word that *Baiazet* was on foot in the middest of his *Ianizaries*, where he meant to fight, that hee did not forget to mount on horse-back, giuing order ouer all for the wants of his Armie: but purposed to fight in the middest of those *Ianizaries*, who are a number of trusty men, brought vp in exercises from their youth to all manner of warfare, and chosen out of al Nations, the faireſt and strongest men, so as they are inuincible. By this bringing vp the which they haue had together, they doe fight with a great force and courage for their Prince and Lord, who being in the middest of them, they are as in a halfe circle within the Armie. Now, they were thirty thousand men in this order, wherein *Baiazet* put his principall hope: he had many other footmen, but gathered together of all sorts. His battaile of horse was very faire, amounting vnto the number of an hundred and fortie thousand horse, well exercised in all manner of fights. The *Soldan* of *Egypt* hauing ayded him with thirty thousand *Mammolues*, very good horse-men, and with thirty thousand footmen. Their Armie in that order seemed almost as great as ours: for they were not so knit together as we were, our forces being directly one after the other, and theirs all in a front.

What the *Turks Ianizaries* be.

Mamalukes.

So the Enemies Armie aduanced forward continually with an infinite number of cryes, and ours was in great silence. After that common prayer was ended, the Emperour himselfe aduanced continually forward, beholding the first charge giuen, and caused *Axalla* to set forward after he returned into his order, continually exhorting his men before hee left them. There could not be seene a more furious charge giuen, then was performed by the *Ottomans* vpon the Prince of *Ciarcian*, who had commandement not to fight before they came vnto him: there could not haue beene chosen a fairer Playne, and where the skilfull choise of the place was of lesse aduantage for the one then for the other, but that wee had the Riuer on our left hand, the which was some aduantage for the Emperour, hauing giuen commandement, that in any case they should not lose the same, and that the Enemies, whatsoeuer came thereof, should not win it: this hee did for to haue the aduantage of the hand in fight. The Emperour, who aboue all Maximes of warre, did vse to deale in such manner, that the Enemie might bee the first Assaulter; hee had straightly commanded them which were appointed for the first charge, to suffer the Enemie for to giue the on-set. Now (as I haue already declared) this young Prince of *Ciarcian* with his forty thousand horse was almost wholly ouerthrowne, hauing fought as much as hee could, but hee entred euen into the middest of the *Ianizaries*, where the person of *Baiazet* was, putting them in disorder, where he was slaine. About this time *Axalla* set vpon them with the Auantguard, where as he was not in any such danger; for hauing surprised one of the enemies wings, hee cut it all in pieces, and his footmen comming to ioyne with him, as they had beene commanded, hee faced the Battalion of the *Ianizaries*.

Tamerlan his principall maxime of warre.

The battaile betweene *Tamerlan* and *Baiazet*.

The Prince seeing the charge *Axalla* had vpon his arme, sent ten thousand horse from his battaile for to succour him, and knit together the mayne battaile of *Axalla*, and to giue once againe a charge vpon another Battalion of footmen, the which did shew it selfe, and came to ioyne with and strengthen that of the *Ianizaries*, who behaued themselues valiantly for the safetie of their Prince. This fight continued one houre, and yet you could not haue seene any scattered, fighting resolutely the one against the other. You might haue seene the Mountaynes of horses ruin one against another, the men die, crie, lament, and threaten at one very time. The Prince had patience to see this fight ended, and when hee did perceiue that his men did giue place, hee sent ten thousand of his Horse to ioyne againe with the ten thousand appointed for the Arierward, and commanded them to assist him, at such time as hee should haue need thereof. At this very time the Emperour chargeth, and made them giue him roome, causing the footmen to assault, ouer whom the Prince of *Thanais* commanded; who gaue a furious on-set vpon the Battalion of the *Ianizaries*, wherein was yet the person of *Baiazet*, who had sustayned a great burthen. But the multitude, and not valour, did preuaile; for as much as might bee done in fight, was by the *Ianizaries* performed, for to preserue the person of their Prince. But in the end the Horse-men, wherein was the Emperours person, gaue a new charge, and his Auantguard was wholly knit againe vnto him, hee renewed another forcing, and was fully victorious. *Baiazet* hauing retyred on horse-back out of the troupe of *Ianizaries* wounded, fell aliue into the hands of *Axalla*, vnto whom hee yeelded himselfe, supposing it had beene *Tamerlan*: then *Axalla* seeing him so followed (being for a time not knowne but for some great Lord of the *Ottomans*) twentie thousand horse did not fight at all, but onely in pursuing the victorie, and they made a great slaughter. The Prince had his horse slaine vnder him with the blow of a Lance, but he was soone remounted againe on horse-back. This day the wisdome of the Emperor gaue the victorie vnto his Souldiers: for the iudgment which he had in tyring of the strong

Tamerlan his notable victorie obtayned against *Baiazet* wherein hee was taken prisoner.

Tamerlan his wisedome the cause of the victorie, and wherein performed.

forces

forces of the *Ottomans*, was the safeguard of his. For if all had gone vnto the battaile in one front, surely, the multitude had put it selfe into a confusion: but this manner of aiding his men made euerie one profitable. The Emperour iudging (like a great Captaine) of the need that euery one of his souldiers had, so that this manner of proceeding was the getting of the victory. They accounted threescore thousand men slaine of the *Ottomans*, and twentie thousand of ours. The Prince of *Tirzis* was slaine, as I haue said: the head of the *Georgians* slaine, *Calibes* was verie sorrie hee had so easie a reckoning in his Arier-ward, being very couragious, and a gentle Knight: the Despote of *Seruia* was taken prisoner, who did accompanie *Baiazet*, and was a Christian: they gaue him this day of battaile much reputation. The Emperour gaue vnto him very good entertainment, reproouing him, for that hee did accompany *Baiazet* against him, who did come in fauour of his Emperour. Hee answered him, that it was not according to his dutie, but the prosperitie of *Baiazet*, vnto whom it seemed, that all the world did bend for to subiect it selfe vnto him, and that his safetie had caused him to set forward. The Emperour presently thereupon gaue him leaue to depart at his pleasure. Hee tooke care to get into his hands *Baiazet* his children: hee gaue commandement that *Baiazet* should bee cured, and after brought before him: who at such time as hee was there neuer made any shew of humilitie. The Emperour saying vnto him, that it lay in him to cause him to lose his life, he answered: Do it, that losse shall be my happinesse. And demanding of him what made him so rash, for to enterprise to bring into subiection so noble a Prince as was the Emperour of the *Greekes*. Hee answered him, the desire of glorie and rule. Wherefore doest thou (said the Emperour vnto him) vse so great crueltie towards men, so farre foorth that neither thou nor thine doe pardon either sex or age? This doe I (answered hee) to giue the greater terrour to my enemies. Then said the Emperour, so shalt thou receiue the like reward: and causing him to bee conueyed againe out of his presence, hee turned vnto his followers, and said, behold a proud and fierce countenance, hee deserueth to be punished with crueltie, and it is necessarie that hee bee made an exemplarie punishment to all the cruell of the world, of the iust wrath of God against them. I acknowledge that God hath this day deliuered into my hands a great enemy, wee must giue thankes vnto God for the same: the which was performed, being yet day: for the battaile was wonne at foure of the clocke, and there was as yet fiue houres of day-light. The children of *Baiazet* were brought before him: hee caused them to bee vsed curteously, and as the children of an Emperour. The next day hee commanded the dead to bee buried: they found the Prince of *Tirzis* dead in the middest of the *Ianizaries*, where he remained enclosed. The Emperour did greatly lament this young Prince, who was his kinsman, and would haue beene one day worthie for to doe him great seruice. In that battaile there died manie Captaines, & almost the chiefe *Ottomans*. This was a great Battaile, the which was fought from seuen vnto foure of the clocke, in such sort that they knew not vnto whom the victorie did incline. Our Armie stayed vntill the next day, euery one causing his friends to bee buried. The Prince of *Tirzis* was emblamed, and conueyed with two thousand horse vnto *Samarcand* vntill the Emperour returned. All the other dead bodies were buried at *Sanas* with all the honour that might be. *Axalla* was much grieued for his kinsman, because hee was verie well beloued of the Prince: his charge was giuen vnto one of his brethren who was verie famous; in fighting this same day, we might iudge the euents of the matters of the world. Behold this Emperour *Baiazet*, who was, as hee thought, superiour to fortune, which in an instant found himselfe and his estate by one battaile onely ouerthrowne euen vnto the lowest place, and at such time as hee thought least thereof. Hee vsed to say, that hee was iustly punished, for despising the multitude we had, for the assurance that hee had in the valour of his horsmen, and especially of his *Ianizaries*. Hee was three dayes (as they report) before he could bee pacified, as a desperate man, seeking after death, and calling for it. The Emperour did not vse him at all curteously, but caused small account to bee made of him: and for to manifest that he knew how to punish the proud; vpon festiuall dayes, when as hee mounted on horseback, they brought this proud man vnto him, and he serued him in stead of a foot-stoole: this did he for to manifest the folly and arrogancie of men, and how iustly God had humbled him. The next day the Prince marched directly towardes *Bursia*, whither all the remainder of *Baiazet* his Armie was retired, with the *Bassa Mustapha*. All the countrie yeelded vnto vs, and the Prince caused all the holdes and fortresses to bee ouerthrowne and destroyed, and punished all those which were so euill aduised as to stay vntill they were besieged. I had forgotten to declare, how hee caused the Prince of *Tirzis* bodie to bee accompanied with diuers prisoners chained and tied together, whom hee did send vnto *Samarcand*, the which the Prince had determined to make great, for a perpetuall memorie of his greatnesse. Euen so had hee greatly peopled with people of *China*, which had beene taken in the Battailes, and of those likewise which were taken out of the two great Cities, *Paguinfou*, and *Quantonfou*. Now this battaile did bring great astonishment vnto all the countries possessed by *Baiazet*, and no bodie resisted vs, euen vnto *Bursia*, whither this Armie was fled, and therein were also two sonnes of *Baiazet* verie young. *Axalla* being alwaies aduanced forward before

Baiazet brought before *Tamarlan*, with his pride.

Tamerlan his saying of *Baiazet*.

The despaire of *Baiazet* after he was taken prisoner.

Baiazet Tamarlans foot-stoole to mount on horseback.

Tamarlan his pollicie for to encrease his Citie *Samarcand*.

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our Armie, with fortie thouſand Horſe, and an hundred thouſand Foot-men without any carriages, who hindred the Enemies from joyning themſelues againe together: and hee made a cruell Warre vpon the *Ottomans*, deliuering the *Grecians* from the tyrannie of *Baiazet*. Hee approached neere vnto *Burſia*, where the *Ottomans* did not ſtay the comming of *Axallas* Armie, but only they which could not runne remayned behind. *Baiazet* his two Sonnes were ſent vnto the *Greekiſh* Emperour for to bring them vp, and to haue mercie vpon them; the reſt went vnto *Gallipoli*, for to goe vnto *Andrinopoli*, the which they held, hauing conquered it from the *Grecians*. Now the Prince (for to returne vnto my purpoſe) diſpatched towards the Emperour his Vncle, and vnto the Empreſſe his Wife, one of his Familiars, called *Lieban*, Captayne of his Chamber, for to carrie him newes of this Victorie, and to ioyne it alſo vnto all the reſt. He ſent vnto him *Baiazet* his Sword and Bow, and the Capariſons of his Horſe, the which was eſteemed to be worth aboue two hundred thouſand Duckets. You may eaſily thinke that Prince *Lieban* was well entertayned of the old Emperour, and of the young Princeſſe, bringing word vnto them, that all the World did bend it ſelfe to make our Prince victorious, who ſurely receiued theſe Victories from God without inſolencie, and at ſuch time as hee ſent him moſt glory, then did his men note him to be leaſt puffed vp. He was neuer bold, but in the day of battaile, and on the Eeue for to command ſeuerely, and with greater Majeſty. To tell you what he was in aduerſitie, I did neuer ſee him in that eſtate: but it is to be thought, that they which bee not inſolent in proſperitie, are not faint-hearted in aduerſitie. So our victorious Prince marched directy vnto *Burſia*, loaden with Spoyles and Trophees which hee daily got, departing from the Cities which did come and yeeld themſelues vnto him; therein obſeruing the ſame manner of proceeding, the which we did in the Conqueſt of *China*; they which did yeeld vnto him without fighting, were well vſed, and the obſtinate well puniſhed, the Prince knowing that reward and puniſhment are the Moderators of Common-wealthes, the one to bee vſed towards the good, and the other towards the euill. In the end we receiued newes by *Axalla*, that he had receiued *Burſia* in the Emperours name, and how the Inhabitants thereof had puniſhed the Garriſons of *Baiazet*, hauing driuen them away, and ſlaine many.

Axalla cruell againſt the *Ottomans* for the deliuery of *Greece*.

Preſents ſent by *Tamerlan* vnto the great *Cham* his Vncle.

But I dare not follow our Author any further from Tartaria, *for whoſe ſake I haue entertayned him. Leauing therefore his agreement with the* Greeke *Emperour, and ſecret viſiting* Conſtantinople; *his comming to* Ieruſalem, *and Expedition againſt the* Soldan, *With his Exploits in* Egypt, Syria, Perſia, *we will returne with him to* Samarcand.

§. IIII.

Encreaſe of Samarcand; *Affaires of* China: *Funerals of the* Can; *comming to* Quinza, *and deſcription thereof. His diſpoſition of his eſtate and death.*

PErſia, as long as he liued was much affected vnto him: which greatly ſerued him for the keeping as well of *Syria*, as of the *Soldans* Empire, leauing continually men there, and drawing out Colonies, the better to ſettle his Affaires in thoſe places. So the Emperour leauing the Prince of *Thanais*, with his Army to attend his pleaſure, he marched with the reſt of his forces into his owne Countrey with all the Ioyes and Triumphes that might be poſſible, the chiefeſt Priſoners marching before the Emperour, amongſt the which was *Baiazet* Emperour of the *Turkes* all chayned, and was a Spectacle vnto all the World of Fortunes inconſtancy: hee continued notwithſtanding in the ſame fiercenеſſe was woont to be in him. So whereſoeuer the Emperour paſſed, the people aſſembled themſelues by thouſands, prayſing and ſinging his Victories. We arriued at the laſt at *Samarcand* with all our ſpoyles, in very great magnificence: where after we had beene the ſpace of one moneth or two in Feaſtings and Manificences, the Emperour with his accuſtomed Deuotion, hauing in great ſolemnitie vowed a Church and Hoſpitall vnto his God, the moſt magnificent that might bee deuiſed. Whereupon to performe the ſame, he began to ſearch out all ſorts of Handicrafts men for to honour this Citie, the which hee had a deſire to make one of the ſtatelieſt Cities in the World. And in one of the corners thereof he began, and did build there his Temple and Hoſpitall, making an account to increaſe yet this Citie, as large againe as it was, and to people the ſame, with ſo many ſeuerall kinds of people and Nations as hee had brought with him, giuing libertie vnto them all to frame and build their Houſes, cauſing money to be diſtributed to do the ſame, and giuing all kinds of Priuiledges and Freedomes vnto the Priſoners, for to giue them a greater deſire to build and ſettle themſelues there: and hauing cauſed the ſtreets and places to be plotted, and hauing appointed a place for euery one to build vpon, hee tooke no other pleaſure, neither had he any other care then the preſeruing the good will of his moſt famous Souldiers, whoſe name hee hauing cauſed to bee written in a generall Muſter-booke, the which hee com-

Tamerlan his vow vnto God.

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commanded to be made, from day to day, they (not thinking thereof) receiued honours, and good turnes of the Prince, in recompence of their so great seruices. Now he declared the death of the Emperour his Vncle vnto his Councell (of which he before had receiued Intelligence, but kept it close) and forgot no Ceremony due vnto the honour of the said Emperour outwardly, shewing the griefe he conceiued for his death; where after hee had rested some eight dayes, hee determined to goe vnto *Quinzai* for to see the Empresse, and hauing left *Baiazet* in the custodie of the Gouernour of *Zacheray*, the Emperour set forward with his ordinary Court which was of forty thousand Horse, and threescore thousand Foot-men.

The Emperour being come vnto *Cambalu*, receiued newes of the Battell *Odmar*, had wonne against the King of *Chinas*, Captayne Generall, and how he pursued his Victory, hauing taken three or foure great and rich Cities, the which did yeeld themselues vnto him, and that againe the *Chinois* did desire peace. The Emperour sent the Articles he required, which were that before all other things the King of *China* should pay the Arrerages of the Tribute, the which hee had agreed with the Emperour. First, he should come in person to doe homage vnto his Majesty, and acknowledge himselfe as Vassall vnto his Empire. That the Army should withdraw it selfe during hrs Voyage, and he should deliuer vp vnto him all his Cities, saiuing three such as the Emperour should nominate; and that the things should be restored vnto the same estate they were in before the Warre, when the Emperour made the first peace; that hee should pay the Army for sixe moneths, and should also satisfie all the expences of the War, seeing he had begunne it, and was Author of the breach of peace. Then the Emperour gratified *Odmar*, sending vnto him for Wife one of his Sisters with all magnificence that might be, for to make him the more affectioned vnto him. I will declare how the Emperour was receiued at *Cambalu* by his Subjects, with all the magnificence possible, the Emperour for to gratifie them hauing restored their Priuiledges, the which he had taken from them, for the Rebellion they had committed with *Calix*: so as the Emperour went ouer all gratifying his Subjects for this new Succession that was lately fallen vnto him, all the Companies comming vnto him: for in these Countreyes they haue no certaine dwellings, they are alwayes wandring in troupes whersoeuer they goe: thither the Empresse (hauing left Prince *Axalla* to gouerne at *Quinzai*) came vnto him. The Prince remayned there almost two moneths, hauing in this place giuen order for all the Affaires he had. *Cambalu* was also neere vnto mount *Althay*, where they vse to bury the *Scythian* Emperours, whom we doe call the great *Cham*.

Articles of a newagreement betweene *Tamerlan* and the King of *China*.
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The Emperor caused the body of the Emperour his Vncle to be brought thither, and himselfe would conduct it with all pompe, honouring not only his body, but also all that hee had loued in the World, and although it was not the custome to cause women for to assist the Funerals, yet would he affoord this honour vnto the Empresse, that she should assist the bringing of the body, going neere vnto the same. This he did, the more to make appeare how much he honoured the memory of the late Emperour in hrs Wife, being his Daughter, and also to the end that if God did take him away, his children being small, shee should haue the greater authority, and bee the better acknowledged worthy to gouerne in the minoritie of his Children; and also for that shee had beene brought vp alwayes in authority, euen since shee was marryed. The Prince desiring thereby the more to acknowledge the honour the Emperour his Vncle had done him, by adopting him as his Sonne, and in hauing left him so great and large an Empire, as that was, whereof he left vnto him the possession. Now the Emperour loued her onely, hauing no other affection in such pleasure, but only the happinesse of a faire Off-spring, the which he hoped for. Now the body of the late Emperour being come vnto *Cambalu*, he determined to conduct it vnto the buriall according vnto the accustomed Ceremony, and to put the body with the Kings and Emperours his Ancestors. After he had from point to point performed the last Will and Testament of the late Emperour, he returned from thence vnto *Cambalu*, where he spent all Winter in Tilt and Turnying, going a hunting, making his abode there, because he was in a place neerest vnto the Kingdome of *China*, to know how matters passed there, hauing now brought thither his last Affaires, purposing to goe thither in person the next Winter, if *Odmar* did not make an end of the Wars alreadie begunne, and if the King of *China* did not submit himselfe wholly vnder his obedience, hauing determined not to depart from *Cambalu*, vntill this Countrey were pacified, the marke he shot at, being only to keepe that which his valour was able to conquer through his good fortune, being desirous to spend the rest of his life in enjoying the fruits of his trauels, and for to publish his prayses vnto his people, and with Millions to maintayne them in peace. He had also a purpose to bring vnto an end that which hee had determined to doe at *Samarcand*.

The magnificent Funerall of the great *Cham* of *Tartaria*.

Tamerlan his vertuous and chaste loue vnto his good Wife.

The young Prince made Couernour of *Quinzai* and ouer all the Countrey; which seemeth to bee the North parts of *China*, and perhaps in these times, *Nanquin* was the Seat of the K. of *China* and *Quinzai*, of the *Tartarian*.

Now *Axalla* was at *Quinzai*, as well vnto the contentment of all the men of Warre, as the Inhabitants, who desired much to see their Prince, and hauing caused Prince *Axalla* in their behalfe to beseech it, that it would please the Emperour to cause his Sonne to bee brought vp amongst them there, the which he did grant vnto them in fauour of the said Prince *Axalla*, establishing him for to command in the absence of the Prince his Sonne, whom hee made Gouernour of *Quinzai*, from *Cambalu* euen vnto the Sea. This Countrey was repleniished with some three hundred Cities, and was in largenesse more then foure hundred leagues, besides an infinite

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number of Villages. To make short, it was that the Emperour his Vncle gouerned, where this Prince *Axalla* was his Lieutenant generall, vnder the authoritie of the young Prince his sonne, vnto whom he deliuered him in charge for to be his Gouernour, authorising him vnto the gouernement generall of all his Kingdomes: for the great wisedome that was in this Knight, made him beloued in all the Countreys vnder the Emperours obedience: the seruices also and great victories the which he had caused the Emperour to obtayne by his stout courage, and good conduct, who for these occasions put his principall trust in him, and after himselfe hee thought him onely worthie to preserue for his children his Kingdome and Empresse.

Axalla appointed the young Princes Gouernour, and authorised ouer all the Kingdomes of *Tamerlan*, as Gouernour generall.

The King of *China* came vnto the Emperour *Tamerlans* Court, and did sweare vnto him once againe obedience.

The King of *China* came to visit him at his Court, according vnto the couenants offered vnto him, the which he accepted: he did sweare once againe obedience vnto the Emperour, who caused him to see all his greatest Cities, for to make himselfe the more to be feared of this *Barbarian*, who kept no more promise then pleased himselfe. Hee was astonished to behold so many Souldiers, and the Countrey so well replenished with people; and aboue all, that they vsed so little curiositie of riches in their apparell and garments, wondring that the Emperour was apparelled in meane Cloth of one colour, without any other fashion: but to counteruaile that, he had about him men which seemed to bee Kings. At the same time when the King of *China* was at the Court, the Emperour receiued newes of the * victorie against the *Soldan*, for the which the Emperour reioyced, making feasts and turneys in his Court in token of mirth, and this reioycing continued for the space of eight dayes. After the Emperour had giuen order for the double paying of his Armie that came into *Persia*, vnder the conduct of the great Chamberlaine, and *Synopes* Colonell generall in the Imperiall Armie, the Emperour went vnto *Quinsay* for to see his sonne, and visit the people of this Countrey.

The meane apparell of *Tamerlan*.

* This battell. for breuitie is omitted, as is also the most part of the Booke.

The Emperour arriuing neere vnto *Quinsay*, Prince *Axalla* comming to meet him two dayes iourney off, with all the chiefe Lords of the Countrey, together with the principall Citizens, who were preparing for the Emperour the most magnificent receiuing that might bee, as well by water as by land. As this Citie is one of the richest in the world, so is it one of the greatest, and of the most wonderfull situation, being all wholly diuided and ouerthwarted with channels, vpon the which are framed wonderfull and stately buildings, accompanied with an infinite number of Bridges, vpon the which they passe ouer channels: this Citie aboundeth with all kinde of spices, and in great quantitie, likewise with all manner of merchandises. The Emperour as soone as he was arriued, receiued presents of the Citizens, the which were esteemed to be worth aboue two millions of Gold, with a wonderfull variety of all rare and singular things, the which they presented vnto him, for to testifie the loue and obedience they did owe vnto him. The Emperour was desirous to see his sonne, whom they brought vp with the accustomed greatnesse of Princes: and hauing caused the child to be brought before him, being of the age of seuen yeeres: he forbad from hence forward they should suffer him to weare any thing vpon his head, and himselfe did hang a Bowe about his necke, saying aloud, that they which from their birth were called vnto soueraignties, should bee vsed both vnto cold and heate, and should bee exercised in Armes betimes, and not brought vp delicately and easily, reprehending them which had the bringing of him vp, demanding of them, if they meant to make a woman of him? And they answering, that he was tender. If he be not borne (said he) for to be strong in Armes, he will not be worthy to succeed mee: for he must not be an effeminate Prince that shall preserue the *Parthian* Empire. Now he had sent the Empresse vnto *Samarcand* to be deliuered, where shee was honourably receiued, hauing neuer beene there since shee was married. Hee receiued newes that shee was there deliuered of another goodly sonne, a thing which hee caused to be published ouer all, and himselfe in token of ioy, made feasts fifteene dayes, with all kindes of magnificent turneys: this he did for to shew his agilitie vnto this people, to the end, that as he excelled all his Court in vertues, that they should also iudge him worthie to gouerne them aboue all other men. After he continued there a moneth, and hauing visited all the Seatownes neere vnto *Quinsay*, hunting all kindes of chases, neglecting nothing notwithstanding which belonged to his charge, saying often, that the recreations hee did take, were helpes for to ease him in the paines of his publike affaires whereunto God had called him. Hauing vpon his returne called together all the people, he published his lawes, which were all reuerenced of this people, as though they had proceeded from the Diuinitie, so much admiration had euery one of the greatnesse of this Prince. The which I will truely declare vnto you, that so long as the Emperour was there, this people did almost nothing, being for the most part busied in beholding of him, not finding any greater contentation then that. Some of his Courtiers, and amongst the rest, Prince *Axalla* said one day vnto him, that this was a Citie fit for his abode. O my friend, it is not so: if they should see mee daily, they would make no more account of mee: It is a maxime, that the Lord of this great Citie must not goe thither but once in ten yeeres, and when he is there, it behoueth him to temper his actions, as if he were vpon a Scaffold readie for to play some Comedie, where grauitie and good grace is necessary for to content the beholders: for the people doe easily receiue an euill impression of their Prince, as they also doe a good, if you performe it well vnto them.

The description of the Citie of *Quinsay*, with the wonderfull situation thereof.

Tamerlan receiued with great magnificence into *Quinsay*, with rich and rare presents.

The order hee tooke for his sonnes education.

Tamerlan his notable saying of succession in his Empire

The Empresse deliuered of an other sonne at *Samarcand* in *Parthia*.

Tamerlan his recreations, and notable saying thereof.

The admiration and exceeding loue the people of *Quinsay* did beare vnto their Emperor.

The nature of the people of *Quinsay* toward their Emperour.

Now

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Now I haue forgotten to tell you how the Emperour sent Prince *Axalla* in his name from *Quinsay* into *China*, and his Imperiall Maiestie did not depart out of the Prouince before he returned: he went thither with great diligence for to establish peace there. Prince *Axalla* went forward towards *Paguin*, where he was receiued of the Gouernour with all possible honour. And hauing assembled all the Emperours forces, hee set forward towards the borders of *China*, haue an enteruiew at *Pochio*, where the meeting place was agreed vpon. He passed by *Quantou*: went forward vnto *Pochio*, whither the King came also to meet with him; and hee entred full fiftie leagues into the Countrey newly conquered. It seemed vnto him a thing too much derogating from the greatnesse of the Emperour, the maiestie of whose person hee represented, if he went any further to see this barbarous King, being more fit that he should come forward into the Countrey conquered lately from him by *Odmar*, after he had obtayned the victory, then to goe into his Countreys although he had subiected them vnto the Emperour, and did pay a very great tribute. So the King of *China* arriued within a league of *Pochio* with all his Court: hee set forward vnto a Plaine, where he and Prince *Axalla* did see each other, who was much better accompanied, from whom the King did as much differ as from the Emperours owne person. They met three seuerall times together: the King desired to bee admitted into a Citie, which the Emperour had granted vnto him by the treatie. Prince *Odmar* declared that it was of great importance, therefore Prince *Axalla* was by the Emperour appointed for to bee Iudge of this controuersie, In the end they required another further within the Countrey, the which the King accepted: so hee was put into possession of that Citie, the situation whereof was very pleasant, being compassed about with a Lake. *Axalla* hauing discouered that this barbarous King, did earnestly desire it onely for his pleasure, and not for any other euill intent, the Citie which hee deliuered being seated vpon a Riuer further within his Countrey, and that other within our Countrey compassed about with our fortresses: but *Odmar* did not allow of that, and supposed it to bee for an euill purpose, as for to contriue some new practises. *Odmar* being an olde man, who knew the Kings vnfaithfulnesse, although hee had made him know it well enough vnto his smart, hauing (as I haue said) wonne twenty or thirty Cities from him; and aboue fourescore leagues of Countrey, at such time as hee obtayned the last Battell, during the time that the Emperour was in his last Voyage against the *Persians*.

Prince *Axalla* sent into *China* for to establish a peace there.

The meeting of Prince *Axalla* with the King of *China* at *Pochio*.

So the enteruiew continued yet betweene Prince *Axalla* and the King of *China* on the Plaine, a Tent being pitched, whither Prince *Axalla* did come vnto him, whom hee continually honoured as much as the Emperours owne person, where after they had long time treated by Interpreters, it was in the end agreed, that the King of *China* should enter againe into *Quinanci*, not suffering him to put any Garrison into it, nor to fortifie the same: but euen as a Prisoner and Subiect vnto the Emperour, hee should enioy it, and it should bee his owne, enioying all the reuenue thereof, neither should hee carrie any kingly Ensignes, without the expresse leaue of the Gouernour for the Emperour: hee should notwithstanding haue a guard of three hundred men for his person; and should giue knowledge vnto the said Gouernour of his iourney, before he entred into the Emperours Countries, the which hee must passe for to goe thither. Now the Citie was situated in the middest of a very great Lake, in the which were many Ilands, wherein there were an infinite number of houses of pleasure, and it had beene alwaies a very delicate place, where the Kings of *China* were wont to recreate themselues in all kindes of pleasures that were there to be found: in so much as this barbarous King did not respect the conditions propounded vnto him, so as he might make his abode there, as it were in an Hermitage. Hauing left vnto his brother the gouernment of his whole Kingdome, through the displeasure he had of his bondage whereunto he was brought; a courage certainly magnanimous, and worthie a Nation made ciuill with the best learning, and vnworthie the name of a *Barbarian* wherewith we called him.

The resolution of the meeting betweene *Axalla* and King of *China*.

King of *China*s brother succeeds.

Three times in the weeke at *Samercand*, *Tamerlan* ministred open iustice vnto the meanest, in his Imperiall Maiestie, a thing which made him beloued of the people ouer whom hee commanded. In the other dayes hee gaue secret audience for the affaires of his Estate, and tooke aduice for matters of importance, which were decided daily in his presence. He had such seueritie in his counsell, that they must needs deale truely before him, and without all passion in discoursing: notwithstanding he alwaies shewed himselfe courteous in his conuersation, and made himselfe both beloued and feared of his people: hee neuer changed his seruants, except they committed great faults against him: of all the seruants of the late Emperour his Vncle he did not change one of them, but hee did withall encrease their estates, making them in this change to feele his liberalitie, which he made strangers for to taste also, vnto whom he was accustomed to giue, to binde them vnto him. He drew great store of money yeerely for tribute of the *Moscouite*: but he distributed it within the same countrey for to maintayne his authoritie there, winning those for his which might haue hurt him, by meanes of giuing vnto them. Hee had great care of his reuenues, and he had such a readinesse, that he did see his estate from three moneths vnto three moneths within one houre, both the ordinarie and extraordinarie expences, they presented it so well digested vnto him.

The iustice of *Tamerlan*.

Tamerlan his great liberalitie.

Tamerlan his care of his reuenue.

But

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But our haſte of other voyages permits not our ſtay here. Onely we will adde, that after all things ordered, Sickneſſe arreſted and Death conquered this great Conquerour: and this Traueller trauelled the way of all fleſh into another world. Preſently after his death they ranne to call his ſonne, who as ſoone as he was come ſhut his eyes, powring out teares, as alſo did all his ſeruants. The Prince *Sautochio* his eldeſt ſonne, within two houres after was proclaymed Emperour throughout all the whole Armie, and diſpatches were made from all parts to aduertiſe the Gouernours of Prouinces thereof, the Letters being ſigned with the hand of the new Emperour, who hauing aſſembled all the Armie together, hee made an Oration vnto the Captaines and Souldiers, and cauſed them to make a generall muſter, gratifying all the ancient Seruants of the Emperour his Father: he would not diſpoſe of any thing before he had ſeene Prince *Axalla*, and was ioyned with the Imperiall Armie. This young Prince, when he came vnto this Empire was nineteene yeeres old, hee was faire, and had much of the Emperor his Fathers naturall diſpoſition. They hoped that hee would wiſely (through the good counſell that was about him) maintayne this great Empire: but they feared greatly the young Prince *Letrochio* his brother (whom his mother loued) would cauſe diuiſions, as it happened in the times of their great grand-father betweene two brethren, who had beene occaſion of the deſtruction of their eſtate, the which was releeued and lifted vp againe vnto his height by the valour of *Tamerlan*.

The death of the Emperour *Tamerlan*.

Prince *Sautochie* proclaymed Emperor and ſigned diſpatches.

Prince *Sautochio* nineteene yeeres old when he came vnto his Empire.

CHAP. IX.

Reports of CHAGGI MEMET *a* Perſian *of* Tabas *in the Prouince of* * Chilan, *touching his Trauels and Obſeruations in the Countrey of the Great* Can, *vnto* M. G. BAPTISTA RAMVSIO.

* or *Gilam*.

HE ſaid that he had beene at *Succuir* and *Campion*, Cities of the Prouince of *Tanguth*, in the entrance of the State of *Grand Can*, who (ſaid he) was called *Daimir Can*, and ſent his Officers to the gouernment of the ſaid Cities, which are the firſt toward the *Muſlemans*, and are Idolaters. He went thither with a Carauan, which went with merchandiſes out of *Perſia*, and from the places adioyning to the *Caſpian* Sea, for the Regions of *Cataio*; which Carauan they permit not to pierce further then *Succuir* and *Campion*, nor any other Merchant therein, except he goe Ambaſſadour to the great *Can*.

Succuir and *Campion* mentioned by *M. Polo*.

No paſſing into the Countrey.

This Citie of *Succuir* is great and populous, with faire houſes of hewen ſtones after our manner; and hath many great Temples with their Idols of ſtone. It is ſituate in a Playne where runne infinite Riuolets; is abundant in victuals of all ſorts, and yeelds ſilke there made of the black Mulberies in great quantitie: hath no Wine growing, but they make a drinke with Hony as it were Ale. Of fruits, by reaſon the Countrey is cold, there grow none but Peares, Apples, Apricocks, Peaches, Melons and Cucumers. Hee ſaid that Rhubard *(of this commoditie* Memet *had brought great ſtore at that time to Venice)* growes all ouer the Countrey; but the beſt, in certaine high ſtony Hills neere adioyning, where are many Springs and Woods of diuers ſorts of high Trees, and the Land is of a red colour, and by reaſon of many Raynes and Springs almoſt alway myrie. He ſhewed out of his boſome a picture of the Plant, brought out of the Countrey *(which* Ramuſio *in his Preface to* M. Polo *hath alſo preſented with this diſcourſe)* the deſcription of which is this. The leaues, he ſaid, are ordinarily two ſpans long, more or leſſe as the Plant is in bigneſſe; narrow below and broad aboue, downy with (as it were) ſmall hayres in their circumference; the ſtalke or trunke is greene foure fingers high, and ſometimes a ſpan from the ground: the greene leaues with age grow yellow and ſpread on the ground. In the midſt of the trunke growes a thin branch with flowres faſtned within, like the *Mamole* violets in forme, but of the colour of Milke and Azure, and greater then thoſe violets, of a noyſome ſent. The roote within ground is a ſpan or two long, of a tawny colour in the barke, ſome as bigge as a mans thigh or legge, out of which grow little Roots or Sprigs, which ſpread in the ground, and are cut away from the great Roote; which within is yellow with many veynes of faire red, full of red and yellow juyce, cleauing to the fingers and making the hand yellow: and being cut in peeces the viſcous juyce iſſueth out and the roote becomes light; they lay them therefore on boords turning them vp and downe diuers times a day, that the juyce ſhould incorporate therein, leſt it loſe the goodneſſe; after foure or ſix dayes hanging them to drie in the winde, where the Sunne may not come at them, being in two moneths drie and perfect. They ordinarily take it out of the ground in the Winter, the vertue being then moſt vnited in the Roote (the Spring there beginning at the end of May) which at other times is diſperſed into the leaues and flowers, that juyce alſo being gone and the roote light and hollow.

Rhubarbe deſcribed.

The Root and Iuyce and preparing.

A cold climate.

They ſell one of their Cart lodes of Roots with leaues for ſixteene ſiluer Saggi (not much vnlike ours) for they haue no Coynes, but make their gold and ſiluer in ſmall thin rods, and thence

Six Saggi make an ounce.

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cut peeces of a Saggio weight, which in ſiluer is twentie Soldi *Venetian*, and in gold a Ducket and halfe. He ſaid that they would not gather it, if forren Merchants ſhould not come to trade for it, themſelues making no reckoning thereof: and that the Merchants of *China* and *India* carry away the greateſt part; who if they ſhould cut and dreſſe it as before is expreſſed, after it is brought in Carts, in foure or ſix dayes it would corrupt; and ſeuen burdens greene (hee ſaid) would not yeeld aboue one drie. When it is greene it is intolerably bitter; and in *Cataio* they vſe it not for medicine, but beate and mixe it with other odoriferous compoſitions for perfumes to their Idols. In ſome places there is ſuch ſtore that they burne it dryed in ſtead of wood; others giue it their craſed horſes, ſo little doe they eſteeme it in *Cataio*. But there they much prize another ſmall Roote, which growes in the Mountaines of *Succuir*, where the Rubard growes, and call it *Mambroni cini*, very deare, vſed for diſeaſes, thoſe ſpecially of the eyes; nor did he thinke any of it was brought into theſe parts. He ſaid alſo, that in all *Cataio* they much vſe the leaues of another herb, which they call *Chiai Catai*, which growes in a place of *Catai*, called *Cacianſu*. They boyle it, whether new or drie, and taking off a Beaker or two of that decoction faſting (as hot as can be borne) takes away the Feauer, payne of the Head or Stomack, Back, Ioynts, and other diſeaſes, eſpecially the Gowt, and it is good for digeſtion. They vſe to carry it with them in their Voyages, and will giue a ſack of Rubarb for an ounce of *Chiai Catai*. And the *Cataians* ſay, that if our Merchants, *Perſians* and *Frankes*, knew the goodneſſe thereof, they would buy no *Ramend Cini*, ſo they call Rubard. *Mambroni cini.*

I asked him of his Voyage from thence to *Conſtantinople*, and hee anſwered mee by *Mambre* our Interpreter, that hee returned not that way he went with the Carauan, by reaſon that the Greene-head *Tartars* called *Ieſcilbas*, ſent an Embaſſador at that time when hee was to come away, with a great company, by the way of *Tartaria Deſerta*, aboue the *Caſpian* Sea to the great *Turke* at *Conſtantinople*, to make a league againſt the *Perſian* their common enemie. Whereupon he thought good to come with them, and ſo did to *Caffa*. I asked of the way he went. He ſaid he ſhould haue returned from *Campion* to *Gauta* in ſix dayes (eight Farſencs, each of which is three *Italian* miles, are a dayes iourney, but on the Hils and Deſarts they goe not halfe ſo much) from *Gauta* to *Succuir* in fiue dayes, from *Succuir* to *Camul* in fifteene, here the *Muſulmans* (or *Mahumetans*) begin: from *Camul* to *Turfon* is thirteene. From *Turfon* they paſſe three Cities, *Chialis* ten dayes iourney thence, after that *Cuchia* other ten, and after that *Acſu* in twentie. From *Acſu* to *Caſcar* are other twentie dayes all rough Deſart, all the former way being thorow places inhabited. From *Caſcar* to *Samarcand* are fiue and twentie dayes. From *Samarcand* to *Bochara* in *Coraſſam*, fiue; from *Bochara* to *Eri*, twentie; from thence to *Veremi* in fifteene; from *Veremi* to *Caſbin* in ſix; thence to *Soltania* in foure, and thence to *Tauris* in ſix dayes. The way of the Carauan betwixt *Tauris* and *Campion* in *Catai*.

Now for ſome particulars of thoſe places, he related that *Campion* is ſubiect to *Daimir Can*, great Emperor of the *Tartars*; the Citie placed in a fertile Playne all cultiuated and abundant in prouiſions. They are apparelled in black Cotton cloth, furred in Winter with skins of Wolues and Sheepe if they be poore; the richer with Sables and Marterns of great price. They weare black Bonets ſharpe like a Sugar-loafe; the men rather ſmall then great, wearing beards as we doe, ſpecially a certayne time of the yeere. Their houſes are of ſtone like ours, with two or three lofts, ſlope-roofed, and diuerſly painted, and they haue one ſtreet onely of painters. The great men for magnificence make a great Loft or Pageant, and thereon erect two Tents of ſilke embroydered with gold, ſiluer, pearles, and jewels, and there ſtand with their friends. This they cauſe to bee carried by fortie or fiftie Slaues, and ſo goe thorow the Citie in ſolace. The Gentlemen are carried on a ſimple Pageant, by foure or ſix men without other furniture. There Temples are made like our Churches, ſo great that they may contayne foure or fiue thouſand perſons; and haue in them two Statues, of a Man and a Woman, each fortie foot long, all of one peece, ſtretched on the ground, and all gilded. They haue excellent ſtone cutters. They bring quarry ſtones two or three moneths iourney on ſhod Carts of fortie wheeles very high, drawne by fiue or ſix hundred Horſes and Mules. There are alſo ſmall Images with ſix or ſeuen heads and ten hands, all holding diuers things, one a Serpent, another a Bird, a third a Flower, &c. There are ſome Monaſteries in which liue men of holy life, immured within their houſes that they cannot goe out whiles they liue, and haue victuals euery day brought them. There are innumerable, like our Friars, which goe vp and downe the Citie. They haue a cuſtome, when one of their kindred dyes, to clothe themſelues in white many dayes made of Cotton; their garments are made long to the ground with wide ſleeues. They vſe Printing of their Books, which he thought ſomewhat like thoſe I ſhewed him at M. *Thomas Gunnes* printing houſe. Their Citie is fortified with a thick wall, within filled with earth, able to carry foure Carts abreſt, with Towres and Artillery as thick as thoſe of the great *Turke*. The Ditch is wide and drie, but they can make it runne with water at their pleaſure. They haue a kind of very great Oxen with long, thin and with hayre. The *Cataians* and *Idolaters* are forbidden to goe out of their Countries, to goe on merchandiſe thorow the World.

Campion deſcribed. Apparell. Bearded men. Houſes. Pageants. Temples and Idols. Huge carriages. Anchorets. Friars. White mourners. Printing. Fortification. *Polo* and *Conti* tell of ſuch Oxen.

Beyond the Deſart aboue *Coraſſam* to *Samarcand*, and till the *Idolatrous* Cities, the *Ieſcilbas* rule,

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The *Ieſelbas* or Green-head *Tartars.*

rule, which are *Tartars, Muſulmans*, wearing greene ſharpe Turbants of felt, ſo making a difference betwixt them and the *Perſians*, which weare them red: and betwixt them two for diuerſitie of opinions in Religion are continual warres, and diſagreement about their Confines. *Bocara* and *Samarcand* are two Cities of theſe Green-heads, each a Signorie of it ſelfe. They haue three particular ſciences, *Chimia* (in the ſame ſenſe as here) *Limia*, to make and cauſe loue, and *Simia*, to make men ſee that which is not. The moneys which they haue are not Coyned, but euery Gentleman and Merchant makes thin rods of gold and ſiluer, as is before ſaid of *Campion* and *Succuir*. In the market place of *Campion* are euery day many Mountebankes which haue that ſcience of *Simia*, which compaſſed with a great multitude preſent ſtrange ſights, as to cauſe a man to cut off his arme, or thruſt himſelfe thorow with a ſword, and ſeeme to bee all bloudy, with other like.

Chimia, Simia, Limia.

Prating mountebanks and luggling knaues.

CHAP. X.

A Treatiſe of China *and the adioyning Regions, written by* GASPAR DA CRVZ *a* Dominican *Friar, and dedicated to* SEBASTIAN *King of* Portugall : *here abbreuiated.*

§. I.

Of Camboia *and the* Bramenes *there; the cauſe of his going to* China : *Of* China *and the neighbouring Regions.*

Camboia. Siam. Champa.

BEing in *Malaca* building an houſe of my Order, and preaching, was informed that in the Kingdome of *Camboia* (which is ſubiect to the King of *Siam*, and lyeth toward the parts of *China*, and doth confine with *Champa*, whence commeth the moſt precious *Calambach*) was great oportunitie to preach the Goſpell, and to reape ſome fruit. Hauing leaue of my Prelate, I tooke the iourney in hand. And after the paſſing many troubles and hunger in the iourney, with dangers and ſickneſſes, I came a land, and after I had reaſonably informed my ſelfe by a third perſon, conuerſing with the People and with the Fathers, euen before I knew it I found all to the contrary of that which they had told, and that all were deceits of the ſimple Laytie, which of light matters were mooued to preſume of the people that which was not in them. And beſides this, I found many hinderances for the obtayning of my deſires and intent; for firſt, the King is a *Bramene*, and the *Bramenes* are his principall men and his fauourites, and moſt familiar, becauſe they are Witches, for they are much giuen to bee pleaſed with witchcrafts, and they doe nothing without conſulting the Witches and *Bramenes* that are in the Kingdome (for by this meanes they thriue) by the Deuill. And ſo the firſt thing that the King asked me, was if I were a Witch.

King of *Camboia* a *Bramene.*

Probar miſſur. Pralocuſſur.

The *Bramenes* doe worſhip among others one God, which they call *Probar miſſur* (which they ſaid made the Heauens and the Earth; and another God, which they call *Pralocuſſar*, this alſo hauing obtayned power of another which they call *Praiſſur*, for to giue this licence to *Probar miſſur*) and I ſhewed them, that not onely he had not made the Heauen and the Earth, but that hee had beene a very wicked man and a great ſinner: wherefore theſe Prieſts ſaid, that they would worſhip him no more, hauing worſhipped him thitherto with their God *Praput praſar metri*: whereupon the hatred of the *Bramenes* increaſed towards me, and from thence forward I had diſfauours of the King, which was mooued for the zeale of his God, and the God of his *Bramenes*. There met about theſe matters, the Prieſts of the Idols, and all of their troupe, which goe for Prieſts, and hold themſelues for religious men, and in their conuerſation and life they are ſeparated from all other people, which to my thinking is the third part of the people of the Land; the King thereof ſetting an hundred thouſand men in the field. This religious people, or that holds it ſelfe for ſuch, are exceedingly proud and vaine, and aliue they are worſhipped for gods, in ſort that the inferiour among them doe worſhip the ſuperiour like gods, praying vnto them and proſtrating themſelues before them: and ſo the common people haue a great confidence in them, with a great reuerence and worſhip: in ſort that there is no perſon that dare contradict them in any thing, and their wordes among them are held for ſo ſacred, that in no wiſe they will endure to be gainſayed. Inſomuch that it hapned ſometimes whiles I was preaching, many round about me hearing me very well, and ſatisfying themſelues of that which I ſaid vnto them; if there came any of theſe Prieſts, and ſaid this is good, but ours is better, they would all depart and leaue me alone. Further, they being very ignorant preſumed to be very wiſe, and the common people did hold them for ſuch, all their knowledge being ignorances and Heatheniſh follies.

Praput praſar mitri.

Men aliue worſhipped.

They

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They make seuen and twenty Heauens, some where there is meate and drinke and faire women whether they say all liuing things doe goe, euen the Flea and the Lowse, for they say, that as they haue soules, that they must liue in the other World. And to these, they say, all doe goe that are not Religious men as they are. They place others higher, whether they say, their holy Priests doe goe that liue in the Wildernesses, and all the felicitie they giue them there, is to sit refreshing themselues with the wind. They place others yet higher, the gods of the which, they say, haue round bodies like Bowles, those which goe to these Heauens, and the honour which they giue them is, to giue them round bodies as the Gods themselues haue. And euen as they make many Heauens, so they doe many Hels, for they make thirteene, to the which they goe according to the grieuousnesse of the sinnes of euery one, eyther higher or lower.

Twenty seuen Heauens.

Thirteene Hels.

They haue a diuision of their religious men, for some they call *Massancraches*, which are as supreame, which sit aboue the King: others they call *Nascendeches*, which are as our Bishoppes here. These sit equall with the King. Others they call *Mitires*, which are in the common degree of Priests, which do sit vnder the King: vnder the which there are yet two degrees, which they call *Chaynizes* and *Sazes*. And all these they ascend in degree, so they doe in vanitie and pride, and are more reuerenced. Besides all this, there is another very great inconuenience, that except the Priests and all those that holds themselues for Religious men, all the rest are slaues of the King, and when the owner of the House dyeth, all that is in it returneth to the King, and let the Wife and Children hide what they can, and begin to seeke a new life: the people of the Countrey is of such a nature, that nothing is done that the King knoweth not: and any bodie be he neuer so simple may speake with the King; wherefore euery one seeketh newes to carry vnto him, to haue an occasion for to speake with him: whereby without the Kings good will nothing can be done, and wee haue already shewed before, that hee is vnwilling to the matter of Christianitie. To these things was joyned some disorders of the *Portugals*, so that by all meanes I found crosses and inconueniences for to obtayne my desires and my pretence: wherefore I hauing beene in the Countrey about a yeare, and seeing I could make no fruit beside the passing of grieuous sicknesses, I determined to leaue this Countrey, and because they told mee many things of *China*, and the people of it to haue a disposition to Christianitie, and that they loued reason, I determined, seeing in this Countrey I did no good, nor baptized more then one *Gentile*, which I left in the Caue, to goe to *China* in a ship, of *China* which was then in the Countrey; in which they carryed me with a very good will, giuing me the best roome in the ship, not taking any interest of me; yea, they dealt very charitably with vme. This name *China* is not the proper name of the people of this Countrey, nor of the Countrey it selfe, neither is there commonly in the Countrey notice of such a name, onely among all the people of *India*, and among those which dwell in the South parts, as in *Malaca*, *Siam*, *Iaoa*, this denomination of *Chinas* goeth currant, and also among those *Chinas* which doe traffique among vs. The proper name of the Countrey is *Tame*, the *e*. not well pronounced, but almost drowning it: and the name of the people of the Countrey is *Tamgin*, whence this name *China* doth come, which is currant among the strangers we know not, but it may be conjectured, that the people which in old time did sayle to those parts, because they passed by the Coast of a Kingdome, which they call *Cauchin-china*, and traffique in it, and victuall, and take refreshings there for the Iourney of the Countrey that lyeth forward, which is that of *China*, in the which Kingdome they liue after the manner of the *Chinas*, and is subject to the *Chinas*, it seemeth, that omitting *Cauchin*, from the denomination of this other Kingdome, they called all the Countrey that lyeth along *China*.

Massancraches, *Nascendeches*. *Mitires*.

* As this word *Tame* in English

China is a great part of *Scythia*; for as *Herodotus* saith, *Scythia* extendeth it selfe vnto *India*, which may be vnderstood, because the *Chinas* did possesse many parts of *India*, and did conquer them of old time, whereof at this day there are some Monuments, as in the Coast of *Choromandell*, which is towards the Coast of the Kingdome of *Narsinga*, on that side which we call Saint *Thome*, because there is a House built by the Apostle, and the Relikes of his bodie. There is at this day a great Temple of Idols, which is a marke for the Nauigators to know the Coast which is very low, the which as the men of the Countrey affirme, was made by the *Chinas*, of whom there remayned among them a perpetuall memory, and therefore they call it *Pagode*, of the *Chinas*, which is to say, Temple of the *Chinas*. And in the Kingdome of *Callecut*, which is the head of *Malauar*, there be very ancient fruit-trees which the men of the Countrey say were planted by the *Chinas*, and on the shoales of *Chilao*, which doe runne from the Iland of *Ceylan*, toward the Coast of *Choromandel*, is affirmed, by the men of the Countrey, a great Army of the *Chinas* to be cast away which came for *India*, which was lost, because the *Chinas* were but young in that Nauigation. And so the men of the Countrey say the *Chinas* were Lords of all *Iaoa*, and of *Iautana*, which is the Kingdome of *Malaca*, *Siam*, and of *Chapaa*, as it is commonly affirmed in those parts: wherefore some doe affirme, many of this people to bee like the *Chinas*, that is, hauing small eyes, flat noses, and long faces, for the great commixture that the *Chinas* had with all of them, especially with them of *Iaoa*, which commonly are more *China*-like. But the King of *China* seeing that his Kingdome went to decay, and was in danger by their

The *Tartars* rather set forth fleets from *China* to these Exploits as in *Polo* you reade.

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their seeking to conquer other strange Countreyes, he with-drew himselfe with his men to his owne Kingdome, making a publike Edict vnder paine of death that none of the Countrey should sayle out of the Kindome of *China*: the which lasteth to this day.

Liquos an Iland

The *Liquos* are not continued with mayne Land, but it is an Iland which standeth in the Sea of *China*, little more or lesse then thirtie leagues from *China* it selfe. In this Iland liue these people, which is a well disposed people, more to the white then browne. It is a cleanly and well attyred people; they dresse their haire like women, and tye it on the side of their head, fastened with a siluer bodkin; their grounds are plentifull of many and good waters; it is a people that sayle very seldome being in the middest of the Sea. They weare good short Swords, they were in times past subiect to the *Chinas*, with whom they had great conuersation, therefore are very like the *Chinas*. Now this Iland remayning to the Sea from *China*, as we haue said, the Coast of *China* runneth, winding from the Prouince of *Cantano*, and from her Coast vnto the Coast of the Prouince of *Nanquin*, whether to the *Portugals* haue sayled, the Coast making neuer a point as the Maps doe make, the which may be seene well pointed in the Sea-cards and in the Maps made among the *Portugals*.

The *Tartars* are reckoned among the *Scythians*, and runne so far along *China*, with the which it hath continuall Warre, that commonly they affirme to haue betweene the *Chinas* and the *Tartarians*, a Wall of an hundred leagues in length. And some will affirme to bee more then a hundred leagues: the first Kingdome that doth confine with it on the Sea-side of *India*, is one that is called *Cauchin-china*, which hath about an hundred leagues little more or lesse a long the Sea-coast, the Sea maketh a great entrance betweene it and the Ile *Daman*, which is of fiftie leagues in length, and is already of the *Chinas*: and in the end of this entrance this Kingdome abutteth with the Kingdome of *China*, and is subiect to the King of *China*. The people of this Kingdome in their Habit, Policie, and Gouernment, doe vse themselues like the people of *China*. The Countrey is much inhabited and of much people, it is also a very plentifull Countrey. They haue the same Writing that the *Chinas* haue, although their speech be diuers. Beyond this Kingdome of the *Cauchin-chinas*, lyeth another very great Kingdome, which runneth within the Land along *China*, which some doe call *Laos*, and others *Siones*, *Maons*: this by the other side towards *India*, doth confine with the Kingdome of *Camboia*, and with the great Kingdome of *Syam*, and with the rich Kingdome of *Pegu*, with all the which Kingdomes it hath Traffique: in sort that there remayneth to this Kingdome towards the Sea of *India*, all the Coast of *Pegu*, vnto the ends of the Kingdome of *Champaa*, which doth confine with *Cauchin-china*. And so there remayne to these *Laos* toward the side of the *Indian* Sea, the great Kingdome of *Pegu*, the Kingdome of *Tanaçarin*, and that of *Quedaa*, and that of *Malaca*, and the Kingdomes of *Pan*, of *Patane*, of *Syam*, of *Camboia*, and of *Champaa* which abutteth vpon the *Cauchin-chinas*. This Kingdome of the *Laos*, or *Sions Maons*, was subdued by the *Bramas* (of the which we will speake presently) in the yeere of fiftie sixe, and among some which they brought captiue to *Pegu*, they brought some *Chinas* which the *Laos* held Captiues, as one *George Mello* affirmed vnto mee, which went for Captayne of the Voyage to *Pegu*. And though commonly there be no Warres betweene these *Laos* and the *Chinas*, because of the great Mountaynes that are betweene them, on the which the *Chinas* haue good forces on that side in the Prouince of *Camsi*, which doth confine with these and with the *Bramas*: and in the forces they haue continually men in Garrison for the defence of those parts: there bee notwithstanding, continually assaults on the one side and of the other: whereby the *Laos* might haue some *Chinas* captiue. Before that these *Laos* were subdued by the *Bramas*, they carryed to *Sion*, to *Camboia*, and to *Pegu* some very good Muske and Gold, whereof is affirmed to be great store in that Countrey, and these people hauing Muske, makes a conjecture the great store of Muske which the *Chinas* haue; they get it from the many beasts that are in the Confines of this Kingdome in the Prouince of *Camsi*, from whence they bring it.

Cauchin china.

Duman an Iland.

Laos, or *Siones Maons.*

1559.

Muske what it is.

The Muske is the flesh and bloud of certayne beasts, which they say, to be as bigge as Foxes, the which beaten with strokes and killed, they tye the skinne with the flesh together in lumps, the which they cut after the flesh is rotten, and so they sell it, which the *Portugals* do call Muske Cods. And when it commeth fresh, presently it appeareth to be rotten flesh and bloud: the rest they sell loose, holding these Cods for the finer Muske. Returning to the *Laos*, whereof we were speaking, these be the Wares which they brought to the aboue-said Kingdomes, carrying in returne Cotton-clothes and other things they had need of. This people is not very browne, they weare their haire all cut round vnderneath, and all the rest aboue ruffled, raysing it many times vpward with their hands, that it remayneth to them like a Cap, and serueth in stead of one, for they weare nothing on their heads: they goe naked from the middle vpward, and from the hips downward, they weare certayne Cotton-clothes girt about them all white: the women goe couered from the brests to the halfe legge: they haue their faces some-what like the *Chinas*, they haue the same Heathenish Ceremonies that the *Pegus* and *Siones*, and the *Camboias*: The Priests of their Idols doe weare yellow clothes girt about as the rest of the people, and a certayne manner of yellow Copes, with certayne folds and seames in which they hold their Superstitions.

Of

Of this people I saw many in *Camboia*, which remayned there the yeere before by the way of Traffique, and that yeare that I was there, they came not because of the Warres, wherein (as I said) they said they were subdued by the *Bramas*.

These *Laos* came to *Camboia*, downe a Riuer many dajes Iournie, which they say, to haue his beginning in *China*, as many others which runne into the Sea of *India*: it hath eight, fifteene, and twentie fathome waters, as my selfe saw by experience in a great part of it: it passeth through many vnknowne and desart Countries of great Woods and Forrests, where there are innumerable Elephants, and many Buffes, of which I saw many wild in that Countrie, and *Merus*, which is like a good Mule, and certayne beasts which in that Countrie they call *Badas*: of the which the Male haue a pointlesse and blunt Horne in their fore-head, and some of the Hornes are spotted with singular colours, and others all blacke, others of a waxe colour, but they haue no vertue, but only for the *Hemorroides*, or *Piles*: and after the Elephant there is no other greater beast, the haire of it is browne and footed like an Elephant, the head like a Cow, and it hath a great lumpe of flesh that falleth vpon his head, whereof I did eate trauelling in those parts. There are also many other wilde Beastes. There bee some Thorny Trees, like Limons and Orenges, and many wilde Grapes through the Woodes. When these *Laos* doe returne to their Countrie, going against the streame, they goe in three moneths. This Riuer causeth a wonder in the Land of *Camboia*, worthy of reciting. Comming neere to a place which they call *Chudurmuch*, which is twelue leagues from the principall Citie of *Camboia*, it maketh a passage to another Riuer which commeth from a great Lake, that is in the vttermost parts of *Camboia*, and hath *Siam*, on the other side: in the middest of the which his bignesse being great, yee can see no Land on neither-side, and this Riuer passeth by *Loech*, which is the principall Citie of *Camboia*, vnto *Chudurmuch*: the waters of this Riuer, which is also verie great, the most of them doe passe to the Riuer that commeth from the *Laos*, neere to *Chudurmuch*, and the rest doe run downe the Riuer directly to the Sea, when the great Winter floudes doe come, which happen when it raines not in the Countries of *Camboia*. The many waters which doe come by the Riuer that commeth from the *Laos*, which there they call *Sistar*, doe make a passage right against *Chudurmuch*, to the Riuer that passeth through *Loech*, with so great furie, that where the waters of *Loech* did run downward, by multitude of the other that entreth into it, they are turned backe and run vpward with a great current, in sort that it ouerfloweth all the Countrie of *Camboia*, whereby all the Countrie is not trauelled in the time of these flouds, but in Boates, and they make their Houses all with high lofts, and vnderneath they are all ouerflowne, and sometimes these flouds are so high, that they are forced to make higher Roomes with Canes to keepe their houshold-stuffe in, and to lodge themselues. This Riuer runneth vpward from July to September, and with the passing from the Riuer that commeth from the *Laos*, (or from the Riuer *Sistor*, which is his proper name) of so many waters to the Riuer of *Loech*, it doth not leaue his running to the Sea, making below verie great armes, and goeth verie high ouer-flowing many Countries downward, but not so much as aboue. The *Portugals* did shew mee in *Loech* a field, a great hill of Earth, ouer the which they affirmed that in the time of the flouds a great ship that was made in the Countrie did passe without touching, which ship might well haue sayled from *India* to *Portugall*.

Riuer of the *Laos*.

Merus are a kind of wild Asses.

Badas are the Rhinoceroses: by the fore-head vnderstand the face; for the horne is lower then the fore-head.

Chudurmuch.

Loech.

Sistor.

Strange ouer-flow, a fresh Riuer running vp without Sea-force.

Beyond these *Laos*, follow the *Brames*, which is a great people, and very rich of Gold and Precious stones, chiefly of Rubies. It is a proud Nation and valiant, these are now Lords of *Pegu*, which subdued it by force of Armes some yeares before they subdued the *Laos*, they are men of good complexion, and well made, they are browne. They haue *Pegu* and part of *Bengala* toward the Sea of *India*. It is a Countrey very scarce of victuals, they apparell themselues as we said of the *Laos*, but that their clothes are fine, and many do weare them painted or wrought: they are also somewhat like the *Chinas* in the faces, they haue very rich and gallant shippings garnished with Gold, in the which they sayle in the Riuers: they vse Vessels of Gold and of Siluer, their Houses are of Timber very well wrought, the Kingdome is very great, they haue not commonly warre with the *Chinas*, because of the great Mountaynes that are betweene the one and the other, and because the *Chinas* are well fortified on that side: notwithstanding this, sometimes there are Robbers on the one side, and the other that doe make assaults, whereby the *Chinas* haue some *Bramas* Captiues, as some *Portugals* which were Captiues in those parts, which saw them did affirme, and did speake with them in the great Citie of *Camsi*: and these slaues told them, that from thence it was not very farre to *Brama*, and that in *Pegu*, they had seene *Portugals*.

The *Brames*.

There followeth along the *China* beyond the *Bramas*, the Kingdome of the *Patanes*, which now are Lords of *Bengala*, and after them the *Mogores*. Beyond these *Mogores* there runneth along the *China*, the *Tartarians*, which doe extend themselues from *Mogor* to the Lake *Meotis* and the Riuer *Thanais*, which is a very great Kingdome and of much and innumerable people. This people are commonly red and not white, they goe naked from the waste vpward, they eate raw flesh, and anoint themselues with the bloud of it: whereby commonly they are stinking and haue an ill sent.

The *Patanes*.

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An old man of *China* did affirme vnto me, that sometimes when they came against the Countries of *China*, if the wind stood on that side where they came, they were discerned by their smell: and when they goe to warre they carry the flesh raw vnder them for to eate, they eate it in this manner, and anoint themselues with the bloud to make themselues the more sturdie and strong, and to prouoke themselues to crueltie in the Warre: these also fight on Horseback with Bowes and Arrowes, and vse short Swords. With these is the continuall Warre of the *Chinas*, and as I haue said the *Chinas* haue an hundred leagues (others saying there are more) of a Wall betweene them and the other, where are continually Garrisons of men for the defence of the entries of the *Tartarians*. It may bee beleeued that this Wall is not continued, but that some Mountaynes or Hils are intermixt betweene; for a Lord of *Persia* affirmed to me, that the like Workes were in some parts of *Persia*, with intermixing some Hils and Mountaynes.

Wall of *China*.

It was affirmed to the *Portugals* which were Captiues, and in Prison in their Dungeons, in the yeare 1550. that some yeares there is Truce betweene the *Chinas* and the *Tartarians*: and in the same yeare the *Tartarians* made a great entry in *China*, in the which they tooke a very principall Citie from them: but a great number of people of the *Chinas* comming and besieging the Citie, and not being able to enter it by force of Armes, by the Councell of a man of low degree, they had a meanes whereby they killed them and their Horses, and remayned Lords againe of the Citie. The same *Portugals* which afterward were set at libertie, affirmed, that all the Prisoners made great Feasts, and made a great stirre when the *Tartarians* made this entry, with the hope of being set at liberti6 by the meanes of the *Tartarians*, if they did possesse *China*.

Tartarians rodes into *China*.

In the Citie of *Cantan* I saw many *Tartarians* Captiues, which haue no other captiuitie then to serue for men at Armes in other places farre from *Tartarie*, and they weare for a difference red Caps, in all the rest they are like the *Chinas* with whom they liue: they haue for their maintenance a certayne stipend of the King, which they haue paid them without faile. The *Chinas* call them *Tatos*, for they cannot pronounce the Letter *r*. Aboue the Lake where *Thanais* hath his beginning, they doe confront with the skirts of high *Almayne*, although on the side of *Europe*, and betweene them and *Almayne* are Hils that doe diuide them: and of these people of the skirts of the Mountaines, the *Chinas* say that the King of *China* hath many men of Warre in pay, that doe keepe the weake passages and the Wals on the side of the *Tartarians*: and say, they are great men with great Beards, and weare cut Hose, and Caps, and blunt Swords, and a *Portugall* that was carryed captiue the Land inward, told me that he heard the *Chinas* say, that they called these * *Alimenes*.

See *Pinto*.
* Here followed the diuision of the Countrey into shires or Kingdomes, with their Cities, &c. which wee referre to later and better Intelligence.

§. II.

Cantan *described; the publike and priuate buildings and Gouernment. The shipping and Husbandry of* China; *their contempt of the idle, and prouision for impotent poore.*

BEeing to intreate of the Citie of *Cantan*, I giue first a warning to the Readers, that among many Noble Cities, *Cantan* is one lesse Noble then many of *China*; and farre inferiour in building then many other: although it be more populous then many; this is said by all them that saw it, and trauelled within the Land, where they saw many other. This aduice presupposed, it is to be noted, that *Cantan* in his compasse, is of very strong Wals, very well made, and of a good height, and to the sight they seeme almost new, beeing eighteene hundred yeares since they were made, as the *Chinas* did affirme: they are very cleane without any cleft, hole, or rift, or any thing threatning ruine. They are of free stone about a mans height, and from thence vpward of brickes made of a clay like vnto that of the Porcelane Dishes, whence it causeth them to bee so strong, that I building a Chappell in *Malaca*, one of these (which was brought from *China*) could scarsly bee broken with a good Pick-axe. Iointly with this there is in this Citie and in all the rest an Officer of the King which onely hath care to ouer-see the Wals, for the which he hath a good stipend. And euery yeare when the Gouernour of the Borders commeth to visit the Prouince, hee doth visit this as well as the other Officers, to know if he doth well his Office, and finding him in any fault, or negligence, hee is put from his Office, and punished. And if he standeth in need of any expence for the mending of the Walls, the Ouer-seer of the Rents is bound to giue him that which is necessarie, vnder paine, that if the mending remayneth vndone, he shall bee well punished. For this cause the Wals of all the Cities are continually kept sound and in good reparation. These Walles are within the Citie little more then the walke of the same Citie in their height, which is the cause of beeing much more cooler. The Wals haue in compasse 12350. paces, and it hath eighty three Bulwarks.

The wals of *Cantan*.

This

This Citie (and so all the rest) hath on the one side the Riuer, along the which, as well this as the rest are built almost in a Valley; and on the other side they haue a Ditch full of water of a good breadth, betweene the which and the wall remayneth a good distance where there may runne together a good troupe of people, and the Earth that was taken out of the Ditch, was cast betweene it and the wall, whereby the foot of the wall remayneth a great deale higher then the other ground. Besides the ditch, notwithstanding, this wall hath a great blemish, for it hath on the contrarie side to the Riuer without the wals, and the ditch a little Hillocke that discouereth all the Citie within the wals. The Riuer and Town-ditch.

This wall hath seuen gates: the entries of the which are sumptuous and high, strong and well made, with Pinacles aboue, not square but made like steps. The other places of the wals haue no Pinacles: the wall at the entring of the gates is twelue paces thicke: the gates are all ouer plated with Iron, and all of them haue their draw-bridges very strong, which are alwayes vp, and are neuer let downe, but are ready against they be needfull: all the gates at the entrings haue Courts, and the Courts that are toward the side of the Suburbs, which lyeth along the Riuer haue euery one three gates, one in the front and two on the sides, which remayne for the seruice of streets that lye along the wall, the wals of the Courts are almost of the height of them within: the gate which is in the front in the Court, is like vnto that of the wals within: it hath also a draw-bridge; the gates which are in the side of the Courts are small. The Courts that are on the other-side of the field where no Suburbe is, haue no more but one gate, and this not right against that of the wals, but stand on the one side: the streets of the Citie are all drawne by a Line very straight without any manner of making a nooke or winding: all the crosse wayes are as straight as the streets: in sort that there is neyther street nor trauerse that maketh any turning. All the streets and trauerses are very well paued, the pauements going along the Houses, and lower in the middest for the course of water: the principall streetes haue triumphant Arches which doe crosse them, high and very well made, which make the streets very beautifull, and enoble the Citie: the principall streets haue along the Houses close Portals, in the which and vnder the Arches many things are sold. The Gates. Draw-bridges. Gate-courts. Strait streets and paued.

The Houses of them which rule the Countrey, are at the entrings very sumptuous, with high Portals, great and well wrought of Masons worke: they haue in the fore-front very great gates like the gates of a Citie, with two Gyants painted with Clubs in their hands: I saw foure in one *Pagode*, (which is a Temple of Idols) drawne naturally from some which they say, the King hath to keepe his weakest passages from *Tartaria*. They are of great members, of about twelue or thirteene spans high. On the street side it hath right against the principall Porch a * receite not very great. It hath built along the street a good wall of a good height right against the gate, that when the gate is open they that are within may not be gazed on by them that goe by the street: this gate serueth not, neither is it opened but for dispatching of matters of Iustice, and the principall of the House goe in and out at them; and others that are as honourable or more then they: at the one side of this principall gate is another very great gate, but not so big as the principall, which is for the seruice of the House, and of the Prisoners when the principall gate is shut: and when this principall gate is shut, they set a glued Paper crosse ouer both the leaues, on which is written the name or firme of the principall of the House, and for to open it againe, an Officer of the House bringeth the same firme or marke on a playstered board to the Porter, that hee may open it, without the which token hee may not open it vnder a great punishment. Houses of Magistrates. * Or little Court.

Entring by this gate, there is a great Court and almost square, which is almost a Horse-race, and it hath a Gallery little lesse then the length of the gate, which leadeth straight from the gate to a very great Table that stands at the end of the Court, the which is all paued with square stones with leanings as high as a mans waste, and it is high in the entry of the gate, and there remayneth onely one step in the end of it to the Table, and the course in the sides of the Gallery is low, that they goe downe to it by steps: this Gallery of the middest is of such respect among them, that in no wise it is lawfull for any one to passe through it, but onely some of the chiefest of the House, or others as great or greater then they: and those that goe to negotiate with the Officer of the House when they enter in at the gate, they must goe presently to one side, going downe to the Court which hath very great Trees for shaddow, and they goe vp againe by steps vnto the Table aboue-said, which is at the end of the Court, which is very great. In the end of this Table in all his length there is a step, and within the step a very great walke, all paued with square stones as the Table without it, and very high and all wrought with Masons worke: in the middest of it leaning to the wall of the front are two Chaires, with two Tables before them, a little distant the one from the other, one of them, which stands on the left hand, serueth for the Gouernour of that house, and that of the right hand is void, for if there should come another of a higher dignitie then hee, to sit him downe. To euery one of the sides there are two spaces which runne behind this Gouernour, and are of a good breadth, hauing placed along the sides of these two spaces in euery one fiue Chaires with fiue Tables before them, and as the distance from them to the principall Gouernour is good, they remayne though behind, Sanctitie of Courts, and reuerence of high Magistrates.

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in sight of the principall Gouernour. These serue for ten Assistants which are with the principall at the dispatching of waightie matters. From these Galleries inward are great Lodgings, as well for the Gouernour of the House, as for the Assistants, and for all the other Ministers and Officers of the House, which are many, as we will shew in their place.

Great Prisons. On euery side of the Court are very great Prisons and great Lodgings, as well for the Iaylours (which also are of great authoritie) as for the Watches that watch by night and by day, but neither these Prisons nor the Chambers of the Ministers of them, nor the Lodgings of the chiefe of the House are seene outward, for they are serued of all things, the doores shut and haue continually their Porters. There are in *Cantan* foure of these Houses for foure principall Officers, and in euery Prouince in the Citie, that is, the Head of the Prouince there are fiue of these Houses: in *Cantan* there are but foure; for as the Gouernour of *Cantan* is also Gouernour of *Cansi*, he is not resident in *Cantan*, but in a Citie that is in the Borders of one of the Prouinces, that the recourse in the Affaires of both the Prouinces may be the easier. Besides, these principall Houses of the chiefe Gouernours, there are many other in *Cantan*, the which though they bee not of so great Maiestie as they, they are notwithstanding very great, of other inferiour Officers, and chiefly those of the chiefe Iaylour which are very great. There is on the wals of *Cantan*, on the contrary side of the Riuer a high Towre all close behind, that they which are in it may not bee seene, nor gazed on from the Hillocke or Mount aforesaid, that was without the wals, and it is built in length along the wall, so that it is longer then broad, and it is all made in Galleries very sumptuous, from whence they discouer all the Citie, and the Marshes and Fields beyond the Riuer, which serueth for the recreation of them that rule. In the other Cities are such buildings which serue for recreation, many and very sumptuous, and of singular building.

Priuate houses. The Houses of the common people in the outward shew, are not commonly very faire, but within are much to be admired; for commonly they are white as Milke, that they seeme like sleeked Paper, they are paued with square stones: along the ground, of a spanne little more or lesse, they are dyed with Vermilion, or almost blacke; the Timber is all very smooth and euen, and finely wrought and placed, that it seemeth to be all polished, or dyed, or in white, and some there is in white so faire and pleasant to the sight, waued Damaske-like, as it were Gold, and so bright that they should doe it injurie in painting it. I confesse, in truth, that I neuer saw so fine Timber as that. It hath after the House that is at the entrie, a Court with solaces of small Trees; and Bowers with a faire little Fountayne: and then at the entring of the House where the women doe with-draw themselues, it hath a certaine manner of a Gallery open before towards the Court, where they haue verie great Cubboards finely wrought, which takes the one square of the House, in the which they haue their Oratories, and Gods made of Wood, or of Clay: these Oratories are more or lesse curious according to the abilitie of euerie one: all the Houses are tiled with very good Tiles, better, and of more continuance then ours: for besides, they being well made, they are of verie good Clay: those which receiue the water are broad and short, and the vppermost that close, the other are narrower, and at the ends toward the street side, they are garnished with fine Workes made of Lime: for many yeares they haue no need to be tiled againe, for as the Clay is very good, they are not so mouldring as ours, or so rough, but they are very smooth and warme, and beeing so well set, they breed no filthinesse. There bee many Houses faire within, and very few with Lofts, the most are low Houses.

Temple and Mesquit. Suburbes. They haue in the middest of the Citie a Temple of Idols with high Towres, the wals of the which we will speake of hereafter: they haue their Mesquit with *Alcoran* very high with his Pinacle on the top. The Suburbes without are very great and of many Houses, in such sort that some *Portugals* would haue compared them in bigneſse with them of *Lisbon*, but to mee and to others they seemed lesse, though they bee bigger and of more Houses then the Citie within the wals.

Store of people. It is very populous, and the people is so much, that at the entring of the gates on the Riuer side yee can scarce get through. Commonly the people that goeth out and in, doe cry and make a great noyse to giue place to them that carrie burthens.

Victuals. And the Rulers of the Citie commanding to enquire what victuals were spent euery day, it was found to spend only fiue or sixe thousand Porkes, and ten or eleuen thousand Duckes; besides which, they eate great store of Beeues and Buffes, and many Hens, and an infinite deale of fish, whereof the Markets and streets are full, and many Frogs and Shel-fish, great store of Fruits and all other Pulse. Hereby little more or lesse may be seene what people are in *Cantan*, and whether it may bee compared with *Lisbon*.

Suburbes. The Houses of the Suburbes are like those of the wals within; the streetes are so well and leuelled by Line as those within, and all for the most part paued also, and some of them are verie broad, and haue triumphant Arches, but very few. Some streets, as well without as within the wals, on the one side and the other along the Houses, haue Trees for to make shadowes. In all the

Suburb-gates. streets of the Suburbs at the ends of them are gates with speciall Porters, whose Office is to locke them euery night vnder paine of sore punishment, and euery street hath a Constable and a Iayle. He stands bound, either to yeeld the Malefactor which by night doth any harme in the street, are to pay for it; wherefore all the streets haue euery night a watch, the Neighbours diuiding

uiding themselues in quarters: and they make euery night sixe quarters or watches, and for a signe that they are awake, in euery street they sound a Drumme, where they haue all the night a Lanthorne with a light. The gates of the Citie are shut as soone as it is night, and on the two leaues is set a paper, with the chiefe Captaines marke on euery one of them, and they are opened with the Sunne, with a token from the same Captaine to them all, with his marke written on a white boord. Euery gate hath a Captaine, a very honest man, and euery one hath certaine Souldiers, which continually doe watch euery one of the Gates by day and by night. Watches.

In some Cities the water runneth almost thorow euery street; and on the one side and the other of the street are Tables made of stone, for the common seruice of the people: and thorow all the streets are very good and well wrought Bridges to passe from one side to another: and thorow the middest of the streets is great trafficke by water that goe from one place to another. In those places whereby the water entreth into the Citie, they haue made in the walls very good gates, which haue very strong Iron grates for to shut by night: and the most of the streets to the land inward are very well paued with stone, and (where is no stone) with small tyle. In all the Mountaines and Hills where there are wayes, they are very well made, cut with the Pick-axe, and paued where they are needfull. This is one of the good works of *China*, and it is very generall in euery place of it. Many Hills on the side of the *Bramas*, and of the *Laos*, are cut in steps, very well made; and in the height of the Hill is made a low place, very well cut; in the which is a very high Towre, which aboue doth equall with the highest of the Mountain, which is very strong, the wall of one of the Towres was measured at the entring of the gates, and it was sixe fathome thicke and an halfe. There are on this side many of these workes, and so there may be in other places. I heard of a Gentleman of credit, called *Galiote Perera*, Brother to the chiefe Iustice of *Arrayolos*, which abode in *Canfi*, being Captiue, that (with the houses of these kinsmen of the King, being so many and so great) the Citie was so bigge that it seemed they occupied very little of it, and make a very little show in it: and so he had it written in a Rudder of his, whence I tooke a great deale * of that which is heere spoken of: in such sort that the greatnesse of the Citie did hide in it selfe the multitude and greatnesse of these houses. Here followed much of other Cities; but because the Author saw them not, but receiued his intelligence from *Pereta*, I referre you to him. Other *China* Cities. High-wayes. *Galiote Perera.* * Which is therefore here omitted.

As in the Countrey there is great store of Timber and very cheape, and much Iron and cheap, and it is very good, there are infinite number of ships and shippings; for through the Countrey are infinite Groues of Firre trees, and other trees, whereby it is easie for any one though of a little substance, to make a ship and haue shippings, and this causeth the great profit and gayne that is of them with the necessitie the Countrey hath of them: for it hath not onely a great number of Ilands alongst the coast, but also a very great coast where they Nauigate: and besides this, all *China* within is nauigated, and runne through Riuers which doe cut and water it all, which are many and very great. So that yee may sayle to the ends of the Land, and goe in shippings. Any Captaine along the coast may in a little space ioyne two hundred, three hundred, euen to a thousand ships, if hee stand in need for to fight. And there is no small Towne along the Riuer that is not plentifull in small and great ships. Along the Citie of *Cantan*, more then halfe a league off the Riuer, is so great a multitude of shipping, that it is a wonderfull thing to see them, and that which is most to wonder, is that, that this multitude neuer decreaseth nor fayleth almost all the yeere: for if thirty, forty, or an hundred goe forth one day, as many doe come in againe the next: I say, the multitude neuer to diminish nor fayle, for though sometime there be more, some lesse, alwaies there remayneth a maruellous multitude: and that which is more, all those that goe forth, goe laden; and all that come in, come laden; carrying goods, and bringing goods: and that which sheweth much the nobleneſse of the Countrey, the plentie and riches thereof is, that all these ships bringing great store of merchandise of Clothes, Silkes, prouisions and other goods, some doe goe into the Land, others come from within the Land, and nothing commeth form without *China*, neither goeth out of it: and that which the *Portugals* doe carrie, and some that they of *Syam* doe carrie, is so little in compatison of the great trafficke of the Countrey, that it almost remayneth as nothing, and vnperceiued; seeing that out of *China* there goeth no more but that which the *Portugals*, and they of *Syam* doe carrie; which is as much as though they brought nothing out of *China*, fiue or sixe ships comming laden with Silke and Porcelane: the great plentie and riches of the Countrey doth this, that it can sustayne it selfe alone: Pepper and Iuorie which is the principall that the *Portugals* doe carrie, a man may well liue without it, and the trafficke of merchandise that is in this Countrie, is in all the Cities within the Land, which as we haue said, are almost all built along the Riuers. The *Chinas* haue a common speech for to shew the nobleneſse of their Kingdome, that the King of *China* can make a Bridge of ships from *China* vnto *Malaca*, which are neere fiue hundred leagues, the which though it seemeth it cannot be, yet by Metaphor it signifieth the greatnesse of *China*, and the multitude of ships that of it selfe it can make. State of shipping. Riches of *China* in it selfe. Prouerb.

The great ships they call Iunks; besides which there are ships for warre, made like great ships, to the which they make great Fore-castles and high, and likewise abafte, to fight from them: in such manner that they ouer-master their aduersaries, and because they vse no Ordnance, all Iunkes for war and for trade. Ship-fights. No Ordnance.

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their vse is to come many together, and compassing the aduersaries ship, they boord it: and at the first on-set they cast a great deale of Lime to blinde the aduersaries, and as well from the Castles as from the tops they cast many sharpe pikes burned at the end, which serue for Top-darts, of a very stiffe wood; they vse also great store of stone, and the chiefest they labour for, is to breake with their ships the dead workes of their aduersaries, that they may be masters ouer them, hauing them vnder them, and being destitute of any thing to shelter them: and as soone as they can enter, they come to the Pike or handy-blowes, for the which they haue long Pikes, and broad-pointed Swords hanging at their sides. There bee other Iunkes for lading of goods, but they are not so high as those of warre, though there bee some very great. All these ships as well of warre as of burthen vse two Oares a-head: they are very great, and foure or fiue men doe rowe euery one of them, laying them along the ship they moue them with such a sleight, that they make the ship goe forward, and they helpe very much for to goe out and in at a barre, and setting vpon the enemies for to boord them; they call these Oares, *Liosties*: in all manner of their shippings they vse the *Liosties*, neither doe they vse any other manner of Oares in any kinde of shipping. There be other lesser shippings then Iunkes, somewhat long, called *Bancones*, they beare three Oares on a side, and rowe very well, and loade a great deale of goods: there be other lesse, called *Lanteas*, which haue sixe or seuen oares on a side, which doe rowe very swift, and beare a good burthen also: and these two sorts of ships, *viz.* Bancones and Lanteas, because they are swift, the theeues doe commonly vse. The rowing of these Oares is standing, two men at euery Oare, euery one of his side, setting one foot forward, another backward. In the Iunkes goe foure, fiue, or sixe men at an Oare.

Sudibusve præustis.

They vse Oares.

Small ships.

A kinde of Gallies.

They vse also certaine shippings very long, like vnto Gallies, without Oares or beake-head, which doe lade great store of goods: and they make them so long, because lading bringing a great burden they may sayle the better by the Riuers, which sometimes are not rough. They haue many other shippings of burthen, which is superfluous to tell of euery one. There be many small boats of poore people, in which are husband and wife, and children, and they haue no other dwelling but in their boat in a middle decke, for defence of the Sunne, and of the raine: as also haue the Bancones, and Lanteas, and others which wee said were like Gallies, and these deckes are in such sort, that vnder them are very good lodgings and chambers in the great ships, in these of the poore, they are much inferiour: there they breed their Pigs, their Hennes, and there they haue also their poore little Garden, and there they haue all their poore state and harbouring. The men goe to seeke worke about the Citie to helpe to maintayne their little house; the women goe in the boats, and with a long cane that reacheth well to the bottome of the Riuer (at the end of the which is a little basket made of rods, wherewith they get shell-fish) with their industrie, and passing of people from one side to another, they helpe to sustaine their household. These poore people notwithstanding doe not liue so poorely and beggarly in their apparell, as those which liue poorely in *Portugall*. There are other great shippings, wherein is the stocke of them both *, which haue great lodgings where they may bestow a great deale of stuffe: these haue a great stocke; they haue certaine Cages made all the length of the ship with canes, in which they keepe two or three thousand Duckes, more or lesse as the vessell is: some of these belong to Lordships, and their seruants goe in them: they feed these Duckes, as followeth.

Dwelling in ships.

* The husbands merchandise, and the wiues huswifery.

After it is broad day, they giue them a little sodden Rice not till they haue enough, when they haue giuen it them, they open a doore to the Riuer where is a Bridge made of canes, and the noise they make at their going forth is wonderfull to see them goe tumbling one ouer another, for the great abundance of them, and the time they take in going out; they feed all the day vntill night among the fields of Rice, those which are owners of the shipping doe receiue a fee of them that owe the fields, for letting them feed in them; for they doe cleanse them, eating the grasse that groweth among them. When night commeth they call with a little Taber, and though they be in sundry Barkes, euery one knowes their owne by the sound of the Taber, and goe vnto it; and because alwaies in time some remayne without that come not in, there are euery where many flockes of wilde Duckes, and likewise of Geese. When I saw such a multitude of Duckes in euery one of these Barkes, and all of one bignesse, and thinking they could not be hatched by Duckes or Hens, for if it were so, some would haue beene bigger then some, seeing so many could not be hatched in one, two, or fifteene dayes, I was willing to know how they hatched them; and they told mee, it was in one of two sorts. In Summer, laying two or three thousand Egs in the dung, and with the heate of the weather and the dung, the Egs are hatched. In the Winter, they make a Hurdle of canes very great, vpon the which they lay this great number of Egges, vnder the which they make a slacke fire, continuing it of one sort a few dayes till the Egges be hatched. And because they are hatched in this sort, there are so many of one bignesse, and all along the Riuer are many of these Barkes, whereby the Countries are well prouided of this food.

Duck-weeders

Artificiall broods.

See an example in *Pantoia*, of this magnificence.

There are some ships wherein the Rulers doe sayle, which haue very high lodgings, and within houses very well made, gilt, rich, and very sumptuous: and on the one side, and the other they

they haue great windowes with their Nets wouen of Silke, and very fine small rods set before them, that they within seeing all them without, may not bee seene of them. Toward the side of the *Laos* and the *Bramaes*, are continually watches and wards in the Riuers in many ships, euen a whole moneths Iourney in length vnto the Citie of *Cansi*: these ships are in the places where the Riuers make any armes, because of the many theeues which commonly are in these parts, being the vttermost of the Kingdome: and because the Riuers haue many armes, many ships are placed in those parts: in euery place where these shippings are, there bee two small ships, which continually doe goe night and day from one watch to another, because they are very swift, and those of the great ships doe diuide themselues into watches at their quarters, for to watch as well in the small as in the great ones. The ships of passage goe alwaies a great number together, that they may defend themselues, one another, while the ships of warre, and the watches do come to them, and at the watch where they make night, there they stay til the morning, and by the small boats they are deliuered safe to the next watch forward, and so from watch to watch they are accompanied of the small vessels till they bee set in safetie. From the Citie of *Doncheo*, that is, where the Gouernour of *Consi* and *Cantan* is resident, vnto the bounds of the Prouince of *Cansi*, which are places more dangerous, are continually Armadas of fortie or fiftie ships. All these watches are paid of the common Rents of the Kingdome.

Ships for guard.

Fleets.

China is almost all a well husbanded Countrey: for as the Countrey is well inhabited, and people in abundance, and the men spenders, and vsing themselues very deliciously in eating and drinking, and apparell, and in the other seruices of their houses, especially that they are great eaters, euery one laboureth to get a liuing, and euery one seeketh wayes to earne their food, and how to maintayne their great expences. A great helpe to this is the idle people to bee much abhorred in this Countrey, and are very odious vnto the rest, and that laboureth not shall not eate, for commonly there is none that doe giue almes to the Poore; wherefore, if any poore did aske almes of a *Portugal* and he did giue it him, the *Chinas* did laugh at them, and in mockage said: why giuest thou almes to this which is a Knaue, let him goe and earne it: onely some Iesters haue some reward, going to some high place gather the people, and telleth them some fables to get something. The Fathers and Priests of their Idols are commonly abhorred and not esteemed, because they hold them for idle people, and the Rulers for any light fault doe not spare them, but giue them many stripes. Wherefore, a Ruler whipping once before a *Portugal* a Priest of theirs; and he asking him wherefore he did vse their Priests so ill, and held them in so little esteeme, answered him: these are idle and wretched Knaues. One day, I, and certayne *Portugals* entring into the house of the Ouer-seer of the goods, about the deliuerie of certayne *Portugals* that were in prison, because the matter belonged to him, for the great profit that came thereof to the King, much people came in with vs to see vs, among the which there was a Priest: assoone as the Ruler said, *Set them downe*, all of them ran away in great haste, the Priest running as all the rest, for feare of the whip.

Industry, cause of plentie.

Idlenesse hated.

Almes denided.

Idle Idoll-Priests punished with vniust iustice of profane busie Rulers, which made their soules the least and worst part of themselues, and a God of their goods.

Euery one laboureth to seeke a liuing; for that which hee earneth hee enjoyeth freely, and spends it as he will, and that which is left him at his death remaynes to his children and grandchildren, paying onely duties Royall, aswell of the fruits that they gather, as of the goods they deale in, which are not heauie. The greatest Tribute they haue, is euery married man, or that hath house by himselfe, payeth for euery person in his house two Mazes, which are sixtie Reys. From *Champan*, which as we said, doth confine with *Cauchinchina* vnto *India*, are many vnprofitable grounds, and made Wildernesses and Woods, and the men are generally little curious to get or gather together, for they neuer gayne or get so much but it is tyrannized from them, that which they haue is onely theirs as long as the King listeth, and no more. In such sort that as soone as the King knoweth that any of their officers hath much money, hee commandeth him to bee put in prison, and they vse him so hardly, that they make him cast all that hee hath gotten: wherefore there are many in those parts, that if they get any thing or money one day or one weeke, they will not labour till they consume all that they haue earned in eating and drinking, and they doe it because if any tyrannie should chance to come, they may finde nothing to take from them. From hence it commeth, as I say, that they haue in *India* many grounds in diuers places vnprofitable; which is not so in *China*, for euery one enioyeth the fruits of his labour.

that is 9d.

Tyrannie growes poore by seeking to grow rich.

Thriftie husbandrie.

Hence it commeth that all the ground that in *China* can yeeld any kinde of fruit receiuing seede, is husbanded. The high places which are not so good for Corne, haue very faire Groues of Pine Trees, sowing also betweene them some Pulse where it may be: in the drie Lands and stiffe they sow Wheate and Pulse: in the Marshes which are ouerflowed, which are many and very long, they sow Rice; and some of these Marshes doe yeeld two or three Crops a yeere. Onely the Mountaynes that are high and beaten with the weather, and are not fit to plant any thing, remayne vnprofitable. There is nothing lost in the Countrey bee it neuer so vile: for the bones, as well of Dogs as of other Beasts, they doe vse, making toyes, and with workes in stead of Iuorie, they set them in Tables, Beds, and other faire things: they lose not a Ragge of any qualitie, for as well of the fine as of the course, that are not of Wooll, they make fine and course Paper, and they make Paper of barkes of Trees, and of Canes, and of silken Ragges; and in the Paper made

Nothing lost.

Paper of diuers matters.

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made of ſilke they write: the reſt ſerueth for to roll betweene the pieces of ſilke: euen the dung of men yeelds profit, and is bought for mony or in change of herbs, and they carry it from the houſes: in ſort that they giue money or money worth, to ſuffer them to cleanſe their houſes
Neat filth. of office, though it ſmelleth euill through the Citie: when they carry it on their backs, they carry it in Tubs very cleane without, and although they goe vncouered, notwithſtanding it ſheweth the cleanlineſſe of the Countrey and Cities. In ſome Cities theſe Tubs vſe to goe couered not to annoy.

They vſe in all things more ſlight then force, whereby they plow with one Oxe, making the Plough in ſuch faſhion that it cutteth well the Earth, though the furrowes are not ſo bigge as among vs. A ſhip be it neuer ſo bigge, and haue it neuer ſo great a leake, the Pomps are made by
Pomps which goe by the feet. ſuch a ſlight, that one man alone ſitting mouing his feet as one that goeth vp a paire of ſtayres, in a very little ſpace he pomps it out: theſe pomps are of many pieces as a water wheele, laid along the ſide of the ſhip betweene rib and rib, euery piece hauing a piece of wood of halfe a yard little more or leſſe, one quarter well wrought: in the middeſt of this piece of wood is a ſquare little boord, almoſt of a hand breadth, and they joyne one piece into another in ſuch manner as it may double well, the joynts which are all very cloſe, whereby this manner of pompe doth run, is within of the breadth of the little boardes of euery one of the pieces, for they are all equall: and this manner of pompe bringeth ſo much water as may contayne betweene the two little
Puppet playes. boardes. The *Chinas* vſe alſo Puppets, with the which they make repreſentations. They bring vp Nightingales in Cages which ſing all the yeere, and are vſed to Puppet repreſentations alſo.

Prouiſion for impotent perſons. See of theſe things *Pinto.* It is a thing worth the noting, that the blinde haue a labour appointed them for to get their food, which is to ſerue in a Horſe-Mill like Horſes grinding Corne: and commonly where is a horſe-mill there are two, becauſe two going together, they may recreate themſelues in talking one with another, as I ſaw them going about with Fannes in their hands cooling themſelues, and talking very friendly. The blinde Women are the common Women, and they haue Nurces that doe dreſſe them and paint them with Vermillion and Ceruſe, and receiue the wages of their euill vſe. The lame and the creeple which either haue no kindred within a certayne degree, or if they haue them and they doe not prouide for them that which is neceſſarie, or are not able to helpe them, they make their Petition to the Ouer-ſeer of the goods of the King, and his kindred being examined by his Officers, if among them are any that can maintayne them, they doe binde the neereſt to take them to them to their charge and maintayne them, and if their kindred bee not able to maintayne them, or if they haue no kindred in the Countrey, the Ouer-ſeer of the goods commandeth they be receiued into the Kings Hoſpitall: for the King hath in all the Cities great Hoſpitals which haue many lodgings within a great incloſure. And the Officers of the Hoſpitall are bound to adminiſter to thoſe that are bedred all things neceſſarie, for the which there are ſufficient Rents appointed out of the Kings Exchequor. The lame that keepe not their bed, haue euery moneth a certayne quantitie of Rice, with the which, and with ſome Hens or a Pigge, which they bring vp in the Hoſpitall, they haue ſufficient to maintayne themſelues, and all theſe things are very well paid without faile: and becauſe commonly thoſe which are receiued into theſe Hoſpitals are incurable, they receiue them for life: and all thoſe which are receiued by commandement of the Ouer-ſeer, are enrolled, and euery yeere the Officers of the Hoſpitall doe yeeld account of the expenſes, and of the prouiſion of the poore ſicke, and if any fault or negligence bee found in them of that which they are bound to doe, without remiſſion they are well puniſhed for it.

§. III.

Of their mechanicall Trades, Merchandiſes and Moneyes: their prouiſions of Fleſh and Fiſh; the perſons and attyre of Men and Women: their Feaſts.

THere are in this Countrey many workmen of all Trades, and great abundance of all things neceſſarie for the common vſe, and ſo it is requiſite, for the people is infinite. And becauſe ſhooes are the thing that moſt is ſpent, there are more workmen of
Shoomakers. Shoo-makers then of any other Trade. In *Canton* are two particular ſtreets of Shoomakers very long, one where they ſell rich ſhooes, and of ſilke, another where they ſell common ſhooes of leather: and beſides theſe two ſtreets, there are many workmen ſcattered about the Citie. The rich Bootes and Shooes, are couered with coloured ſilke, embroydered ouer with twiſt, of very fine workes, and there be Bootes from ten Crownes, to one Crowne price, and ſhooes of two Crownes and thence downward, and in ſome places are ſhooes of three pence. So that the rich and the very poore may weare ſhooes: and the rich as they liſt; the ſhooes of

three

three pence, or of a Riall, are of ſtraw, and I ſay of three pence, for there is money that anſwereth our three pence. There bee many rich husband-men, that ſet men by the wayes with many of theſe ſtrawen ſhooes for the poore Trauellers (and it is no wonder to haue this charitie among theſe *Infidels*, for in the parts of the *India* are many rich Gentils which haue very great houſes, wherein they ſpend continually much Rice, giuing foode to all the poore of what qualitie ſoeuer, that will come thither to eate: and by the wayes they haue men ſet to giue drinke to the poore Trauellers.) There be alſo many Carpenters, and very good workmen of all manner of worke. They haue continually many Boxes made of many ſorts, ſome varniſhed with a very faire varniſh, others painted, others lyned with leather, and likewiſe of other ſorts. They haue continually a great number of Chaires made, ſome of very faire white wood, and other fairely gilt and ſiluered, very finely wrought.

Almes not almes, the fruit of vain-glorie not of mercy.

They haue alſo Chaires wherein the Rulers are carried on mens backs through the Citie, which are very rich, of a great price and very faire: they haue another manner of Chaires, which are high, very rich and pleaſant all cloſe, with a little window on each ſide very faire with a net made of Iuorie, or of Bone, or of Wood, through the which they that goe within doe ſee on the one ſide, and on the other of the ſtreet without being ſeene: theſe ſerue for to carry the Women about the Citie when they goe abroad. The ſeate is of the height of one of our Chaires, where they goe ſitting with their legs at length. There be many of theſe Chaires very rich, and of a great price: and there are ſome plaine, and haue Pinacles on the tops very faire: there are alſo many bed-ſteads very pleaſant and very rich, all cloſe round about, of wood finely wrought. I being in *Cantan* there was a rich one made wrought with Iuorie, and of a ſweet wood, which they call *Cayolaque*, and of *Sandalum*, that was prized at foure hundred Crownes, and of little Boxes gilt, and Maundes, and Baskets, Desks, and Tables, all as well gilt as with Siluer is without number: Gold-ſmiths, Siluer-ſmithes, Copper-ſmiths, Iron-ſmiths, and of all other Trades there be many and perfect Workmen, and great abundance of things of euery Trade, and very perfect. They vſe infinite Veſſels of Latten: and from *China* they furniſh all *Iaoa* and *Siam*, with theſe Veſſels, which in *India* they call *Bategaria*, and they are in euery kind very perfect. They vſe Skillets, and Chafing-diſhes, and other Veſſels of caſt Iron, and not only they doe caſt theſe Veſſels of Iron, but after they are broken they buy them againe for to re-caſt them. There are many Merchants of pieces and Clothes of Silke, becauſe they ſpend many in the ſame Countrie, and in *Siam*, and there are pieces of Damaske and Taffata among themſelues ſo rich, that they bring them not to vs, becauſe they giue them not for them what they are worth within the Land: they ſell alſo great ſtore of fine and courſe Serge of ſundry colours. There are many Merchants of white and dyed Linnen cloth, for it is that which is moſt ſpent in the Countrie. They gaue me a piece of Linnen cloth of about ten cubits, which was valued at tenne Crownes, there is both fine and courſe as euery one will haue it.

Chaires.

Silkes.

And howſoeuer the Porcelane which is vſed in all the Countrie of *China*, and in all *India* is of common Clay; notwithſtanding, there is very much courſe Porcelane, and other very fine, and there is ſome that is lawfull to be ſold commonly, for the Rulers onely vſe it becauſe it is red and greene, and gilt, and yellow: ſome of this is ſold but very little, and that ſecretly. And becauſe there are many opinions among the *Portugals* which haue not beene in *China*, about where this Porcelane is made, and touching the ſubſtance whereof it is made, ſome ſaying, that of Oyſters ſhels, others of dung rotten of a long time, becauſe they were not enformed of the truth, I thought it conuenient to tell here the ſubſtance whereof it is made, according to the truth of them that ſaw it. The ſubſtance of the Porcelane is a white and ſoft ſtone, and ſome is redde, which is not ſo fine, or in better ſpeaking, it is a hard clay, the which after well beating and grinding it and laying in Ciſternes of water (which they haue very well made of free-ſtone, and ſome playſtered, and they are very cleane) and after it is ſtirred in the water, of the Creame that remayneth on the top they make the very fine Porcelane: and ſo the lower the courſer, and of the dregs they make the courſeſt and baſe, which the poore people of *China* doe vſe. They make them firſt as the potters doe any other veſſell; after they are made, they drie them in the Sunne, and then paint them as they liſt with Azure, which is ſo fine as we ſee: after theſe Pictures are drie, they lay on the Glaſſe, and then harden them.

Porcelane.

Fables of it.

How it is made

The principall ſtreets of the Merchants, are the moſt principall ſtreets, which haue couerts on the one ſide and on the other: notwithſtanding, the chiefeſt ſale of the Porcelane is in the Gates of the Cities, and euery Merchant hath at his doore written in a Table all that is ſold within his ſhop: thoſe which ſell ſimples for medicines, haue at their doores tyed and hanging in a ſtring, a piece of euery thing. There is in *China* great ſtore of Rubarbe, but it is not brought to *Cantan*, but ſodden, there is none found raw. As the goods of *China* are very great and many, ſo the rents which the King of *China* hath in euery part of his Kingdome are very great. Some *China* Merchants did affirme that *Cantan* did yeeld euery yeere to the King three thouſand pieces of Siluer, and euery three Picos make one Baar, euery Baar hath foure Kintals, euery Kintall hath foure * Arrobas: ſo that one Baar is ſixteene Quarters, and three thouſand Picos, making one thouſand Baars, by conſequence, one thouſand Baars make y ſixteene thouſand

Merchants Tables.

Rhubarbe.

Kings Cuſtomes.

x Or Quarters.

y Which amounteth to 400000. pound weight of Siluer.

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ſand Quarters; and wee ſpeake of weight, for in *China* is no money of Gold or Siluer, but onely of Braſſe, the Gold and Siluer goeth by weight. But theſe as they are popular people, though occupied in the trafficke of the Countrie, it ſeemes they know not well the trueth of this, and that the ſumme is greater which is collected of the rents Royall, for the Countrie is very great, and the merchandiſe many and very ſubſtantiall. I was informed by meanes of the Rulers, which is a more certaine information, becauſe the rents doe paſſe thorow their hands, that the rent of the Salt in *Cantan* did yeeld alone to the King 300. Picos of Siluer, which doe make 100. Baars, which are 400. Kintals, that are 1600. * quarters of Siluer.

* Which is 40000. pound weight of Siluer.

Euery one hath a paire of ſcales and weights in his houſe, which all are exceedingly perfect. The weights that they commonly haue, are from ten crownes to one, and from ten Tangas to one, one Tanga is nine pence. By the name of their Countrie, the leſſer great weight is of one Tael, one Tael is ſixe Mazes, one Maez is the ſame that a Tanga: of the ſmall weights, the ſmalleſt is one Conderin, ten Conderins make one Tanga, or one Maez: one Conderin hath ten Caxos; and becauſe the common that goeth in ſtead of money is Siluer by weight, euery one hath weights of his owne, as abouesaid: for one laboureth by all the meanes hee can to deceiue the other, none doe truſt the ſcales and weights of the other, and euery one that goeth to buy in the Market, carrieth a weight and balance, and broken Siluer, and the balance is a little beame of Iuorie with a weight hanging at the one end with a ſtring, and on the other end a little ſcale, and the ſtring of the weight runneth along by the beames, which hath his markes from one Conderin to ten, or of one Maez vnto ten. Theſe ſcales ſerue for to buy by retale, for to buy by groſſe they haue perfect ſcales very curious and fine, with very perfect weights. They carrie the Siluer commonly full of mixture, and becauſe they encreaſe it with the mixture, from hence it commeth that he which will make good markets in the Countrie of *China*, and that it may be cheape, carrieth Siluer rather then goods, for by the encreaſe which the *Chinas* make of the Siluer with the mixture, they giue the merchandiſe good and cheape for the Siluer. The Merchants are commonly falſe and lyars.

Very Merchants.

Victuals.

There is great abundance of Rice in all the Countrie, for there are many mariſhes, which yeeld two or three crops euery yeere. There is alſo much and very good Wheat, whereof they make very good Bread, which they learned to make of the *Portugals*; their vſe before were Cakes of the ſame Wheat. There be many *French* Beanes, and other Pulſe: there is great ſtore of Beefe, and Buffes fleſh, which is like Beefe: there are many Hens, Geeſe, and innumerable Duckes: there are infinite Swine, which is the fleſh they moſt loue: they make of the Hogs many ſingular flitches, whereof the *Portugals* carrie an infinite number to the *India*, when they goe thither by way of trafficke. The *Chinas* doe eſteeme the Porke ſo much, that they giue it to the ſicke. They eate Frogs alſo, which are ſold in great Tubs full of water at the gates, and they that ſell them are bound to flay them. All fleſh is ſold by weight aliue, except Beefe, and Buffes fleſh, and Porke, which commonly is ſold by the pound, except if they doe buy it whole, for then they are to weigh it whole: and that it may weigh the more, they fill it firſt with meat and drinke: the Hens to make them weigh the more, they fill them likewiſe with water, and their crops full of ſand and other things. The pound of the Hen, Gooſe, Ducke, and Frogs, is all at one price; the Porke, Beefe, and Buffes fleſh is worth leſſe, and all at one price. The fiſh is exceeding much, and all very good, and it neuer wanteth in the markets: there be many Crabs, and Oyſters, and other ſhell-fiſh, and all is very good: and of all theſe things the markets are full. The Markets are commonly at the gates of the Cities, and vnder the triumphant Arches which are in the large and principall ſtreets, as we ſaid before, and along the Portals of the ſame ſtreets: but not to ſell here fleſh or fiſh, for there be particular ſtreets, excepting quicke fleſh, which is ſold euery where.

Porke ſtore.

Frogs.

Markets.

Herbs.

Fruits.

There are many Garden-herbes, *ſc.* Turneps, Radiſh, Cabage, and all ſmelling Herbs, Garleeke, Onions, and other herbes in great abundance. There are alſo many fruits, *ſcil.* Peaches, Damſons, and another manner of Plummes which wee haue not, with long, round, and ſharpe ſtones at both ends, and of theſe they make Prunes: There are many Nuts, and very good, and many Cheſnuts both ſmall and great. There is a kinde of Apples that in the colour and rinde are like gray Peares, but in ſmell and taſte better then they. There is a fruit whereof there are many Orchards, it groweth on great and large boughed trees, it is a fruit as bigge as a Plumme round and a little bigger, they caſt the huske, and it is very ſingular and rare fruit, none can haue his fill of it, for alwaies it leaueth a deſire of more, though they eate neuer ſo much, and doth no hurt. Of this fruit there is another kinde ſmaller, but the biggeſt is the beſt, they are called *Lechias*. There are Oranges, Figs, and many other fruits, which were to long to recite. And though there be particular ſtreets of Victualling houſes, yet there is through all the Citie almoſt in euery ſtreet of theſe houſes. In theſe Victualling houſes is great ſtore of meate dreſſed. Many Geeſe, Hennes, and Duckes roaſted and ſod, and ſtore of other fleſh and fiſh dreſſed: I ſaw at one doore hanging, a whole Hog roaſted, and let one aske where he will, for all is very cleanly dreſſed: the ſhowe of all the meate that is dreſſed is at the doore, almoſt inciting them that paſſe. At the doore is a veſſell full of Rice, well coloured and dreſſed, and becauſe the matters

Lechias.

Victualling houſes.

Encercijado.

of

of Iustice are commonly almost from ten of the clocke forward, and many haue their houses faste because the Citie is very great, or because they which come from out of Towne with business, as well Inhabitants as Strangers doe eate in these houses. When any man meeteth any acquaintance of his that commeth from abroad, or that he hath not seene him a long time, saluting one another, he asketh him presently if he hath dined, and if he answereth no, he carrieth him to one of these houses, and there they eate and drinke priuily; for there is great store of Wine, and better then in any place of *India*, which they make of confections: if he answereth that he hath dined alreadie, he carrieth him where they haue onely Wine and Shell-fish, wherewith they drinke, of which houses there are also many, and there he doth feast him.

There is also in *Canton* along the wall on the outside, a street of Victualling houses, in the which they sell Dogs cut in quarters, roasted, boiled, and raw, with the heads pulled, and their eares; for they scald them all like Pigs, it is a meate which the base people doe eate, and they sell them aliue about the Citie in Cages: through euery street they sell flesh, fish, herbes, fruit, and all things necessarie, crying that which they sell. In the end of Februarie, in March; and part of Aprill, when the great flowings are, there commeth great store of fish from the Sea to spawne, in the mouthes of the Riuers along the Sea, whereby there breedeth infinite small fish of many sorts in the pooles of the Riuers. Of these spawnes in these times all the Fishers along the Sea coast doe meet in their boats, and there meet so many that they couer the Sea, and lie neere the pooles. And these Fishers doe take great quantitie of this small fish, and cast it in Cisternes which they haue made with stakes, and a very thicke Net made of wyer, where they doe feed them, to the end of the fishing time: and at this time there are wont to come a great number of Barkes from all places of *China* within the Land (for I said alreadie that all *China* is sailed by Riuers, for it is all cut and watered with great Riuers) and these Barkes doe bring a great many baskets within and without, which are all lined with oyled paper, that it may hold water, and euery one of these Barkes doe buy the fish they haue need of. Then they carrie this fish in these baskets through all the Countrie inward, changing euery day the water, and all men of any possibilitie, within their grounds and inclosures haue great store of fish in ponds, for the which they buy the baskets they haue need, they feed this fish in the ponds in a very short time with Cow dung and Buffes dung, wherewith it groweth very fast. In all the ditches of the Cities likewise they breed great store of fish in the same sort, of which the Rulers are serued. In all the Cities which I said alreadie, are built along the Riuers. The King hath many Sea Crowes in Coopes, in which they breed, with the which they make Royall fishings many times; all the Barkes that are bound to goe a fishing with these Cormorants, doe meet and set round in the Riuer, those that haue charge of the birds, doe tye them about the crops, that they cannot swallow them, and they cast them to fish in the Riuer. They fish till they fill their crops of middle fish, and if it be great, they bring it in the beake, and come to the Barke, where they cast all the fish they haue fished, forcing them to cast it: and in this manner they fish the quantitie they will, till they haue to their contentment: after they haue fished for the Barke they vntye them, and let them goe fish for themselues: after they be full, they come to the Boats, and are put in the Coops: these birds doe fish very much. The King doth giue for a fauour to the Rulers one or two of these Barkes, according as the person is of qualitie for the maintayning of his house with fresh fish.

Dogs flesh.

Fishing with Cormorants.

Though that the *Chinas* commonly are ill-fauoured, hauing their faces and noses flat, and are beardlesse, with some few haires in the points of the chinne: some notwithstanding there are which haue very good faces, and well proportioned, with great eyes, their beards well set, and their noses well shapen: but these are few, and it may be they are of other Nations. They weare long Coats commonly with plaites after our good ancient vse: with a flappe ouer the breast to tye on the side, and all in generall haue very long sleeues to their coats, they weare commonly blacke Coats of Linnen, or of very fine Serge or course of diuers colours, some weare them of Silk, many doe vse them on the Feast dayes of Silke: the Rulers weare commonly fine Serge, and on their Feasts they vse very fine Silkes, chiefly crimson, which none in the Countrie may weare but they: the poore people weare commonly Coats of white Linnen, because it costs but little: on their head they weare a high Cap made of very fine twigs, and it is round interwouen with blacke Silke, and very well made, they vse their Stockins whole footed, which are very well made and stiched, and they weare Boots or Shooes, as the curiositie or abilitie of euery one is, either of Silke or of Leather: in Winter they weare Stockins of Felt, either fine or course, but the cloth is made of Felt: they vse also in Winter their garments lined with Martines, chiefly about the necke: they vse quilted Iackets, and some doe vse them of Felt in Winter vnder their Coats.

Their persons.

The Attire of the men.

They vse long haire like women, which they weare finely combed, and they combe it many times a day, they weare it tyed on the crowne of the head, and through the knot thrust through with a long small Siluer pin: those which are not married, to wit, the yong Bachelors doe weare for a deuise a fillet or ribband dresse very well made, their Cap remayning aboue it, that it may be seene: they haue a superstition in their haire, therefore they weare it so long, holding that by

Long haire.

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by it they ſhall be carried to Heauen. The common Prieſts doe keepe their haire, but are ſhaueh, for they ſay they neede no helpe to carrie them to Heauen. Yet among them are ſome Prieſts of the Temple of the Idols, which among the *Chinas* are more reuerenced then the reſt; theſe doe weare haire on the top of the head faſthed with a ſtick, very curiouſly wrought like a cloſe hand, varniſhed with a very fine varniſh, which they call *Acharan*: and theſe Prieſts doe weare black coates, the other wearing a white coate.

Courteſie. The *Chinaes* are very curteous men; the common curteſie is, the left hand cloſe, they incloſe it within the right hand, and they bring them very oft to their breſt, ſhewing they haue one another incloſed in their heart; and to this motion of the hands, they joyne wordes of curteſie, though the wordes of the common ſort is to ſay one to another, *Chiſan moſan*, which is to ſay, Haue yee eaten or no, for all their good in this world is reſolued in eating. The particular curteſies betweene men of ſort which haue not ſeene one another a long while, are the armes bowed and the fingers claſped one within another, they ſtoope and ſpeake with wordes of great curteſie, euery one labouring to giue the hand to the other to make him riſe: and the more honorable they are the longer they ſtand in theſe curteſies. The honorable and noble People doe vſe alſo many curteſies at the Table, the one giuing drinke to the other, and euery one laboureth to giue the hand to the other in their drinking, for at the table there is no other ſeruice but that of drinking. If there come any Gheſt newly to his friends houſe, or his kinſman, if the Maſter of the houſe be not apparelled in holy day clothes, when the Gheſt commeth in, he maketh no account of him nor any mention, till he commandeth to bring his feſtiuall apparell, and after he is ſo apparelled hee goeth to the Gheſt, and receiueth him with many complements and curteſies. For they hold it not conuenient, that a new-come Gheſt and of reuerence bee receiued with common apparell, but clothed in feaſt-like apparell, for in this he ſheweth him that his entring into his houſe is a feaſt day to him.

What ſoeuer perſon or perſons come to any mans houſe of qualitie, hee hath a cuſtome to offer him in a fine basket one Porcelane, or as many as the perſons are, with a kinde of drinke which
Cha drinke. they call *Cha*, which is ſomewhat bitter, red, and medicinall, which they are wont to make of a certayne concoction of herbes ſomewhat bitter: with this they welcome commonly all manner of perſons that they doe reſpect, be they ſtrangers or be they not; to me they offered it ma-
Great eaters. ny times. The *Chinaes* are great eaters, and they vſe many daintie, they eate at one table Fiſh and Fleſh, and the baſe people dreſſe it ſometime all together. The dainties which are to bee eaten at one table, are ſet all together on the board, that euery one may eate where hee liketh beſt. It is a cleanly and neat people. The common people hath ſome groſſe things.

Certayne noble *Portugals* went to ſhew me on a day in *Canton* a banquet, which a rich Merchant made, which was worth the ſight. The houſe where it was made, was with a loft, and very faire, with many faire windowes and caſements, and all of it was a mirror: the Tables were ſet in three places of the houſe, for euery Gheſt enuited a Table and a Chaire very faire and gilt, or with ſiluer, and euery Table had before it a cloth of Damaske downe to the ground. On the Tables was neither cloth nor napkins, as well becauſe the Tables were very fine, as becauſe they eate ſo cleanly that they need none of theſe things: the fruit was ſet along the edges of euery Table, all ſet in order, which was, roſted Cheſnuts and peeled, and Nuts cracked and ſhaled, and ſugar Canes cleane and cut in ſlices, and the fruit we ſpake of before, called *Lichias*, great and ſmall, but they were dried. All the fruit was ſet in ſmall heapes like Turrets very well made, croſſed betweene with certayne ſmall ſticks very neat: whereby all the Tables round about with theſe little Turrets were very fairly adorned. Preſently after the fruit, were all the ſeruices placed in fine Porcelan diſhes, all very well dreſſed and neatly carued, and euery thing ſet in good order, and although the diſhes were ſet one ouer another, all were ſo finely ſet, in ſuch ſort that he which ſate at the Table might eate what he would, without any need of ſtirring or remouing any of them: and preſently there were two ſmall ſticks very fine and gilt for to eate with, holding them betweene the fingers: they vſe them in ſtead of a paire of Pincers, ſo that they touch nothing of that which is on the board with their hand; yea, though they eate a diſh of Rice, they doe it with thoſe ſticks, without any graine of the Rice falling: and becauſe they eate ſo cleanly, not touching with the hand their meate, they haue no need of cloth or napkins: all comes carued and well ordered to the Table. They haue alſo a very ſmall Porcelan cup gilt, which holdeth a mouth full of wine, and onely for this there is a Waighter at the Table: they drinke ſo little that at euery bit they muſt haue the cup, and therefore it is ſo ſmall. There are ſome *Chinaes* that weare very long nailes, of halfe *a quarter, and a quarter long*, which they keepe very cleane, and theſe nailes doe ſerue them in ſtead of the ſticks for to eate withall.

Feaſts. The *Chinaes* doe vſe on their birth dayes to make great feaſts, continuing yet in them the cuſtome of the old *Gentiles*. In theſe Feaſts are wont to meet all the Kinſmen and Friends, and all doe helpe him to beare the charges of the Feaſts, with ſending him Preſents, that when they
Birth-dayes. doe celebrate their birth dayes they may pay them in the ſame ſort: and becauſe they haue theſe helpes, they make great expence and ſolemnitie. The feaſt laſteth all night long, for all the

Gentiles

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Gentiles as they walke in darkneſſe liuing without the knowledge of God, ſo all their feaſts through all places of *India* and in *China*, are made by night. In theſe feaſts is great abundance of meate and great ſtore of wine, all the night they ſpend in eating and drinking, and muſicke playing on diuers inſtruments. Their Prieſts offer their ſacrifices to their Gods, apparelled very richly. They apparell themſelues in diuers ſorts of garments, and the Prieſts doe ſing their ſongs in a very tunable voice: among theſe ſacrifices, playing and ſinging, the Tables are alwayes furniſhed with ſundrie meates, euery one taking what hee liketh beſt. The Prieſts when they haue ſung as all the reſt, doe make at their doore triumphant Arches very well made of Paper, and Scaffolds with diuers repreſentations of Figures and Statues, and certayne high Trees and hanging on the broken Boughes, very well wrought and painted, many lights, and in euery place many Lanthornes very faire and well made all with lights. Night feaſts.

In the generall Feaſts of all the Towne and People, chiefly on the firſt day of the yeere, all the ſtreets and doores are very richly dreſſed, and chiefly they doe indeauour and labour to deck the triumphall Arches, couering them with many clothes of Damaske and of other ſilke, with many Lanthornes. There is much playing of ſundrie Inſtruments, and ſinging, and ioyntly with this great ſtore of meate of ſundrie kindes, and great abundance of Wine. They vſe many times repreſentations by Actors, which doe repreſent very well and to the life, the Actors hauing very good apparell and well ordered, and fitting as is requiſite for the perſon hee repreſenteth; and they that repreſent a Womans part, beſides the apparell that is requiſite for the part hee repreſenteth, they are painted with Stibium and Ceruſe. Thoſe which vnderſtands them not what they repreſent, are ſometimes wearied, but they that vnderſtand them doe delight very much to heare them: and one whole night, and two, and ſome time three, they are continually buſied in repreſentations one after another. While theſe repreſentations doe laſt, there muſt bee a Table ſet with great ſtore of meate and drinke. They haue in theſe Actions two great inconueniences or blemiſhes, the one is, that if one be to repreſent two parts, and is to change his attyre, he doth it before all the Beholders: the other is, that the Repreſenter as well as hee that ſpeaketh alone, doe ſpeake in a very high voyce almoſt ſinging. Sometime they goe to the ſhips to play, that the *Portugals* may giue them money. New yeeres day. Comedies.

The Inſtruments they vſe for to play on, are certayne Bandoraes like ours, though not ſo well made, with their Pinnes to tune them, and there bee ſome like Gitternes which are ſmaller, and other like a Viall de gamba, which are leſſe: they vſe alſo Dulcimeres and Rebeckes, and of a certayne kinde of Hoboyſe, reſembling our vſe. They vſe a certayne manner of Inſtrument that hath many wyer ſtrings; they play on them with their nayles, which for that purpoſe they weare; they haue a great ſound and make a good harmonie: they play many Inſtruments together ſometimes, conſorted in foure voyces which make a very good conſonancy. It hapned one night by Moone-ſhine, that I and certayne *Portugals* ſitting at the doore of our lodging, a few young men paſſing the time came along the Riuer, playing on diuers Inſtruments; and wee being glad to heare the muſick, ſent for them to come neere where wee were, and that wee would inuite them, they as gallant youthes came neere with the Boate and beganne to tune their Inſtruments, in ſuch ſort that wee were glad to ſee them fit themſelues that they might make no diſcord: and beginning to ſound, they began not altogether, but the one tarried for to enter with the other, making many diuiſions in the proceſſe of the muſick, ſome ſtaying, others playing: and the moſt times they played all together in foure parts. The parts were two ſmall Bandoraes for the Tenor, a great one for counter-Tenor, and an Inſtrument called *Crano* followed the reſt, and ſometime a Rebecke, ſometime a Dulcimere for a Treble. And they vſed a good policy, that wee might remayne the more deſirous, they played but two ſtraines. Inſtruments.

It is not lawfull for any man in all the Countrey to carry any manner of weapon, no not a knife, therefore when one quarrels with another they goe to buffets and pulling by the haire: onely the Souldiers and Miniſters of the Captaines of warre doe weare ſwords on their hangers. Armes and quarrels.

When any man dyeth that hath Houſe, Kindred, and Children, after hee hath giuen vp the ghoſt, they waſh the Coarſe and put on his beſt apparell, and his Cap on his head, and ſet him on a Chaire, and then commeth his Wife and kneeleth downe before him, and with many teares and lamentable wordes ſhee taketh her leaue of him: and after the Wife comes the Children in their order doing the like, and after the Children the reſt of the Kindred, and all the reſt of the Houſe, and his Friends. The ceremonies ended, they put him in a Coffin made for him of *Camfiere* wood, which is preſeruatiue for dead bodies, and ſmelleth well, they cloſe it and pitch it well that no ſmell may come out of it; they ſet it vpon two little formes, and caſt ouer it a cloath to couer the Coffin downe to the ground, whereon the picture of the man deceaſed is pictured. They make a little houſe before the Coffin of white raw cloath, with a Portall right againſt the Coarſe, where a Table is ſet with candle-ſticks and candles lighted, and ſet thereon bread and all the fruits of the Countrey. And all this they doe of ſuperſtition for a ceremonie, and there they keepe the Coarſe eight or fifteene dayes, in the Funerall rites.

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which their Priests of their Godsemoe continnally by night to offer their Sacrifices, and to pray their Heathenish inuentions. There they bring many Pictures of men and women, and burne them with many ceremonies. Finally they hang some Pictures of men and women in paper hanging on coards, and with great praying and mooning these pictures by the coards, with great crying and showting, they say, to send the dead man to Heauen. All day and all night while they are in these ceremonies, there is a Table set with great store of meate and drinke. These ceremonies ended, they take the Coffin and set it in a Field where the dead are, and there it consumes with time. Their mourning which they vse is the sharpest that euer I saw, for they weare Coats after the common sort, of verie course wooll next the flesh, and girt with great coards, and on their head a Cappe of the same cloath, made like the Caps that are vsed in the Countrey, sauing that these haue certaine flappes that fall ouer their eyes. Notwithstanding, that they as are neareſt in kindred so they weare the rougher mourning weed. The rest weare raw cloath, and not so course. For Father or Mother, they mourne three yeeres: and if he bee *Louthia*, as soone as hee heareth the newes presently he leaueth the office he serueth, and goeth to mourne to his owne house for three yeeres, which being ended he goeth to the Court to demand his office.

Mourning.

China womens customes and cloathes.

I haue many *China* Pictures which represent the women either with their feet wrapped vp, or else very small; their eyes also and noses little, &c. of the rest, as in the Map is seene.

The Women commonly, excepting those of the Sea coast, and the Mountayners, are very white and fine women, some hauing their noses and eyes well proportioned. From their child-hood they wrap their feete in cloathes, that they may remayne small, and they doe it for the *China's* doe holde them for finer women that haue small Noses and Feete. This is vsed yet among the noble people, and not among the baseſt. They weare their hayre very well combed, close and tyed to the crowne of the head, and bound from the rootes to the toppes with a long lace very well placed. And the lace is garnished with Iewels and peeces of Gold round about. They vse long Coats like the *Portugall* women, which haue the waste in the same manner that they haue. They weare vpper-bodies with long sleeues, they spend commonly more Silke in their garments then their husbands: but in their common apparell they are cloathed in white Linnen-cloath. They make curteſies as our women doe, but they make three together and very hastely. They vse painting their faces with Vermilion and white Ceruse very well set. They commonly keepe themselues close, so that through all the Citie of *Cantan* there appeareth not a woman, but some light huswiues, and base women. And when they goe abroad they are not seene, for they goe in close Chayres, (whereof wee spake before) neither when any bodie commeth into the house doth hee see them, except for curiositie they chance vnder the doore-cloath, to looke on them that come in when they are strange people.

Womens retiredneſſe.

Marriage.

Commonly the men haue one Wife, which they buy for their money more or lesse, according as they are, of their Fathers and Mothers. Yet may euery one haue as many wiues as hee is able to maintaine: but one is the principall with whom they liue, and the other he lodgeth in sundry houses. And if hee hath dealings in diuers Countries hee hath in euery one a wife and house with entertainement. If the wife committeth adulterie, and the husband accuseth her and the adulterer, both suffer death. And if the husband doe suffer the wife to play the adulteresse, hee is grieuously punished. I being in *Cantan*, saw a Marchant of *China* goe from Iustice to Iustice, verie sharpely handled for suffering his wife to play the adultereſſe. The common women are in no wise permitted to dwell within the walls. And in the Suburbes without they haue their proper streets where they dwell, out of the which they may not liue: All the common women are slaues, they bring them vp for that purpose from their child-hood, they buy them of their mothers, and teach them to play on an Instrument of musique, and to sing. And those that can best doe this, because they gaine most, are worth more. And those which cannot doe that, are worth lesse. The masters either carrie them vnto the men, or sell them to them: and when they are to be set in the street of the common women, they are written by an Officer of the King in a Booke, and the Master is bound to come euerie yeere with a certaine fee to this Officer, they are bound to answer their Master so much euerie moneth. When they are old, with Paynting they make them seeme young. And after they are not for that trade, they are altogether free, without any obligation either to Master or any bodie, and then they feed vpon that which they haue gotten.

Adulterie.

Witaldrie.

Harlots.

I spake so particularly of this matter, for to come to say that in this Countrey of *China* is no greater captiuitie then this of these Wenches. And let no man say, or affirme any other thing, for about the examining of it I laboured somewhat in *Cantan*, because some *Portugals* would affirme it otherwise. The captiuitie in this Countrey is in manner following. If any woman by the death of her husband remayneth a widdow, and hath nothing to maintayne her selfe with, neither the children that are left her are such as are able to get their liuing, neither hath shee any thing to giue her children; this Woman in this necessitie, commeth to a rich man, and agreeth with him for six or seuen Crownes, for a Sonne or a Daughter, and the price receiued shee deliuereth it; if it be a Daughter, shee serueth as abouesaid for a common Woman, and is brought vp for that purpose: if it be a Sonne, hee serueth his Master some time. And when hee is of age to marrie,

The bondage or slauerie of some in *China*.

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marrie, the Master giueth him a Wife, and all the Children that are borne to him remayne free, and without any Obligation: notwithstanding, this Seruant is bound to giue his Master so much by the yeere, hauing a house by himselfe: for when he marrieth they giue him a house and he laboureth, either at some Trade, or by his industrie for to earne his liuing. And no man may sell any of these Slaues to the *Portugals*, hauing great penalties for it. The Women, as by being common, they looke for great profit of them, in no wise they will sell them, besides the running into great penalties also. And all those which commonly are sold to the *Portugals* are stollen, they carry them deceiued, and secretly to the *Portugals*, and so they sell them: and if they were perceiued or taken in these stealths, they would bee condemned in the vtmost punishment. The Lawes of *China* giue authoritie to the Women for to sell their Children, and not to the Men, for as the Men are bound to get a liuing for himselfe and for his Children, if hee want the remedie, they hold that hee is in the fault of that. And that Man may the better labour for their liuing and their Childrens. So farre is *China* from hauing Slaues that altogether should bee captiues, that neither those which they take in warre are slaues: onely they are bound to the King, and are placed for Souldiers in places farre from their Countries where they were taken, eating of the wages they haue of the King. These doe weare for a deuice a red cap, as I saw the *Tartarians* weare in *Cantan*, which had beene taken in the warres.

§. IIII.

Of their Louthias, Mandarines or Magistrates, their creation, priuiledges, maintenance; Of Prisons and Tortures; of the King and of Embassadors.

EVery one that in *China* hath any office, command or dignitie by the King, is called *Louthia*, which is to say with vs *Señor*. How this Title is giuen him, we will in his place make mention of it. There are in euery Prouince of *China* one thousand *Louthias*, or according to others three thousand, besides those that are resident in the Court, by whom are ordayned all matters of the Kingdome, and to whom come all the waighty matters of all the Realme. And because they are to dispatch with the King; and conuerse with him within doores, and it is not lawfull for other to conuerse with them, neither doe other see them, and they haue entrance where the Wiues of the King are, which are many, they are commonly Eunuchs. In euery Prouince are fiue, which among the rest are most principall, which haue a very great authoritie and majestie in their persons, and are greatly reuerenced and honored, not onely of the common people, but also of all the other *Lothyas*.

Sir, Master, or Lord.

Louthias of the Court Eunuchs.

The principall of the fiue is the Gouernour, which in their language is called *Tutom*, to this come all matters both great and small of all the Prouince, and for the authoritie and majestie of his person he is not resident where the other *Lothyas*, that hee may not bee frequented of them, and so he may be more esteemed and feared. To these come all the Rents of the Prouinces except the ordinarie expences, and by him as well the businesses as the Rents that are gathered, and all that hapneth in the Prouinces are referred and sent to the Court. The second dignitie of the Prouinces, is the Ouer-seers of the goods, which in their language is called *Ponchassi*: this hath the care to send to recouer through all the Prouince the Rents thereof, for the which hee hath many *Lothyas* vnder his iurisdiction, which are particular Officers for the businesses and recoueries of the goods. This prouideth all the ordinarie charges of the Prouince, and with that which remayneth he resorteth to the *Tutom*, that he may send it to the Court, this may enter-meddle in graue matters of the other Officers inferiour, and hath authoritie ouer them. Likewise, all the matters and affaires of the Prouince resort vnto him, to bee referred by him to the *Tutom*. Another chiefe dignitie vnder this is the chiefe Iustice, which in their language is called *Anchasi*, and though there be many other Officers of Iustice, this is aboue all, and by him are the dispatches distributed to the rest, and all matters of Iustice resort vnto him, as one that hath authoritie of the other inferiour. Another dignitie vnder this is the chiefe Captaine, who in their tongue is called *Aitao*. To this *Aitao* pertayneth to command to prepare the men of warre, and all that is necessarie of shipping, and victuals, and all other prouision against Enemies and against Theeues: to this belong also the businesses of strangers in cases which belong not to the goods. The fift and last of the great dignities, is of the chiefe Captaine which putteth in execution the matters of warre, and is resident in the Armies which the *Aitao*, being a land, doth ordayne: when it is necessarie besides the putting matters in execution and order, if the matter require his presence, he goeth in person: and so important may the matter be that the *Aitao* will goe. This is called in the Countrie language *Inthissi*. In the house of euery one of these, except the *Luthissi*, which is the inferiour of the fiue, are other ten which are as Assistants, and are also of great authoritie, fiue of these doe sit at the right hand of the Principal in fiue chaires, recited before when we

The *Tutom*; Lieutenant, Deputie or Vice-roy.

The *Ponchassi* or Treasurer.

The *Anchasi* or chiefe Iustice.

The *Aitao* or chiefe Captaine.

His Lieutenant, the *Luthissi*.

Each haue ten Assistants.

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we spake of the buildings, and fiue doe sit on the left hand: these in matters of importance are at the dispatching with the principall of the house, and the Principall dying or by any other meanes wanting, one of these according to his antiquitie remayneth in his stead: and if it be necessary to goe through the Prouince about some matter of importance, that appertayneth to the dignitie in whose house they assist, one of these doe goe with all the authoritie of the Principall.

Enfignes of dignities, girdle and canopie.

The fiue that sit on the right hand, haue a greater degree and dignitie then the fiue on the left hand. And as the dignitie consisteth in their Girdles and Canopies, those of the right hand weare Girdles of gold and Canopies of yellow, and those of the left hand weare Girdles of siluer and Canopies of blew, or of changeable colour. The Girdles are little lesse then three fingers broad, and an inch thick, and all about of gold or of siluer very well wrought made of peeces. The Canopies are very large and faire, which an Officer doth beare vpon a staffe a fathom long, of a Cloue tree very faire, and they are lined with silke.

The *Taissu* or Sheriffe.

Besides these Assistants and the fiue Principall, there is among the inferiour one of greater dignitie, which is the chiefe Taylor, whom they call *Taissu*, which haue very great houses of great receipts, where they haue great prisons, but neither this nor any that are vnder may weare girdle of gold nor siluer, nor a yellow Canopie, except hee bee an Officer or Captaine of men of warre, that for fauour of a Gentleman may haue a yellow Canopie: the rest weare girdles of Tartaruga, or of other matter made like them of gold or siluer, and their Canopies are of changeable stuffe or blew, and all these Inferiour doe speake to the Superiour, when they are before them on their knees, and doe kneele as long as they are with them, except the *Taissu*, who when he commeth in kneeleth and riseth vp presently, and is alwayes standing. Euery one of the great ones haue many inferiour Officers vnder his iurisdiction, for the matters and businesses necessary to the Office of euery one, all which as they are the Kings officers haue the Title of *Lothias* and their badges or signes. The fiue Principall with their Assistants doe weare for a Badge the Kings Armes on their brests, and on their backs, which are certayne Serpents wouen with gold thred.

The *Chaen* or Iudge of the Circuit, or Visitor.

Euery yeere there is one sent to euery Prouince as a Iustice, which is called *Chaen*, which commeth to take account of all the *Lothias*, great and small, and examineth all the Students and chooseth *Louthias*, and visiteth the Prisons, and all that is necessary to be seene and prouided for in all the Prouince. He vseth all meanes to spie out their briberie and injustice, and hath power to displace or preferre. When this entreth newly into this Citie, it is not lawfull for any to worke, they shut their doores and no body walketh through the street, and to preserue his worship and authoritie they will not boldly communicate in sight of the people, and many Officers with Banners displayed of crimson silke, and all the *Louthias* both great and small are bound to goe and meet him. The same entertainment is vsed to euery one of the fiue, when hee commeth newly to the Prouince where hee is to administer his office. There bee other dignities aboue all these, which are called *Quinchais*, which is to say, *a Place or Seale of gold:* which are not sent but about very serious matters and of great importance, for the Kingdome, or the King. Euery *Lothia* of what qualitie soeuer hee bee, high or low, hath for a signe or badge, besides the aboue-said, a high Cap and round with certayne eares a-crosse, made of small twigges wouen with twist.

The *Quinchais*, Commissioners extraordinarie.

All the Offices are giuen from three to three yeeres, and none is giuen for longer time, and all giuen to men that are not borne in that part of the Land, because they may not be mooued by affection in matters of Iustice that belong to their offices, and also because they may not become mightie, thereby to preuent insurrections. The offices are distributed by the King with the counsell of the Eunuchs. And because the Eunuchs are those with whose counsell the offices are distributed, they are many times mightily bribed.

The *Chaens* which the King doth send euery three yeeres, commonly are sound men, and bring commonly more authoritie then the rest. And these (besides the yeerly *Chaen*) are sent the third yeere, when euery Officer endeth his office. After that the *Chaens* haue taken the accounts of the *Lothyas*, they visit the Prisons and giue audience to the Prisoners. After this hee with the other principall *Lothias* doe visit the Schollers, and all those that hee findeth to haue studied well, he fauoureth and giueth them good hopes, and those which haue not studied well, if hee see they haue abilitie for it, he commandeth them to bee whipped. And if already they haue beene whipped and haue not amended, he commands them to bee put some dayes in prison, besides the whipping of them, that with these punishments from thence forward they may haue a better care. If hee findeth that they neither learne, nor haue abilitie, hee thrusts them out of the Schooles.

The third yeeres Visitor.

This doe onely the *Louthias*. which come euery three yeeres, after they haue dispatched the businesses of the Prouince, hee busieth himselfe in making *Louthias*: which hee maketh in forme following. He commandeth to come to the principall Citie of the Prouince, all the Students that haue well studied, from all the Cities of the Prouince, and from all the great Townes, where the King hath Schoole-masters of free Schooles, maintayned at his charge (for the Students did learne the Lawes of the Realme, maintayned at their fathers charge.) And all the principall

Louthias

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Louthias of the Prouince assembled with *Chaen*, there examine very well euery one of the Students, demanding of him many things concerning their Lawes: and if he answereth to all well, they command him to be put apart, and if he be not yet well instructed, eyther they send him to learne more, and if it be through his default, eyther they whip him, or being whipped they send him to Prison, as the *Portugals* saw many in Prison for that fault, where they were in Prison also. After the Examination ended, the *Chaen* riseth vp, and all the *Louthias* with great Ceremonies, Feasts, Musickes, and Playings, they giue the degree to euery one of them they found sufficient, which is to giue him the Title of *Louthia*. And after the passing many dayes in Feasts, and Banquets, they send them to the Court to receiue the Badges of *Louthias*, which are Caps with eares, broad Girdles and Canopies, and there they stay the distribution of Offices. So that in this manner they make the *Louthias*, which in the Countrey are to administer Iustice. The *Louthias* for war are made by Chiualries and famous Deeds which they did in war. So that in these Countries men are much honoured by their Learning, or by their Chiualrie, and yet more for their Learning, because of the Learned doe commonly come the fiue principall *Louthias* and the Assistants.

Commencement or Act. Of this see more in the following Relations of the Iesuits.

Notwithstanding, there are many *Louthias*, which are made for simple fauours, either for doing some particular seruice to the King, or to the Realme, or in some Towne, or hauing some particular fauour or qualitie. As they did to a young man of *China*, because the *Portugals* beeing in Prison, he serued for an Interpreter, whereby the *Louthias* gaue him the title and badges of *Louthia*, because he could speake *Portugall*. But these and such other doe not commonly serue Offices of the King, but enjoy onely the Liberties of *Louthias*: as the Gentlemen *Portugals* haue their Liberties which some enioy by fauour of the King. And these *Louthias* haue great Liberties in the Countrey: for none can doe him any injurie without punishment, neither can they bee imprisoned but for hainous faults, and they may imprison any that doe wrong them, and many other Liberties. And though there were some *Portugals* that reported without any certaintie that the *Chinaes* did studie naturall Philosophie, the truth is that there is no other Studies nor Vniuersities in it nor particular, but onely the Schooles Royall of the Lawes of the Kingdome. The truth is that some are found that haue knowledge of the courses of Heauen, whereby they know the Eclypses of the Sunne and of the Moone. But these if they know it by any Writings that are found among them, they teach it to some person, or persons in particular, but of this there are no Schooles.

Other sorts of *Louthias*.

Their Priuiledges.

The *Chinas* haue no certaine Letters in their Writing, for all that they write is by Characters. Their lines are not querthwart as in the Writings of all other Nations, but are written vp and downe.

When the *Louthias* are dispatched at the Court with Offices for the Prouinces, where they goe to gouerne, they depart carrying nothing of their owne more then the Apparell they are to weare, and some few Seruants to serue him, euen when they haue no Offices, neither need they carry any prouision for the Iourney, nor carriage or shipping at their owne charge: for through all the wayes where he goeth are prouisions, aswell of shipping as of necessarie carriage, and necessary food for all the Kings Officers, which are prouided of the Royall Rents. In all the Cities and great Townes, the King hath many good and Noble Houses for the *Louthias* both great and small to lodge in, and all those which by any meanes are the Kings, haue sufficient Rents for the maintenance of euery person that shall dwell in the House according to his degree. And that which is to be giuen to euery one for his Expences is alreadie limited. Wherefore he that may lodge there being come, the Officer of the House commeth to him, and asketh him if hee will haue his ordinary in money, or in things necessarie for prouision, and that which hee doth demand, as farre as the money doth extend, hee is to giue him, very well and cleanly dreſt, either Flesh, Fish, Duckes, or Hennes, or what he will. And any *Louthia* that doth lodge there, may command the Hoast of the House to be whipped, if he serue him not to his will. And if any *Louthia* will goe to lodge at the House of any acquaintance of his, hee taketh the Money, which the inferiour *Louthias* doe also sometimes, either to spare some Money, or to bee merry at their wils more freely. And in the prouisions of these Houses there is no want any wayes, for the *Ponchasis* haue the charge to giue them sufficient prouision that it doe not want. And at the yeares end account is taken of the Officers of the House of the Expenses he made.

Publike Officers wholly maintayned of the publike.

Houses for Officers.

By the wayes at euery League, and at euery two leagues are Houses which onely haue Beds, and Chaires for the Trauellers to rest and ease themselues. And some of those that haue care of these Houses, haue prouision for to giue Wine to the guests: others giue nothing but *Chaa*. After the *Louthias* come to the Citie where they are to be resident and execute his Office, they find the Houses, where they are to lodge according to the Offices they haue great or small, greater or smaller. In these Houses they find all the Seruants necessary, Scriueners, Porters, and all other Ministers necessary for their Offices. For these are continually in the houses, for to minister at all times all the Offices of the Houses where they serue. And euery Officer according to his House and person hath his prouision necessary for his meate, drinke, and his apparell (limited so that it sufficeth him well) which is payed to him without faile, euery moneth.

Publike Inns.

Inferiour Officers.

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Rest in age with dignitie.

When the *Louthias* are old and wearied in the charges and Offices of the Kingdome, they are lodged in their owne Countries or where they will, and the King alloweth them euery moneth so much according to their qualitie for their maintenance till they dye. And becauſe the Ordinaries of the *Louthias* are commonly ſufficient, and with ſome abundance, they may alwayes ſpare ſome thing to leaue their Wiues and Children. Before the inferiour Miniſters theſe Officers doe all things of their Offices and matters of Iuſtice, for they are preſent at all things, to preuent Bribes and partialitie. Whiles the *Louthia* is ſitting in the chaire to heare the parties and diſpatching of matters, the Porters, Scriueners, Sergeants and other Miniſters are at the doore: and when any perſon commeth with any matter, one of the Porters with a high voice that hee may be heard where the *Louthias* ſitteth (for it is farre off) telleth who and wherefore he commeth. And none ſpeaketh to the *Louthias* but vpon both their knees on the ground, and commonly they ſpeake a prettie ſpace diſtant from him. And from thence with a high voyce well vnderſtood, he propoundeth his caſe, or ſheweth him his Petition written in Paper, and lifting vp the hand deſireth him to receiue it, and to ſhew him Iuſtice; to whom a Miniſter runneth, the *Louthia* making a ſigne to him, and preſenteth it vnto him. After the *Louthia* readeth it, he eyther diſpatcheth him of that which he asketh, writing at the foote of the Petition with redde Inke, or remitteth the party to an inferiour Officer to be diſpatched. So I ſaw it done to a Petition which a woman preſented to the *Ponchaſi*.

Reuerence.

The promptneſſe and readineſſe wherewith the *Louthias* are ſerued, and how feared they are, cannot be written with the Pen, nor expreſſed with the Tongue, but it muſt be ſeene with the eye for to know what it is. All doe their meſſages running and with great ſpeed, not onely the Scriueners and Sergeants, and other Miniſters, but alſo the Inferiour *Louthias* to the Superiour. And if any fayleth neuer ſo little of his diligence and accuſtomed ſpeed, or committeth the leſſe negligence in the World before the *Louthia*, hee hath not any remiſſion, but immediately they put a little flagge in his hand, and he muſt hold it in his hand kneeling vntill the parties be diſpatched: and then the *Louthia* commandeth to giue him the ſtripes that he thinke good: and the ſtripes are ſuch as hereafter we will ſpeake of. Whereby all the Miniſters in the Houſes of the *Louthias* are playſtered or marked with the ſtripes, ſo that already among themſelues they hold it a diſgrace not to be marked with the ſtripes, becauſe it is a thing generally common among them. And when the *Louthia* waxeth angry or is moued at any thing, it is a wonder to ſee the trouble and feare that is in all the ſtanders by.

Nimia ſeueritas parit contentum.

I being in the Houſe of the *Ponchaſi* with certayne *Portugals*, intreating for the deliuerance of certayne *Portugals* that were Captiues, and impriſoned in the Iayle, for the which wee carried him eight Ounces of Ambar (which at that time was much eſteemed of them, and now by carrying ſo much it is not ſo much eſteemed) we not being willing to giue him the Ambar, without giuing vs both the *Portugals*, he tooke an occaſion for to terrifie vs, to waxe angry againſt the youth, ſeruant of a *Portugall* which was in our company and was our Interpretour. Wherefore he roſe out of the Chaire and became red as bloud, and his eyes were inflamed, and ſet one foote forward, putting his thumbes vnder his Girdle, looking to the ſtanders by with a terrible countenance: ſtepping forward, lift vp his foot and ſtampt on the ground with it, and ſaid with a terrible voyce. *Taa*, which is to ſay, Whippe. It was a wonderfull thing to ſee in how little ſpace they tooke the youth, tyed his hands behind with a Cord, and laid him on his belly with his thighes bare, and two Beadles placed themſelues on each ſide one, with one foote forward, and their Whip readie for to giue him the ſtripes that they ſhould bee commanded to giue him. Certainly it was all done in a moment. The Merchants that came in our fauour were troubled, and ſtood aſide ſhaking with feare. At this time one of the Priſoners ſaid, Sirs, be not afraid, for he cannot whip that youth. And in truth we knew it was ſo, for according to their Lawes there was no fault, whereby he might command him to be whipped, and there was a penaltie if hee did it. The *Louthia* hearing the voyce of the Priſoner, commanded to carry him with ſpeed to the Iayle againe. And the *Louthia* did this for nothing elſe but to make vs afraid, that wee ſhould giue him the Ambar for one of the Priſoners, for he could not giue vs the other, becauſe he was alreadie adjudged to dye, and the ſentence confirmed by the King, which was irreuocable, and he was willing to haue the Ambar, for he hoped to haue of the King a greater Reward then to be *Ponchaſi* for the Ambar. For he did eate it for to ſuſtayne life; and many dayes were paſt ſince they had demanded it of the *Portugals*, but as they knew not the name we vſed for it, they neuer vnderſtood one another till that the yeare after they had for the *Aitao* of *Cantan* a little for the deliuery of a *Portugall*: whereby he was aduanced to *Ponchaſi*. And this would alſo haue for the ſame effect the Ambar at our hands for to be aduanced.

Taa.

Notwithſtanding, we ſeeing our ſelues tyed and without an Interpretour by whom to ſpeake, and the youth in diſpoſition of whipping, we gaue him the Ambar. There came preſently a Chaſing-diſh for to proue it, and the Priſoner caſt a little in the fire, and ſeeing the ſmoake aſcend right vp, he was contented, and ſcattering the ſmoake hee ſet his Noſe ouer it and ſaid, *Haoa*, which is to ſay, it is very good. And commanded preſently to deliuer vs the Priſoner free. It was wonderfull to ſee with what ſpeed it was weighed, and the pieces told and put in a Paper,

and

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and noted by the Scriuener before them all the number of the pieces, and the waight that was there. And after that Paper another, all glued presently. And after that another. And in the third, the *Panchasi* set his Marke with Red Letters, and what was contayned within. And at the same instant came a little Boxe, and being put in it was presently stopped, and vpon the couer a Paper glued, and vpon it the Marke of the *Ponchasi*: and presently came an inferiour *Louthia* Captayne of the Army with his Souldiers, and all afarre off kneeled downe, and said at euery word *Quoo*, which is to say, Yes, enclining their heads and hands to the ground. And receiuing his message, presently as he came running, so he returned running with the Boxe to take shipping for to carrie the Ambar to the *Tutaen*, to bee sent from him to the King. All this that I haue spoken was done in a trice before wee stirred from the place where wee were. This was also desirous to haue the Ambar of vs before the *Louthia* of that seate did come, which was looked for euery day to come a new: for this was onely a Lieutenant.

Manner of their pompe in the street.

When any *Louthia* that is not of the fiue, neither the *Chaen*, neither very inferiour, but as they say of the meaner sort, goeth abroad into the Citie, he hath before him a good space two Ministers with two Maces that seeme to be of siluer, vpon long staues, made almost after our fashion, and the one goeth on the one side the street, the other on the other-side. After these a little distant, goe other two, each with a straight Cane, or Pole in his hand. After these goe other two in the same distance with two Canes trayling along the Pauements, which are the Instruments of Iustice wherewith they doe whip. After these goe other two with two Tables like two Targets bowed and playstered, whereon is written the Title of the Officer that passeth. The formost signifie in their Maces, that he which passeth is in his Office in the Kings place. And the two straight Rods, the right of Iustice which he ought to doe. Those which carrie the Instruments of whipping, doe carrie for a signe certayne long Red Laces, with two great round Tassels at the ends. And all doe carrie very gallant Plumes very well made of the points of a Peacocks tayle. And those that goe before doe now and then say with a loud voyce *Huuph*, which is to say, *Giue place, or beware*. While these doe passe it is not lawfull in any wise for any one to crosse, or goe in the middle of the street, vnder paine of being whipped without any remission.

It chanced two *Portugals* went through the middest of a street in *Cantan* walking, and behind them came an inferiour *Louthia*, which had but foure Ministers, which came crying according to their custome they should giue place. The *Portugals* either gaue no heed or made no regard of those that came: wherefore a Minister comming, gaue a great thrust to the one of them, and the *Portugall* answered him with a boxe on the eare; and being bound with his hands behind him, was to goe to Prison. It was necessary for the *Portugall* to come to the *Louthia*, and pacifie him with faire words, and he made an end of pacifying him with fourteene Crownes that hee gaue him. After the Ministers commeth the *Louthia* in a rich Chaire gilt and very faire, on foure mens backes. These Chaires are great and sumptuous, and the *Louthia* goeth compassed with all the Scriueners and other his Ministers. And all of them while hee goeth by the street, goe alwayes running. And the *Louthia* weareth a long blacke Coate of fine Searge with long sleeues, which is the common wearing: he carrieth the armes a crosse like a Frier, and his eyes low without looking to any side: for euen with their eyes they will not communicate with the common people, for to preserue their authoritie the more with them, that may be more feared.

When any of the foure *Louthias* goeth abroad, except the *Tutan*, or the yearely *Chaen*, they goe accompanied with many Ministers, and sixe Officers doe carrie them on their backes, and they leade a spare Horse with a faire Saddle, and a cloth of Silke ouer it; the Chaire wherein they goe is more sumptuous and richer, they carrie before foure, fiue, or sixe Maces, and two or three Instruments and more Ministers.

Pompe of the greater Officers.

When the *Chaen* that commeth euery three yeeres commeth into the Citie, or for forme important affaires goeth abroad, or some *Quinchay*, they shut vp all the doores in the streets where he passeth, and none doth worke, nor is any seene in the street when hee passeth. The shops are shut vp, and euery thing of sale is out of sight. The Officers with coards along the street, doe make three lanes, where the triumphing Arches are made in three Arches: and through the middest passeth the *Louthia* onely, and the Officers on the two sides. And it is not lawfull for any to passe through the middle: they are accompanied of many inferiour *Louthias* that goe on foot. And on the one side of the street, and the other are many armed men and others with Banners of red Silke auanced, all standing in good order. In the Court of the house where he is to goe in, are many Kettle-drummes set vpon high stakes to be well played vpon, which are couered downe to the ground with clothes of Silke quartered. After these are many placed in order, with Flags of Silke on high. After these in the same order, are many with Trumpets, and all are in great silence. As soone as the *Louthia* appeareth they all sound their Instruments in order: the sound of the Instruments ended, they remayne all in so great a silence, as if there were no bodie in the Court, being a great multitude of people. The people as they come in, doe place themselues on the sides, the middest betweene the Instruments remayning voide, whereby the *Louthia* passeth. Before these *Louthias* goe commonly many inferiour *Louthias*, of those that carrie Maces when they goe abroad. There are also in this Court many men at Armes with long

Chaen and *Quinchays* splendour.

Noyse and silence.

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long gilt Lances, and with very faire Armours. This is all in the first Court. In the second, along the Gallerie (whereof wee spake aboue, when wee treated of the houses of the great men, that onely the *Louthias* passe through them) on the one side and the other are many inferiour *Louthias* with Head-pieces on their heads, some gilt, some with Siluer, and with Swords hanging at their belts, and with Coats and Cassocks made in fashion of Frockes with studs of Gold and Siluer, that it seemeth set vpon plates, but it is a very fine worke made vpon very single Silke, which serueth onely for brauerie and ornament. Some vse on their heads white Head-pieces garnished with Gold, but are of a very fine leafe and thinne, that seeming an Armour, are not. In this manner also are the *Louthias* inferiours, which doe enuiron the superiour *Louthia*. The Chaires where these doe goe are very rich and of great price, and very sumptuous. The Tables whereon is written the titles of dignitie of these Great men are written with letters of Siluer. And when any of these doth enter newly in any Citie with these feasts and enternaynments, all the *Louthias*, great and small, receiue him at a house (where hee landeth very rich and noble) and from thence they accompanie him vnto his lodging, and being lodged, all doe take their leaue with many curtesies. In these receiuings they vse no sumptuous apparell. The great men (when most) weare Coats of red Silke. In their owne feasts in their houses, and secretly one with another, and in banquets they vse crimson Silke, and all the brauerie in their apparell, and in rich attires.

Manner of inquisition.

Whensoeuer by way of inquirie or examination any Witnesses are demanded, the *Louthias* doe it in publicke before the Officers and ministers of his Office, and before all the rest that by any meanes chance to be there present, and this because no falshood may be vsed, nor any sleight in the manner of inquiring: and by consequence in writing. And first they examine the Witnesses seuerally, and if they doe agree, they ioyne them, and examine the one before the other, till they bring them to altercations and quarrelling by words, that by the words the one speaketh to the other they may come to the knowledge of the truth. And if by this meanes they doe not comprehend the truth, they giue them many stripes and tortures that by one meanes or other they may know the truth of the matter they enquire or examine: they vse no Oath, for they esteeme nothing of their Gods. They haue notwithstanding a respect in the witnessing the persons of qualitie, and of whom is presumed that they will not easily lye. When they examine any matter of great weight, or a graue person, then they write themselues, the processe of the examination. It chanceth sometimes that some of the *Louthias* for a great bribe, or for great friendship let some Prisoner loose, and put another in his place, for there neuer wanteth one naughtipacke that will put himselfe in danger of stripes, or death for interest, or they bring him in by deceit, deceiuing him with words, and making the matter light vnto him, and giuing him some interest, they name him as the Prisoner they will let loose, that the faults and punishments of the guiltie may fall vpon the innocent. And when sometime in this sort they cannot let the guiltie person loose, they labour to bribe all the Officers to giue him for dead among those that die in the prisons. But these inuentions are not vsed but where the bribes are great, or the adherents very great and mightie. And for to eschew the inconueniences which sometime fall out, when any are imprisoned for weightie matters, or the Prisoners haue great aduersaries, they set downe all the markes of the Prisoners, and cause them to be set at the foot of the writing, that so they may not vse any of the malices aboue said.

No Oathes.

Bribe-trickes.

Cane-whipping. Much is here written of Prisons, and Executions, which I haue omitted.

* Huge Reeds, or Canes.

With how much pietie and leasure they kill, with so much crueltie and speed they whip, for in this case they forgiue none. The stripes are such that with reason it might be a sufficient punishment for to amend, for the canes wherewith they whip are plaited below about foure fingers broad, and goe straightning vpward vnto the end, where the Beadles hold them: and they are almost a finger thicke (for in those parts are canes as big as a mans leg. And because in *Portugall* are many witnesses of knowledge of the same, I dare simply affirme it, and they are of eighty * or ninety spans long.) And their whips are made of these canes of the height of a middle statured man to the breasts. They giue the stripes on the hammes of the mans legs, being layd on his breast, and his legs layd along, and his hands tyed behind. And the Beadles butchering, as they are commanded, the *Louthias* are altogether voide of compassion, talking one with another, eating and drinking, and picking their teeth. The crueltie is such, that the Court is full of bloud: and when they haue made an end of whipping them, they carrie them not, but like Butchers with much crueltie they draw them by one leg to the Prison. And when the Beadles are whipping, they tell with a loude voyce the stripes. If the miserable Prisoners which are in the Prison for grieuous faults at the time that this correction is to bee done can get a piece of a coard, wherewith they may hang themselues, they goe to buffets who shall hang himselfe first, that that the butcherie of the stripes be not executed on them. And the *Portugals* affirmed, which were in Prison, that in one day fortie Prisoners did hang themselues in the Prison where they were, to escape the stripes they were rather willing to lose their liues. And they affirmed, that the coard was very short, that scarsely there was so much as to come about the necke to tye it, and on a sticke which they stucke in the wall, and because the sticke was very lowe, they pulled one another till they were choaked, going to buffets who should hang himselfe first. When any doth

Miserable euasion of misery.

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doth kill himselfe, or dieth in the Prison, it is the order in *China* to cast him in the house of office, and there to be three dayes, where the Rats doe eate him vp. And sometimes the *Chinaes* Prisoners doe eate of them with hunger.

Euery Citie that is the Head of the Prouince, hath thirteene Dungeons, and in sixe of them are the men condemned to death: there are in *Cantan* vpward of fifteene thousand Prisoners. There are in euery Dungeon onely for the condemned to death, one hundred and twenty men that serue for watches, and haue a *Louthia* ouer them as their Captaine, or Gentleman of the round. There be two sorts of tortures, one for the hands, another for the feet, which are nipped by certaine slickes to the bruising or breaking of the fingers or toes with cruell paines.

Store of free-people, and therefore store of bond, by abused libertie and store.

The King hath as many wiues as he listeth: and within doores all the seruice is almost of women: whereof he hath a great multitude: and likewise great store of Eunuches, and there is no other people within the house. The first son that is borne vnto him of any of his wiues succeedeth in the Kingdome. The rest he marrieth, and at such time as he marrieth them they are lodged in some of the Cities that he best liketh; where they are well prouided of all things necessarie for their maintenance, as sonnes to the King. But they neuer see the Kings face any more after they are married.

The King his wiues, children and seruants.

All the Embassadours that come to *China*, with Embassages from Kings or Princes, receiue of the King great rewards and fauours, and they giue him Cap and signes of *Lothia*, whereby he hath great priuiledges in the Countrey. They may whip and punish the *Chinaes* themselues, so that they touch not any *Louthia* small or great: for to meddle with these would breed great inconueniences. This was the cause that *Fernando* * *Perez* of *Adrade* going for Embassadour to *China*, that the *Chinaes* did rise against him, and hee escaped with his hands on his head, losing some ships: because hauing done vnaccustomed Iustice in *China*, and vpon the *Chinaes*, and they forbearing him, he would stretch his hand to the *Louthias*. The goods of the Embassadour, and of his is free from customes, and to him and to his they giue lodgings to dwell in, and all things necessarie while they are in the Countrie. No man, no not a *Louthia* may disturbe him in any thing, nor any thing of his. One *Lothia* would haue whipped one of *Siam*, for hauing carried a message to the Prison to certaine *Portugals* that were in Prison. One of the Officers said vnto him that was present, that he was of *Siam* of the Embassage, wherefore being satisfied therewith he let him goe in peace, desiring him he would not doe so againe.

Embassadours priuiledges.

* *Lopo Soarez* was sent Viceroy, *An.* 1515. and sent this *Perez* with a fleet to *China*, and therein *Thomas Perez* Embassadour, who were well entertayned there. But some *Portugals* vsurping *Tamau*, a *China*-Iland, and exercising all outrages, caused *T. Perez* after 4. moneths trauell from *Cantan* to the Court to bee taken for a Spie, and sent backe to *Cantan*, where hee died in Prison among malefactors. See *Maffeus l.* 5. & 6. who seemeth to disagree: or else his peoples act was ascribed vnto him. For hee had left 6. ships there, when he went to *Canton*.

With the *Chinaes* being so great as at the beginning we said and declared, the King hath such meanes and industrie in the gouernement thereof, that euery moneth he knoweth all that passeth through all the Realme, and he knoweth it in this manner. All matters of Iustice and of Warre, and all annuities with all that is worth the knowing in euery one of the Prouinces is referred by the *Louthias*, and by other persons to the *Ponchasi*, and the *Ponchasi* maketh a relation of all by writing to the *Tutan*. The *Tutan* is bound to send a Post euery moneth to the Court, which carrieth the information in writing to the King of all things that passed in that moneth. They count their moneths by the Moones, and they are to be dispatched in such sort, that at the beginning of euery Moone the Posts from all the Prouinces are to bee at the Court, that the first day of the Moone it may be presented to the King, as relations of all things happened in euery Prouince. And although some Prouinces are farre distant from the Court, that the Posts cannot come within a moneth to the Court: notwithstanding in such manner they agree that euery Moone the King is to haue the relation of euery Prouince, though the one be of more time then another, because of the one Prouince being farre and the other neere.

The manner of the Posts is as among vs, they carrie a Horne which they winde when they come neere to any Towne, that they may haue a Horse ready in euery Towne within a certaine distance. They are bound when they heare the Horne to haue a Horse ready for him, which is done with such diligence as all the other seruices of the Officers. And where hee is to passe a Foord, as soone as he windeth his Horne with great speed they carrie him a Boat, as I saw once going to the Citie of *Cantan*, in a Towne that was in the way, called *Caaman*. Sometimes it hapneth by the malice of some *Louthias*, when they haue any interest in it, to keepe some things concealed that the King knoweth not: but woe to them if the King come to know it, for they are grieuously punished, as wee shall see in a case hereafter following. Being in *India*, and also in *China*, I was enformed that sometimes the King of *China* doth send some men of great confidence disguised through diuers parts of *China*, that they might see how his Officers did serue him. And if there were any nouelties or changes whereof they made him not priuie, or some things that were necessarie to prouide.

Disguised Intelligencers.

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§. V.

Of the Portugall *commerce with the* Chinois; *of the ſeuere Iuſtice executed vpon certaine Magiſtrates, for wrongs done to the* Portugals.

BEcauſe we ſpake many times before of *Portugals*, captiues in *China*, it will bee a conuenient thing that the cauſes of their Captiuitie be knowne, where many notable things will be ſhewed. Yee are to know, that from the yeere 1554. hitherto, the buſineſſes in *China* are done very quietly and without danger: and ſince that time till this day, there hath not one ſhip beene loſt but by ſome miſchance: hauing loſt in times paſt many. Becauſe as the *Portugals* and the *Chinaes* were almoſt at warres, when the Armies came vpon them, they weighed anchor and put for the Sea, and lay in places vnſheltered from tempeſts, whereby the ſtormes comming, many were loſt vpon the coaſt, or vpon ſome ſhelues. But from the yeere 1554. hitherto, *Lionell* of *Soſa*, borne in *Algarue*, being chiefe Captaine, and married in *Chaull*, made a couenant with the *Chinaes* that they would pay their duties, and that they ſhould ſuffer them to doe their buſineſſes in their Ports. And ſince that time they doe them in *Cantan*, which is the firſt part of *China*: and thither the *Chinaes* doe reſort with their Silkes and Muske, which are the principall goods the *Portugals* doe buy in *China*. There they haue ſure Hauens, where they are quiet without danger, or any one diſquieting them, and ſo the *Chinaes* doe now make their merchandiſe well: and now both great and ſmall are glad with the trafficke of the *Portugals*, and the fame of them runneth through all *China*. Whereby ſome of the principall of the Court came to *Cantan* onely to ſee them hauing heard the fame of them. Before the time aforeſaid, and after the riſing which *Fernando Perez* of *Andrade* did cauſe, the buſineſſes were done with great trouble, they ſuffered not a *Portugall* in the Countrey, and for great hatred and loathing called them *Facui*, that is to ſay, *Men of the Deuill*.

Portugals called *Fancui*, and hated.

Now they hold not commerce with them vnder the name of *Portugals*, neither went this name to the Court when they agreed to pay cuſtomes: but vnder the name of *Fangin*, which is to ſay, *People of another Coaſt*. Note alſo, that the law in *China* is that no man of *China* doe ſayle out of the Realme in paine of death. Onely it is lawfull for him to ſayle along the coaſt of the ſame *China*. And yet along the coaſt, nor from one place to another in *China* it ſelfe it is lawfull to goe without a certificate of the *Louthias* of the Countrey whence they depart: in which is ſet downe, whither they goe, and wherefore, and the markes of his perſon, and his age. If he carrieth not this certificate he is baniſhed to the Frontiers. The Merchant that carrieth goods carrieth a certificate of the goods hee carrieth, and how hee payed duties for them. In euery Cuſtome-houſe that is in euery Prouince hee payeth certaine duties, and not paying them he loſeth the goods, and is baniſhed to the frontier parts. Notwithſtanding the aboueſaid lawes ſome *Chinaes* doe not leaue going out of *China* to trafficke, but theſe neuer returne againe to *China*. Of theſe ſome liue in *Mallaca*, others in *Siam*, others in *Patane*, and ſo in diuers places of the South ſome of theſe that goe out without licence are ſcattered. Whereby ſome of theſe which liue already out of *China* doe returne againe in their ſhips vnto *China*, vnder the protection of ſome *Portugall*: and when they are to diſpatch the duties of their ſhips they take ſome *Portugall* their friend to whom they giue ſome bribe, that he may diſpatch it in his name and pay the duties. Some *Chinaes* deſiring to get their liuing, doe goe very ſecretly in theſe ſhips of the *Chinaes* to trafficke abroad, and returne very ſecretly, that it bee not knowne, no not to his kindred, that it bee not ſpread abroad, and they incurre the penalty that the like doe incurre. This law was made becauſe the King of *China* found that the much communication of the ſtrangers might be the cauſe of ſome riſings. And becauſe many *Chinaes* with an excuſe of ſayling abroad became theeues and robbed the Countries along the Sea coaſt, and yet for all this diligence there are many *Chinaes* robbers along the Sea coaſt.

Name-policy.

Lawes of Nauigation.

Couetiſe lawleſſe.

China Pirats.

Theſe *Chinaes* that liue out of *China*, and doe goe thither with the *Portugals*, ſince the offence of *Fernando Perez* of *Andrada* did direct the *Portugals* to begin to goe to traffick to *Liampo*; for in thoſe parts are no walled Cities nor Villages, but many and great Townes along the coaſt, of poore people, which were very glad of the *Portugals*, and ſold them their prouiſion whereof they made their gayne. In theſe Townes were theſe Merchants of *China* which came with the *Portugals*, and becauſe they were acquainted, for their ſake the *Portugals* were better entertayned. And as theſe *Chinaes* which were among the *Portugals* and the Countrey Merchants in their buyings and ſellings, they reaped a great profit thereby. The inferiour *Louthias* of the Sea coaſt receiued alſo great profit of this trafficke, for they receiued great bribes of the one and of the other, to giue them leaue to trafficke, to carrie and recarrie their goods. So that this trafficke was among them a long while concealed from the King, and from the ſuperiour *Louthias* of the Prouince. After theſe matters had for ſome ſpace beene done ſecretly in *Liampoo*, the *Portugals* went by little and little forward, and began to goe and make their merchandiſe to *Chincheo*, and to the Ilands of *Cantan*. And other *Louthias* permitted them already in euery place for the bribes ſake, whereby ſome *Portugals* came to trafficke beyond *Namqui*, which

Liampo.

Chincheo.

Namqui, or *Nanquin*.

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which is very farre from *Cantan*, without the King being witting, or hauing knowledge of this trafficke. The matters fell out in such sort, that the *Portugals* wintered in the Ilands of *Liampoo*.

Some *Chinaes* that were among the *Portugals*, and some *Portugals* with them, came to disorder themselues in such manner that they made great stealths and robberies and killed some of the people. These euils encreased so much that the clamour of the iniured was so great, that it came not onely to the superiour *Louthias* of the Prouince, but also to the King. Who commanded presently to make a very great Armada in the Prouince of *Fuquen*, to driue the theeues from all the coast, especially those that were about *Liampoo*, and all the Merchants as well *Portugals* as *Chinaes* were reputed in this number of theeues. Being ready they went forth along the coast of the Sea. And because the windes serued them not for to goe for *Liampoo*, they went to the coast of *Chincheo*, where finding some ships of *Portugals*, they began to fight with them, and in no wise did they permit any wares to come to the *Portugals*; who stayed many dayes there (fighting sometimes) to see if they could haue any remedie for to dispatch their businesses. But seeing they had no remedy, they determined to goe without it. The Captaynes of the Armie knowing this, sent a message to them very secretly by night, that if they would that any goods should come to them, that they should send them something. The *Portugals* very glad with this message, prepared a great and sumptuous present, and sent it them by night because they were so aduised. From thence-forward came many goods vnto them, the *Louthias* making as though they tooke no heed thereof, dissembling with the Merchants. And so were the businesses ended that yeere, which was the yeere 1548.

Disorders of outragious *Chinois*, and insolent *Portugals*.

Briberie.

The yeare following, which was 1549. there was a straighter watch vpon the Coast by the Captaynes of the *Armada*, and greater vigilancie in the Ports and entrances of *China*, in such sort that neyther goods nor victuals came to the *Portugals*: but for all the vigilancie and watching there was, (as the Ilands along the Coast are many, for they all runne in a row along the *China*) the Armies could not haue so much vigilancie, that some wares were not brought secretly to the *Portugals*. But they were not so many that they could make vp the ships ladings, and the vttering those goods which they had brought to *China*. Wherefore leauing the goods which they had not vttered in two ships of *China*, of such *Chinaes* as were alreadie dismembred from *China*, and Traffique abroad vnder the shadow of the *Portugals*, (in the which they left thirtie *Portugals* in charge with the ships and with the goods) that they might defend the ships, and in some Port of *China* where best they could they should sell the goods that remayned in change for some Wares of *China*, and hauing ordayned this they departed for *India*.

As the people of the Armie of the *Chinaes* saw the two ships remayne alone, the other ships being gone, they came vpon them, being induced by some Merchants of the Countrey, which discouered to them the great store of goods that remayned in those Vessels, and the few *Portugals* that remayned to keepe them. Then they layd an ambush for them, dressing some *Chinaes* ashoare, which being in armes made as though they would set vpon the ships to fight with them, because they were close to the Land, that the *Portugals* being prouoked, should come out of the ships to fight with them, & so the ships might remaine without defence to them of the Armada, wichh lay watching in an ambush, & did accordingly set vpon the two Vessels with great furie & celeritie, and slaying some *Portugals* that were in the ships, and wounding others they tooke the ships. The chiefe Captayn which is the *Luthissi*, remayned so glorious, that he vsed great crueltie on some *Chinaes* that hee tooke with the *Portugals*. Hee laboured to perswade foure *Portugals* which had more apparance in their persons then the rest, that they should say, *they were Kings of Malaca*, he perswaded them in the end, because hee promised to vse them better then the rest, and therewith he prouoked them. And finding among the cloathes that hee tooke a Gowne and a Cap, and asking of one of those *Chinaes*, that were taken with the *Portugals* what habit that was, they put in his head, that it was the habit of the Kings of *Malaca*, wherefore he commanded presently to make three Gownes by that patterne, and three Caps, and so he apparelled them all foure in one sort, to make his fayning true, and his victory more glorious. To this was joyned the couetousnesse of the *Luthissi* to see if hee could detayne the many goods that hee had taken in ships.

Mountayne Mouse-birth.

Spectatum admissi risum teneatis amici?

And to doe this more safely, not to be taken in a lye, he did great executions vpon the *Chinaes* which he tooke with the *Portugals*, and killing some of them determined to kill the rest. These things comming to the eares of the *Aitao*, which was his superior, he disliked greatly that which hee had done, and sent to him presently that hee should kill no more of those which remayned, but that he should come to him presently bringing with him all the prize as well of the men that were yet aliue, as of the goods. The *Luthissi* ordering his Iourney for to goe to the *Aitao*, as he was commanded, he commanded foure Chaires to be giuen to them, to whom hee had giuen title of Kings, to be carried in them with more honour. And the other *Portugals* were carried in Coopes with their heads out fast by the neckes betweene the boards that they could not pull them in, but hauing some wounds in their heads, they went bare headed to the Sunne and to the Dew, and were carried on mens shoulders. The *Luthissi* went with this Prize through the Countrey with great Majestie, he carried before him foure Banners displayed, on the which

Pillory Coops.

were

were written the names of the foure Kings of *Malaca*. And when he entred into the Townes, he entred with great noyse and Majestie, with sound of Trumpets, and with Cryers which went *crying the great victorie, the Luthisi* (naming him) *had gotten of the foure great Kings of Malaca*. And all the great men of the Townes went to receiue him with great Feasts and Honours, all the Townes running to see the new Victorie.

When the *Luthisi* came with all his pompe and glory where the *Aitao* was, after the giuing him particular account of all things passed and of his victory, he manifested to him his pretence and agreed with him to diuide the goods betweene them both, and that he should continue the fayning of the Kings of *Malaca*, that both might receiue of the King Honours and Rewards.

Damnable vanitie. This being set downe they both agreed that to keepe this in secret, the *Luthisi* should go forward in that which he had begun, to wit, he should slay all the *Chinas*, that came there captiue. And presently they commanded presently to put it in effect, and so they slue ninetie and odde *Chinas*, among whom were some young youths slaine. They left notwithstanding three or foure youthes and one man, that by them (bringing them to their owne hand) they might certifie the King all that they would, that was to make of the *Portugals* Theeues, and conceale the goods which they tooke: certifying also by these that those foure were Kings of *Malaca*. And the *Portugals* not hauing the Language of the Countrey, neither had any person to intreate for or fauour them would perish: and they being mightie would make their owne Tale good, following the end by them intended. And for this cause they slue not the *Portugals*, but left them aliue, for the greater triumph of the victorie.

These *Lothias* could not doe this so secretly, but many of those which they slue had kindred in the Countrey, which did grieue at the death of theirs. Whereby, as well by these, as by some *Louthias* that were zealous of Iustice, and would not giue consent in so great euils and fraudulent dealings, this matter came to the Kings eares, and hee was informed how the *Portugals* were Merchants which came to traffique with their Merchandize to *China*, and they were no theeues, and how they had falsly giuen the Title of Kings to foure of them, to the end the King should shew great fauours, and doe them great honours, and how they had vsurped great store of goods: and that for to conceale these euils, they killed men and children without fault.

The Kings Iustice. As soone as the King was informed of all aboue said, hee dispatched presently from the Court a *Quinchay*, (of whom we spake before, that is to say *plate of Gold*) And with him he sent other two men of great authoritie also, of the which the one had beene *Panchasi*, the other *Anchasi*, these two as Inquisitors and Examiners of this matter: Commanding and commending to the *Chaen* which that yeare went to visit the Prouince of *Fuquen*, and to the *Panchasi* and *Anchasi*, of the same Prouince, their ayde and assistance to the *Quinchay*, and the two Inquisitors in all things necessary for them in these businesses. The two that came with the *Quinchay*, as Inquisitors, went presently to certayne great Houses which had in the middest a great Court, and on the one side of the Court were certayne great and faire Lodgings, and on the other side others in the same sort. Each of the Inquisitors entred in one of these Houses aforesaid. The Prisoners were presently brought, and were presented to the one of them, who for courtesie remitted them to the other, that he should examine them first, with many words of courtesie. The other sent them againe with great thankfulnesse. So they were sundry times carried from one to another, each of them willing to giue the hand to the other of beginning first, till that one of them yeelded and began. And as the matter was of great import and much commended to them, all that the guiltie and the accusers did speake these Officers did write with their owne hands. The *Portugals* had for a great Enemy a *China* man and Pilot of one of the shippes that were taken, and a *China* youth which was a Christian, which from a childe was brought vp among the *Portugals*: for they were both made of the part of the contrarie *Louthias*, mooued by gifts and promises: the *Louthias* being alreadie deposed of their Offices, and held for guiltie, for the which they were accused before the King.

But though they were thus handled, they were so mightie and so fauoured, that they could take from the *Portugals* a *China* youth that serued them for an Interpreter, which vpon their Petition was againe deliuered them. They examined them in this order, the accused were first brought and examined by one of these Officers, and they carried them to the other to bee examined againe. And while the other was re-examining the accused, the accusers were brought to him that examined first. And as well the accused as the Accusers were all examined by both the Officers, that afterward they both seeing the confessions of the one and the other, they might see if they did agree. And first they examined euery one by himselfe. Afterward they examined them altogeter, for to see if the one did contrary the other, or did contend and reprehend one another, that so by little and little they might gather the truth of the case. In these Examinations the two were contrary, to wit, the *Pilot*, and the *Christian China* youth, and had many stripes, because they agreed in some things. The *Louthias* did alwayes shew themselues glad to heare the *Portugals* in their defence, who alleadged in their defence, that if they would know who they were, and how they were Merchants and not Theeues, they should send to enquire of them along the Coast of *Chincheo*, that there they should know the truth, which they might

Manner of examination.

know

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know of the Merchants of the Countrey, with whom a great many yeares agoe they had dealt, and that they might know that they were no Kings, for Kings do not abaſe themſelues ſo much as to come with ſo few men to play the Marchants, and if before they ſaid the contrary, it was by the deceit of the *Luthiſi*, and to receiue better vſage of him in their perſons.

Hauing this information of the *Portugals*, preſently with the opinion of the *Quinchay* and the other Officers, they went to *Chincheo* both of them, to enquire of the trueth of that which the *Portugals* had told them; and diſcouering there the truth of the *Portugals* matter, and the lies of the *Luthiſſi*, and of the *Aitao*, they diſpatched preſently a Poſt; wherein they commanded to put the *Luthiſſi* and the *Aitao* in Priſon, and in good ſafeguard. Wherefore from thence forward all men began to fauour them very much. If notwithſtanding this examination had bin made in *Liampoo*, as it was in *Chincheo*, the *Portugals* could not haue choſen but haue paſt it ill, according to the greatneſſe of the euils they had done there. After the *Louthias* returned from *Chincheo*, they commanded to bring the *Portugals* before them, and comforted them very much, ſhewing them great good-will, and ſaying to them, that they knew already they were no theeues, but were honeſt men: and they examined againe as well they as their aduerſaries, to ſee if they contradicted themſelues in any thing of that which before they had ſpoken. In theſe later re-examinations the Pilot of *China*, which before had ſhewed himſelfe againſt the *Portugals*, and had beene on the *Louthias* ſide, ſeeing that the *Louthias* were already in Priſon, and that now they could doe them no good, and that the *Portugals* were already fauoured, and that the trueth was already knowne, he gainſaid himſelfe of all that he had ſaid, and ſaid that it was true that the *Portugals* were no theeues nor Kings, but Merchants, and very good men, and diſcouered the goods which the *Luthiſſi* had taken when he ſurpriſed the *Portugals*. And that till then he had ſaid to the contrary, was for the great promiſes which the *Louthias* promiſed him, and for the great threats they vſed to him if he did it not. But ſeeing they were already in Priſon, and he knew they could doe him no hurt, he would now ſpeake the truth. They then commanded to torment him, and whip him very ſore, to ſee if he would gainſay himſelfe, but he ſtill continued in the ſame confeſſion.

When theeues fall out.

All the examinations and diligences neceſſarie in this buſineſſe ended, the *Quinchay* willing to depart for the Court with his companie, would firſt ſee the *Portugals*, and giue a ſight of himſelfe to the Citie. The ſight was of great Maieſtie in the manner hee went abroad in the Citie, for he went accompanied with all the great men of it, and with many men in Armes and many Ancients diſplayed and very faire, and with many Trumpets and Kettle-drummes, and many other things which in ſuch pompes are vſed. And accompanied in this manner, hee went to certaine noble and gallant houſes. And all the great men taking their leaue of him, hee commanded the *Portugals* to come neere him, and after a few words he diſmiſſed them: for this was not but onely to ſee them. Before theſe *Louthias* departed they commanded the *Louthias* of the Countrey, and the Iaylors, that all of them ſhould fauour the *Portugals*, and giue them good entertaynment, and ſhould command to giue them all things neceſſarie for their perſons. And commanded euery one to ſet his name in a piece of Paper, becauſe that while they were at the Court, and their matters were diſpatching, they ſhould not craftily make ſome miſſing. And they commanded to keepe the *Luthiſſi* in good ſafety, and the *Aitao*, and that they ſhould not let them communicate with any perſon. Being gone from the Citie, they lodged in a ſmall Towne, where they ſet in order all the Papers, and ingroſſing onely that which was neceſſarie. And becauſe the Papers were many, and were much to write, they helped themſelues with three men. And hauing ingroſſed all that they were to carrie to the Court, they burned all the reſt. And becauſe theſe three men which they tooke for helpers ſhould not ſpread abroad any thing of that which they had ſeene, or heard, or written, they left them ſhut vp with great vigilancie, that none ſhould ſpeake with them, commanding to giue them all things neceſſarie very abundantly vntill the Kings Sentence came from Court, and were declared. The Papers being preſented in Court, and all ſeene by the King and by his Officers, he pronounced the Sentence in * manner and forme following.

The *Quinchays* magnificent oſtentation.

Cautelous induſtrie.

* It is here abridged.

The Kings Sentence.

Pimpu *by commandement of the King. Becauſe* Chaipuu, Huchin Tutan *without my commandement, or making mee priuie thereto, after the taking of ſo much people, commanded them to bee ſlayne: I being willing to prouide therein with Iuſtice, ſent firſt to know the trueth by* Quinſituam, *my* Quinchei, *who taking with him the* Louthias *which I ſent to examine the trueth of the* Portugals, *and alſo of the* Aitao *and* Luthiſſi, *which had informed mee, that the* Portugals *were theeues, and that they came to all the coaſt of my Dominion to robbe and to murther. And the trueth of all being knowne, they are come from doing that which I commanded them. And the Papers being ſeene by my* Pimpu, *and by the great* Louthias *of my Court, and well examined by them, they came to giue mee account of all. And likewiſe I commanded them to be peruſed by* Ahimpu, *and* Altu Ghaen, *and by* Athayliſſi Chuquin, *whom I commanded to ouerſee thoſe Papers very well, becauſe the matters were of great weight; wherein I would prouide with Iuſtice. Which thus being ſeene and peruſed by them all, it was manifeſt that the* Portugals *came many yeeres before to the coaſt of* Chincheo *to doe their affaires, which was not conuenient they ſhould doe in the manner they did it, but in my Markets, as was alwaies the cuſtome in all my Ports. Theſe men of whom hitherto I knew not: I know now that the people of*

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Chincheo *went to their ships about their affaires, whereby I know already that they are Merchants and not theeues, as they had written to me they were.*

And I doe not blame Merchants to helpe Merchants, but I put great fault in my Louthias *of* Chincheo: *because that when any ship came to my Ports, they should haue knowne if they were Merchants, and if they would pay their duties, and if they would pay them, to write presently vnto mee. If they had done so; so much euill had not beene done. Or when they were taken, if they had let mee know it, I had commanded to set them at libertie. And although it bee a custome in my Ports the ships that come vnto them to be measured * by cubits for to pay their duties: these being very farre off, it was not necessarie but to let them doe their businesses, and goe for their Countries. Besides this my* Pontoos * *which knew these men to be Merchants did not tell it mee, but concealed it from mee, whereby they were the cause of many people being taken and slaine. And those that remayned aliue as they could not speake, did looke toward Heauen, and demanded from their hearts iustice of Heauen* (they know no other God supreme but the Heauen.) *Besides these things I know that the* Aitao, *and the* Luthissi *did so much euill for couetousnesse of the many goods which they tooke from the* Portugals, *hauing no regard whether those which they tooke, and tooke the goods from, were good or euill men. Likewise the* Louthias *along the Sea coast knew these men to be Merchants, and certified mee not. And all of them, as disloyall, were the cause of so much euill. I knew more by my* Quinchey, *that the* Aitao, *and the* Luthissi *had Letters, by the which they knew that the* Portugals *were no theeues but Merchants, and knowing this they were not contented with the taking of them, but they wrote many lyes vnto mee, and were not contented with killing of the men, but killed children also, cutting off the feet of some, of others the hands, and at last the heads of them all: writing vnto mee they had taken and slayne Kings of* Mallaca. *Which case I beleeuing to be true, grieue in my heart.*

And because hitherto so many cruelties haue beene vsed without my commandement, from hence forward I command they be not done. Besides this the Portugals *resisted my Armie, being better to haue let themselues beene taken, then to kill my people. Moreouer, it is long since they came to the coast of our Dominion about their affaires in manner of theeues, and not as Merchants: wherefore if they had beene naturall as they are strangers they had incurred paine of death & losse of goods, wherfore they are not without fault. The* Tutan *by whose commandement those men were slaine, said * that by this deed I should make him greater; and the people that he commanded to be slayne after they had no heads, their hearts, (that is their soules and their blond) required iustice of Heauen. I seeing so great euils to be done, my eyes could not indure the sight of the Papers without teares, and great griefe of my heart. I know not, my* Louthias *seeing they tooke this people, wherefore they let it not goe, that I might not come to know so many cruelties and so great. Wherefore seeing all these things, I doe create* Senfuu *chiefe* Louthia, *because hee did his dutie in his charge, and told mee trueth. I create also chiefe* Louthia Quinchio, *because hee wrote the trueth to mee of the* Pontoos *which went to doe their merchandise in secret with the* Portugals *to the Sea. Those which are euill I will make them baser then they which sowe Rice.*

Likewise because Pachou *did traffick with the* Portugals, *and for bribes did permit the Merchants of the Countrey to traffick with the* Portugals, *and yet doing these things, wrote vnto mee that the* Portugals *were theeues and that they came to my Dominions onely to steale. And the same hee said also to my* Louthias *(which presently answered, that he lyed, for they knew already the contrarie.) And therefore* such a one, and such a one, (he nameth ten *Louthias.*) *It is nothing that all you be banished to red Caps* x, *to the which I condemne you: but you deserue to be made baser as I doe make you.* Chaen *for taking these men thou sayedst thou shouldest be greater, and being in the doing of so much euill thou sayedst thou didst not feare mee:* such a one, and such a one (he nameth nine) *for the taking of these men yee say, I would make you great, and without any feare of mee yee all lyed,* such a one, and such a one (he nameth many.) *I know also yee tooke bribes. But because you did so, I make you base,* (he depriueth them of the dignitie of *Lothias.*)

Such a one, and such a one (he nameth many. *If the* Aitao *and the* Luthissi *would kill so many people, wherefore did you suffer it? But seeing that in consenting you were accessarie with them in their death, all are in the same fault.* Chifuu, *and* Chanchituu, *were also agreeing to the will of the* Aitao *and the* Luthissi, *and were with them in the slaughter, as well those that were as those that were not in fault. Wherefore I condemne you all to red Caps.* Lupuu *let him haue a good heart, because the* Tutan *being willing to kill this people, he said that he should let mee first know it. To him I will doe no harme, but good, as he deserueth, and I command that he remayne* Louthia. Sanchi *I make my* Anchassi *of the Citie of* Cansi. *The* Antexio *I command to be deposed of his honour.* Assaon *seeing hee can speake with the* Portugals, *let him haue honour and ordinarie, and he shall be carried to* Chaquean, *where hee was borne.* (This is the youth with whom the *Portugals* did defend themselues, seruing them for Interpreter, they gaue him title of *Louthia*, and maintenance.) Chinque *Head of the Merchants that went to the Sea to traffick with the* Portugals, *and deceiued them, bringing great store of goods a land, it shall be demanded of him, and set in good safeguard for the maintenance and expences of the* Portugals, *and I condemne him and his foure Companions to red Caps, and they shall bee banished whither my* Louthias *shall thinke good.*

To the rest guilty and imprisoned for this matter, I command my Louthias *to giue to euery one the punish-*

* In *China* and *Siam* they pay Custome by measuring the ship from poop to prow how many cubits it is of.

* *Pontoos* are Sea-watches.

Butcherly insolence.

* Said in his heart, or conceited himself.

Senfu and others rewarded.

x Red Caps are the enligne of men condemned to serue the King in his frontiers against the Enemie.

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puniſhment he deſerueth. I command the Chaen *to bring me hither the* Tutan, *that his faults being peruſed by the great men of my Court, I may command to doe iuſtice on him as I ſhall thinke good.* (This *Tutan* was alſo a conſenter in the wickedneſſe of the *Aitao* and the *Luthiſſi:* for the *Luthiſſi*, and the *Aitao* made him partaker, and gaue him part of the booties which they tooke from the *Portugals*, that as the head he ſhonld hold for good that which they did: for in truth they durſt not haue done that which they did if he had not giuen conſent, and agreed with their opinion. This hearing what was judged againſt him, hung himſelfe, ſaying, that ſeeing the Heauen had made him whole, that no man ſhould take away his head. *The* Poutoos *which yet are in Priſon, ſhall be examined againe, and ſhall preſently be diſpatched.* Chuichum *ſhall preſently be depriued from being a* Louthia, *without being heard any more.* Chibee, *head of ſixe and twenty, I command that hee and his be all ſet at libertie, for I find but little fault in them. Thoſe which owe any money it ſhall bee recouered of them preſently.* Famichin, *and* Tomicher *ſhall dye, if my* Louthias *doe thinke it expedient; if not let them doe as they thinke beſt.* Alfonſo *of* Paiua, *and* Peter *of* Cea (theſe were *Portugals*) Antonie *and Franciſco* (theſe were ſlaues) *finding them to be guilty of killing ſome men of my Armie, ſhall with the* Luthiſſi *and* Aitao *be put in Priſon, where according to the cuſtome of my Kingdome, they all ſhall dye at leiſure. The other* Portugals *that are aliue with all their Seruants which are in all fiftie one, I command them to be carried to my Citie of* Canſi, *where I command they be well intreated, ſeeing my heart is ſo good towards them that for their ſake I puniſh in this ſort the people of my Countrey, and deale ſo well with them; for it is my cuſtome to doe Iuſtice to all men. The* Louthias *of the Armada, finding they are in little fault, I command they bee ſet free (I deale in this ſort with all men, that my* Louthias *may ſee that all that which I doe, I doe it with a good zeale.) All theſe things I command to be done with ſpeed.* Hitherto the ſentence of the King.

The Tutan by hanging himſelfe preuents the Hangman, or proued the Hangman rather.

The *Portugals* that were freed by the ſentence, when they carried them whither the King commanded, found by the way all things neceſſary in great abundance, in the Houſes aboueſaid, that the King had in euery Towne for the *Louthias* when they trauell. They carried them in ſeates of Chaires made of Canes on mens backes, and they were in charge of inferiour *Louthias*, which cauſed them to haue all things neceſſarie through all places where they came, till they were deliuered to the *Louthias* of the Citie of *Canſi*. From that time they had no more of the King euery moneth but one *Foon* of Rice (which is a meaſure as much as a man can beare on his backe) the reſt they had need of, euery one did ſeeke by his owne induſtry. Afterward they diſperſed them againe by two and two, and three and three through diuers places, to preuent that in time they ſhould not become mightie ioyning themſelues with others.

What became of the *Portugals*.

Thoſe that were condemned to death, were preſently put in Priſon of the condemned. And *Alfonſo* of *Paiua* had a meanes to giue the *Portugals* to vnderſtand that were free, that for his welcome they had giuen him preſently fortie ſtripes and intreated him very euill, ſhewing himſelfe comforted in the Lord. Thoſe which were at libertie, now ſome and then ſome, came to the ſhips of the *Portugals*, by the induſtrie of ſome *Chinas*, which brought them very ſecretly for the great gifts they receiued of the Merchants of *Portugall*, which made their Merchandize in the Citie of *Cantan*.

§. VI.

Of the Religion in China; *difficultie of bringing in Chriſtianitie. Terrible Earth-quakes and Tempeſts in* China.

IN the Citie of *Cantan* in the middeſt of the Riuer which is of freſh water and very broad, is a little Ile, in the which is a manner of a Monaſterie of their Prieſts; and within this Monaſterie I ſaw an Oratorie high from the ground very well made, with certayne gilt ſteps before it, made of carued worke; in which was a woman very well made with a childe about her necke, and it had a Lampe burning before it. I ſuſpecting that to bee ſome ſhew of Chriſtianitie, demanded of ſome Lay-men, and ſome of the Idoll Prieſts which were there, what that woman ſignified, and none could tell it mee, nor giue mee any reaſon of it. It might well be the Image of our Ladie, made by the ancient *Chriſtians*, that Saint *Thomas* left there, or by their occaſion made, but the concluſion is, that all is forgotten: it imght alſo be ſome *Gentiles* Image. The greateſt God they haue is *the Heauen*, the letter that ſignifieth it, is the principall and the firſt of all the Letters. They worſhip the Sun, the Moone, and the Starres, and all the Images they make without any reſpect. They haue, notwithſtanding, Images of *Louthias*, which they worſhip for hauing beene famous in ſome one thing or other. And likewiſe Statues and Images of ſome Prieſts, of the Idols, and ſome of other men for ſome reſpects particular to them. And not only worſhip they theſe Images, but whatſoeuer ſtone they erect on the Altars in their Temples.

Heauen firſt both God and Character.

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Omittoffois and their offerings. * A Perfume so called.

They call commonly these Gods *Omittoffois*, they offer them Incense, Benjamin, Ciuet, and another Wood which they call *Cayo*, * *Laque*, and other smelling things. They offer them likewise *Ocha*, whereof is mention made afore. Euery one hath a place to pray, and at the entries behind the doores of the Houses, in the which they haue their carued Idols: to the which euery day in the Morning and at Euening they offer Incense and other perfumes. They haue in many places (as well in the Townes as out of them) Temples of Idols. In all the ships they sayle in, they make presently a place for to worship in, where they carrie their Idols.

Lots.

In all things they are to enterprize either Iournies by Sea or by land, they vse Lots & cast them before their Gods. The Lots are two sticks made like halfe a Nut-shell, flat on the one side, and round on the other: and as bigge againe as an halfe Nut, and joyned with a string. And when they will cast Lots, they speak first with their God, perswading him with words, and promising him some Offring if he giue him a good Lot, & in it shew him his good Voyage or good successe of his busines. And after many words they cast the Lots. And if both the flats sides fal vpward, or one vp another downe, they hold it for an euill Lot, and turne them toward their Gods very melancholy, they call them Dogs, with many other reproaches. After they are wearie of rating them, they soothe them againe with faire milde words, and aske pardon, saying, that the Melancholy of not giuing them a good Lot, caused them to doe them injurie, and speake injurious words vnto him: but that they will pardon them and giue them a good Lot; and they promise to offer him more such a thing (because the promises are the better for them that promise them, they make many and great promises and offerings) and so they cast Lots so many times till they fall both on the flat sides which they hold for a good Lot, then remayning well contented, they offer to their Gods that which they promised. It happeneth many times when they cast Lots about any weighty matter, if the Lot fall not out good, or launching a ship to the Sea it goeth not well, and some euill came to it, they runne to their Gods and cast them in the water, and put them in the flame of the fire sometimes, and let them scorch a little, and spurning them often, and tread them vnder foot, and giue them rayling words, till their businesse be ended, and then they carrie them with playing and feasts, and giue them their Offerings.

Cruell men to their fooliſh Gods.

Offerings.

They hold for a great Offering a Hogges head boyled: they offer Hennes, Geese, Duckes and Rice all drest, and a great pot of Wine. After they present it all to the Gods, they set his portion apart, which is, to put in a Dish, the small points of the Hogs eare, the bils, and the points of the clawes of the Hennes, Geese, and Duckes, a few cornes of Rice very few, and put in with great heed, three or foure drops of Wine very heedfully, that there fall not many drops from the Pot. These things so set in a Bason that they set them on the Altar to their Gods for to eate, and they set themselues there before the Gods to eate all that which they bring.

The Deuill worshipped.

They worship the Deuill also, which they paint after our fashion: and say that they worship him because he maketh those which are good, Deuils; and the euill, he maketh Buffes, or Kine, or other beasts. And they say that the Deuill hath a Master that teacheth him his Knaueries: these things say the base people: the better sort say they worship him because hee shall doe them no hurt.

When they will launch any new ship to the Sea, their Priests being called by them come into the ships to doe their Sacrifices with long side Garments of Silke. They set about the shippe many flags of Silke, they paint in the prow of the ship the Deuill, to the which they make many reuerences and Offerings, and say they doe it because the Deuill shall doe no hurt to the ship.

Paper Offerings.

They offer to the Gods Papers with diuers Images painted, and other of sundry kinde of cuttings, and they burne them all before the Idols with certayne Ceremonies and well tuned Songs, and while their singing doth last, they ring certayne small Bels, and among all they vse great store of eating and drinking.

Two sorts of Priests. Monkes.

In this Countrey are two manner of Priests, the one that haue their head all shauen, these weare on their heads certayne course Caps like vnto Canopie cloth, they are high, and flat behind (higher before then behind a hand breadth) made like a Mitre with Pinacles: their wearing is white Coates after the Lay-mens fashion. These liue in Monasteries, they haue dining places, and Cels, and many pleasures within their wals. There be others whom commonly the people doe vse for their Burials and Sacrifices, these weare their haire, and blacke silke Coates, or of Searge or Linnen, and long like the Lay-men, hauing for a token their haire made fast in the Crowne of the head with a sticke very well made like a closed hand, varnished blacke. None of these Priests haue Wiues, but they liue wickedly and filthily.

Seculars.

Feasts.

The first day of the yeare, which is in the new Moone of March, they make through all the Land great Feasts, they visit one another, the chiefe principally doe make great Banquets. How much these people are curious in the rule and gouernment of the Countrey, and in their common Traffique, so much they are beastly in their Gentilities, in the vsage of their Gods and Idolatries. For besides that which is said, they haue many *Gentilicall* Lyes, of men that were turned into Dogges, and afterward into men, and of Snakes that were conuerted into men, and many other ignorances.

Traditionall Fables.

I entred one day into a Temple and came to an Altar, where were certaine stones set vp which

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which they worshipped, and trusting in the little estimation they held their Gods in, and in being men that would be satisfied with reason, I threw the stones downe to the ground, whereat some ranne very fiercely at me and angry, asking me wherefore I had done that, I went mildly to them, and smiling, said to them, because they were so inconsiderate that they worshipped those stones. They asked me wherefore should they not adore them? and I shewed them how they were better then they, seeing they had the vse of reason, feete, hands, and eyes, wherewith they did diuers things that the stones could not doe, and that seeing they were better they should not abase and esteeme so little of themselues as to worship things so vile they being so noble. They answered me that I had reason, and went out with me in company, leauing the stones on the ground: so that there is likelihood and shew of their becomming Christians. And it maketh also much to this purpose, their not making any difference of meate, as all the people of *India* doth. And seeing that among all the meates they esteeme the Porke most, it is almost impossible for them to become *Turkes*.

Notwithstanding, there are two verie great inconueniences to make any Christians in this Countrey. The one is, that in no wise they will permit any noueltie in the Countrey, as in some sort it may bee seene in the matter of the *Moores*. So that whatsoeuer noueltie that is in the Countrey, the *Louthias* take order presently how to represse it, and it goeth no further. Whence it happened in *Cantan*, because they saw a *Portugall* measure the entries of the Gates, they set presently Watches that none should come in without licence, nor goe vpon the Walls. The second is, that no strange person may enter into *China* without leaue of the *Louthias*, nor be in *Cantan*, which doe giue him a certaine time to bee in *Cantan*. The time of the licence ended, presently they labour to haue them depart. Wherefore because I and those which were with me were one moneth longer in *Cantan*, they set vp written bords that none should keepe nor harbour vs in their houses, vnder payne of so much, till wee held it our best cheape to goe to the Ships. To the abouesaid is ioyned the common people to bee greatly in feare of the *Louthias*, wherefore none of them durst become a Christian without their licence, or at the least many would not doe it. Therefore as a man cannot be setled in the Countrey, hee cannot continue Preaching, and by consequence he cannot fructifie and preserue the fruit. There was notwithstanding one way how to Preach freely, and fruit might be made in the Countrey, without any dogge barking at the Preacher, nor any *Louthia* doe him hurt any way: which is, if hee haue a licence for it of the King: *And it might bee obtayned if a solemne Embassage were sent with a solemne present to the King of* China, *in the name of the King of* Portugall, *religious men going with the Ambassadour to obtayne the licence to goe about the Countrey, shewing themselues to bee men without Armes. And how our Law is no preiudice to his Dominion and Gouernement, but a great helpe that all might obey him and keepe his Lawes. This onely remedie there is in* China, *to reape any fruit, and not any other (speaking humanely.) And without this it is impossible for any Religious men to Preach or fructifie, and because I had not this remedie, hauing the abouesaid inconueniences, I came away from* China, *and therefore neither I, nor they of the company of* IESVS *which enterprised alreadie this businesse sundry times, could fructifie in* China.

No noueltie.

Prouisions against stay of Strangers.

Note.

This people hath besides the ignorances abouesaid, that filthy abomination, that they refraine no sexe among them. Notwithstanding, I Preaching sometimes, as well publike as priuately against this vice, they were glad to heare mee, saying, that I had reason in that which I sayd, but but that they neuer had had any that told them that was a sinne, nor any thing euill done. It seemeth that because this sinne is common among them, God was willing to send them a grieuous punishment in some places of the earth, the which was common in all *China*. I being in the Citie of *Cantan*, and being willing to know of a rich *China* Marchant the euils that had happened in the Countrey, and hee not able to tell it me by word of mouth, gaue me a Letter which they had written vnto him of what had happened: saying to me, that I should translate it and giue it him againe: but not trusting me hee translated it presently, and remayning with the copie gaue me the principall, which I translated into *Portugall* with the helpe of one that could speake our language and theirs, the tenour of the Letter is this.

Chinois Sodomites.

Plagues happning in *China*.

The principall *Louthias* of *Sanxi* and of *Sauiton*, wrote vnto the King, saying, that in those Prouinces the earth did shake terribly, and the dayes waxed darke like night (*hee saith not how long*) a South-sayer told them all that should happen. In the yeere before in the moneth of September, the earth opened in many places, and vnder it were heard great noyses like the sound of Bells, there followed a great winde with much rayne, and the winde ranne about all the Compasse. This winde is called in *China*, *Tufaune*, and many yeeres it bloweth but once a yeere, and it is so raging, that it driueth a Ship vnder sayle on the Land a great space, and the men cannot keepe their feete, not leauing and holding one by another, and it doth things worthie admiration and incredible. In the yeere that I was in *China*, in the part where the *Portugals* were, they shewed the Boat of a Ship of a good bigneſſe, and the place where it was a land (that this winde carrayed it, might bee a great stones cast from the water) and many did affirme it to mee, that the winde had such force, that it carryed it tumbling till it blew it into the Sea. And all the houses the *Portugals* had made of timber, and couered with strawe, which were many and

Tufon, a terrible tempest.

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were built vpon great ſtakes, and not very high, it threw them all downe breaking the ſtakes. And one houſe being faſtened with foure Cables, where many *Portugals* retired themſelues, at the laſt fell alſo, and onely one that was ſheltered with a high place eſcaped that it fell not. To blow downe theſe houſes was nothing, for it doth many other things incredible. This winde is almoſt euerie yeere in *China*; the which within twentie foure houres that it raigneth, it runneth about all the points of the Compaſſe. With this winde, and the Lands being ſhaken with the Earthquakes, many Cities fell and were made deſolate, in the which dyed innumerable people.

Vinyanfu, ſwallowed vp.

In a Citie called *Vinyanfun*, in this day was a great Earthquake. And on the weſt ſide a great Fire burſt out, that ſwallowed vp all the Citie, in the which, innumerable people periſhed, eſcaping in one place two, in another three, and ſo ſome of the *Mogores* eſcaped. In another Citie neere to this, there happened the ſame, but in this none eſcaped. In a Citie called *Leuchimen*, the Riuer increaſed in ſuch ſort, that it ouer-flowed the Citie, where infinite people were drowned. In a Citie called *Hien*, was an Earthquake, with the which many houſes fell, which ſlew neere eight thouſand ſoules. In *Puchio*, the houſe of the Kings kinſman fell and ſlew all that were in the houſe, except a Childe of ſeuen or eight yeeres old his ſonne, (which was carryed to the King) and day and night was a noyſe heard vnder the earth, like the ſound of Bells.

Another Citie quite periſhed.
Leuchimen.
Hien.
Puchio.

Couchue.

In a Countrey called *Cochue*, with fire from Heauen and with many waters of a Floud, many periſhed, and the land remayned vnable to bee cultiuated againe. In a Countrey called *Enchinoen*, at midnight the houſes fell, and the Citie remayned deſolate and ruined, where periſhed neere one hundred thouſand ſoules. In a Citie called *Inchumen*, in one day and a night, the Riuer did flow and ebbe ten times, and with the great floud many people periſhed. Hitherto the tranſlation of the Letter: that which followeth, was heard by word of mouth of the *Portugals* that were in the Port of *Cantan* in the moneth of May, and I receiued the Letter in September.

Enchinoen.
Inchumen.

Sanxi.

In a Citie called *Sanxi*, from midnight till fiue of the clocke in the morning, the earth ſhooke three times, the eighteenth of Ianuarie, 1556. and the next day after, from midnight till noone, happened the ſame: the next day following, the twentie of the ſayd moneth, the earth ſhooke mightily after midnight with great Thunder and Lightnings, and all the Prouince was burnt, and all the people thereof, and all the Suburbes, Townes, and Cities: they ſay it is from bound to bound, fiftie or ſixtie leagues, that there was not one ſaued but a Childe, ſonne to a kinſman of the King, which was carried to the King. And the third of Februarie in the ſame yeere, in the Citie of *Panquin* where the King is, fell a ſhower of rayne like bloud. Theſe newes brought one of *China* that came to *Cantan*, from a Citie neere to *Sanxi*, to giue newes to a *Louthia* that hee ſhould reſort to his owne houſe, and ſaid, that the Citie where he was a dweller was ouerflowne, and that he knew not whether it would periſh with the reſt. That which ought to bee held for truth, is, that in three Prouinces which commonly are ſayd to be deſtroyed, there was no more deſtruction then of thoſe places whereof the Letter maketh mention, or little more. The agreeing in the Childe, ſheweth that the Towne, whereof the Letter maketh mention with the childe, was in the Prouince of *Sanxi*. This hath more apparance of truth, becauſe the Letter was written from the Court, then to ſay that all the three Prouinces periſhed.

Bloudie ſhower.

After the happening of the things aboueſaid: the ſame yeere in the Prouince of *Cantan*, a woman which went to the *Panchaſi*, told him that the Prouince of *Canſi* would bee deſtroyed with power from Heauen, the which after ſhee was well whipt, was impriſoned: but in the moneth of May of the ſame yeere, there fell great ſtore of rayne verie hot, with the which the earth ſeemed to burne, and many people periſhed with the great heate: but the Prouince periſhed not altogether: wherefore this woman was carried to the King, which was in priſon in the place where the *Portugals* were, which told this.

Reader, foraſmuch as this Author hath often mentioned, and related alſo the ſtorie of certaine Portugals, *Priſoners in* China *(one of which hee nameth* Galotte Perera*) from whom hee receiued great part of his* China *intelligence: I haue thought good to adde hither* Pereras *relations, tranſlated long ſince out of* Italian, *and publiſhed by* R. Willes; *hauing abbreuiated ſome things in the Frier, that you might rather haue them at the firſt hand from this Gentleman which ſaw them: but abbreuiated to preuent tedionſneſſe.*

CHAP.

CHAP. XI.

The relation of GALEOTTO PERERA, *a Gentleman of good credit, that lay Prisoner in* China.

THis Land of *China* is parted into thirteene * Shires, which sometimes were each one a Kingdome by it selfe, but these many yeeres they haue beene all subiect vnto one King.

The King maketh alwayes his abode in the great Citie *Pachin*, as much to say in our language (as by the name thereof I am aduertised,) *the * Towne of the Kingdome.* This Kingdome is so large, that vnder fiue moneths you are not able to trauell from the Townes by the Sea side, to the Court and backe againe, no not vnder three moneths in Poste at your vrgent businesse. The Post-horses in this Countrey are little of bodie, but swift of foote. Many doe trauell the greater part of this iourney by water in certaine light Barkes, for the multitude of Riuers, commodious for passage from one Citie to another.

The King, notwithstanding the hugenesse of his Kingdome, hath such a care thereof, that euerie Moone (by the Moones they reckon their monethis) he is aduertised fully of whatsoeuer thing happeneth therein. Before that wee doe come to *Cinceo*, we haue to passe through many places, and some of great importance. For this Countrey is so well inhabited neere the Sea side, that you cannot goe one myle but you shall see some Towne, Borough, or Hostrie, the which are so abundantly prouided of all things, that in the Cities and Townes they liue ciuilly. Neuertheless, such as dwell abroad are very poore, for the multitude of them euery where so great, that out of a Tree you shall see many times swarme a number of Children, where a man would not haue thought to haue found any one at all.

From these places in number infinite, you shall come vnto two Cities very populous, and being compared with *Cinceo*, not possibly to bee discerned which is the greater of them. These Cities are as well walled as any Cities in all the world. As you come into either of them, standeth so great and mightie a Bridge, that the like thereof I haue neuer seene in *Portugall*, nor elsewhere. I heard one of my fellowes say, that he told in one Bridge fortie Arches. The occasion wherefore these Bridges are made so great, is for that the Country is toward the Sea very plaine and low, and ouerwhelmed euer as the Sea-water encreaseth. The breadth of the Bridges, although it be well proportioned vnto the length thereof, yet are they equally built, no higher in the middle than at either end, in such wise that you may directly see from the one end to the other, the sides are wonderfully well engraued after the manner of *Rome* workes. But that wee did most maruell at, was therewithall the hugenesse of the stones, the like whereof, as we came into the City, we did see many set vp in places dishabited by the way, to no small charges of theirs, howbeit to little purpose, wheras no body seeth them but such as do come by. The Arches are not made after our fashion, vaulted with sundry stones set together: but paued, as it were, whole stones reaching from one Pillar to another, in such wise that they lie both for the Arches heads, & gallantly serue also for the high-way. I haue been astonied to behold the hugenesse of these aforesaid stones, some of them are twelue paces long and vpward, the least eleuen good paces long, and an halfe. The wayes each where are gallantly paued with foure-square Stone, except it be where for want of Stone they vse to lay Bricke: in this voyage we trauelled ouer certaine Hills, where the wayes were pitched, and in many places no worse paued than in the plaine ground.

The Countrey is so well inhabited, that no one foot of ground is left vntilled: small store of cattell haue we seene this way, we saw onely certaine Oxen wherewithall the countrey-men doe plough their ground. One Oxe draweth the Plough alone, not onely in this Shire, but in other places also, wherein is greater store of cattell. These countrey-men by art dbe that in tillage, which we are constrained to doe by force. Here be sold the voydings of Close-stooles, although there wanteth not the dung of beasts: and the excrements of man are good marchandise throughout all *China*. The Dung-farmers seeke in euery street by exchange to buy their durtie ware for Hearbs and Wood. The custome is very good for keeping the Citie cleane. There is great abundance of Hennes, Geese, Duckes, Swine, and Goates, Wethers haue they none: the Hennes are sold by weight, and so are all other things. Two pound of Hennes flesh, Goose, or Ducke, is worth two Foi of their money, that is, three halfe pence. Swines flesh is sold at a peny the pound. Beefe beareth the same price, for the scarcitie thereof, howbeit Northward from *Fuquieo*, and further from the Sea coast, there is Beefe more plentie, and sold better cheape, Beefe onely excepted, great abundance of all these Viands wee haue had in all the Cities wee passed through. And if this Countrey were like vnto *India*, the Inhabitants whereof eate neither Hen, Beefe, nor Porke, but keepe that onely for the *Portugals* and *Moores*, they would bee sold here for nothing. But it so falling out that the *Chineans* are the greatest eaters in all the world, they doe feed vpon all things, specially vpon Porke, the fatter that is vnto them, the lesse lothsome. The highest price of these things aforesaid, I haue set downe, better cheape shall you sometimes buy

*You shal haue a more full description of the Country by later Authors: who yet could not so well as this, tell their iudiciall proceedings, seuerities, prisons, executions, &c. these 13. are to be vnderstood besides the two royall Prouinces.

Pachin Pochang, or *Paquin*, or *Pequim*.

* *Cambalu* signifieth the same, and so the *Mogolls* call this Citie.

Poste Horses.

Their months.

Excellent wals and an admirable bridge.

Magnificent stones.

Wayes paued, bricked, or pitched.

Culture and husbandry.

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buy them for the great plentie thereof in this Countrey. Frogs are sold at the same price that is made of Hennes, and are good meat amongst them, as also Dogs, Cats, Rats, Snakes, and all other vncleane meates.

Building of the Cities.

The Cities be very gallant, specially neere vnto the Gates, the which are maruellously great, and couered with Iron. The Gate-houses built on high with Towers, the lower part thereof is made of Bricke and Stone, proportionally with the walls, from the walls vpward, the building is of Timber, and many stories in it one aboue the other. The strength of their Townes is in the mightie Walls and Ditches; Artillery haue they none. The streets in *Cinceo*, and in all the rest of the Cities wee haue seene are very faire, so large and so straight that it is wonderfull to behold. Their houses are built with Timber, the foundations onely excepted, the which are laid with Stone, in each side of the streets are pinteses, or continuall Porches for the Marchants to walke vnder: the breadth of the street is neuertheless such, that in them fifteene men may ride commodiously side by side. As they ride they must needes passe vnder many high Arches of triumph, that crosse ouer the streets made of Timber, and carued diuersly, couered with Tile of fine Clay: vnder these arches the Mercers do vtter their smaller wares, and such as list to stand there are defenced from raine, and the heat of the Sunne. The greater Gentlemen haue these Arches at their doores: although some of them be not so mightily built as the rest.

No Artillerie. Large streets.

Archers.

I shall haue occasion to speake of a certaine order of Gentlemen, that are called *Loutea*, I will first therefore expound what this word signifieth. *Loutea*, is as much to say in our language as *Sir*, and when any of them calleth his name, he answereth, *Sir*. The manner how Gentlemen are created *Louteas*, & do come to that honour and title, is by giuing a broad Girdle not like to the rest, and a Cap, at the commandement of the King. The name *Loutea* is more generall and common vnto moe, than equalitie of honour thereby signified, agreeth withall. Such *Louteas* that doe serue their Prince in weightie matters for iustice, are created after triall made of their learning: but the other which serue in smaller affaires, as Capitaines, Constables, Sergeants by Land and Sea, Receiuers, and such like, whereof there be in euery Citie, as also in this, very many are made for fauour: the chiefe *Louteas* are serued kneeling.

Loutea.

The whole Prouince *China* is diuided, as I haue said, into thirteene Shires, in euery Shire at the least is one Gouernour, called there *Tutan*, in some Shires there be two. Chiefe in office next vnto them be certaine other named *Chians*, that is, high Commissioners, as you would say, or Visiters, with full authoritie in such wise, that they doe call vnto an account the *Tutanes* themselues, but their authoritie lasteth not in any Shire longer than one yeere. Neuertheless, in euery Shire, being at the least seuen Cities, yea, in some of them fifteene or sixteene, besides other Boroughs and Townes, not well to be numbred, these Visiters where they come, are so honoured and feared, as though they were some great Princes. At the yeeres end their circuit done, they come vnto that City which is chiefe of others in the Shire, to doe Iustice there: finally, busying themselues in the searching out of such as are to receiue the order of *Louteas*, whereof more shall be said in another place.

Chian, al. *Chaen.*

Ouer and besides these officers in the chiefe Citie of each one of these aforesaid thirteene Prouinces, is resident one *Ponchiassi*, Captaine thereof, and Treasurer of all the Kings reuenues. This Magistrate maketh his abode in one of the foure greatest houses that be in all these head Cities. In the second great house dwelleth another Magistrate, called *Anchiassi*, a great officer also, for he hath dealings in all matters of Iustice. *Tuzi*, another officer so called, lieth in the third house, a Magistrate of importance, specially in things belonging vnto warfare, for thereof hath hee charge. There is resident in the fourth house a fourth Officer, bearing name *Taissu*. In this house is the principall prison of all the Citie. Each one of these Magistrates aforesaid may both lay euill doers in prison, and deliuer them out againe, except the fact bee heynous and of importance: in such a case they can doe nothing, except they doe meet altogether. And if the deed deserue death, all they together cannot determine thereof, without recourse made vnto the *Chian* whersoeuer he be, or to the *Tutan*: and eftsoones it falleth out, that the case be referred vnto higher power.

Ponchiassi.

Anchiassi. al. *Hexasi.*

Tuzi.

Taissu.

Prisons and sentencing offenders.

In all Cities, not onely chiefe in each Shire, but in the rest also are meanes found to make *Louteas*. Many of them doe studie at the Prince his charges, wherefore at the yeeres end they resort vnto the head Cities, whither the *Chians* doe come, as it hath beene earst said, as well to giue these degrees, as to sit in iudgement ouer the prisoners.

Louteas Commencement or Act.

The *Chians* goe in circuit euery yeere, but such as are to be chosen to the greatest offices, meet not but from three yeeres to three yeeres, and that in certain large halls appointed for them to be examined in. Many things are asked them, whereunto if they doe answere accordingly, and be found sufficient to take their degree, the *Chian* by and by granteth it them: but the Cap and Girdle whereby they are knowne to be *Louteas*, they weare not before that they bee confirmed by the King. Their examination done, and triall made of them, such as haue taken their degree wont to be giuen them with all Ceremonies, vse to banquet and feast many daies together (as the *Chineans* fashion is to end all their pleasures with eating and drinking) and so remaine chosen to doe the King seruice in matters of learning. The other examinates found insufficient to proceed, are sent backe to their studie againe. Whose ignorance is perceiued to come of negligence

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gence and default, such a one is whipped, and sometimes sent to prison, where wee lying that yeere when this kinde of Act was, wee found many thus punished, and demanding the cause thereof, they said it was for that they knew not how to answere vnto certaine things asked them.

It is a world to see how these *Louteas* are serued and feared, in such wise, that in publike assemblies at one shrike they giue, all the seruitors belonging vnto Iustice, tremble thereat. At their being in these places, when they list to moue, be it but euen to the gate, these Seruitors doe take them vp, and carry them in seats of beaten Gold. After this sort are they borne when they goe in the Citie, either for their owne businesse abroad, or to see each other at home. For the dignitie they haue, and office they doe beare, they be all accompanied: the very meanest of them all that goeth in these seats is vshered by two men at the least, that cry vnto the people to giue place, howbeit they need it not, for that reuerence the common people hath vnto them. They haue also in their company certaine Sergeants, with their Maces, either siluered, or altogether Siluer, some two, some foure, other six, other eight, conueniently for each one his degree. The more principall and chiefe *Louteas* haue going orderly before these Sergeants, many other with Staues, and a great many Catch-poles with Rods of *Indian* Canes dragged to the ground, so that the streets being paued, you may here a farre off, as well the noise of the Rods, as the voyce of the cryers. These fellowes serue also to apprehend others, and the better to be knowne, they weare liuerie-red Girdles, and in their Caps Pecocks Feathers. Behinde these *Louteas* come such as doe beare certaine Tables hanged at staues ends, wherein is written in Siluer letters the name, degree, and office of that *Loutea*, whom they follow. In like manner they haue borne after them Hats agreeable vnto their titles: if the *Loutea* bee meane, then hath he brought after him but one Hat, and that may not be yellow: but if hee be of better sort, then may hee haue two, three, or foure: the principall and chiefe *Louteas*, may haue all their Hats yellow, the which among them is accounted great honour. The *Loutea* for warres, although hee bee but meane, may notwithstanding haue yellow Hats. The *Tutanes* and *Chians*, when they goe abroad, haue besides all this before them led three or foure Horses, with their Guard in Armour. Their Maiesty.

Furthermore, the *Louteas*, yea, and all the people in *China*, are wont to eat their meat sitting on Stooles at high Tables as wee doe, and that very cleanly, although they vse neither Table-clothes nor Napkins. Whatsoeuer is set downe vpon the boord is first carued, before that it be brought in: they feed with two Sticks, refraining from touching their meat with their hands, euen as we do with Forkes, for the which respect, they lesse doe need any Table-clothes. Neither is the Nation onely ciuill at meat, but also in conuersation and in courtesie they seeme to exceed all other. Likewise in their dealings, after their manner they are so readie, that they farre passe all other *Gentiles* and *Moores*: the greater States are so vaine, that they line their clothes with the best silke that may be found. The *Louteas* are an idle generation, without all manner of exercises and pastimes, except it be eating and drinking. Sometimes they walke abroad in the fields, to make the Souldiers shoot at Pricks with their Bowes, but their eating passeth: they will stand eating euen when the other doe draw to shoot. The Pricke is a great Blanket spread on certaine long Poles, he that striketh it, hath of the best man there standing a piece of Crimson Taffata, the which is knit about his head: in this sort the winner is honoured, and the *Louteas* with their bellies full, returne home againe. Manner of eating. We, that is, the *Italians* and *Spaniards*. Shooting.

The Inhabitants of *China*, bee very Idolaters, all generally doe worship the heauens: and as we are wont to say, *God knoweth it*: so say they at euery word, *Tien Tautee*, that is to say, *The Heauens doe know it*. Some doe worship the Sunne, and some the Moone, as they thinke good, for none are bound more to one then to another. In their Temples, the which they doe call *Meani*, they haue a great Altar in the same place as we haue, true it is, that one may goe round about it. There set they vp the Image of a certaine *Loutea* of that Countrey, whom they haue in great reuerence for certaine notable things he did. At the right hand standeth the Deuill, much more vgly painted then we doe vse to set him out, whereunto great homage is done by such as come into the Temple to aske counsell, or to draw lots: this opinion they haue of him, that he is malicious and able to doe euill. If you aske them what they doe thinke of the soules departed, they will answer, that they be immortall, and that as soone as any one departeth out of this life, he becommetha deuil, if he haue liued well in this world, if otherwise, that the same deuil changeth him into a Busle, Oxe, or Dog. Wherefore to this Deuill doe they much honour, to him do they sacrifice, praying him that he will make them like vnto himselfe, and not like other beasts. They haue moreouer another sort of Temples, wherein both vpon the Altars, and also on the walls doe stand many Idols well proportioned, but bare headed: These beare name *Omithofon*, accounted of them spirits, but such as in heauen doe neither good nor euill, thought to bee such men and women, as haue chastely liued in this world in abstinence from Fish and Flesh, fed only with Rice and Salates. Of that Deuill they make some account, for these spirits they care little or nothing at all. Againe, they hold opinion, that if a man doe well in this life, the heauens will giue him many temporall blessings, but if he doe euill, then shall he haue infirmities, diseases, troubles, Idolatry. Deuill most respected.

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troubles, and penurie, and all this without any knowledge of God. Finally, this people knoweth no other thing then to liue and die, yet becauſe they be reaſonable creatures, all ſeemed good vnto them we ſpake in our language, though it were not very ſufficient.

So did the *Romans* Auguries.

Our manner of praying ſo well liked them, that in priſon importunately they beſought vs to write for them ſomewhat as concerning heauen, the which we did to their contentation, with ſuch reaſons as we knew, howbeit not very cunningly. As they doe their Idolatry they laugh at themſelues. The greateſt fault we doe finde in them is *Sodomie*, a vice very common in the meaner ſort, and nothing ſtrange amongſt the beſt. Furthermore the *Louteas*, withall the people of *China*, are wont to ſolemnize the daies of the new and full Moones in viſiting one each other, and making great banquets, for to that end, as I haue ſaid, doe tend all their paſtimes and ſpending their daies in pleaſure. They are wont alſo to ſolemnize each one his birth day, whereunto their kindred and friends doe reſort of cuſtome, with preſents of Iewells or Money, receiuing againe for their reward good cheere. They keepe in like manner a generall Feaſt, with great Banquets that day their King was borne. But their moſt principall and greateſt Feaſt of all, and beſt cheare, is the firſt day of their new yeere, namely, the firſt day of the New Moone of *Februarie*, ſo that their firſt moneth is *March*, and they reckon the times accordingly, reſpect being had vnto the reigne of their Princes: as when any deed is written, they date it thus; Made ſuch a day of ſuch a Moone, and ſuch a yeere of the raigne of ſuch a King.

Sodomie frequent.

New and full Moones.

Birth-dayes.

New yeares day.

Iuſtice.

Now will I ſpeake of the manner the which the *Chineans* doe obſerue in doing Iuſtice. Becauſe the *Chiniſh* King maketh his abode continually in the City *Pachin*, his Kingdome ſo great, the ſhires ſo many, as before it hath beene ſaid: in it therefore the Gouernours and Rulers, much like vnto our Sheriffes be ſo appointed ſuddenly, and ſpeedily diſcharged againe, that they haue no time to grow nought. Furthermore, to keepe the State in more ſecuritie, the *Louteas* that gouerne one ſhire, are choſen out of ſome other ſhire diſtant farre off, where they muſt leaue their Wiues, Children, and Goods, carrying nothing with them but themſelues. True it is, that at their comming thither they doe find in a readineſſe all things neceſſarie, their Houſe, Furniture, Seruants, and all other things in ſuch perfection and plentie, that they want nothing. Thus King is well ſerued without all feare of Treaſon.

In the principall Cities of the ſhires be foure chiefe *Louteas*, before whom are brought all matters of the inferiour Townes, throughout the whole Realme. Diuers other *Louteas* haue the managing of Iuſtice, and receiuing of Rents, bound to yeeld an account thereof vnto the greater Officers. Other doe ſee that there be no euill rule kept in the Citie: each one as it behoueth him. Generally all theſe doe impriſon Malefactors, cauſe them to be whipped and racked, hoyſing them vp and downe by the armes with a cord, a thing very vſuall there, and accounted no ſhame. Theſe *Louteas* doe vſe great diligence in the apprehending of the Theeues, ſo that it is a wonder to ſee a Thiefe eſcape away in any Towne, Citie, or Village. Vpon the Sea neere vnto the ſhoare many are taken, and looke euen as they are taken, ſo be they firſt whipped, and afterward laid in Priſon, where ſhortly after they all dye for hunger and cold. At that time, when we were in Priſon, there dyed of them aboue threeſcore and ten. Their whips be certaine pieces of Canes, cleft in the middle, in ſuch ſort that they ſeeme rather plaine then ſharpe. He that is to bee whipped lyeth groueling on the ground. Vpon his thighes the Hangman layeth on blowes mightily with theſe Canes, that the ſtanders by tremble at their crueltie. Tenne ſtripes draw a great deale of bloud, twentie or thirtie ſpoyle the fleſh altogether, fiftie or threeſcore will require long time to be healed, and if they come to the number of one hundred, then are they incurable.

The *Italians* call it the ſtrapado.

Hard Priſons.

Beating with Canes.

Examinations.

The *Louteas* obſerue moreouer this: when any man is brought before them to bee examined, they aske him openly in the hearing of as many as be preſent, be the offence neuer ſo great. Thus did they alſo behaue themſelus with vs. For this cauſe amongſt them can there be no falſe witnes as daily amongſt vs it falleth out. This good commeth thereof that many being alwayes about the Iudge to heare the Euidence, and beare witneſſe, the Proceſſe cannot be falſified, as it hapneth ſometimes with vs. The *Moores*, *Gentiles*, and *Iewes*, haue all their ſundry Oathes, the *Moores* doe ſweare by their *Moſſafos*, the *Brachmans* by their *Fili*, the reſt likewiſe by the things they doe worſhip. The *Chineans*, though they be wont to ſweare by Heauen, by the Moone, by the Sunne, and by all their Idols, in judgement neuertheleſſe they ſweare not at all. If for ſome offence an Oath be vſed of any one, by and by with the leaſt euidence hee is tormented; ſo be the Witneſſes he bringeth, if they tell not the truth, or doe in any point diſagree, except they bee men of worſhip and credit, who are beleeued without any farther matter: the reſt are made to confeſſe the truth by force of Torments and Whips. Beſides this order obſerued of them in Examinations, they doe feare ſo much their King, and he where he maketh his abode keepeth them ſo low, that they dare not once ſtirre. Againe, theſe *Louteas* as great as they bee, notwithſtanding the multitude of Notaries they haue, not truſting any others, doe write all great Proceſſes and matters of importance themſelues. Moreouer, one vertue they haue worthy of great praiſe, and that is, being men ſo well regarded and accounted of as though they were Princes, they bee

Oathes.

Patient hearing.

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patient aboue meaſure in giuing audience. Wee poore ſtrangers brought before them might ſay what we would, as all to be Lyes and Falaces that they did write, nor did we ſtand before them with the vſuall Ceremonies of that Countrey, yet did they beare with vs ſo patiently, that they cauſed vs to wonder, knowing ſpecially how little any Aduocate or Iudge is wont in our Countrey to beare with vs. For whereſoeuer in any Towne of Chriſtendome ſhould bee accuſed vnknowne men as we were, I know not what end the very Innocents cauſe would haue: but wee in a Heathen Countrey, hauing our great Enemies two of the chiefeſt men in a whole Towne, wanting an Interpreter, ignorant of that Countrey Language, did in the end ſee our great Aduerſaries caſt into Priſon for our ſake, and depriued of their Offices and Honour for not doing Iuſtice; yea, not to eſcape death, for as the rumour goeth, they ſhall bee beheaded. *Seuere Iuſtice.*

Somewhat is now to be ſaid of the Lawes that I haue beene able to know in this Countrey, and firſt, no Theft or Murther, is at any time pardoned: Adulterers are put in Priſon, and the fact once proued, condemned to dye, the womans Husband muſt accuſe them: this order is kept with men and women found in that fault, but Theeues and Murtherers are impriſoned as I haue ſaid, where they ſhortly dye for hunger and cold. If any one haply eſcape by bribing the Iaylor to giue him meate, his Proceſſe goeth farther, and commeth to the Court where hee is condemned to dye. Sentence being giuen, the Priſoner is brought in publike with a terrible band of men that lay him in Irons hand and foot, with a board at his necke one handfull broad, in length reaching downe to his knees, cleft in two parts, and with a hole one handfull downe-ward in the Table fit for his necke, the which they encloſe vp therein, nayling the board faſt together, one handfull of the board ſtandeth vp behind in the necke: the ſentence and cauſe wherefore the fellon was condemned to dye, is written in that part of the Table that ſtandeth before. This Ceremonie ended, he is laid in a great Priſon in the company of ſome other condemned perſons, the which are found by the King as long as they doe liue. The board aforeſaid ſo made tormenteth the Priſoners very much, keeping them both from the reſt, and eke letting them to eate commodiouſly, their hands being manicled in Irons vnder that board, ſo that in fine there is no remedie but death. In the chiefe Cities of euery ſhire, as we haue beforeſaid, there be foure principall Houſes, in each of them a Priſoner: but in one of them where the *Taiſſu* maketh his abode, there a greater and a more principall Priſon then in any of the reſt: and although in euery Citie there be many, neuertheleſſe in three of them remayne onely ſuch as bee condemned to dye. Their death is much prolonged, for that ordinarily there is no execution done but once a yeere, though many dye for hunger and cold, as we haue ſeene in this Priſon. Execution is done in this manner. The *Chian*, to wit the high Commiſſioner or Lord Chiefe Iuſtice, at the yeares end goeth to the head Citie, where hee heareth againe the cauſes of ſuch as bee condemned. Many times he deliuereth ſome of them, declaring that board to haue beene wrongfully put about their neckes: the viſitation ended, he chooſeth out ſeuen or eight, not many more or leſſe, of the greateſt Malefactors, the which, to feare and keepe in awe the people, are brought into a great Market place, where all the great *Louteas* meete together, and after many Ceremonies and Superſtitions, as the vſe of the Countrey is, are beheaded. This is done once a yeare: who ſo eſcapeth that day, may be ſure that he ſhall not be put to death all that yeare following, and ſo remayneth at the Kings charges in the greater Priſon. In that Priſon where wee lay were alwayes one hundred and moe of theſe condemned perſons, beſides them that lay in other Priſons. *A Pillorie board.* *Execution.*

Theſe Priſons wherein the condemned captiues doe remayne are ſo ſtrong, that it hath not beene heard, that any Priſoner in all *China* hath eſcaped out of Priſon, for, indeed, it is a thing impoſſible. The Priſons are thus builded. Firſt, all the place is mightily walled about, the wals be very ſtrong and high, the gate of no leſſe force: within it three other gates, before you come where the Priſoners doe lye, there many great Lodgings are to be ſeene of the *Louteas*, *Notaries*, *Parthions*, that is, ſuch as doe there keepe watch and ward day and night, the Court large and paued, on the one ſide whereof ſtandeth a Priſon, with two mighty gates, wherein are kept ſuch Priſoners as haue committed enormious offences. This Priſon is ſo great, that in it are ſtreets and Market places wherein all things neceſſary are ſold. Yea, ſome Priſoners liue by that kind of Trade, buying and ſelling, and letting out beds to hire: ſome are daily ſent to Priſon, ſome daily deliuered, wherefore this place is neuer voyd of ſeuen or eight hundred men that goe at libertie. *Strength of the Priſons.* *Store of Priſoners.*

Into one other Priſon of condemned perſons ſhall you goe at three Iron gates, the Court paued and vaulted round about, and open aboue as it were a Cloyſter. In this Cloyſter bee eight Roomes with Iron Doores, and in each of them a large Gallerie, wherein euery night the Priſoners doe lye at length, their feet in the ſtockes, their bodies hampered in huge woodden grates that keepe them from ſtiring ſo that they lye as it were in a Cage, ſleepe if they can: in the morning they are looſed againe that they may goe into the Court. Notwithſtanding the ſtrength of this Priſon, it is kept with a Garriſon of men, part whereof watch within the Houſe, part of them in the Court, ſome keepe about the Priſon with Lanthornes, and Watch-bels, anſwering one another fiue times euery night, and giuing warning ſo lowde, that the *Louteas* reſting in a Chamber not neere thereunto may heare them. In theſe Priſons of condemned perſons remayne

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some fifteene, other twentie yeares imprisoned, not executed, for the loue of their honourable Friends that seeke to prolong their liues. Many of these Prisoners bee Shoomakers, and haue from the King a certayne allowance of Rice: some of them worke for the Keeper, who suffereth them to goe at libertie without fetters and boards, the better to worke. Howbeit when the *Loutea* calleth his Checke Roll, and with the Keeper vieweth them, they all weare their Liueries, that is, boards at their neckes, Ironed hand and foote. When any of these Prisoners dyeth, he is to bee seene of the *Loutea* and *Notaries*, brought out at a gate so narrow, that there can but one be drawne out there at once. The Prisoner beeing brought forth, one of the aforesaid *Parthians*, striketh him thrice on the head with an Iron sledge, that done, hee is deliuered vnto his friends, if hee haue any, otherwise the King hireth men to carrie him to his buriall in the fields.

Course for Debters.

Thus Adulterers and Theeues are vsed. Such as be imprisoned for Debt once knowne, lye there vntill it be paid. The *Taissu* or *Loutea* calleth them many times before him by the vertue of his Office, who vnderstanding the cause wherefore they doe not pay their Debts, appointeth them a certaine time to doe it, within the compasse whereof if they discharge not their Debts beeing Debters indeed, then they be whipped and condemned to perpetuall Imprisonment: if the Creditors be many, and one is to be paid before another, they doe, contrary to our manner, pay him first, of whom they last borrowed, and so ordinarily the rest, in such sort that the first Lender be the last Receiuer. The same order is kept in paying Legacies: the last named, receiueth his portion first.

When I said that such as be committed to Prison for Theft, and Murther, were judged by the Court, I meant not them that were apprehended in the deed doing, for they need no tryall, but are brought immediately before the *Tutan*, who out of hand giueth sentence. Other not taken so openly, and doe need tryall, are the Malefactors put to execution once a yeare in the chiefe Cities, to keepe in awe the people: or condemned, doe remayne in Prison, looking for their day. Theeues being taken, are carried to Prison from one place to another in a Chest vpon mens shoulders, hired therefore by the King, the Chest is sixe handfuls high, the Prisoner sitteth therein vpon a bench, the couer of the Chest is two boards; amidst them both a Pillory-like hole, for the Prisoner his necke, there sitteth he with his head without the Chest, and the rest of his bodie within, not able to moue or turne his head this way or that way, nor to plucke it in: the necessities of nature he voideth at a hole in the bottome of the Chest, the meate he eateth is put into his mouth by others. There abideth he day and night during his whole Iourney: if happily his Porters stumble, or the Chest doe jogge, or be set downe carelesly, it turneth to his great paines that sitteth therein, all such motions being vnto him hanging as it were. Thus were our companions carried from *Cinceo*, seuen dayes journey, neuer taking any rest as afterward they told vs, and their greatest griefe was to stay by the way: as soone as they came beeing taken out of the Chests, they were not able to stand on their feet, and two of them dyed shortly after.

Fuquieo.

When we lay in prison at *Fuquieo*, we came many times abroad, and were brought to the Palaces of Noble men, to be seene of them and their wiues, for that they had neuer seene any *Portugall* before. Many things they asked vs of our Countrey, and our fashions, and did write euery thing, for they be curious in nouelties aboue measure. The Gentlemen shew great curtesie vnto strangers, and so did we finde at their hands, and because that many times we were brought abroad into the Citie, somwhat will I say of such things as I did see therein, being a gallant Citie, and chiefe in one of the thirteene shires afore-said. The Citie *Fuquieo*, is very great and mightly walled with square stone both within and without, and as it may seeme by the breadth thereof, filled vp in the middle with Earth, laid ouer with Bricke, and couered with Tyle, and after the manner of Porches or Galleries, that one might dwell therein. The stayres they vse, are so easily made, that one may goe them vp and downe a Horse-backe, as eftsoones they doe: the streets are paued, as alreadie it hath beene said: there bee a great number of Merchants, euery one hath written in a great Table at his doore such things as hee hath to sell. In like manner euery Artizan painteth out his craft: the Market places be large, great abundance of all things there be to be sold. The Citie standeth vpon water, many streames runne through it, the bankes pitched, and so broad that they serue for streets to the Cities vse. Ouer the streames are sundry Bridges both of Timber and Stone, that being made leuell with the streets, hinder not the passage of the Barges to and fro, the Chanels are so deepe. Where the streames come in and goe out of the Citie, be certayne Arches in the Wall, there goe in and out their *Parai*, that is a kind of Barges they haue, and this onely in the day time: at night these Arches are closed vp with gates, so doe they shut vp all the gates of the Citie. These streames and Barges doe embellish much the Citie, and make it as it were to seeme another *Venice*. The buildings are euen, well made, high not lofted, except it be some wherein Merchandize is laid. It is a World to see how great these Cities are, and the cause is, for that the houses are built euen, as I haue said, and doe take a great deale of roome. One thing we saw in this Citie that made vs all to wonder, and is worthy to be noted: Namely, ouer a Porch at the comming into one of the afore-said foure Houses, the which the King hath in euery shire for his Gouernours as I haue before said,

Parai.

Another *Venice.*

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ſtandeth a Towre built vpon fortie Pillars, each one whereof is but one ſtone, each one fortie handfuls or ſpans-long: in breadth or compaſſe twelue, as many of vs did meaſure them. Beſides this, their greatneſſe ſuch in one piece, that it might ſeeme impoſſible to worke them: they bee moreouer couered, and in colour, length, and breath ſo like, that the one nothing differeth from the other. Towre ſtanding on fortie Pillers, each of one ſtone.

Wee are wont to call this Countrey *China*, and the people *Chineans*, but as long as wee were Priſoners, not hearing amongſt them at any time that name, I determined to learne how they were called: and asked ſometimes by them thereof, for that they vnderſtood vs not when wee called them *Chineans*, I anſwered them, that all the Inhabitants of *India* named them *Chineans*, wherefore I prayed them that they would tell me, for what occaſion they are ſo called, whither peraduenture any Citie of theirs bare that name. Hereunto they alwayes anſwered me, to haue no ſuch name, nor euer to haue had. Then did I aske them what name the whole Countrey beareth, and what they would anſwer being asked of other Nations what Countrey-men they were? It was told me, that of ancient time in this Countrey had beene many Kings, and though preſently it were all vnder one, each Kingdome neuertheleſſe enioyed that name it firſt had, theſe Kingdomes are the Prouinces I ſpake of before. In concluſion, they ſayd, that the whole Countrey is called *Tamen*, and the Inhabitants *Tamegines*, ſo that this name *China* or *Chineans*, is not heard of in that Countrey. I doe thinke that the neareneſſe of another Prouince thereabout called *Cochinchina*, and the inhabitants thereof *Cochineſſes*, firſt diſcouered before that *China* was, lying not farre from *Malacca*, did giue occaſion both to the one Nation and to the other of that name *Chineans*, as alſo the whole Countrey to bee named *China*. But their proper name is that aforeſaid. Name of *China*. *Tamen* the proper name of *China*. *Ta* ſignifies *Great*; *Magines* is neere *Polos* name of *Mangi*; *Great Mangines*.

I haue heard moreouer, that in the Citie *Nanquim*, remayneth a Table of gold, and in it written a Kings name, as a memorie of that reſidence the Kings were wont to keepe there. This table ſtandeth in a great Palace, couered alwayes, except it bee in ſome of their feſtiuall dayes, at what time they are wont to let it bee ſeene: couered neuertheleſſe as it is, all the Nobilitie of the Citie goeth of dutie to doe it euery day reuerence. The like is done in the head Cities of all the other Shires, in the Palaces of the *Ponchiaſſini*, wherein theſe aforeſaid tables doe ſtand with the Kings name written in them, although no reuerence bee done thereunto but in ſolemne Feaſts. Tables reuerenced.

I haue likewiſe vnderſtood that the Citie *Pachin*, where the King maketh his abode, is ſo great, that to goe from one ſide to the other, beſides the Suburbs, (which are greater then the Citie it ſelfe) it requireth one whole day a horſebacke, going hackney pace. In the Suburbs bee many wealthy Merchants of all ſorts. They told me furthermore, that it was Moted about, and in the Motes great ſtore of Fiſh, whereof the King maketh great gaynes. It was alſo told mee that the King of *China* had no King to wage battell withall, beſides the *Tartars*, with whom hee had concluded a peace more then foureſcore yeeres agoe. Their enemies

There bee Hoſpitals in all their Cities, alwayes full of people, wee neuer ſaw any poore bodie beg. We therefore asked the cauſe of this: anſwered it was, that in euery Citie there is a great circuit, wherein bee many houſes for poore people, for Blinde, Lame, Old folke, not able to trauell for age, nor hauing any other meanes to liue. Theſe folke haue in the aforeſaid houſes, euer plentie of Rice during their liues, but nothing elſe. Such as bee receiued into theſe houſes, come in after this manner. When one is ſicke, blinde, or lame, hee maketh a ſupplication to the *Ponchiaſſi*, and prouing that to bee true he writeth, hee remaineth in the aforeſaid great lodging as long as he liueth: beſides this, they keepe in theſe places Swine and Hennes, whereby the poore bee releeued without going a begging.

I ſayd before that *China* was full of Riuers, but now I minde to confirme the ſame anew: for the farther wee went into the Countrey, the greater we found the riuers. Sometimes we were ſo farre off from the Sea, that where wee came no Sea-fiſh had beene ſeene, and Salt was there very deare, of freſh-water Fiſh yet was there great abundance, and that fiſh very good: they keepe it good after this manner. Where the Riuers doe meete, and ſo paſſe into the Sea, there lyeth great ſtore of Boates, ſpecially where no ſalt-water commeth, and that in March and Aprill. Theſe Boates are ſo many that it ſeemeth wonderfull, neither ſerue they for other then to take ſmall fiſh. By the riuers ſides they make leyres of fine and ſtrong Nets, that lye three handfuls vnder water, and one aboue, to keepe and nouriſh their Fiſh in, vntill ſuch time as other fiſhers doe come with Boates, bringing for that purpoſe certaine great Cheſts lyned with paper, able to hold water, wherein they carrie their fiſh vp and downe the riuer, euery day renewing the cheſt with freſh-water, and ſelling their fiſh in euery Citie, Towne, and Village, where they paſſe, vnto the people as they need it: moſt of them haue Net-leyres to keepe Fiſh in alwayes for their prouiſion. Where the greater Boates cannot paſſe any farther forward, they take leſſer, and becauſe the whole Countrey is very well watred, there is ſo great plentie of diuers ſorts of Fiſh, that it is wonderfull to ſee: aſſuredly, wee were amazed to behold the manner of their prouiſion. Their Fiſh is chiefly nouriſhed with the dung of Buſles and Oxen, that greatly fatteth it. Although I ſayd their fiſhing to bee in March and Aprill, Store of riuers. Plentie of fiſh; and their keeping of them.

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at what time wee ſaw them doe it, neuertheleſſe they told vs that they fiſhed at all times, for that vſually they doe feed on Fiſh, wherefore it behoooueth them to make their prouiſion continually.

He ſpeaketh of *Fuqien* ſhire. *Quianci* where Porcelane is made.

When wee had paſſed *Fuquien*, we went into *Quicen*-ſhire, where the fine Clay veſſell is made, as I ſayd before : and we came to a Citie, the one ſide whereof is built vpon the foote of a hill, whereby paſſeth a Riuer nauigable : there we tooke Boate, and went by water toward the Sea: on each ſide of the Riuer we found many Cities, Townes, and Villages, wherein we ſaw great ſtore of Merchandiſe, but ſpecially of fine clay : there did we land by the way to buy victuals and other neceſſaries. Going downe this riuer Southward, wee were glad that we drew neere vnto a warmer Countrey, from whence we had beene farre diſtant : this Countrey wee paſſed through in eight dayes, for our iourney lay downe the ſtreame. Before that I doe ſay any thing of that Shire wee came into, I will firſt ſpeake of the great Citie of *Quicin*, wherein alwayes remayneth a *Tutan*, that is a Gouernour, as you haue ſeene, though ſome *Tutans* doe gouerne two or three Shires.

That *Tutan* that was condemned for our cauſe, of whom I ſpake before, was borne in this Countrey, but hee gouerned *Fuquien*-Shire : nothing it auayled him to bee ſo great an Officer. This Countrey is ſo great, that in many places where wee went, there had beene as yet no talke of his death, although he were executed a whole yeere before. At the Citie *Quanche* whither wee came, the riuer was ſo great that it ſeemed a ſea, though it were ſo little where we tooke water, that wee needed ſmall Boates. One day about nine of the clocke, beginning to row neare the walls with the ſtreame, wee came at noone to a bridge made of many Barges, ouer-linked all together with two mightie chaynes. There ſtayed we vntill it was late, but wee ſaw not one goe either vp thereon or downe, except two *Louthia's* that about the going downe of the Sunne, came and ſet them downe there, the one in one ſide, the other on the other ſide. Then was the bridge opened in many places, and Barges both great and ſmall to the number of ſixe hundred began to paſſe : thoſe that went vp the ſtreame, at one place, ſuch as came downe, at an other. When all had thus ſhot the Bridge, then was it ſhut vp againe. Wee heard ſay that euery day they take this order in all principall places of Merchandiſe, for paying of the cuſtome vnto the King, ſpecially for Salt, whereof the greateſt reuenues are made that the King hath in this Countrey. The paſſages of the bridge where it is opened, bee ſo neere the ſhore, that nothing can paſſe without touching the ſame. To ſtay the Barges at their pleaſure, that they goe no farther forward, are vſed certaine yron inſtruments. The Bridge conſiſteth of one hundred and twelue Barges, there ſtayed we vntill the Eeuening that they were opened, lothſomly oppreſſed by the multitude of people that came to ſee vs, ſo many in number, that we were enforced to goe aſide from the banke vntill ſuch time as the bridge was opened : howbeit, wee were neuertheleſſe thronged about with many Boates full of people. And though in other Cities and places where we went, the people came ſo importunate vpon vs, that it was needfull to withdraw our ſelues: yet were wee heere much more moleſted for the number of people, and this bridge, the principall way out of the Citie vnto another place ſo well inhabited, that were it walled about, it might bee compared to the Citie. When we had ſhot the bridge, we kept along the Citie vntill that it was night, then met wee with another riuer that ioyned with this, we rowed vp that by the walls, vntill we came to another bridge gallantly made of Barges, but leſſer a great deale then that other bridge ouer the greater ſtreame : heere ſtayed we that night, and other two dayes with more quiet, being out of the preaſe of the people. Theſe riuers doe meete without at one corner-point of the Citie. In either of them were ſo many Barges great and ſmall, that wee all thought them at the leaſt to bee aboue three thouſand : the greater number thereof was in the leſſer riuer, where we were. Amongſt the reſt, heere lay certaine greater veſſels, called in their language *Parai*, that ſerue for the *Tutan*, when hee taketh his voyage by other riuers that ioyne with this, towards *Pachin*, where the King maketh his abode. Deſirous to ſee thoſe *Parai* we got into ſome of them, where we found ſome chambers ſet foorth with gilded Beds very richly, other furniſhed with tables and ſeates, and all other things ſo neate and in perfection, that it was wonderfull.

Alijs Cheuchi. Great Riuer and ſtore of Boates.

Bridge of 112. Barges.

3000. Barges.

Parai, Barges with faire roomes.

Quiacim-Shire, as farre as I can perceiue, lyeth vpon the South. On that ſide we kept at our firſt entrie thereinto, trauelling not farre from the high mountaines we ſaw there. Asking what people dwelleth beyond thoſe mountaines, it was told me that they bee Theeues, and men of a ſtrange language. And becauſe that vnto ſundry places neere this Riuer, the mountaines doe approach, whence the people iſſuing downe, doe many times great harme, this order is taken at the entrie into *Quiacim*-Shire. To guard this Riuer whereon continually goe to and fro *Parai* great and ſmall fraught with Salt, Fiſh powdered with pepper, and other neceſſaries for that Countrey : they doe lay in diuers places certaine *Parai*, and great Barges armed, wherein watch and ward is kept day and night in both ſides of the Riuer, for the ſafetie of the paſſage, and ſecuritie of ſuch *Parai* as doe remayne there, though the trauellers neuer goe but many in company. In euery rode there bee at the leaſt thirtie, in ſome two hundred men, as the paſſage requireth.

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This guard is kept vſually, vntill you come to the Citie *Onchio*, where continually the *Tutan* of this Shire, and eke of *Cantan*, maketh his abode. From that Citie vpward, where the riuer waxeth more narrow, and the paſſage more dangerous, there be alwayes armed one hundred and fiftie *Parai*, to accompany other veſſels fraught with merchandiſe, and all this at the Kings charges. This ſeemed vnto me one of the ſtrangeſt things I did ſee in this Countrey.

When wee lay at *Fuquien*, we did ſee certaine *Moores*, who knew ſo little of their ſect, that they could ſay nothing elſe, but that *Mahomet* was a *Moore*, my father was a *Moore*, and I am a *Moore*, with ſome other words of their *Alcoran*, wherewithall, in abſtinence from Swines fleſh, they liue vntill the Deuill take them all. This when I ſaw, and being ſure, that in many *Chiniſh* Cities the reliques of *Mahomet* are kept, as ſoone as wee came to the Citie where theſe fellowes bee, I informed my ſelfe of them, and learned the truth. Theſe *Moores*, as they told me, in times paſt came in great Ships fraught with merchandiſe from *Pachin* ward, to a Port granted vnto them by the King, as hee is wont to all them that trafficke into this Countrey, where they being arriued at a little Towne ſtanding in the hauens mouth, in time conuerted vnto their Sect the greateſt *Loutea* there. When that *Loutea* with all his family was become *Mooriſh*, the reſt began likewiſe to doe the ſame. In this part of *China* the people bee at libertie, euery one to worſhip and follow what him liketh beſt. Wherefore no bodie tooke heed thereto, vntill ſuch time as the *Moores* perceiuing that many followed them in ſuperſtition, and that the *Loutea* fauoured them, they began to forbid wholly the eating of Swines-fleſh. But all this Countrey-men and women, chooſing rather to forſake Father and Mother, then to leaue off eating of Porke, by no meanes would yeeld to that proclamation. For beſides the great deſire they all haue to eate that kind of meate, many of them doe liue thereby: and therefore the people complained vnto the Magiſtrates, accuſing the *Moores* of a conſpiracie pretended betwixt them and the *Loutea*, againſt their King. In this Countrey, as no ſuſpition, no not one trayterous word is long borne withall: ſo was the King ſpeedily aduertiſed thereof, who gaue commandement out of hand that the aforelaid *Loutea* ſhould bee put to death, and with him the *Moores* of moſt importance: the other to be layd firſt in Priſon, and afterward to bee ſent abroad into certaine Cities, where they remayned perpetuall ſlaues vnto the King. To this Citie came by hap men and women threeſcore and odde, who at this day are brought to fiue men and foure women, for it is now twentie yeeres agoe this happened. Their offſpring paſſeth the number of two hundred, and they in this Citie, as the reſt in other Cities, whither they were ſent, haue their *Moſcheas*, whereunto they all reſort euery Friday to keepe their Holiday. But, as I thinke, that will no longer endure, then whiles they doe liue, that came from thence, for their poſteritie is ſo confuſed, that they haue nothing of a *Moore* in them, but abſtinence from Swines-fleſh, and yet many of them doe eate thereof priuily. They tell me that their natiue Countrey hath name *Camarian*, a firme land, wherein bee many Kings, and the *Indiſh* Countrey well knowne vnto them. It may ſo be: for as ſoone as they did ſee our ſeruants (our ſeruants were *Preuzaretes*) they iudged them to bee *Indians*: many of their words ſounded vpon the *Perſicke* tongue, but none of vs could vnderſtand them. I asked them, whither they conuerted any of the *Chiniſh* Nation vnto their Sect: they anſwered me, that with much adoe, they conuerted the women with whom they doe marrie, yeelding me no other cauſe thereof, but the difficultie they finde in them to bee brought from eating Swines-fleſh, and drinking of Wine. I haue learned moreouer, that the Sea whereby theſe *Moores* that came to *China* were wont to trauell, is a very great gulfe, that falleth into this Countrey out from *Tartaria* and *Perſia*, leauing on the other ſide all the Countrey of *China*, and land of the *Mogorites*, drawing alwayes toward the South: and of all likelyhood it is euen ſo, becauſe that theſe *Moores*, the which wee haue ſeene, bee rather browne then white, whereby they ſhew themſelues to come from ſome warmer Countrey then *China* is, neere to *Pachin*, where the Riuers are frozen in the winter for cold, and many of them ſo vehemently, that Carts may paſſe ouer them.

Moores.

That is their Temples.

It ſeemeth they came vp the riuer from the *Caſpian* ſea.

Ali. Auoins Tartars.

Wee did ſee in this Citie many *Tartars*, *Mogorites*, *Bremes*, and *Laoynes*, both men and women. The *Tartars* are men very white, good Horſe-men, and Archers, confining with *China* on that ſide where *Pachin* ſtandeth, ſeparated from thence by great Mountaines that are betwixt theſe Kingdomes. Ouer them bee certaine wayes to paſſe, and for both ſides, Caſtles continually kept with Souldiers: in time paſt, the *Tartars* were wont alwayes to haue warres with the *Chineans*, but theſe foureſcore yeeres paſt they were quiet, vntill the ſecond yeere of our Impriſonment.

Monte Vſont.

Mogores.

The *Mogores* bee in like manner white, and Heathen, wee are aduertiſed that of one ſide they border vpon theſe *Tartars*, and confine with the *Perſicke Tartares* on the other ſide, whereof wee ſaw in them ſome tokens, as their manner of cloathes, and that kinde of Hat the *Saracens* doe weare. The *Moores* affirmed, that where the King lyeth, there bee many *Tartars* and *Mogorites*, that brought into *China* certaine Blewes of great value.

Bremes.

As for the *Bremes*, wee haue ſeene in this Citie *Chenchi* certaine men and women, amongſt whom, there was one that came not long ſince, hauing as yet her hayre tyed vp after the *Pegues*

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gues fashion: this woman, and other moe with whom a blacke *Moore* damosell in our company had conference, and did vnderstand them well enough, had dwelt in *Pegbu*. This new come woman, imagining that wee meant to make our abode in that Citie, bid vs to bee of good comfort, for that her Countrey was not distant from thence aboue fiue dayes iourney, and that out of her Countrey, there lay a high way for vs home into our owne. Being asked the way, shee answered that the first three dayes the way lyeth ouer certaine great mountaines and wilderneſſe, afterward people to bee met withall againe. Thence two dayes iourney more to the *Bremes* Countrey. Wherefore I doe conclude, that *Chenchi* is one of the confines of this Kingdome, separated by certaine huge Mountaines, as it hath beene already sayd, that lye out towards the South. In the residue of these mountaines standeth the Prouince *Sian*, the *Laoyns* Countrey, *Cambaia*, *Chinapa*, and *Cochinchina*.

Southward from *Chenchi* to the Sea.

Auoins.

Chenchi.

This Citie, chiefe of other sixteene, is situated in a pleasant Playne, abounding in things necessarie, Sea-fish onely excepted, for it standeth farre from the Sea: of fresh Fish so much store, that the Market-places are neuer emptie. The walls of this Citie are very strong and high: one day did I see the *Louteas* thereof goe vpon the walls, to take the view thereof, borne in their seates I spake of before, accompanied with a troupe of Horse-men, that went two and two: It was told me they might haue gone three and three. Wee haue seene moreouer, that within this aforesaid Citie the King hath more than a thousand of his kindred lodged in great Palaces, in diuers parts of the Citie: their gates bee red, and the entrie into their houses, that they may be knowne, for that is the Kings colour. These Gentlemen, according to their neareneſſe in bloud vnto the King, as soone as they bee married, receiue their place in Honour: this place neither encreaseth nor diminisheth in any respect, as long as the King liueth, the King appointeth them their Wiues and Familie, allowing them by the moneth all things necessarie abundantly, as hee doth to his Gouernours of Shires and Cities, howbeit, not one of these hath as long as hee liueth, any charge or gouernment at all. They giue themselues to eating and drinking, and bee for the most part burley men of bodie, insomuch that espying any one of them, whom wee had not seene before, wee might know him to bee the Kings Cousin. They bee neuertheleſſe very pleasant, courteous, and fayre conditioned: neither did wee finde, all the time we were in that Citie, so much honour and good entertainment any where, as at their hands. They bid vs to their houses, to eate and drinke, and when they found vs not, or wee were not willing to goe with them, they bid our seruants, and slaues, causing them to sit downe with the first. Notwithstanding the good lodging these Gentlemen haue so commodious that they want nothing, yet are they in this bondage, that during life they neuer goe abroad. The cause, as I did vnderstand, wherefore the King so vseth his Cousins, is that none of them at any time may rebell against him: and thus bee shutteth them vp in three or foure other Cities. Most of them can play on the Lute: and to make that kinde of pastime peculiar vnto them onely, all other in the Cities where they doe liue, bee forbidden that Instrument, the Curtizans and blinde folke onely excepted, who bee Musicians, and can play.

No Lords but of the bloud royall.

This King furthermore, for the greater securitie of his Realme, and the auoyding of tumults, letteth not one in all his Countrey to bee called *Lord*, except hee be of his bloud. Many great Estates and Gouernours there be, that during their office are lodged Lord-like, and doe beare the port of mightie Princes: but they bee so many times displaced, and other placed anew, that they haue not the while to become corrupt. True it is, that during their Office they be well prouided for, as afterward, also lodged at the Kings charges, and in pension as long as they liue, payed them monethly in the Cities where they dwell, by certaine officers appointed for that purpose. The King then is a Lord onely, not one besides him as you haue seene, except it bee such as be of his bloud. A Nephew likewise of the King, the Kings Sisters sonne, lyeth continually within the walls of the Citie, in a strong Palace built Castle-wise, euen as his others Cousins doe, remayning alwayes within doores, serued by Eunuches, neuer dealing with any matters. Their festiuall dayes, new Moones, and full Moones, the Magistrates make great banquets, and so doe such as bee of the Kings bloud. The King his Nephew, hath name *Vanfuli*, his Palace is walled about, the wall is not high, but foure square, and in circuit nothing inferiour to the walls of *Goa*, the out-side is painted red, in euery square a Gate, and ouer each gate a Tower, made of timber excellently well wrought: before the principall Gate of the foure, that openeth into the high-street, no *Loutea*, bee he neuer so great, may passe on horse-backe, or carried in his seate. Amidst this quadrangle, standeth the Palace where that Gentleman lyeth, doubtlesse, worth the sight, although wee came not in to see it. By report the roofes of the towers and house, are glased greene, the greater part of the Quadrangle set with sauage Trees, as Oakes, Chesnuts, Cypresse, Pine-apples, Cedars, and other such like that wee doe want, after the manner of a Wood, wherein are kept Stagges, Oxen, and other beasts, for that Lord his recreation neuer going abroad, as I haue said.

One preheminence this Citie hath aboue the rest where wee haue beene, and it of right as we doe thinke, that besides the multitude of Market-places, wherein all things are to bee sold,

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ſold, through euery ſtreete continually are cryed all things neceſſarie, as Fleſh of all ſorts, freſh-Fiſh, Hearbes, Oyle, Vineger, Meale, Rice, *In ſumma*, all things ſo plentifully, that many houſes need no ſeruants, euerie thing being brought to their doores. Moſt part of the Merchants remayne in the Suburbs, for that the Cities are ſhut vp euery night, as I haue ſayd. The Merchants therefore, the better to attend their buſineſſe, doe choose rather to make their abode without in the Suburbs, then within the Citie. I haue ſeene in this Riuer a pretie kinde of Fiſhing, not to bee omitted in my opinion, and therefore will I ſet it downe. The King hath in many riuers good ſtore of Barges full of Sea-crowes, that breed, are fed, and doe dye therein, in certaine Cages, allowed monethly a certaine prouiſion of Rice. Theſe Barges the King beſtoweth vpon his greateſt Magiſtrates, giuing to ſome two, to ſome three of them, as hee thinketh good, to Fiſh therewithall after this manner. At the houre appointed to Fiſh, all the Barges are brought together in a circle, where the Riuer is ſhallow, and the Crowes tyed together vnder the wings, are let leape downe into the water, ſome vnder, ſome aboue, worth the looking vpon: each one as hee hath filled his bagge, goeth to his owne Barge and emptieth it, which done, hee returneth to fiſh againe. Thus hauing taken good ſtore of Fiſh, they ſet the Crowes at libertie, and doe ſuffer them to fiſh for their owne pleaſure. There were in that Citie, where I was, twentie Barges at the leaſt, of theſe aforeſaid Crowes. I went almoſt euery day to ſee them, yet could I neuer bee throughly ſatisfied to ſee ſo ſtrange a kinde of Fiſhing.

Fiſhing with Cormorants, they tye their gorges, that they ſwallow not their prey. One hath practiſed this in *London*.

(*.*)

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PEREGRINATIONS, VOYAGES, DISCOVERIES, OF CHINA, TARTARIA, RVSSIA, AND OTHER THE NORTH AND EAST PARTS OF THE WORLD,

By *English-men*, and others.

THE SECOND BOOKE.

CHAP. I.

The beginning of English *Discoueries towards the North, and North-east, by Sir* HVGH WILLOVGHBY, RICHARD CHANCELLOR, *and others; of the* Muscouie *Trade, as also Voyages by* Rusia, *ouer the* Caspian *Sea, and thorow diuers Regions of* Tartaria.

§. I.

The first Voyage for Discouerie with three ships, set forth vnder the charge of Sir HVGH WILLOVGHBY *Knight, in which he died; and* Moscouia *was discouered by Captaine* CHANCELLOR.

IN the yeere of our Lord 1553. the seuenth of the Raigne of King *Edward* the sixth of famous memorie, *Sebastian Cabota* was Gouernour of the Mysterie and *Companie of the Merchants Aduenturers for the discouerie of Regions, Dominions, Ilands, and places vnknowne.* Certaine instructions were agreed on by him and the said Companie, subscribed by Master *Cabota*, the ninth of May; the Kings Letters also procured vnto remote Princes in diuers languages, and a fleet of three Ships set forth at that time vnder the command of Sir *Hugh Willoughby* Knight, Captaine generall, which were in the *Bona Esperanza* Admirall, a ship of an hundred and twenty tunnes, hauing with her a Pinnace and a Boat: *Williams Gefferson* was Master of the said ship. The *Edward Bonauenture* was of an hundred and sixty tunnes, and had with her a Pinnace and a Boat, in which went *Richard Chancellor*, Captaine and Pilot Maior of the fleet, and *Stephen Burrough* Master. The *Bona Confidentia* of ninety tunnes, had with her a Pinnace and a Boat, of which *Cornelius Durfoorth* was Master. The

Seb. Cabota.

See the particulars in Master *Hackluyts* printed Voyages, *Tom.* 1.

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The firſt Voyage.

The Captaines and Maſters were ſworne to doe their true intent, and the ſhips prouided of neceſſaries ſet forth on the tenth of May, 1553. for the diſcouerie of *Cathay*, and diuers other Regions, Dominions, Ilands, and places vnknowne. The fourteenth of Iuly they diſcouered Land Eaſtward, and went on ſhoare with their Pinnace, and found thirty little houſes, the Inhabitants fled. The Land was full of little Ilands, called as they after learned, *Ægeland* * and *Halgeland*, in 66. degrees. The diſtance betweene *Orfordneſſe* and *Ægeland* two hundred and fifty leagues. Then we ſayled from thence twelue leagues North-weſt, and found many other Ilands, and there came to anchor the nineteenth day, and manned our Pinnace, and went on ſhoare to the Ilands, and found people mowing and making of Hay, which came to the ſhoare and welcommed vs. In which place were an innumerable ſort of Ilands, which were called the Iles of *Roſt*, being vnder the Dominion of the King of *Denmarke*: which place was in latitude 66. degrees and 30. minutes. The winde being contrarie, we remayned there three dayes, and there was an innumerable ſort of Fowles of diuers kindes, of which we tooke very many.

* This diſcourſe was found written in the *Speranza* which wintered a *Arzina*, where all the Companie were frozen to death.

Roſt Ilands.

The two and twentieth day, the winde comming faire, wee departed from *Roſt*, ſayling North North-eaſt, keeping the Sea vntill the ſeuen and twentieth day, and then we drew neere vnto the Land, which was ſtill Eaſt off vs: then went forth our Pinnace to ſeeke harbour, and found many good harbours, of the which we entred into one with our ſhips, which was called *Stanſew*, and the Land being Ilands, were called *Lewſoot*, or *Lofoot*, which were plentifully inhabited, and very gentle people, being alſo vnder the King of *Denmarke*: but wee could not learne how farre it was from the mayne Land: and we remayned there vntill the thirtieth day, being in latitude 68. degrees, and from the foreſaid *Roſt* about thirtie leagues North North-eaſt.

Stanſew harbour.

Lofoot.

The thirtieth day of Iuly about noone, wee weighed our anchors, and went into the Seas, and ſayled along theſe Ilands North North-eaſt, keeping the Land ſtill in ſight vntill the ſecond of Auguſt: then hailing in cloſe aboord the Land, to the intent to know what Land it was, there came a Skiffe of the Iland aboord of vs, of whom wee asked many queſtions, who ſhewed vnto vs, that the Iland was called *Seynam*, which is the latitude of ſeuenty degrees, and from *Stanſew* thirty leagues, being alſo vnder the King of *Denmark*, & that there was no merchandiſe there, but only dried fiſh, and Trane-oile. Then we being purpoſed to goe vnto *Finmarke*, enquired of him, if we might haue a Pilot to bring vs to *Finmarke*, and he ſaid, that if we could beare in, we ſhould haue a good Harbour, and on the next day a Pilot to bring vs to *Finmarke*, vnto the Ward-houſe, which is the ſtrongeſt Hold in *Finmark*, & moſt reſorted to by report. But when he would haue entred into an Harbour, the Land being very high on euery ſide, there came ſuch flawes of wind and terrible whirle-winds, that we were not able to beare in, but by violence were conſtrained to take the ſea againe, our Pinnace being vnſhipt: we ſailed North and by Eaſt, the wind encreaſing ſo ſore, that we were not able to beare any ſayle, but tooke them in, and lay adrift, to the end to let the ſtorme ouer-paſſe. And that night by violence of winde, and thickneſſe of miſts, we were not able to keepe together within ſight, and then about midnight wee loſt our Pinnace, which was a diſcomfort vnto vs. As ſoone as it was day, and the fogge ouer-paſt, we looked about, and at the laſt wee deſcried one of our ſhips to lee-ward off vs: then wee ſpred an hullocke of our fore-ſayle, and bare roome with her, which was the *Conſidence*, but the *Edward* we could not ſee. Then the flaw ſomething abating, wee and the *Conſidence* hoyſed vp our ſayles the fourth day, ſayling North-eaſt and by North, to the end to fall with the Ward-houſe, as we did conſult to doe before, in caſe we ſhould part companie. Thus running North-eaſt and by North, and North-eaſt fifty leagues, then wee ſounded, and had one hundred and ſixty fathoms, whereby we thought to be farre from Land, and perceiued that the Land lay not as the Globe made mention. Wherefore we changed our courſe the ſixth day, and ſayled South-eaſt and by South, eight and forty leagues, thinking thereby to finde the Ward-houſe.

Seynam in 70. degrees.

Auguſt.

The *Edward* loſt, or rather theſe two loſt; and the *Edward* found and entred the Bay of Saint *Nicolas*.

The eighth day much winde riſing at the Weſt North-weſt, we not knowing how the coaſt lay, ſtrooke our ſayles, and lay adrift, where ſounded and found one hundred and ſixty fathoms as before. The ninth day, the winde bearing to the South South-eaſt, we ſayled North-eaſt fiue and twenty leagues. The tenth day we ſounded, and could get no ground, neither yet could ſee any Land, whereat we wondered: then the winde comming at the North-eaſt, we ran South-eaſt about eight and forty leagues. The eleuenth day the winde being at South, wee ſounded and found forty fathoms, and faire ſand. The twelfth day, the winde being at South and by Eaſt, we lay with our ſayle Eaſt, and Eaſt and by North thirty leagues.

The fourteenth day early in the morning wee deſcried Land, which Land wee bare withall, hoyſing out our Boat to diſcouer what land it might be: but the Boat could not come to Land, the water was ſo ſhallow, where was very much Ice alſo, but there was no ſimilitude of habitation, and this Land lieth from *Seynam* Eaſt and by North, one hundred and ſixty leagues, being in latitude 72. degrees. Then we plyed to the Northward, the fifteenth, ſixteenth, and ſeuenteenth dayes.

Willoughby his Land, in 72. degrees.

The eighteenth day, the winde comming at the North-eaſt, and the *Conſidence* being troubled with bilge water, and ſtocked, wee thought it good to ſeeke harbour for her redreſſe: then wee bare roome the eighteenth day South South-eaſt, about ſeuenty leagues. The one and

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and twentieth day wee ſounded, and found ten fathoms, after that wee ſounded againe, and found but ſeuen fathoms, ſo ſhallower and ſhallower water, and yet could ſee no Land, whereat we maruelled greatly: to auoide this danger, we bare roomer into the Sea all that night North-weſt and by Weſt.

The next day we ſounded, and had twenty fathoms, then ſhaped our courſe, and ranne Weſt South-weſt vntill the three and twentieth day: then we deſcried lowe Land, vnto which wee bare as nigh as we could, and it appeared vnto vs vnhabitable. Then we plyed Weſtward along by that Land, which lieth Weſt South-weſt, and Eaſt North-eaſt, and much winde blowing at the Weſt, we haled into the Sea North and by Eaſt thirtie leagues. Then the winde comming about at the North-eaſt, wee ſayled Weſt North-weſt: after that, the winde bearing to the North-weſt, wee lay with our ſayles Weſt South-weſt, about fourteene leagues, and then deſcried Land, and bare in with it, being the eight and twentieth day, finding ſhallow water, and bare in till we came to three fathom, then perceiuing it to be ſhallow water, and alſo ſeeing drie ſands, we haled out againe North-eaſt along that Land, vntill we came to the point thereof. That Land turning to the Weſtward, we ranne along ſixteene leagues North-weſt: then comming into a faire Bay, we went on Land with our Boat, which place was vninhabited, but yet it appeared vnto vs that the people had beene there, by croſſes, and other ſignes: from thence we went all along the coaſt Weſtward.

The fourth day of September we loſt ſight of Land, by reaſon of contrarie windes, and the eighth day we deſcried Land againe. Within two dayes after we loſt the ſight of it: then running Weſt and by South about thirtie leagues, we gat the ſight of Land againe, and bare in with it vntill night: then perceiuing it to bee a lee ſhoare, we gat vs into the Sea, to the end to haue Sea roome. The twelfth of September wee haled to ſhoare-ward againe, hauing then indifferent winde and weather: then being neere vnto the ſhoare, and the tide almoſt ſpent, wee came to an anchor in thirtie fathoms water. The thirteenth day we came along the coaſt, which lay North-weſt and by Weſt, and South-eaſt and by Eaſt. The fourteenth day we came to an anchor within two leagues off the ſhoare, hauing ſixtie fathoms. There wee went aſhoare with our Boat, and found two or three good Harbours, the Land being rocky, and high, but as for people could we ſee none. The fifteenth day we ran ſtill along the coaſt vntill the ſeuenteenth day: then the winde being contrarie vnto vs, we thought it beſt to returne vnto the Harbour which we had found before, and ſo we bare roomer with the ſame, howbeit wee could not accompliſh our deſire that day. The next day being the eighteenth, we entred into the Hauen, and there came to an anchor at ſix fathoms. This Hauen runneth into the Mayne, about two leagues, and is in bredth halfe a league, wherein were very many Seale-fiſhes, and other great fiſhes, and vpon the Mayne wee ſaw Beares, great Deere, Foxes, and diuers ſtrange beaſts, as * Guloines, and ſuch other which were to vs vnknowne, and alſo wonderfull. Thus remayning in this Hauen the ſpace of a weeke, ſeeing the yeere farre ſpent, and alſo very euill weather, as Froſt, Snow, and Hayle, as though it had beene the deepe of Winter, wee thought beſt to winter there. Wherefore we ſent out three men South South-weſt, to ſearch if they could finde people, who went three dayes iourney, but could finde none: after that, we ſent other three Weſtward foure dayes iourney, which alſo returned without finding any people. Then ſent we three men South-eaſt three dayes iourney, who in like ſort returned without finding of people, or any ſimilitude of habitation.

September.

In this Hauen they died.

* Or, Hlons.

Heere endeth Sir *Hugh Willoughby* his note, which was written with his owne hand.

The Riuer or Hauen wherein Sir *Hugh Willoughby* with the companie of his two ſhips periſhed for cold, is called *Arzina* in *Lapland*, neere vnto *Kegor*. But it appeareth by a Will found in a ſhip that Sir *Hugh Willoughby*, and moſt of the companie were aliue in Ianuary, 1554.

A Letter of RICHARD CHANCELLOR, written to his Vncle Maſter CHRISTOPHER FROTHINGAM, touching his diſcouerie of *Moſcouia*.

FOraſmuch as it is meet and neceſſarie for all thoſe that minde to take in hand the trauell into ſtrange Countries, to endeauour themſelues not onely to vnderſtand the orders, commodities, and fruitfulneſſe thereof, but alſo to apply them to the ſetting forth of the ſame, whereby it may incourage others to the like trauell: therefore haue I now thought good to make a briefe rehearſall of the orders of this my trauell in Ruſſia, *and* Muſcouia, *and other Countries thereunto adioyning; becauſe it was my chance to fall with the North parts of* Ruſſia, *before I came towards* Moſcouia, *I will partly declare my knowledge therein.* Ruſſia *is very plentifull both of Land and People, and alſo wealthie for ſuch commodities as they haue. They be very great fiſhers for Salmons and ſmall Cods: they haue much Oyle which wee call Trane Oyle, the moſt whereof is made by a Riuer called* Duina. *They make it in other places, but not ſo much as there. They haue alſo a great trade in ſeething of ſalt water. To the North part of that Countrey are the places where they haue their Furres, as Sables, Marterns, greeſſe Beuers, Foxes white, blacke, and red, Minkes, Ermines, Menuer, and Harts. There are alſo a fiſhes teeth, which fiſh is called*

Duina.

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Note. *called a Morsse. The takers thereof dwell in a place called* Posteſora, *which bring them vpon Harts to* Lampas *to sell, and from* Lampas *carrie them to a place called* Colmogro, *where the high Market is holden on Saint* Nicolas *day. To the West of* Colmogro *there is a place called* Gratanoue, *in our language* Nouogorode, *where much fine Flaxe and Hempe groweth, and also much Waxe and Honie. The* Dutch *Merchants haue a Staple-house there. There is also great store of Hides, and at a place called* Plesco: *and thereabout is great store of Flaxe, Hempe, Waxe, Honie; and that Towne is from* Colmogro *one hundred and twentie miles.*

Vologda. *There is a place called* Vologda; *the commodities whereof are Tallow, Waxe, and Flaxe: but not so great plentie as is in* Gratanoue. *From* Vologda *to* Colmogro *there runneth a Riuer called* Duina, *and from thence it falleth into the Sea.* Colmogro *serueth* Gratanoue, Vologda, *and the* Mosco, *with all the Countrey thereabout with Salt and salt Fish. From* Vologda *to* Ieraslaue *is two hundred miles: which Towne is very great. The commodities thereof are Hides, and Tallow, and Corne in great plentie, and some Waxe, but not so plentifull as in other places.*

Ieraslaue.

The Mosco *is from* Ieraslaue *two hundred miles. The Countrey betwixt them is very well replenished with small Villages, which are so well filled with people; that it is wonder to see them: the ground is well stored with Corne, which they carrie to the Citie of* Mosco *in such abundance that it is wonder to see it. You shall meet in a morning seuen or eight hundred Sleds comming or going thither, that carrie Corne, and some carrie fish. You shall haue some that carrie Corne to the* Mosco, *and some that fetch Corne from thence, that at the least dwell a thousand miles off: and all their carriage is on Sleds. Those which come so farre dwell in the North parts of the Dukes Dominions, where the cold will suffer no Corne to grow, it is so extreme. They bring thither Fishes, Furres, and Beasts skinnes. In those parts they haue but small store of Cattell.*

Mosco. *The* Mosco *it selfe is great: I take the whole Towne to be greater then* London *with the Suburbes: but it is very rude, and standeth without all order. Their houses are all of timber very dangerous for fire. There is a faire Castle, the walls whereof are of bricke, and very high: they say they are eighteene foot thicke, but I doe not beleeue it, it doth not so seeme; notwithstanding, I doe not certainly know it: for no stranger may come to view it. The one side is ditched, and on the other side runneth a Riuer, called* Moscua, *which runneth into* Tartarie, *and so into the Sea, called* Mare Caspium: *and on the North side there is a base Towne, the which hath also a Bricke wall about it, and so it ioyneth with the Castle wall. The Emperour lieth in the Castle, wherein are nine faire Churches, and therein are Religious men. Also there is a Metropolitan with diuers Bishops, I will not stand in description of their buildings, nor of the strength thereof, because we haue better in all points in* England. *They be well furnished with Ordnance of all sorts.*

The Castle.

The Emperours or Dukes house neither in building nor in the outward shew, nor yet within the house is so sumptuous as I haue seene. It is very lowe built in eight square, much like the old building of England, *with small windowes, and so in other points.*

Now to declare my comming before his Maiestie: After I had remayned twelue dayes, the Secretarie which hath the hearing of strangers did send for mee, aduertising me that the Dukes pleasure was to haue me to come before his Maiestie, with the King my Masters Letters: whereof I was right glad, and so I gaue mine attendance. And when the Duke was in his place appointed, the Interpreter came for mee into the outer Chamber, where sate one hundred or moe Gentlemen, all in cloth of Gold very sumptuous, and from thence I came into the Counsell-chamber, where sate the Duke himselfe, with his Nobles, which were a faire companie: they sate round about the Chamber on high, yet so that he himselfe sate much higher then any of his Nobles, in a Chaire gilt, and in a long garment of beaten Gold, with an Imperiall Crowne vpon his head, and a Staffe of Crystall and Gold in his right hand, and his other hand halfe leaning on his Chaire. The Chancellour stood vp with the Secretarie before the Duke. After my dutie done, and my Letter deliuered, he bade me welcome, and enquired of mee the health of the King my Master, and I answered, that he was in good health at my departure from his Court, and that my trust was, that he was now in the same. Vpon the which he bade me to dinner. The Chancellor presented my Present vnto his Grace bare-headed (for before they were all couered) and when his Grace had receiued my Letter, I was required to depart: for I had charge not to speake to the Duke, but when he spake to mee. So I departed vnto the Secretaries Chamber, where I remayned two houres, and then I was sent for againe vnto another Palace, which is called, The golden Palace, *but I saw no cause why it should be so called; for I haue seene many fairer then it in all points: and so I came into the Hall, which was small and not great as is the Kings Maiesties of* England, *and the Table was couered with a Table-cloth; and the Marshall sate at the end of the Table with a little white rod in his hand, which Boord was full of vessell of Gold: and on the other side of the Hall did stand a faire Cupboord of Plate.*

Hee commeth before the Duke.

Dineth with the Duke.

From thence I came into the dining Chamber, where the Duke himselfe sate at his Table without Cloth of estate, in a Gowne of Siluer, with a Crowne Imperiall vpon his head, he sate in a Chaire somewhat high: there sate none neere him by a great way. There were long tables set round about the chamber, which were full set with such as the Duke had at dinner: they were all in white. Also the places where the tables stood were higher by two steps then the rest of the house. In the middest of the chamber stood a Table or Cupboord to set Plate on; which stood full of Cups of Gold: and amongst all the

rest

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reſt there ſtood foure marueilous great Pots or Crudences as they call them, of Gold and Siluer: I thinke they were a good yard and a halfe high. By the Cupboard ſtood two Gentlemen with Napkins on their ſhoulders, and in their hands each of them had a Cup of Gold ſet with Pearles and Precious Stones, which were the Dukes owne drinking Cups: when hee was diſpoſed, hee drunke them off at a draught. And for his ſeruice at meate it came in without order, yet it was very rich ſeruice: for all were ſerued in Gold; not onely he himſelfe, but alſo all the reſt of vs, and it was very maſſie: the Cups alſo were of Gold and very maſſie. The number that dined there that day was two hundred perſons, and all were ſerued in Golden Veſſell. The Gentlemen that wayted were all in Cloth of Gold, and they ſerued him with their Caps on their heads. Before the ſeruice came in, the Duke ſent to euery man a great ſhiuer of Bread, and the Bearer called the party ſo ſent to by his name aloude, and ſaid, Iohn Baſiliuich Emperour of *Ruſſia*, and great Duke of *Moſcouia*, doth reward thee with Bread: *then muſt all men ſtand vp, and doe at all times when thoſe words are ſpoken. And then laſt of all hee giueth the Marſhall Bread, whereof he eateth before the Dukes Grace, and ſo doth reuerence and departeth. Then commeth the Dukes ſeruice of the Swans all in pieces, and euery one in a ſeuerall diſh: the which the Duke ſendeth as he did the Bread, and the Bearer ſaith the ſame words as hee ſaid before. And as I ſaid before, the ſeruice of his meate is in no order, but commeth in Diſh by Diſh: and then after that the Duke ſendeth drinke, with the like ſaying as before is told. Alſo before Dinner he changed his Crowne, and in Dinner time two Crownes; ſo that I ſaw three ſeuerall Crownes vpon his head in one day. And thus when his ſeruice was all come in, hee gaue to euery one of his Gentlemen Wayters meate with his owne hand, and ſo likewiſe drinke. His intent thereby is, as I haue heard, that euery man ſhall know perfectly his ſeruants. Thus when Dinner is done hee calleth his Nobles before him name by name, that it is wonder to heare how he could name them, hauing ſo many as hee hath. Thus when Dinner was done I departed to my Lodging, which was an houre within night.*

Golden Veſſel.

Shiuer of Bread.

Crowne chaunged.

I will leaue this, and ſpeake no more of him nor his Houſhold: but I will ſomewhat declare of his Land and people, with their nature and power in the Warres. This Duke is Lord and Emperour of many Countries, and his power is marueilous great. For hee is able to bring into the field two or three hundred thouſand men: he neuer goeth into the field himſelfe with vnder two hundred thouſand men: And when hee goeth himſelfe, hee furniſheth his Borders all with men of Warre, which are no ſmall number. He leaueth on the Borders of Lieſland *fortie thouſand men, and vpon the borders of* Letto, *ſixtie thouſand men, and toward the* Nagayan Tartars *ſixtie thouſand, which is wonder to heare of: yet doth hee neuer take to his Warres neither Husbandman nor Merchant. All his men are Horſe-men: hee vſeth no Foot-men, but ſuch as goe with the Ordnance and Labourers, which are thirtie thouſand. The Horſe-men are all Archers, with ſuch Bowes as the* Turkes *haue, and they ride ſhort as doe the* Turkes. *Their Armour is a Coate of Plate, with a skull on their heads. Some of their Coates are couered with Veluet or Cloth of God: their deſire is to be ſumptuous in the field, and eſpecially the Nobles and Gentlemen: as I haue heard their trimming is very coſtly, and partly I haue ſeene it, or elſe I would ſcarcely haue beleeued it: but the Duke himſelfe is richly attyred aboue all meaſure: his Pauilion is couered eyther with Cloth of Gold or Siluer, and ſo ſet with ſtones that it is wonderfull to ſee it. I haue ſeene the Kings Maieſties of* England *and the* French *Kings Pauilions, which are faire, yet not like vnto his. And when they be ſent into farre or ſtrange Countries, or that ſtrangers come to them, they be very gorgeous. Elſe the Duke himſelfe goeth but meanly in apparell: and when hee goeth betwixt one place and another hee is but reaſonably apparelled ouer other times. In the while that I was in* Moſco, *the Duke ſent two Ambaſſadours to the King of* Poleland, *which had at the leſt fiue hundred Horſes; their ſumptuouſneſſe was aboue meaſure, not onely in themſelues, but alſo in their Horſes, as Veluet, Cloth of Gold, and Cloth of Siluer ſet with Pearles, and not ſcant. What ſhall I further ſay? I neuer heard of nor ſaw men ſo ſumptuous: but it is no daily guize, for when they haue not occaſion, as I ſaid before, all their doing is but meane. And now to the effect of their Warres: They are men without all order in the field. For they run hurling on heaps, and for the moſt part they neuer giue battayle to their Enemies: but that which they do, they do it all by ſtealth. But I beleeue they be ſuch men for hard liuing as are not vnder the Sunne: for no cold will hurt them. Yea, and though they lye in the field two moneths, at ſuch time as it ſhall freeze more then a yard thicke, the common Souldier hath neither Tent nor any thing elſe ouer his head: the moſt defence they haue againſt the weather is a Felt, which is ſet againſt the wind and weather, and when Snow commeth he doth caſt it off, and maketh him a fire, and layeth him downe thereby. Thus doe the moſt of all his men, except they be Gentlemen which haue other proniſion of their owne. Their lying in the field is not ſo ſtrange as is their hardneſſe: for euery man muſt carrie and make proniſion for himſelfe, and his Horſe for a moneth or two, which is very wonderfull. For hee himſelfe ſhall liue vpon water and Oate-meale mingled together cold, and drinke water thereto: his Horſe ſhall eate greene wood, and ſuch like baggage, and ſhall ſtand open in the cold field without couert, and yet will hee labour and ſerue him right well. I pray you amongſt all our boaſting Warriours how many ſhould we find to endure the field with them but one moneth. I know no ſuch Region about vs that beareth that name for man and beaſt. Now what might bee made of theſe men if they were trayned and broken to order and knowledge of Ciuill Warres: if this Prince had within his Countries ſuch men as could make them to vnderſtand the things aforeſaid, I doe beleeue that two of the beſt or greateſt Princes in Chriſtendome were not well able to match with him, conſidering the greatneſſe of his power and the hard-*

Dukes forces.

Armour and rich attyre.

Extreames.

Vndiſciplined Souldiers.

Hardineſſe.

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hardneſſe of his people, and ſtraight liuing both of people and Horſe, and the ſmall charges which his Wars ſtand him in: for he giueth no wages, except to ſtrangers. They haue a yearely ſtipend and not much. As for his owne Countreymen, euery one ſerueth of his owne proper coſts and charges, ſauing that hee giueth to his Harquebuſiers certayne allowance for Powder and ſhot: or elſe no man in all his Countrey hath one penie wages. But if any man hath done very good ſeruice, he giueth him a Ferme, or a piece of Land; for the which he is bound at all times to be readie with ſo many men as the Duke ſhall appoint: who conſidereth in his minde, what that Land or Ferme is well able to find: and ſo many ſhall he be bound to furniſh at all and euery ſuch time as Warres are holden in any of the Dukes Dominions. For there is no man of liuing, but he is bound likewiſe, whether the Duke call for eyther Souldier or Labourer, to furniſh them with all ſuch neceſſaries as to them belong.

Knights Fee.

Duke heire Generall.

Alſo, if any Gentleman or man of liuing doe dye without Iſſue Male, immediately after his death the Duke entreth his Land, notwithſtanding he haue neuer ſo many Daughters, and peraduenture giueth it forth-with to another man, except a ſmall portion that he ſpareth to marry the Daughters withall. Alſo, if there be a Rich man, a Fermour, or man of Liuing, which is ſtricken in age or by chance is maymed, and be not able to doe the Duke ſeruice, ſome other Gentleman that is not able to line and more able to doe ſeruice, will come to the Duke and complaine, ſaying, your Grace hath ſuch an one, which is vnmeete to doe ſeruice to your Highneſſe, who hath great abundance of wealth, and likewiſe your Grace hath many Gentlemen which are poore and lacke liuing, and we that lacke are well able to doe good ſeruice, your Grace might doe well to looke vpon him, and make him to helpe thoſe that want. Immediately the Duke ſendeth forth to inquire of his wealth: and if it be ſo proued, hee ſhall be called before the Duke, and it ſhall bee ſaid vnto him, Friend, you haue too much liuing, and are vnſeruiceable to your Prince, leſſe will ſerue you, and the reſt will ſerue other men that are more able to ſerue. Whereupon immediately his liuing ſhall be taken away from him, ſauing a little to find himſelfe and his Wife on, and he may not once repine thereat: but for anſwere hee will ſay, that hee hath nothing, but it is Gods and the Dukes Graces, and cannot ſay, as wee the common people in England ſay, if wee haue any thing; that it is Gods and our owne. Men may ſay, that theſe men are in wonderfull great awe, and obedience, that thus one muſt giue and grant his goods which he hath beene ſcraping and ſcratching for all his life to be at his Princes pleaſure and commandement. Oh, that our ſturdie Rebels were had in the like ſubiection to know their dutie toward their Princes. They may not ſay as ſome Snudges in England ſay, I would find the Queene a man to ſerue in my place, or make his Friends tarrie at home if many haue the vpper hand. No, no it is not ſo in this Countrey: for he ſhall make humble ſute to ſerue the Duke. And whom he ſendeth moſt to the Warres hee thinketh he is moſt in his fauour: and yet as I before haue ſaid, he giueth no wages. If they knew their ſtrength, no man were able to make match with them: for they that dwell neere them ſhould haue any reſt of them. But I thinke it is not Gods will: For I may compare them to a young Horſe that knoweth not his ſtrength, whom a little Child ruleth and guideth with a bridle, for all his great ſtrength: for if he did, neither Child nor man could rule him. Their Warres are holden againſt the Crimme Tartarians, and the Nagayans.

No wages.

I will ſtand no longer in the rehearſall of their power and Warres. For it were to tedious to the Reader. But I will in part declare their Lawes, and Puniſhments, and the execution of Iuſtice. And firſt I will begin with the Commons of the Countrey, which the Gentlemen haue rule on: And that is, that euery Gentleman hath Rule and Iuſtice vpon his owne Tenants. And if it ſo fall out that two Gentlemens Seruants or Tenants doe diſagree, the two Gentlemen examine the matter, and haue the parties before them, and ſo giue the Sentence. And yet cannot they make the end betwixt them of the Controuerſie, but either of the Gentlemen muſt bring his Seruant or Tenant before the high Iudge or Iuſtice of that Countrey, and there preſent them, and declare the matter and caſe. The Plaintiffe ſaith, I require the Law, which is granted: then commeth an Officer and arreſteth the partie Defendant, and vſeth him contrary to the Lawes of England. For when they attach any man, they beate him about the legs, vntill ſuch time as he findeth Sureties to anſwere the matter: And if not, his hands and necke are bound together, and hee is led about the Towne, and beaten about the legs, with other extreme puniſhments till he come to his Anſwere: And the Iuſtice demandeth if it bee for Debt, and ſayth: Oweſt thou this man any ſuch Debt? He will, perhaps, ſay nay. Then ſaith the Iudge: Art thou able to deny it? Let vs heare how? By Oath, ſaith the Defendant. Then he commandeth to leaue beating him till further tryall be had.

Gentlemen.

Suits & tryals.

Their order in one point is commendable. They haue no man of Law to plead their Cauſes in any Court: but euery man pleadeth his owne Cauſe, and giueth Bill and Anſwere in writing: contrary to the order in England. The Complaint is in manner of a Supplication, and made to the Dukes Grace, and deliuered him into his owne hand, requiring to haue Iuſtice as in his Complaint is alleaged. The Duke giueth ſentence himſelfe vpon all matters in the Law. Which is very commendable, that ſuch a Prince will take paines to ſee miniſtration of Iuſtice. Yet notwithſtanding it is wonderfully abuſed: and thereby the Duke is much deceiued. But if it fall out that the Officers be eſpied in cloking the truth, they haue moſt condigne puniſhment. And if the Plaintiffe can nothing proue, then the Defendant muſt take his Oath vpon the Crucifixe, whether he be in the right or no. Then is demanded, if the Plaintiffe bee any thing able further to make proofe: if he be not; then ſometimes he will ſay, I am able to proue it by my body and hands, or by my Champions body, ſo requiring the Campe. After the other hath his Oath,

No Lawyer.

Combat-triall.

it

it is granted as well to the one as to the other. So when they goe to the field, they sweare vpon the Crucifixe, *that they bee both in the right, and that the one shall make the other to confesse the truth before they depart foorth of the field: and so they goe both to the battell armed with such weapons as they vse in that Countrey: they fight all on foot, and seldome the parties themselues doe fight, except they bee Gentlemen, for they stand much vpon their reputation, for they will not fight, but with such as are come of as good an house as themselues. So that if either partie require the combate, it is granted vnto them, and no Champion is to serue in their roome; wherein is no deceit; but otherwise by champions there is. For although they take great oathes vpon them to doe the battell truely, yet is the contrary often seene: because the common Champions haue no other liuing. And assoone as the one partie hath gotten the victorie, hee demandeth the debt, and the other is carryed to Prison, and there is shamefully vsed till hee take order.*

There is also another order in the Law, that the plaintiffe may sweare in some causes of debt. And if the partie defendant bee poore, hee shall be set vnder the Crucifixe, and the partie plaintiffe must sweare ouer his head, and when hee hath taken his oath, the Duke taketh the partie defendant home to his house, and vseth him as his bond-man, and putteth him to labour, or letteth him for hire to any such as neede him, vntill such time as his friends make prouision for his redemption: or else hee remayneth in bondage all the dayes of his life. Bondage. *Againe, there are many that will sell themselues to Gentlemen or Merchants, to bee their bond-men, to haue during their life, meate, drinke and cloath, and at their comming to haue a piece of money; yea, and some will sell their wiues and children to be bawds and drudges to the buyer.* Punishments for Crimes. *Also they haue a Law for Fellons and pickers contrary to the Lawes of* England. *For by their Law they can hang no man for his first offence; but may keepe him long in Prison, and oftentimes beate him with whips and other punishment: and there hee shall remaine vntill his friends bee able to bayle him. If hee be a picker or a cut-purse, as there bee very many, the second time he is taken, hee hath a piece of his Nose cut off, and is burned in the fore-head, and kept in prison till he finde sureties for his good behauiour. And if hee be taken the third time, he is hanged. And at the first time hee is extreamely punished and not released, except he haue very good friends, or that some Gentleman require to haue him to the warres: And in so doing, hee shall enter into great bonds for him: by which meanes the Countrey is brought into good quietnesse. But they bee naturally giuen to great deceit, except extreame beating did bridle them.* Beating. *They bee naturally giuen to hard liuing as well in fare as in lodging. I heard a* Russian *say, that it was a great deale merrier liuing in Prison then foorth, but for the great beating. For they haue meate and drinke without any labour, and get the charitie of well disposed people: But being at libertie they get nothing. The poore is very innumerable, and liue most miserably: for I haue seene them eate the pickle of Herring and other stinking Fish: nor the Fish cannot bee so stinking nor rotten, but they will eate it and praise it to bee more wholesome then other fish or fresh meate. In mine opinion there bee no such people vnder the Sunne for their hardnesse of liuing. Well, I will leaue them in this point, and will in part declare their Religion.*

Miserable poore.

They doe obserue the Law of the Greekes *with such excesse of superstition, as the like hath not beene heard of.* Superstition. *They haue no grauen Images in their Churches, but all painted, to the intent they will not breake the Commandement: but to their painted Images they vse such Idolatrie, that the like was neuer heard of in* England. Images and Pictures. *They will neither worship nor honour any Image that is made foorth of their owne Countrey. For their owne Images (say they) haue Pictures to declare what they bee, and how they be of God, and so be not ours: They say, looke how the Painter or Caruer hath made them, so wee doe worship them, and they worship none before they bee Christened. They say wee be but halfe Christians: because we obserue not part of the old Law with the* Turkes. *Therefore they call themselues more holy then vs. They haue none other learning but their mother tongue, nor will suffer no other in their Countrey among them.* Mother tongue. *All their seruice in Churches is in their mother tongue. They haue the old and new Testament, which are daily read among them: and yet their superstition is no lesse. For when the Priests doe reade, they haue such trickes in their reading, that no man can vnderstand them, nor no man giueth eare to them.* Seruice. *For all the while the Priest readeth, the people sit downe and one talke with another. But when the Priest is at seruice no man sitteth, but gaggle and ducke like so many Geese. And as for their prayers they haue but little skill, but vse to say,* As bodi pomele: *As much to say,* Lord haue mercie vpon me. Prayers. *For the tenth man within the Land cannot say the* Pater noster. *And as for the Creed, no man may bee so bold as to meddle therewith but in the Church: for they say it should not be spoken of, but in the Churches.* Creed. *Speake to them of the Commandements, and they will say they were giuen to* Moses *in the Law, which* Christ *hath now abrogated by his precious Death and Passion: therefore, (say they) wee obserue little or none thereof.* Commandements. *And I doe beleeue them. For if they were examined of their Law and Commandements together, they should agree but in few points. They haue the Sacrament of the Lords Supper in both kindes, and more ceremonies then we haue.* Sacraments. *They present them in a dish in both kinds together, and carrie them round about the Church vpon the Priests head, and so doe minister at all such times as any shall require. They bee great offerers of Candles, and sometimes of money, which wee call in* England, *Soule pence, with more ceremonies then I am able to declare.* Candles.

They haue foure Lents in the yeere, whereof our Lent is the greatest. Looke as wee doe begin on the Wednesday, so they doe on the Munday before: And the weeke before that they call the Butter-weeke: And in that weeke they eate nothing but Butter and Milke. Howbeit I beleeue there bee in no other Countrey the like people for Drunkennesse. The next Lent is called Saint Peters *Lent, and beginneth* Foure Lents.

neth alwayes the Munday next after Trinitie Sunday, and endeth on Saint Peters *Eeuen. If they should breake that Fast, their beliefe is, that they should not come in at Heauen gates. And when any of them dye, they haue a testimoniall with them in the Coffin, that when the soule commeth to Heauen gates it may deliuer the same to* Saint Peter, *which declareth that the partie is a true and holy* Russian. *The third Lent beginneth fifteene dayes before the later* Lady day, *and endeth on our* Lady *Eeuen. The fourth Lent beginneth on* Saint Martins *day, and endeth on* Christmas *Eeuen: which Lent is fasted for* Saint Philip, Saint Peter, Saint Nicholas, *and* Saint Clement. *For they foure bee the principall and greatest Saints in that Countrey. In these Lents they eate neither Butter, Egges, Milke, nor Cheese; but they are very straightly kept with Fish, Cabbages, and Rootes. And out of their Lents, they obserue truely the Wednesdayes and Fridayes throughout the yeere: and on the Saturday they doe eate flesh. Furthermore, they haue a great number of Religious men: which are blacke Monkes, and they eate no Flesh throughout the yeere, but Fish, Milke and Butter. By their order they should eate no fresh-Fish, and in their Lents they eate nothing but Coleworts, Cabbages, salt Cucumbers, with other rootes, as Radish and such like. Their drinke is like our penie Ale, and is called* Quass. *They haue Seruice daily in their Churches; and vse to goe to seruice two houres before day, and that is ended by day light. At nine of the clocke they goe to Masse: that ended, to Dinner: and after that to seruice againe: and then to Supper. You shall vnderstand that at euerie dinner and supper they haue declared the exposition of the Gospell that day: but how they wrest and twine the Scripture and that together, by report it is wonderfull. As for Whoredome and Drunkennesse there bee none such liuing: and for Extortion, they bee the most abominable vnder the Sunne. Now iudge of their holinesse. They haue twise as much Land as the Duke himselfe hath: but yet hee is reasonable euen with them, as thus: When they take bribes of any of the poore and simple, hee hath it by an order. When the Abbot of any of their Houses dyeth, then the Duke hath all his goods moueable and vnmoueable: so that the Successour buyeth all at the Dukes hands: and by this meane they bee the best Fermers the Duke hath. Thus with their Religion I make an end, trusting hereafter to know it better.*

Chiefe Saints.

Vices.

Abbies.

Some additions for better knowledge of this Voyage, taken by CLEMENT ADAMS, *Schoole-master to the Queenes Henshmen, from the mouth of Captaine* CHANCELOR.

I haue this booke of *Clement Adams*, in Latine, written in a very elegant hand and eloquent stile to King *Philip*; (as I thinke) the very originall.

Richard Chancelor with his Ship and companie being thus left alone, and become very pensiue, heauie, and sorrowfull, by this dispersion of the Fleet, hee (according to the order before taken,) shapeth his course for *Ward-house* in *Norway*, there to expect and abide the arriuall of the rest of the Ships. And being come thither, and hauing stayed there the space of seauen dayes, and looked in vaine for their comming, hee determined at length to proceed alone in the purposed voyage. And as hee was preparing himselfe to depart, it happened that hee fell in companie and speech with certaine *Scottish*-men: who hauing vnderstanding of his intention, and wishing well to his actions, began earnestly to dissuade him from the further prosecution of the discouerie, by amplifying the dangers which hee was to fall into, and omitted no reason that might serue to that purpose. But he holding nothing so ignominious and reproachfull, as inconstancie and leuitie of minde, and perswading himselfe that a man of valour could not commit a more dishonourable part, then for feare of danger to auoyd and shun great attempts, was nothing at all changed or discouraged with the speeches and words of the *Scots*, remayning stedfast and immutable in his first resolution: determining either to bring that to passe which was intended, or else to dye the death.

And as for them which were with Master *Chancelor* in his Ship, although they had great cause of discomfort by the losse of their companie (whom the foresaid tempest had separated from them,) and were not a little troubled with cogitations and perturbations of minde, in respect of their doubtfull course: yet notwithstanding, they were of such consent and agreement of minde with Master *Chancelor*, that they were resolute, and prepared vnder his direction and gouernment, to make proofe and tryall of all aduentures, without all feare or mistrust of future dangers. Which constancie of minde in all the companie did exceedingly increase their Captaines carefulnesse: for hee being swallowed vp with like good will and loue towards them, feared lest through any errour of his, the safetie of the companie should bee indangered. To conclude, when they saw their desire and hope of the arriuall of the rest of the Ships to bee euery day more and more frustrated, they prouided to Sea againe, and Master *Chancelor* held on his course towards that vnknowne part of the world, and sayled so farre, that hee came at last to the place where hee found no night at all, but a continuall light and brightnesse of the Sunne shining cleerely vpon the huge and mightie Sea. And hauing the benefite of this perpetuall light for certaine dayes, at the length it pleased God to bring them into a certaine great Bay, which was of one hundreth miles or there about ouer. Whereinto they entred, and somewhat farre within

They arriue in the Bay of Saint *Nicholas*.

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within it caſt anchor, and looking euery way about them, it hapned that they eſpyed a farre off a certaine Fiſher-boate, which Maſter *Chancelor*, accompanied with a few of his men, went towards to common with the Fiſhermen that were in it, and to know of them what Countrey it was, and what people, and of what manner of liuing they were: but they being amazed with the ſtrange greatneſſe of his ſhip, (for in thoſe parts before that time, they had neuer ſeene the like) began preſently to auoyd and to flee: but hee ſtill following them, at laſt ouertooke them, and being come to them, they (being in great feare, as men halfe dead) proſtrated themſelues before him, offering to kiſſe his feete: but hee (according to his great and ſingular courteſie,) looked pleaſantly vpon them, comforting them by ſignes and geſtures, refuſing thoſe duties and reuerences of theirs, and taking them vp in all louing ſort from the ground. And it is ſtrange to conſider how much fauour afterwards in that place, this humanitie of his did purchaſe to himſelfe. For they being diſmiſſed, ſpread by and by a report abroad of the arriuall of a ſtrange Nation, of a ſingular gentleneſſe and courteſie: whereupon the common people came together, offering to theſe new-come gheſts victuals freely, and not refuſing to traffique with them, except they had beene bound by a certaine religious vſe and cuſtome, not to buy any forraine commodities, without the knowledge and conſent of the King.

By this time our men had learned, that this Countrey was called *Ruſſia*, or *Muſcouie*, and that *Iuan Vaſilwich* (which was at that time their Kings name) ruled and gouerned farre and wide in thoſe places. And the barbarous *Ruſſes* asked likewiſe of our men whence they were, and what they came for: whereunto anſwer was made, that they were *Engliſh*-men ſent into thoſe coaſts, from the moſt excellent King *Edward* the ſixt, hauing from him in commandement certaine things to deliuer to their King, and ſeeking nothing elſe but his amitie and friendſhip, and traffique with his people, whereby they doubted not, but that great commoditie and profit would grow to the ſubiects of both Kingdomes. The Diſcouerie of *Ruſſia*.

The *Barbarians* heard theſe things very gladly, and promiſed their ayde and furtherance to acquaint their King out of hand, with ſo honeſt and a reaſonable a requeſt. In the meane time Maſter *Chancelor* intreated victuals for his money, of the Gouernour of that place (who together with others came aboord him) and required hoſtages of them likewiſe, for the more aſſurance of ſafetie to himſelfe and his companie. To whom the Gouernours anſwered, that they knew not in that caſe the will of their King, but yet were willing in ſuch things as they might lawfully doe, to pleaſure him: which was as then to affoord him the benefit of victuals.

Now, while theſe things were a doing, they ſecretly ſent a meſſenger vnto the Emperour, to certifie him of the arriuall of a ſtrange Nation, and withall to know his pleaſure concerning them. Which meſſage was very welcome vnto him, inſomuch that voluntarily he inuited them to come to his Court. But if by reaſon of the tedioufneſſe of ſo long a iourney, they thought it not beſt ſo to doe, then hee granted libertie to his Subiects to bargaine, and to traffique with them: and further promiſed, that if it would pleaſe them to come to him, hee himſelfe would beare the whole charges of poſte Horſes. In the meane time the Gouernours of the place, differred the matter from day to day, pretending diuers excuſes, and ſaying one while, that the conſent of all the Gouernours, and another while, that the great and weightie affaires of the Kindome compelled them to differ their anſwer: and this they did of purpoſe, ſo long to protract the time, vntill the meſſenger (ſent before to the King) did returne with relation of his will and pleaſure. Meſſenger ſent to the Emperour.

But Maſter *Chancelor*, (ſeeing himſelfe held in this ſuſpenſe with long and vaine expectation, and thinking that of intention to delude him, they poſted the matter off ſo often,) was very inſtant with them to performe their promiſe: Which if they would not doe, hee told them that he would depart and proceed in his voyage. So that the *Muſcouites* (although as yet they knew not the minde of their King) yet fearing the departure indeed of our men, who had ſuch wares and commodities as they greatly deſired, they at laſt reſolued to furniſh our people with all things neceſſarie, and to conduct them by land to the preſence of their King. And ſo Maſter *Chancelor* began his iourney, which was very long and moſt troubleſome, wherein he had the vſe of certaine ſleds, which in that Countrey are very common, for they are carried themſelues vpon ſleds, and all their carriages are in the ſame ſort, the people almoſt not knowing any other manner of carriage, the cauſe whereof is, the exceeding hardneſſe of the ground congealed in the Winter time by the force of the cold, which in thoſe places is very extreame and horrible, whereof hereafter wee will ſay ſomething.

But now they hauing paſſed the greater part of their iourney, met at laſt with the Sled-man (of whom I ſpake before) ſent to the King ſecretly from the Iuſtices or Gouernours, who by ſome ill hap had loſt his way, and had gone to the Sea-ſide, which is neere to the Countrey of the *Tartars*, thinking there to haue found our ſhip. But hauing long erred and wandered out of his way, at the laſt in his direct returne, hee met (as he was comming) our Captaine on the way. To whom hee by and by deliuered the Emperours letters, which were written to him with all courteſie and in the moſt louing manner that could bee: wherein expreſſe commandement was giuen, that poſt Horſes ſhould be gotten for him and the reſt of his company without any money. Which thing was of all the *Ruſſes*, in the reſt of their iourney ſo willingly done, that The Emperors courteous letters to Maſter *Chancelor*.

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that they began to quarrell, yea, and to fight alſo in ſtriuing and contending which of them ſhould put their poſte horſes to the Sled: ſo that after much adoe, and great paines taken in this long and wearie iourney, (for they had trauelled very neere fifteene hundred miles) Maſter *Chancelar* came at laſt to *Moſco*, the chiefe Citie of the Kingdome, and the ſeate of the King.

HONDIVS *his Map of* Ruſſia.

Riphean hils, a tale of Antiquitie.

Touching the *Riphean* Mountaines, whereupon the Snow lyeth continually, and where hence in times paſt it was thought that *Tanais* the riuer did ſpring, and that the reſt of the wonders of nature, which the *Grecians* fained and inuented of old, were there to bee ſeene: our men which lately came from thence, neither ſaw them, nor yet haue brought home any perfect relation of them, although they remayned there for the ſpace of three moneths, and had gotten in that time ſome intelligence of the language of *Moſcouie*. The whole Countrey is plaine and champion, and few hils in it: and towards the North, it hath very large and ſpacious Woods, wherein is great ſtore of Firre trees, a wood very neceſſarie, and fit for the building of houſes: there are alſo wilde beaſts bred in thoſe woods, as Buffes, Beares, and blacke Wolues, and another kinde of beaſt vnknowen to vs, but called by them *Roſſomakka*: and the nature of the ſame is very rare and wonderfull: for when it is great with young, and ready to bring foorth, it ſeeketh out ſome narrow place betweene two ſtakes, and ſo going through them, preſſeth it ſelfe, and by that meanes is eaſed of her burthen, which otherwiſe could not bee done. They hunt their Buffes for the moſt part a horſe-backe, but their Beares a foot, with woodden forkes. The North parts of the Countrey are reported to bee ſo cold, that the very Ice or water which diſtilleth out of the moyſt wood which they lay vpon the fire, is preſently congealed and frozen: the diuerſitie growing ſodainly to bee ſo great, that in one and the ſelfe-ſame fire-brand, a man ſhall ſee both fire and Ice. When the winter doth once begin there, it doth ſtill more and more increaſe by a perpetuitie of cold: neither doth that cold ſlake, vntill the force of the Sunne beames doth diſſolue the cold, and make glad the earth, returning to it againe. Our Mariners which wee left in the

Roſſomakka, a ſtrange beaſt.

The ſharpnes of the winter in *Moſcouie*.

the ſhip in the meane time to keepe it, in their going vp onely from their cabbins to the hatches, had their breath oftentimes ſo ſuddenly taken away, that they eſt-ſoones fell downe as men very neere dead, ſo great is the ſharpeneſſe of that cold Climate: but for the South parts of the Countrey, they are ſomewhat more * temperate.

* The reſt of M. *Adams* contayning a deſcription of the Country, &c. is here omitted.

The Copie of the Duke of *Moſcouie* and Emperour of *Ruſſia* his Letters, ſent to King EDWARD the Sixth, by the hands of RICHARD CHANCELOVR.

THe Almightie power of God, and the incomprehenſible holy Trinitie, rightfull Chriſtian Beliefe, &c. We great Duke Iuan Vaſiliuich, *by the Grace of God great Lord and Emperour of all* Ruſſia, *great Duke of* Volodemer, Moſco, *and* Nouograd, *King of* Kazan, *King of* Aſtracan, *Lord of* Plesko, *and great Duke of* Smolensko, *of* Twerria, Ioughoria, Permia, Vadska, Bulghoria, *and others, Lord and great Duke of* Nouograd *in the Low Countrey, of* Chernigo, Rezan, Polotskoy, Roſtoue, Yaruſlaueley, Bealozera, Liefland, Oudoria, Obdoria, *and* Condenſa, *Commander of all* Siberia, *and of the North parts, and Lord of many other Countries, greeting. Before all, right, great and worthy of honour* Edward *King of* England, *&c. according to our moſt heartie and good zeale, with good intent and friendly deſire, and according to our holy Chriſtian Faith, and great Gouernance, and being in the light of great vnderſtanding, our Anſwere by this our Honourable Writing vnto your Kingly Gouernance, at the requeſt of your faithfull Seruant* Richard Chancelour, *with his company, as they ſhall let you wiſely know is this. In the ſtrength of the twentieth yeare of our Gouernance, be it knowne, that at our Sea-coaſts arriued a ſhip, with one* Richard, *and his company, and ſaid, that he was deſirous to come into our Dominions, and according to his requeſt, hath ſeene our Maieſtie, and* [d] *our eyes: and hath declared vnto vs your Maieſties deſire, as that wee ſhould grant vnto your Subiects, to goe and come, and in our Dominions, and among our Subiects, to frequent free Marts, with all ſorts of Merchandizes, and vpon the ſame to haue warres for their returne. And they haue alſo deliuered vs your Letters which declare the ſame requeſt. And hereupon wee haue giuen order, that whereſoeuer your faithfull Seruant* Hugh Willoughbie, *land or touch in our Dominions, to be well entertayned, who as yet is not arriued as your Seruant* Richard *can declare.*

Iuan Vaſiliuich, that is to ſay, *Iohn* the Sonne of *Baſilide.*

d That is, come into our preſence.

And we with Chriſtian beliefe and faithfulneſſe, and according to your Honourable requeſt, and my Honourable commandement will not leaue it vndone: and are furthermore willing that you ſend vnto vs your ſhips and Veſſels, when and as often as they may haue paſſage, with good aſſurance on our part to ſee them harmleſſe. And if you ſend one of your Maieſties counſell to treate with vs whereby your Countrey Merchants may with all kindes of Wares, and where they will make their Market in our Dominions, they ſhall haue their free Mart with all free Liberties through my whole Dominions, with all kinde of Wares, to come and goe at their pleaſure, without any let, damage, or impediment, according to this our Letter, our Word and our Seale which wee haue commanded to be vnder ſealed. Written in our Dominion, in our Citie and our Palace in the Caſtle of Moſco, *in the yeare 7060. the ſecond Moneth of Februarie.*

This Letter was written in the *Moſcouian* Tongue, in Letters much like to the *Greeke* Letters, very faire written in Paper, with a broad Seale hanging at the ſame, ſealed in Paper vpon Waxe. This Seale was much like the Broad Seale of *England*, hauing on the one ſide the Image of a man on Horſe-backe in complete Harneſſe fighting with a Dragon. Vnder this Letter was another Paper written in the *Dutch* Tongue, which was the Interpretation of the other written in the *Moſcouian* Letters. Theſe Letters were ſent the next yeare after the date of King *Edwards* Letters, 1554.

After this, entercourſe of Letters and Embaſſages paſſed betwixt King Philip *and Queene* Marie, *and the* Moſcouite: *and the* Moſcouie *Company was inſtituted and receiued Priuiledges both from their owne and that Forraine Prince, a ſecond Voyage beeing ſet forth in May, 1555. and Maſter* George Killingworth *was made their firſt Agent: the particulars whereof are found at large in Maſter* Hakluyts *firſt Tome of Voyages, as alſo other things touching that Trade then ſetled: which heere I omit, and come to Maſter* Ienkinſons *Voyage to* Moſco, *and thence to* Tartaria.

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§. II.

*The firſt * Voyage made by Maſter* Anthonie Ienkinson, *from the Citie of* London, *toward the Land of* Ruſſia, *begunne the twelfth of* May, *in the yeare* 1557.

* Hee made three others after, one as Embaſſadour from Queene *Elizabeth* to the *Muſcouite.*

FIrſt, by the grace of God, the day and yeare aboue mentioned, I departed from the ſaid Citie, and the ſame day at *Grauеſend*, embarked my ſelfe in a good ſhip, named the *Primroſe*, being appointed, although vnworthy, chiefe Captaine of the ſame, and alſo of the other three good ſhips, to ſay, the *Iohn Euangeliſt*, the *Anne*, and the *Trinitie*, hauing alſo the conduct of the Emperour of *Ruſſia*, his Ambaſſadour named *Oſep Nepea Gregoriwich*, who paſſed with his company in the ſaid *Primroſe*. And thus our foure tall ſhips being well appointed, aſwell for men, as victuals, as other neceſſary furniture, the ſaid twelfth day of the moneth of May, we weighed our Anchors, and departed from the ſaid *Grauеſend*, in the after-noone, and plying downe the *Thames*, the wind being Eaſterly, and faire weather, the thirteenth day we came a ground with the *Primroſe*, vpon a ſand called the blacke tayle, where wee ſate faſt vntill the fourteenth day in the morning, and then God bee prayſed, ſhee came off: and that day we plyed downe as farre as our Ladie of *Holland*, and there came to an Anchor, the winde being Eaſterly, and there remayned vntill the twentieth day: then wee weyed and went out at *Goldmore* gate, and from thence in at *Balſey* ſlade, and ſo into *Orwell* wands, where we came to an Anchor: but as we came out at the ſaid *Goldemore* gate, the *Trinitie* came on ground on certayne Rockes, that lye to the North-ward of the ſaid gate, and was like to be bilged and loſt. But by the ayde of God, at the laſt ſhe came off againe, being very leake: and the one and twentieth day the *Primroſe* remaining at an Anchor in the wands, the other three ſhips bare into *Orwell* Hauen, where I cauſed the ſaid *Trinitie* to be grounded, ſearched, and repayred. So we remayned in the ſaid Hauen, vntill the eight and twentieth day: and then the wind being Weſterly, the three ſhips that were in the Hauen, weighed and came forth, and in comming forth the *Iohn Euangeliſt* came on ground vpon a Sand, called the *Andros*, where ſhe remayned one tyde, and the next full Sea ſhe came off againe without any great hurt, God be prayſed.

The nine and twentieth day in the morning all foure ſhips weighed in the Wands, and that tyde went as farre as *Orfordneſſe*, where we came to an Anchor, becauſe the wind was Northerly: And about ſixe of the clocke at night, the wind vered to the South-weſt, and we weighed Anchor, and bare cleere of the Neſſe, and then ſet our courſe North-eaſt and by North vntill mid-night, being then cleare of *Yarmouth* ſands. Then wee winded North and by Weſt, and North North-weſt, vntill the firſt of Iune at noone, then it waxed calme, and continued ſo vntill the ſecond day at noone: then the wind came at North-weſt, with a tempeſt, and much raine, and we lay cloſe by, and caped North North-eaſt, and North-eaſt and by North, as the wind ſhifted, and ſo continued vntill the third day at noone: then the winde vered Weſterly againe, and we went North our right courſe, and ſo continued our way vntill the fourth day at three of the clocke in the after-noone, at which time the winde vered to the North-weſt againe and blew a freſh gale, and ſo continued vntill the ſeuenth day in the morning, wee lying with all our ſhips cloſe by, and caping to the Northwards: and then the winde vering more Northerly, we were forced to put roomer with the Coaſt of *England* againe, and fell ouerthwart *New-caſtle*, but went not into the Hauen, and ſo plyed vpon the Coaſt the eight day and the ninth.

Iune.

The tenth day the wind came to the North North-weſt, and wee were forced to beare roomer with *Flamborow* head, where we came to an Anchor, and there remayned vntill the ſeuenteenth day. Then the wind came faire, and we weighed, & ſet our courſe North and by Eaſt, time and ſo continued the ſame with a merry wind vntill the one and twentieth at noone, at which we took the Sunne, and had the latitude in ſixtie degrees. Then we ſhifted our courſe, and went North North-eaſt, & North-eaſt and by North, vntill the fiue and twentieth day. Then we diſcouered certain Ilands, called *Heilick* Ilands, lying from vs Northeaſt, being in the latitude of ſixty ſixe degrees, fortie minutes. Then we went North and by Weſt, becauſe we would not come too nigh the Land, and running that courſe foure houres, we diſcouered, and had ſight of *Roſt* Ilands, joyning to the mayne Land of *Finmarke*. Thus continuing our courſe along the Coaſt of *Norway* and *Finmarke*, the ſeuen and twentieth day we tooke the Sunne, being as farre ſhot as *Lofoot*, and had the latitude in ſixtie nine degrees. And the ſame day in the afternoone appeared ouer our heads a Rain-bow, like a Semicircle, with both ends vpward. Note, that there is betweene the ſaid *Roſt* Ilands and *Lofoot*, a Whirle-poole called *Maleſtrand*, which from halfe ebbe vntill halfe floud, maketh ſuch a terrible noyſe, that it ſhaketh the Rings in the doores of the Inhabitants Houſes of the ſaid Ilands ten miles off. Alſo it there commeth any Whale within the current of the ſame, they make a pittifull cry. Moreouer, if great Trees be carryed into it by force of ſtreames, and after with the ebbe be caſt out againe, the ends and boughes of them haue beene ſo beaten, that they are like the ſtalkes of Hempe that is bruized. Note, that all the Coaſt of

Heilick Ilands in 66. degrees 40. minutes. *Roſt* Ilands.

Maleſtrand a ſtrange whirle poole.

Fin-

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Finmarke is high Mountaynes and Hils, being couered all the yeare with Snow. And hard aboard the shoare of this Coast, there is one hundred, or one hundred and fiftie fathomes of water in depth. Thus proceeding and sayling forward, we fell with an Iland called *Zenam*, being in the latitude of seuentie degrees. About this Iland wee saw many Whales, very monstrous, about our ships, some by estimation of sixtie foote long: and being the ingendring time they roared and cryed terribly. From thence we fell with an Iland, called *Kettlewicke*.

Zenam Iland.

Kettlewike Iland.

This Coast from *Rost* vnto *Lofoot* lyeth North and South, and from *Lofoot* to *Zenam* North-east and South-west, and from *Zenam* to *Kettelwicke*, East North-east and West South-west. From the said *Kettelwicke* we sayled East and by North ten leagues, and fell with a Land called *Inger sound*, where we fished, being becalmed, and tooke great plentie of Cods. Thus plying along the Coast, we fell with a Cape, called the North Cape, which is the Northermost Land that we passe in our Voyage to Saint *Nicholas*, and is in the latitude of seuentie one degrees and ten minutes, and is from *Inger sound* East, and to the North-wards fifteene leagues. And being at this North Cape the second day of Iuly, wee had the Sunne at North foure degrees aboue the Horizon. The third day we came to *Wardhouse*, hauing such mists that wee could not see the Land. This *Wardhouse* is a Castle standing in an Iland two miles from the mayne of *Finland*, subject to the King of *Denmarke*, and the Eastermost Land that he hath. There are two other Ilands neere adioyning vnto that, whereon the Castle of *Wardhouse* standeth. The Inhabitants of those three Ilands liue onely by fishing, and make much Stock-fish, which they dry with Frost: their most feeding is fish; bread and drinke they haue none, but such as is brought them from other places. They haue small store of Cattle, which are also fed with fish. From *Wardhouse* we sayled South South-east ten leagues, and fell with a Cape of Land called *Kegor*, the Northermost part of the Land of *Lappia*. And betweene *Wardhouse*, and the said Cape is a great Bay, called *Dommes haff*, in the South part whereof is a Monastery of Monkes of the *Russes* Religion, called *Pechinchow*. Thus proceeding forward and sayling along the Coast of the said Land of *Lappia*, winding South-east, the fourth day through great mists and darkenesse we lost the company of the other three ships, and met not with them againe, vntill the seuenth day, when we fell with a Cape or head-land called *Swetinoz*, which is the entring into the Bay of Saint *Nicholas*. At this Cape lyeth a great stone, to the which the Barkes that passed thereby, were wont to make Offerings of Butter, Meale, and other Victuals, thinking that vnlesse they did so, their Barkes or Vessels should there perish, as it hath beene oftentimes seene: and there it is very darke and mystie. Note, that the sixt day wee passed by the place where Sir *Hugh Willoughby* with all his company perished, which is called *Arzina reca*, that is to say, the Riuer *Arzina*.

Ward-house.

Cattell fed with fish.

The Monasterie of *Pechinchow*.

Arzina reca the Riuer where Sir *Hugh Willoughby* was frozen.

The Land of *Lappia* is an high Land, hauing snow lying on it commonly all the yeere. The people of the Countrey are halfe Gentiles: they liue in the Summer time neere the Sea side, and vse to take fish, of the which they make bread, and in the Winter they remoue vp into the Countrey into the Woods, where they vse hunting, and kill Deere, Beares, Wolues, Foxes, and other beasts, with whose flesh they be nourished, and with their skins apparelled in such strange fashion, that there is nothing seene of them bare but their eyes. They haue none other habitation, but only in Tents, remouing from place to place, according to the season of the yeere. They know no arte nor faculty, but onely shooting, which they exercise daily, as well men as women, and kill such beasts as serue them for their food. Thus proceeding along the coast from *Swetinoz* aforesaid, the ninth day of Iuly wee came to Cape *Grace*, being in the latitude of 66. degrees and 45. minutes, and is at the entring in of the Bay of Saint *Nicolas*. Aboard this Land there is twentie or thirtie fathoms water, and sundry grounds good to anchor in. The current at this Cape runneth South-west and North-east. From this Cape wee proceeded along vntill we came to *Crosse Iland*, which is seuen leagues from the said Cape South-west: and from this Iland, wee set ouer to the other side of the Bay, and went South-west, and fell with an Head-land, called *Foxenose*, which is from the said Iland fiue and twentie leagues. The entring of this Bay from *Crosse Iland* to the neerest Land on the other side is seuen leagues ouer. From *Foxenose* proceeding forward the twelfth day of the said moneth of Iuly, all our foure ships arrived in safety at the Road of Saint *Nicolas*, in the Land of *Russia*, where we anchored, and had sayled from *London* vnto the said Road seuen hundred and fiftie leagues. The *Russian* Ambassadour and his companie with great ioy got to shoare, and our ships heere forthwith discharged themselues: and being laden againe, and hauing a faire winde, departed toward *England* the first of August. The third of the said moneth I with other of my companie came vnto the Citie of *Colmogro*, being an hundred verstes from the Bay of Saint *Nicolas*, and in the latitude of 64. degrees 25. minutes. I tarried at the said *Colmogro* vntill the fifteenth day: and then I departed in a little Boat vp the Riuer of *Duina*, which runneth very swiftly, and the selfe same day passed by the mouth of a Riuer called *Pinego*, leauing it on our left hand fifteene verstes from *Colmogro*. On both sides of the mouth of this Riuer *Pinego* is high Land, great Rockes of Alabaster, great Woods, and Pine-apple trees lying along within the ground, which by report haue lyen there since *Noes* flood. And thus proceeding forward the nineteenth day in the morning, I came in-

The *Lappians* couered all saue their eies.

The current at Cape *Grace*.

The entring of the Bay of Saint *Nicolas* is seuen leagues broad at the least.

August.

Pinego Riuer.

to

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The Towne of *Yemps.* *Vſtiug.*

to a Towne called *Yemps*, an hundred verſtes from *Colmogro*. All this way along they make much Tarre, Pitch, and aſhes of Aſpen trees. From thence I came to a place called *Vſtiug*, an ancient Citie, the laſt day of Auguſt. At this Citie meet two Riuers: the one called *Iug*, and the other *Sucana*, both which fall into the aforeſaid Riuer of *Duina*. The Riuer *Ing* hath his ſpring in the Land of the *Tartars*, called *Cheremizzi*, ioyning to the Countrey of *Permia*: and *Sucana* hath his head from a Lake not farre from the Citie of *Vologda*. Thus departing from *Vſtiug*, and paſſing by the Riuer *Sucana*, we came to a Towne called *Totma*. About this place the water is very ſhallow, and ſtonie, and troubleſome for Barkes and Boats of that Countrey, which they

The deſcription of their Naſſades.

call *Naſſades*, and *Doſneckes*, to paſſe that way: wherein merchandiſe are tranſported from the aforeſaid *Colmogro* to the Citie of *Vologda*. Theſe veſſels called Naſſades, are very long builded, broad made, and cloſe aboue, flat bottomed, and draw not aboue foure foot water, and will carrie two hundred tunnes: they haue no Iron appertayning to them but all of Timber, and when the winde ſerueth, they are made to ſayle. Otherwiſe they haue many men, ſome to hale and draw by the neckes with long ſmall ropes made faſt to the ſaid Boats, and ſome ſet with long poles. There are many of theſe Barkes vpon the Riuer of *Duina*: And the moſt part of them belongeth vnto the Citie of *Vologda*: for there dwell many Merchants, and they occupie the ſaid Boats with carrying of Salt from the Sea ſide vnto the ſaid *Vologda*. The twentieth of September I came vnto *Vologda*, which is a great Citie, and the Riuer paſſeth through the midſt of the ſame. The houſes are builded with wood of Firre trees, ioyned one with another, and round without: the houſes are foure ſquare without any Iron or ſtone worke, couered with Birch barkes, and wood ouer the ſame: Their Churches are all of wood, two for euery Pariſh, one to be heated for Winter, and the other for Summer. On the tops of their houſes they lay much earth, for feare of burning: for they are ſore plagued with fire. This *Vologda* is in 59. degrees 11. minutes, and is from *Colmogro*, one thouſand verſtes.

Good counſell for Trauellers.

All the way I neuer came in houſe, but lodged in the Wilderneſſe, by the Riuers ſide, and carried prouiſion for the way. And he that will trauell thoſe wayes, muſt carrie with him an Hatchet, a Tinder boxe, and a Kettle, to make fire and ſeethe meat, when he hath it: for there is ſmall ſuccour in thoſe parts, vnleſſe it be in Townes.

December.

The firſt day of December, I departed from *Vologda* in poſte in a Sled, as the manner is in Winter. And the way to *Moſcua* is as followeth. From *Vologda* to *Commelski*, ſeuen and twentie verſtes; ſo to *Olmor* fiue and twentie verſtes, ſo to *Teloytſke* twentie verſtes, ſo to *Vre* thirtie verſtes, ſo to *Voſhansko* thirtie verſtes, then to *Yeraſlaue* thirtie verſtes, which ſtandeth vpon the great Riuer *Volga*, ſo to *Roſtoue* fiftie verſtes, then to *Rogarin* thirtie verſtes, ſo to *Peraſlaue* ten verſtes, which is a great Towne, ſtanding hard by a faire Lake. From thence to *Dowbnay* thirtie verſtes, ſo to *Godoroke* thirtie verſtes, ſo to *Owchay* thirtie verſtes, and laſt to the

Emperour of *Caſan.*

Moſco fiue and twentie verſtes, where I arriued the ſixt day of December.

There are fourteene Poſts called *Yannes*, betweene *Vologda* and *Moſco*, which are accounted fiue hundred verſtes aſunder.

The tenth day of December, I was ſent for to the Emperours Caſtle by the ſaid Emperour, and deliuered my Letters vnto the Secretarie, who talked with mee of diuers matters, by the commandement of the Emperour. And after that my Letters were tranſlated, I was anſwered that I was welcome, and that the Emperour would giue mee that I deſired.

The fiue and twentieth day, being the day of the Natiuitie, I came into the Emperours preſence, and kiſſed his hand, who ſate aloft in a goodly Chaire of eſtate, hauing on his head a Crowne moſt richly decked, and a ſtaffe of Gold in his hand, all apparelled with Gold, and garniſhed with Precious ſtones. There ſate diſtant from him about two yards his Brother, and next vnto him a Boy of twelue yeeres of age, who was Inheritor to the Emperour of *Caſan*, conquered by this Emperour eight yeeres paſt. Then ſate his Nobilitie round about him, richly apparelled with Gold and ſtone. And after I had done obeyſance to the Emperour, he with his owne mouth calling me by my name, bade me to dinner, and ſo I departed to my lodging till dinner time, which at ſixe of the clocke, by Candle light.

Multitude of Gueſts.

The Emperour dined in a faire great Hall, in the midſt whereof was a Pillar foure ſquare, very artificially made, about which were diuers Tables ſet, and at the vppermoſt part of the Hall ſate the Emperour himſelfe, and at his Table ſate his Brother, his Vncles ſonne, the Metropolitan, the young Emperour of *Caſan*, and diuers of his Noblemen, all of one ſide. There were diuers Embaſſadours, and other ſtrangers, as well *Chriſtians* as *Heathens*, diuerſly apparelled, to the number of ſixe hundred men, which dined in the ſaid Hall, beſides two thouſand *Tartars*, men of warre, which were newly come to render themſelues to the Emperour, and were appointed to ſerue him in his warres againſt the *Lief-landers*, but they dined in other Halls. I was ſet at a little Table, hauing no ſtranger with mee, directly before the Emperours face. Being thus ſet and placed, the Emperour ſent mee diuers bowles of Wine, and Meade, and many diſhes of Meate from his owne hand, which were brought mee by a Duke, and my Table ſerued all in Gold and Siluer, and ſo likewiſe on other Tables, there were ſet bowles of Gold, ſet with Stone, worth by eſtimation 400. pounds ſterling one cup, beſides the Plate which ſerued the tables.

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There was alſo a Cupboord of Plate, moſt ſumptuous and rich, which was not vſed: among the which, was a piece of Gold of two yards long, wrought in the top with Towers, and Dragons heads, alſo diuers barrels of Gold and Siluer, with Caſtles on the bungs, richly and artificially made. The Emperour, and all the Hall throughout was ſerued with Dukes: and when dinner was ended, the Emperour called mee by name, and gaue me drinke with his owne hand, and ſo I departed to my lodging. Note, that when the Emperour drinketh, all the companie ſtand vp, and at euery time he drinketh, or taſteth of a diſh of meate he bleſſeth himſelfe. Many other things I ſaw that day, not here noted. Rich ſeruice.

The fourth of Ianuarie, which was Twelf-tide with them, the Emperour, with his brother and all his Nobles, all moſt richly apparelled with Gold, Pearles, Precious ſtones, and coſtly Furres, with a Crowne vpon his head, of the *Tartarian* faſhion, went to the Church in Proceſſion, with the Metropolitan, and diuers Biſhops and Prieſts. That day I was before the Emperour againe in *Ruſſe* apparell, and the Emperour asked if that were not I, and his Chancellour anſwered, yea. Then he bad me to dinner: then came hee out of the Church, and went with the Proceſſion vpon the Riuer, being all frozen, and there ſtanding bare-headed, with all his Nobles, there was a hole made in the Ice, and the Metropolitan hallowed the water with great ſolemnitie and ſeruice, and did caſt of the ſaid water vpon the Emperours ſonne, and the Nobilitie. That done, the people with great thronging filled pots of the ſaid water to carrie home to their houſes, and diuers children were throwne in, and ſicke people, and plucked out quickly againe, and diuers *Tartars* chriſtned: all which the Emperour beheld. Alſo there were brought the Emperours beſt Horſes, to drinke at the ſaid hallowed water. All this being ended, hee returned to his Palace againe, and went to dinner by Candle light, and ſate in a woodden houſe, very fairely gilt. There dined in the place, aboue three hundred ſtrangers, and I ſate alone as I did before, directly before the Emperour, and had my Meat, Bread, and Drinke ſent mee from the Emperour. Twelf-tide. *Moſco* Riuer hallowed. Riuer of holy water for horſe and man.

The Citie of *Moſco* is great, the houſes for the moſt part of wood, and ſome of ſtone, with windowes of Iron, which ſerue for Summer time. There are many faire Churches of ſtone, but more of wood, which are made hot in the Winter time. The Emperours lodging is in a faire and large Caſtle, walled foure ſquare of Bricke, high, and thicke, ſituated vpon an Hill, two miles about, and the Riuer on the South-weſt ſide of it, and it hath ſixteene gates in the walls, and as many Bulwarkes. His Palace is ſeparated from the reſt of the Caſtle, by a long wall going North and South, to the Riuer ſide. In his Palace are Churches, ſome of ſtone, and ſome of wood, with round Towres fairely gilded. In the Church doores, and within the Churches are Images of Gold: the chiefe Markets for all things are within the ſaid Caſtle, and for ſundry things ſundry Markets, and euery ſcience by it ſelfe. And in the Winter there is a great Market without the Caſtle, vpon the Riuer being frozen, and there is ſold Corne, earthen Pots, Tubs, Sleds, &c. The Caſtle is in circuit two thouſand and nine hundred paces. Citie of *Moſco*.

The Countrey is full of mariſh ground, and Playne, in Woods and Riuers abundant, but it bringeth forth good plentie of Corne. This Emperour is of great power: for he hath conquered much, as well of the *Lieflanders*, *Poles*, *Lettoes*, and *Swethens*, as alſo of the *Tartars*, and *Gentiles*, called *Samoeds*, hauing thereby much inlarged his Dominions. Hee keepeth his people in great ſubiection: all matters paſſe his iudgement, bee they neuer ſo ſmall. The Law is ſharpe for all offenders. The Countrie.

The Metropolitan dealeth in matters of Religion, as himſelfe liſteth, whom the Emperour greatly honoureth. They vſe the Ceremonies and Orders of the *Greeke* Church. They worſhip many Images painted on Tables, and ſpecially the Image of Saint *Nicholas*. Their Prieſts bee married, but their wiues being dead, they may not marry the ſecond time, and ſo become Monks, whereof there are a great number in the Land. They haue foure Lents in the yeere, and the weeke before Shrouetide, they call the Butter weeke, &c. The Metropolitan.

They haue many ſorts of meats and drinks, when they banket and delight in eating of groſſe meates, and ſtinking fiſh. Before they drinke they vſe to blow in the Cup: their greateſt friendſhip is in drinking: they are great Talkers and Lyars, without any faith or truſt in their words, Flatterers and Diſſemblers. The Women be there very obedient to their Husbands, and are kept ſtraightly from going abroad, but at ſome ſeaſons. Meats and drinkes.

At my being there, I heard men and women that drunke away their children, and all their goods at the Emperours Tauerne, and not being able to pay, hauing impawned himſelfe, the Tauerner bringeth him out to the high way, and beats him vpon the legs: then they that paſſe by, knowing the cauſe, and hauing peraduenture compaſſion vpon him, giue the money, and ſo hee is ranſomed. In euery good Towne there is a drunken Tauerne, called a *Curſemay*, which the Emperour ſometime letteth out to farme, and ſometimes beſtoweth for a yeere or two, on ſome Duke or Gentleman, in recompence of his ſeruice: and for that time hee is Lord of all the Towne, robbing and ſpoyling, and doing what pleaſeth him: and then hee being growne rich, is taken by the Emperour, and ſent to the warres againe: where hee ſhall ſpend all that which he hath gotten by ill meanes: ſo that the Emperour in his warres is little charged, but all the Drunkenneſſe.

burden

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Saddlers.

burden lyeth vpon the poore people. They vſe ſaddles made of wood and ſinewes, with the tree gilded with damaske worke, and the ſeat couered with cloth, ſometimes of gold, and the reſt *Saphian* leather, well ſtitched. They vſe little drummes at their ſaddle bowes, by the ſound whereof their horſes vſe to runne more ſwiftly.

Ruſſe apparell.

The *Ruſſe* is apparelled in this manner: his vpper garment is of cloth of gold, ſilke, or cloth, long, downe to the foot, and buttoned with great buttons of ſiluer, or elſe laces of ſilke, ſet on with Brooches, the ſleeues thereof very long, which he weareth on his arme, ruffed vp. Vnder that he hath another long garment, buttoned with ſilke buttons, with a high coller ſtanding vp of ſome colour, and that garment is made ſtraight. Then his ſhirt is very fine, and wrought with red ſilke, or ſome gold, with a coller of pearle. Vnder his ſhirt he hath linnen breeches, vpon his legs, a paire of hoſe without feet, and his bootes of red or yellow leather. On his head hee weareth a white Colepeck, with buttons or ſiluer, gold, pearle, or ſtone, and vnder it a black Foxe cap, turned vp very broad. When he rideth on horſe-back to the warres, or any iourney, he hath a ſword of the *Turkiſh* faſhion, and his Bowe and Arrowes of the ſame manner. In the Towne he weareth no weapon, but onely two or three paire of kniues, hauing the hafts of the tooth of a Fiſh, called the *Morſe*.

In the Winter time, the people trauell with Sleds, in Towne and Countrey, the way being hard, and ſmooth with ſnow: the waters and Riuers are all frozen, and one horſe with a Sled, will draw a man vpon it foure hundred miles in three dayes: but in the Summer time, the way is deepe with myre, and trauelling is very ill.

The *Ruſſe*, if he be a man of any abilitie, neuer goeth out of his houſe in the winter, but vpon his Sled, and in ſummer vpon his Horſe: and in his Sled he ſits vpon a Carpet, or a white Beares skin: the Sled is drawne with a Horſe well decked, with many Foxes and Woolues tailes at his necke, and is conducted by a little boy vpon his backe: his ſeruants ſtand vpon the taile of the Sled, &c.

§. III.

Notes taken out of another mans Relation of the ſame Voyage, touching the Ruſſian *Rites.*

ON Chriſtmaſſe day we were all willed to dine with the Emperors Maieſtie, where for bread, meate, and drinke, we were ſerued as at other times before: but for goodly and rich Plate, we neuer ſaw the like or ſo much before. There dined that day in the Emperors preſence aboue fiue hundred ſtrangers, and two hundred *Ruſſes*, and all they were ſerued in veſſels of Gold, and that as much as could ſtand one by another vpon the Tables. Beſides this, there were foure Cup-boards garniſhed with goodly Plate both of gold and ſiluer. Among the which there were twelue barrels of ſiluer, contayning aboue twelue gallons a piece, and at each end of euery Barrell were ſix hoopes of fine gold: this dinner continued about ſix houres.

The hallowing of the Riuer of *Moſco*.

Euery yeere vpon the twelfth day, they vſe to bleſſe or ſanctifie the Riuer *Moſcua*, which runneth through the Citie of *Moſco*, after this manner. Firſt, they make a ſquare hole in the Ice about three fathoms large euery way, which is trimmed about the ſides and edges with white boords. Then about nine of the clocke they come out of the Church with proceſſion towards the Riuer in this wiſe.

Firſt and foremoſt there goe certaine young men with waxe Tapers burning, and one carrying a great Lanthorne: then follow certaine Banners, then the Croſſe, then the Images of our Lady, of Saint *Nicholas*, and of other Saints, which Images men carry vpon their ſhoulders: after the Images follow certaine Prieſts to the number of one hundred or more: after them the Metropolitan who is led betweene two Prieſts, and after the Metropolitan came the Emperour with his Crowne vpon his head, and after his Maieſtie all his Noble men orderly. Thus they followed the Proceſſion vnto the water, and when they came vnto the hole that was made, the Prieſts ſet themſelues in order round about it. And at one ſide of the ſame Poole there was a Scaffold of boords made, vpon which ſtood a faire Chaire in which the Metropolitan was ſet, but the Emperours Maieſtie ſtood vpon the Ice.

After this the Prieſts began to ſing, to bleſſe and to ſenſe, and did their ſeruice, and ſo by that time that they had done, the water was holy, which being ſanctified, the Metropolitan tooke a little thereof in his hands, and caſt it on the Emperour, likewiſe vpon certaine of the Dukes, and then they returned againe to the Church with the Prieſts that ſate about the water: but that preaſe that there was about the water when the Emperour was gone, was wonderfull to behold, for there came aboue fiue thouſand Pots to be filled of that water: for that *Moſcouite* which hath no part of that water, thinks himſelfe vnhappy. And very many went naked into the water, both Men and Women and Children: after the preaſe was a little gone, the Emperours Iennets

and

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and Horſes were brought to drinke of the ſame water, and likewiſe many other men brought their Horſes thither to drinke, and by that meanes they make their Horſes as holy as themſelues. All theſe ceremonies being ended, we went to the Emperour to dinner, where we were ſerued in veſſels of ſiluer, and in all other points as we had beene beforetime.

The *Ruſſes* begin their Lent alwayes eight weeks before Eaſter: the firſt weeke they eate Egs, Milke, Cheeſe and Butter, and make great cheare with Pan-cakes, and ſuch other things, one friend viſiting another, and from the ſame Sunday vntill our Shroue-ſunday, there are but few *Ruſſes* ſober, but they are drunke day by day, and it is accounted for no reproach or ſhame among them. The *Ruſſes* Lent.

The next weeke being our firſt weeke in Lent, or our cleanſing weeke, beginning our Shroue-ſunday, they make and keepe a great Faſt. It is reported; and the people doe verily beleeue that the Metropolitan neither eateth nor drinketh any manner of thing for the ſpace of ſeuen dayes, and they ſay that there are many Religious men which doe the like. The Emperours Maieſtie eateth but one morſell of bread, and drinketh but one draught of drinke once in the day during that weeke, and all men that are of any reputation come not out of their houſes during that time, ſo that the ſtreets are almoſt voide of companie, ſauing a few poore folkes which wander to and fro. The other ſixe weekes they keepe as we doe ours, but not one of them will eate either Butter, Cheeſe, Egs, or Milke.

On Palme-ſunday they haue a very ſolemne Proceſſion, in this manner following. Firſt, they haue a Tree of a good bigneſſe which is made faſt vpon two Sleds, as though it were growing there, and it is hanged with Apples, Raiſins, Figs, and Dates; and with many other fruits abundantly. In the midſt of the ſame Tree ſtand fiue Boyes in white veſtures, which ſing in the Tree, before the Proceſſion: after this there followed certaine young men with Wax Tapers in their hands burning, and a great Lanthorne that all the light ſhould not goe out: after them followed two with long Banners, and ſixe with round plates ſet vpon long ſtaues: the plates were of Copper very full of holes, and thinne: then followed ſixe, carrying painted Images vpon their ſhoulders, after the Images followed certaine Prieſts, to the number of one hundred or more, with goodly veſtures, whereof ten or twelue are of white Damaske, ſet and embroidered round about with faire and orient Pearles, as great as Peaſe, and among them certaine Saphires and other ſtones. After them followed the one halfe of the Emperours Noblemen: then commeth the Emperours Maieſtie and the Metropolitan, after this manner. Palme-ſunday Proceſſion.

Firſt, there is a Horſe couered with white linnen cloth downe to the ground, his eares being made long with the ſame cloth, like to an Aſſes eares. Vpon this Horſe the Metropolitan ſitteth ſide-long like a woman: in his lappe lieth a faire Booke, with a Crucifixe of Gold-ſmiths worke vpon the couer, which he holdeth faſt with his left hand, and in his right hand he hath a Croſſe of Gold, with which Croſſe he ceaſeth not to bleſſe the people as hee rideth. There are to the number of thirtie men which ſpread abroad their garments before the Horſe, and as ſoone as the Horſe is paſt ouer any of them, they take them vp againe and runne before, and ſpread them againe, ſo that the Horſe doth alway goe on ſome of them. They which ſpread the garments are all Prieſts ſonnes, and for their labours the Emperour giueth vnto them new garments. The Emperor leadeth the Metropolitans Horſe in Proceſſion.

One of the Emperours Noblemen leadeth the Horſe by the head, but the Emperour himſelfe going on foot, leadeth the Horſe by the end of the reyne of his Bridle with one of his hands, and in the other of his hands hee had a branch of a Palme tree: after this followed the reſt of the Emperours Noblemen and Gentlemen, with a great number of other people. In this order they went from one Church to another within the Caſtle, about the diſtance of two flight ſhot: and ſo returned againe to the Emperours Church, where they made an end of their ſeruice. Which being done, the Emperours Maieſtie, and certaine of his Noblemen went to the Metropolitan his houſe to dinner, where of delicate fiſhes and good drinkes there was no lacke. The reſt of this weeke vntill Eaſter day they kept very ſolemnely, continuing in their houſes for the moſt part, and vpon Munday or Thurſday the Emperour doth alwaies vſe to receiue the Sacrament, and ſo doe moſt of his Nobles.

Vpon Good-friday they continue all the day in contemplation and prayers, and they vſe euery yeere on Good-friday to let looſe a Priſoner in the ſtead of *Barrabas*. The night following they goe to the Church, where they ſleepe vntill the next morning, and at Eaſter they haue the Reſurrection, and after euery of the Lents they eate fleſh the next weeke following, Friday, Saturday and all.

They haue an order at Eaſter, which they alwaies obſerue, and that is this: euery yeere againſt Eaſter to dye or colour red with Brazell a great number of Egges, of which euery man and woman giueth one vnto the Prieſt of their Pariſh vpon Eaſter day in the morning. And moreouer, the common people vſe to carrie in their hands one of their red Egges, not onely vpon Eaſter day, but alſo three or foure dayes after, and Gentlemen and Gentlewomen haue Egges gilded which they carrie in like manner. They vſe it, as they ſay, for a great loue, and in token of the Reſurrection, whereof they reioyce. For when two friends meet during the Eaſter holy Egge offerings.

dayes

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Kissing vsed in the *Greeke* Church.

dayes, they come and take one another by the hand: the one of them saith, *the Lord or Christ is risen*, the other answereth, *it is so of a truth*, and then they kisse and exchange their Egges both men and women, continuing in kissing foure dayes together.

His Majestie heareth all Complaints himselfe, and with his owne mouth giueth sentence, and judgement of all matters, and that with expedition: but Religious matters hee medleth not withall, but referreth them wholly vnto the Metropolitane. His Majestie retayneth and well rewardeth all strangers that come to serue him, and especially men of Warre. He delighteth not greatly in Hawking, Hunting, or any other pastime, nor in hearing Instruments or Musicke, but setteth all his whole delight vpon two things: First, to serue God, as vndoubtedly hee is very deuout in his Religion, and the second, how to subdue and conquer his enemies.

He hath abundance of Gold and Silver in his owne hands or Treasurie: but the most part of his know not a Crowne from a Counter, nor Gold from Copper, they are so much cumbred therewithall, and he that is worth two, three, or foure Grotes, is a rich man.

Monasteries and Monkes.

They haue both Monkes, Friers, and Nunnes, with a great number of great and rich Monasteries: they keepe great Hospitalitie, and doe releeue much poore people day by day. I haue bin in one of the Monasteries called *Troietes*, which is walled about with Bricke very strongly like a Castle, and much Ordnance of Brasse vpon the walls of the same. They told mee themselues that there are seuen hundred Brethren of them which belong vnto that House. The most part of the Lands, Townes, and Villages which are within fortie miles of it, belong vnto the same.

Images.

They shewed me the Church, wherein were as many Images as could hang about, or vpon the wals of the Church round about, and euen the Roofe of the Church was painted full of Images. The chiefe Image was of our Ladie, which was garnished with Gold, Rubies, Saphirs, and other rich Stones abundantly. In the midst of the Church stood twelue Waxe Tapers of two yards long, and a fathome about in bignesse, and there stands a Kettle full of Waxe with about one hundred weight, wherein there is alwayes the wieke of a Candle burning, as it were a Lampe which goeth not out day nor night.

Miracles.

They shewed me a Coffin couered with Cloth of Gold, which stood vpon one side within their Church, in which they told me lay a holy man, who neuer eate or dranke, and yet that he liueth. And they told me (supposing that I had beleeued them) that he healeth many Diseases, and giueth the blind their sight, with many other Miracles, but I was hard of beliefe, because I saw him worke no miracle whilst I was there.

Drinkes and Vessels.

After this they brought me into their Sellers, and made me taste of diuers kinds of Drinkes, both Wine and Beere, Meade and Quassie, of sundry colours and kinds. Such abundance of Drinke as they haue in their Sellers, I doe suppose few Princes haue more, or so much at once. Their Barrels or Vessels are of an vnmeasurable bignesse and size: some of them are three yards long and more, and two yards and more broad in their heads: they contayne sixe or seuen tuns apiece: they haue none in their Sellers of their owne making that are lesse then a tunne. They haue nine or ten great vaultes which are full of those Barrels which are seldome remooued: for they haue trunkes which come downe through the Roofe of the vaults in sundry places, through which they powre drinke downe, hauing the Caske right vnder it to receiue the same, for it should be a great trouble to bring it all downe the staires.

The Hospitalitie of their Monasteries.

They giue Bread, Meate, and Drinke vnto all men that come to them, not onely while they are at their Abbey, but also when they depart, to serue them by the way. There are a great number of such Monasteries in the Realme, and the Emperours Majestie rideth oftentimes from one to another of them, and lyeth at them three or foure dayes together.

Monke Merchants.

The same Monkes are as great Merchants as any in the Land of *Russia*, and doe occupie buying and selling as much as any other men, and haue Boates which passe to and fro in the Riuers with Merchandize from place to place where any of their Countrey doe traffique.

Dyet and Apparell.

They eate no flesh during their liues as it is reported: but vpon Sunday, Munday, Tuesday, Thursday, and Saturday, it is lawfull for them to eate Egges, Butter, Cheese, and Milke, and at all times to eate fish, and after this sort they lead their liues. They weare all blacke Garments, and so doe none other in all the Land, but at that Abbey onely.

Want of Preachers cause of great ignorance and Idolatrie.

They haue no Preachers, no not one in all the Land to instruct the people, so that there are many, and the most part of the poore in the Countrey, who if one aske them how many Gods there be, they will say a great many, meaning that euery Image which they haue is a God: for all the Countrey and the Emperours Majestie himselfe will bleese and bow, and knocke their heads before their Images, insomuch that they will cry earnestly vnto their Images to helpe them to the things which they need. All men are bound by their Law to haue those Images in their Houses, and ouer euery gate in all their Townes and Cities are Images set vp, vnto which the people bow and bend, and knocke their heads against the ground before them: as often as they come by any Church or Crosse they doe in like manner. And when they come to any House, they bleese themselues three or foure times before they will salute any man in the House.

They reckon and hold it for great sinne to touch or handle any of their Images within the Circle

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Circle of the board where the painting is, but they keepe them very daintily, and rich men deck them ouer and about with Gold, Siluer, and Stones, and hang them ouer and about with Cloth of Gold. Sinnes of Superſtition.

The Prieſts are marryed as other men are, and weare all their Garments as other men doe, except their Night-caps, which is cloth of ſome ſad colour, being round and reacheth vnto the eares: their crownes are ſhauen, but the reſt of their haire they let grow, as long as Nature will permit, ſo that it hangeth beneath their eares vpon their ſhoulders: their Beards they neuer ſhaue: if his Wife happen to dye, it is not lawfull for him to marry againe during his life. Prieſts.

They miniſter the Communion with Bread and Wine after our order, but hee breaketh the Bread and putteth it into the Cup vnto the Wine, and commonly ſome are partakers with them: and they take the Bread out againe with a Spoone together with part of the Wine, and ſo take it themſelues, and giue it to others that receiue with them after the ſame manner. They will not permit any Nation but the *Greekes* to be buried in their ſacred Burials, or Church-yards. All their Churches are full of Images, vnto the which the people when they aſſemble, doe bow and knocke their heads, as I haue before ſaid, that ſome will haue knobs vpon their fore-heads with knocking, as great as Egges. All their ſeruice is in the *Ruſſie* Tongue, and they and the common people haue no other Prayers but this, *Ghoſpods Ieſus Chriſtos eſine voze ponuloi naſhe.* That is to ſay, O Lord Ieſus Chriſt, Son of God haue mercie vpon vs: and this is their Prayer, ſo that the moſt part of the vnlearned know neither *Puter Noſter*, nor the Beliefe, nor Ten Commandements, nor ſcarcely vnderſtand the one halfe of their Seruice which is read in their Churches. Sacraments. All their ſeruice is in their Mother tongue.

When any child is borne, it is not baptized vntill the next Sunday, and if it chance that it be not baptized then, it muſt tarry vntill the ſecond Sunday after the birth, and it is lawfull for them to take as many God-fathers and God-mothers as they will, the more the better.

When they goe to the Church, the Mid-wife goeth foremoſt, carrying the Childe, and the God-fathers and God-mothers follow into the midſt of the Church, where there is a ſmall Table readie ſet, and on it an Earthen Pot full of warme water, about the which the God-fathers and God-mothers, with the Childe, ſettle themſelues: then the Clerke giueth vnto euery of them a ſmall Waxe Candle burning, then commeth the Prieſt, and beginneth to ſay certayne words, which the God-fathers and God-mothers muſt anſwere word for word, among which one is, that the Child ſhall forſake the Deuill, and as that name is pronounced, they muſt all ſpit at the word as often as it is repeated. Then he bleſſeth the water which is in the Pot, and doth breathe ouer it; then he taketh all the Candles which the Goſſips haue, and holding them all in one hand letteth part of them drop into the water, and then giueth euery one his Candle againe, and when the water is ſanctified, he taketh the Child and holdeth it in a ſmall Tub, and one of the God-fathers taketh the Pot with warme water, and powreth it all vpon the Childes head. Baptiſme.

After this he hath many more Ceremonies, as anoynting Eares and Eyes with Spittle, and making certayne Croſſes with Oyle vpon the backe, head, and breſt of the Childe: then taking the Childe in his armes, carryeth it to the Images of Saint *Nicholas*, and our Ladie, &c. and ſpeaketh vnto the Images, deſiring them to take charge of the Childe, that he may liue, and beleeue as a Chriſtian man or woman ought to doe, with many other words. Then comming backe from the Images, he taketh a paire of ſheares and clippeth the young and tender haires of the Childes head, in three or foure places, and then deliuereth the Childe, whereunto euery of the God-fathers and God-mothers lay a hand: then the Prieſt chargeth them, that the Childe bee brought vp in the faith and feare of God or Chriſt, and that it be inſtructed to clinege, and bow to the Images, and ſo they make an end: then one of the God-fathers muſt hang a Croſſe about the necke of the Childe, which hee muſt alwayes weare, for that *Ruſſe* which hath not a Croſſe about his necke they eſteeme as no Chriſtian man, and thereupon they ſay that wee are no Chriſtians, becauſe we doe not weare Croſſes as they doe.

Their Matrimonie is nothing ſolemnized, but rather in moſt points abominable, and as neere as I can learne, in this wiſe following. Of their Matrimonie.

Firſt, when there is loue betweene the parties, the man ſendeth vnto the woman a ſmall Cheſt or Boxe, wherein is a Whip, Needles, Threed, Silke, Linnen Cloth, Sheares, and ſuch neceſſaries as ſhe ſhall occupie when ſhe is a Wife, and perhaps ſendeth therewithall Raiſins, Figs, or ſome ſuch things, giuing her to vnderſtand, that if ſhe doe offend, ſhe muſt be beaten with the Whip, and by the Needles, Threed, Cloth, &c. that ſhe ſhould apply her ſelfe diligently to ſew, and doe ſuch things as ſhe could beſt doe, and by the Raiſins or Fruits he meaneth if ſhe doe well, no good thing ſhall bee with-drawne from her, nor bee too deare for her: and ſhee ſendeth vnto him a Shirt, Hand-kerchers, and ſome ſuch things of her owne making. And now to the effect.

When they are agreed, and the day of Marriage appointed, when they ſhall goe towards the Church, the Bride will in no wiſe conſent to goe out of the Houſe, but reſiſteth and ſtriueth with them that would haue her out, and fayneth her ſelfe to weepe, yet in the end, two women get her out, and lead her towards the Church, her face being couered cloſe, becauſe of her diſſimulation, that it ſhould not be openly perceiued: for ſhee maketh a great noyſe, as though ſhe were ſobbing and weeping, vntill ſhe come at the Church, and then her face is vncouered. The

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man commeth after among other of his friends, and they carrie with them to Church a great Pot of Wine or Meade: then the Prieſt coupleth them together much after our order, one promiſing to loue and ſerue the other during their liues together, &c. which being done, they beginnne to drinke, and firſt the woman drinketh to the man, and when he hath drunke he letteth the cup fall to the ground, haſting immediately to tread vpon it, and ſo doth ſhe, and whether of them tread firſt vpon it, muſt haue the victorie and be Maſter at all times after, which commonly happeneth to the man, for he is readieſt to ſet his foot on it, becauſe he letteth it fall himſelfe, then they goe home againe, the womans face being vncouered. The Boyes in the ſtreets cry out, and make a noyſe in the meane time, with very diſhoneſt words.

When they come home, the Wife is ſet at the vpper end of the Table, and the Husband next vnto her: they fall then to drinking till they be all drunke, they perchance haue a Minſtrell or two, and two naked men, which led her from the Church, dance naked a long time before all the company. When they are wearie of drinking, the Bride and the Bridegroome get them to Bed, for it is in the Euening alwayes when any of them are marryed: and when they are going to Bed, the Bridegroome putteth certayne Money, both Gold and Siluer, if he haue it, into one of his Boots, and then ſitteth downe in the Chamber, croſſing his legges, then the Bride muſt pluck off one of his Boots, which ſhe will, and if ſhe happen on the Boot wherein the Money is, ſhee hath not onely the Money for her labour, but is alſo at ſuch choice, as ſhe need not euer from that day forth to pull off his Boots, but if ſhee miſſe the Boot wherein the Money is, ſhe doth not onely loſe the Money, but is alſo bound from that day forwards to pull off his Boots continually.

Then they continue in drinking and making good cheere three dayes following, being accompanied with certayne of their friends, and during the ſame three dayes, he is called a Duke, and ſhe a Dutches, although they be very poore perſons, and this is as much as I haue learned of their Matrimony: but one common rule is amongſt them, if the woman be not beaten with the Whip once a Weeke, ſhe will not be good, and therefore they looke for it orderly, and the women ſay, that if their Husbands did not beate them, they ſhould not loue them.

They vſe to marry there very young, their Sonnes at ſixteeene and eighteene yeares old, and the Daughters at twelue or thirteene yeares or younger: they vſe to keepe their Wiues very cloſely, I meane thoſe that be of any reputation, ſo that a man ſhall not ſee one of them but at a chance, when ſhee goeth to Church at Chriſtmaſſe or at Eaſter, or elſe going to viſit ſome of her friends.

The women of *Ruſſia* paint their faces.

The moſt part of the women vſe to ride a-ſtride in Saddles with ſtirrops, as men doe, and ſome of them on Sleds, which in Summer is not commendable. The Husband is bound to find the Wife colours to paint her with all, for they vſe ordinarily to paint themſelues: it is ſuch a common practice among them, that it is counted for no ſhame: they greaſe their faces with ſuch colours, that a man may diſcerne them hanging on their faces almoſt a flight ſhoot off: I cannot ſo well liken them as to a Millers Wife, for they looke as though they were beaten about the face with a bagge of Meale, but their Eye-browes they colour as blacke as Ieat. The beſt propertie that the women haue, is that they can ſewe well, and imbroider with Silke and Gold excellently.

Of their Buriall.

When any man or woman dyeth, they ſtretch him out, and put a new paire of ſhooes on his feet, becauſe he hath a great Iourney to goe: then doe they wind him in a ſheet, as wee doe, but they forget not to put a teſtimonie in his right hand, which the Prieſt giueth him, to teſtifie vnto Saint *Nicholas* that he dyed a Chriſtian man or woman. And they put the Corſe alwayes in a Coffin of Wood, although the partie be very poore: and when they goe towards the Church, the Friends and Kinſmen of the partie departed carrie in their hands ſmall Waxe Candles, and they weepe, and howle, and make much lamentation. They that bee hanged or beheaded, or ſuch like, haue no teſtimonie with them: how they are reciued into Heauen, it is a wonder, without their Paſport.

There are a great number of poore people among them which dye daily for lacke of ſuſtenance, which is a pitifull caſe to behold: for there hath bin buried in a ſmall time, within theſe two yeares, aboue eightie perſons yong and old, which haue dyed onely for lacke of ſuſtenance, for if they had had ſtraw and water enough, they would make ſhift to liue: for a great many are forced in the Winter to dry ſtraw and ſtampe it, and to make bread thereof, or at the leaſt they eate it in ſtead of bread. In the Summer they make good ſhift with graſſe, herbes, and roots: barkes of Trees are good meat with them at all times. There is no people in the World, as I ſuppoſe, that liue ſo miſerably as doe the pouertie in thoſe parts: and the moſt part of them that haue ſufficient for themſelues, and alſo to relieue others that need, are ſo vnmercifull that they care not how many they ſee dye of famine or hunger in the ſtreets.

Bread made of ſtraw.

The vnmercifulneſſe of the *Ruſſes* toward the poore.

It is a Countrey full of Diſeaſes, diuers, and euill, and the beſt remedie is for any of them, as they hold opinion, to goe often vnto the Hot-houſes, as in a manner euery man hath one of his owne, which he heateth commonly twice euery weeke, and all the houſhold ſweat, and waſh themſelues therein.

Stoues or Baths vſuall with the *Moſcouites.*

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The first and principall Meade is made of the juyce or liquor taken from a Berrie, called in *Russia, Malæno*, which is of a maruellous sweet taste, and of a Carmosant colour, which Berrie I haue seene in *Paris*. The second Meade is called *Visnoua*, because it is made of a Berrie so called, and is like a blacke Gooseberrie: but it is like in colour and taste to the red Wine of *France*. The third Meade is called *Amarodina* or *Smorodina*, short, of a small Berrie much like to the small Raisin, and groweth in great plentie in *Russia*. The fourth Meade is called *Cherennikyna*, which is made of the wild blacke Cherrie. The fift Meade is made of Honey and Water, with other mixtures. There is also a delicate Drinke drawne from the Root of the Birch Tree, called in the *Russe* Tongue *Berozenites*, which drinke the Noblemen and others vse in Aprill, May, and Iune, which are the three moneths of the Spring-time: for after those moneths, the sap of the Tree dryeth, and then they cannot haue it. Diuers sorts of *Russian* Drinkes, reported by *Thomas Bulley*.

I haue by me a Letter of Master *Christopher Hoddesdon*, written the seuenteenth of Nouember 1555. wherein he writes, that it seemes, there is no great punishment for breaking their Region, some of them aduenturing to eate Milke with him on a Fasting day, which yet others refused. *Yaroslasly* (so he cals the Towne where he writ) is fairer then *Volga*, the Riuer almost a mile broad: he was asked seuen *Altines* for a Sturgeon, he had giuen at *Danske* nine Mark-sprace for a worser: neither had he seene such abundance of Ling in *England*, as there of Sturgeons, there being in that dayes Market, aboue three thousand.

§. IIII.

The Voyage of Master ANTHONIE IENKINSON, *made from the Citie of* Mosco *in* Russia, *to the Citie of* Boghar *in* Bactria, *in the yeare* 1558. *written by himselfe to the Merchants of* London, *of the* Moscouie *Company.*

THE three and twentieth day of Aprill, in the yeare 1558. (hauing obtayned the Emperour of *Russia* his Letters, directed vnto sundry Kings and Princes, by whose Dominions I should passe) departed from *Mosco* by water, hauing with mee two of your Seruants; namely, *Richard Iohnson*, and *Robert Iohnson*, and a *Tartar Tolmach*, with diuers parcels of Wares, as by the Inuentorie appeareth: and the eight and twentieth day wee came to a Towne, called *Collom*, distant from the *Masco* twentie leagues, and passing one league beyond the said *Collom*, we came vnto a Riuer, called *Occa*, into the which the Riuer *Mosco* falleth, and loseth his name: and passing downe the said Riuer *Occa* eight leagues, wee came vnto a Castle called *Terreuettisko*, which we left vpon our right hand, and proceeding forward, the second day of May, wee came vnto another Castle, called *Peroslaue*, distant eight leagues, leauing it also on our right hand. The third day we came vnto the place where old *Rezan* was situate, being now most of it ruined and ouer-growne, and distant from the said *Peroslaue*, sixe leagues: the fourth day we passed by a Castle, called *Terreconia*, from *Rezan* twelue leagues, and the sixt day we came to another Castle, called *Cassim*, vnder the gouernment of a *Tartar* Prince, named *Utzar Zegoline*, sometime Emperour of the worthy Citie of *Cazan*, and now subiect vnto the Emperour of *Russia*. But leauing *Cassim* on our left hand, the eight day we came vnto a faire Towne, called *Morom*, from *Cassim* twentie leagues, where wee tooke the Sunne, and found the latitude fiftie sixe degrees: and proceeding forward the eleuenth day, wee came vnto another faire Towne and Castle, called *Nyse Nouogrod*, situated at the falling of the foresaid Riuer *Occa*, into the worthy Riuer of *Volga*, distant from the said *Moron* fiue and twentie leagues, in the latitude of fiftie sixe degrees eighteene minutes. From *Rezan* to this *Nyse Nouogrod*, on both sides the said Riuer of *Occa*, is raysed the greatest store of Waxe and Honey in all the Land of *Russia*. We tarryed at the foresaid *Nyse Nouogrod* vntill the nineteenth day, for the comming of a Captaine which was sent by the Emperour to rule at *Astracan*, who being arriued, and hauing the number of fiue hundred great Boates vnder his conduct, some laden with Victuals, Souldiers, and Munition: and other some with Merchandize, departed altogether the said nineteenth day from the said *Nyse Nouogrod*, and the two and twentieth wee came vnto a Castle, called *Vasiliagorod*, distant fiue and twentie leagues, which wee left vpon our right hand. This Towne or Castle had his name of this Emperours Father, who was called *Vasilius*, and *Gorod* in the *Russe* Tongue is as much to say, as a Castle, so that *Vasiliagorod* is to say, *Vasilius* Castle: and it was the furthest place that the said Emperour conquered from the *Tartars*. But this present Emperour his Sonne, called *Iuan Vasilowich*, hath had great good successe in his Warres, both against the *Christians*, and also the *Mahometists*, and *Gentiles*, but especially against the *Tartars*, inlarging his Empire euen to the *Caspian* Sea, hauing conquered the famous Riuer of *Volga*, with all the Countreyes thereabout adjacent. Thus proceeding on our journey, the fiue and twentieth day of May afore-said,

Mosco in 55. degrees, 10 minutes.

Occa.

Rezan.

Cassim.

Morom.

Nyse Nouogrod.

Honey and Waxe.

Vasiliagorod.

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we came to another Caſtle called *Sabowſhare*, which wee left on our right hand, diſtant from *Vaſiliagorod*, ſixteene leagues. The Countrey hereabout is called *Mordouits*, and the Habitants did profeſſe the Law of the *Gentiles*: but now beeing conquered by this Emperour of *Ruſſia*, moſt of them are chriſtened, but lye in the Woods and Wilderneſſe, without Towne or Habitation.

Swyaske. The ſeuen and twentieth day we paſſed by another Caſtle, called *Swyasko*, diſtant from *Shabowſhare* aforeſaid, twentie fiue leagues: we left it on our right hand, and the nine and twentieth came vnto an Iland one league from the Citie of *Cazan*, from which falleth downe a Riuer called *Cazankareca*, and entreth into the foreſaid *Volga*. *Cazan* is a faire Towne after the *Ruſſe* or *Tartar* faſhion, with a ſtrong Caſtle ſituated vpon a high Hill, and was walled round about with Timber and Earth, but now the Emperour of *Ruſſia* hath giuen order to plucke downe the olde wals, and to build them againe of free ſtone. It hath beene a Citie of great Wealth and Riches, and being in the hands of the *Tartars*, it was a Kingdome of it ſelfe, and did more vexe the *Ruſſes* in their Warres, then any other Nation: but nine yeares paſt, this Emperour of *Ruſſia* conquered it, and tooke the King captiue, who being but young is now baptized, and brought vp in his Court with two other Princes, which were alſo Kings of the ſaid *Cazan*, and being each of them in time of their Raignes in danger of their Subiects through ciuill diſcord, came and rendred themſelues at ſeuerall times vnto the ſaid Emperour, ſo that at this preſent there are three Princes in the Court of *Ruſſia*, which had beene Emperours of the ſaid *Cazan*, whom the Emperour vſeth with great honour.

Cazan ſtands in 55 degrees 33. minutes.

We remayned at *Cazan* till the thirteenth day of Iune, and then departed from thence: and the ſame day paſſed by an Iland called the Iland of Merchants, becauſe it was wont to be a place where all Merchants, as well *Ruſſes* and *Cazanites*, as *Nagayans* and *Crimmes*, and diuers other Nations did reſort to keepe Mart for buying and ſelling, but now it is forſaken, and ſtandeth without any ſuch reſort thither, or at *Cazan*, or at any place about it, from *Moſco* vnto *Mare Caſpium*.

The Iland of Merchants.

Thus proceeding forward, the fourteenth day we paſſed by a goodly riuer called *Cama*, which we left on our left hand. This Riuer falleth out of the Countrey of *Permia* into the Riuer of *Volga*, and is from *Cazan* fifteene leagues: and the Countrey lying betwixt the ſaid *Cazan*, and the ſaid Riuer *Cama* on the left hand of *Volga* is called *Vachen*, and the Inhabitants bee *Gentiles*, and liue in the Wilderneſſe without Houſe or Habitation: and the Countrey on the other ſide of *Volga*, ouer againſt the ſaid Riuer *Cama*, is called the Land of *Cheremizes*, halfe *Gentiles*, halfe *Tartars*, and all the Land on the left hand of the ſaid *Volga*, from the ſaid Riuer vnto *Aſtracan*, and ſo following the North and North-eaſt ſide of the *Caſpian* Sea, to a Land of the *Tartars* called *Turkemen*, is called the Countrey of *Mangat* or *Nagay*, whoſe Inhabitants are of the Law of *Mahomet*, and were all deſtroyed in the yeare 1558. at my beeing at *Aſtracan*, through Ciuill Warres among them, accompanied with Famine, Peſtilence, and ſuch Plagues, in ſuch ſort that in the ſaid yeare there were conſumed of the people, in one ſort and another, aboue one hundred thouſand: the like Plague was neuer ſeene in thoſe parts, ſo that the ſaid Countrey of *Nagay*, being a Countrey of great Paſture, remayneth now vnrepleniſhed to the great contentation of the *Ruſſes*, who haue had cruell Warres a long time together.

The Riuer of *Cama*.

Vachen.

Mangat or *Nagay Tartars*.

The *Nagayans* when they flouriſhed, liued in this manner: they were diuided into diuers companies called Hords, and euery Hord had a Ruler, whom they obeyed as their King, and was called a Murſe. Towne or Houſe they had none, but liued in the open fields, euery Murſe or King hauing his Hords or people about him, with their Wiues, Children, and Cattell, who hauing conſumed the Paſture in one place, remoued vnto another: and when they remooue they haue Houſes like Tents ſet vpon Waggons or Carts, which are drawne from place to place with Camels, and therein their Wiues, Children, and all their Riches, which is very little, is carried about, and euery man hath at the leaſt foure or fiue Wiues beſides Concubines. Vſe of money they haue none, but doe barter their Cattell for apparell and other neceſſaries. They delight in no Art nor Science, except the Warres, wherein they are expert, but for the moſt part they bee paſturing people, and haue great ſtore of Cattell, which is all their Riches. They eate much fleſh, and eſpecially the Horſe, and they drinke Mares Milke, wherewith they be oftentimes drunke: they are ſeditious and inclined to Theft and Murther. Corne they ſow not, neither doe eate any Bread, mocking the Chriſtians for the ſame, and diſabling our ſtrengths, ſaying, wee liue by eating the top of a Weed, and drinke a Drinke made of the ſame, allowing their great deuouring of fleſh, and drinking of Milke to be the increaſe of their ſtrength. But now to proceed forward to my Iourney.

Hords.

All the Countrey vpon our right hand the Riuer *Volga*, from ouer againſt the Riuer *Cama* vnto the Towne of *Aſtracan*, is the Land of *Crimme*, whoſe Inhabitants bee alſo of the Law of *Mahomet*, and liue for the moſt part according to the faſhions of the *Nagayes*, hauing continuall Warres with the Emperour of *Ruſſia*, and are valiant in the field, hauing countenance, and ſupport from the great *Turke*.

The *Crimme Tartars*.

The ſixteenth day of Iune we paſſed by certayne Fiſhermens Houſes, called *Petowſe*, twentie leagues

leagues from the Riuer *Cama*, where is great fishing for Sturgeon, so continuing our way vntill the two and twentieth day, and passing by another great Riuer called *Samar*, which falleth out of the aforesaid Countrey, and runneth through *Nagay*, and entreth into the said Riuer of *Volga*. The eight and twentieth day we came vnto a great Hill, where was in times past a Castle made by the *Crimmes*, but now it is ruined, being the just mid-way betweene the said *Cazan* and *Astrachan*, which is two hundred leagues or thereabout, in the latitude of one and fiftie degrees, fortie seuen minutes. Vpon all this shoare groweth abundance of Licoris, whose Root runneth within the ground like a Vine.

The Riuer of *Samar*.

Licoris in great plentie.

Thus going forward, the sixt day of Iuly we came to a place called *Perouolog*, so named because in times past the *Tartars* carried their Boats from *Volga*, vnto the Riuer *Tanais*, otherwise called *Don*, by Land, when they would rob such as passed downe the said *Volga* to *Astracan*, and also such as passed downe by the Riuer *Tanais*, to *Asou*, *Caffa*, or any other Towne situated vpon *Mare Euxinum*, into which Sea *Tanais* falleth, who hath his Springs in the Countrey of the *Rezan*, out of a plaine ground. It is at this streight of *Perouolog* from the one Riuer to the other, two leagues by Land, and is a dangerous place for Theeues and Robbers, but now it is not so euill as it hath beene by reason of the Emperour of *Russia* his Conquests.

Perouolog. *Don* or *Tanais*.

Departing from *Perouolog*, hauing the Wildernesse on both sides, wee saw a great Heard of *Nagayans* pasturing, as is abouesaid, by estimation aboue a thousand Camels drawing of Carts with Houses vpon them like Tents, of a strange fashion, seeming to bee afarre off a Towne: that Herd was belonging to a great Murse, called *Smille*, the greatest Prince in all *Nagay*, who hath slaine and driuen away all the rest, not sparing his owne Brethren and Children, and hauing peace with this Emperour of *Russia*, hee hath what hee needeth, and ruleth alone: so that now the *Russes* liue in peace with the *Nagayans*, who were wont to haue mortall Warres together.

The fourteenth day of Iuly passing by an old Castle, which was Old *Astracan*, and leauing it vpon our right hand, we arriued at New *Astracan*, which this Emperour of *Russia* conquered sixe yeares past, in the yeare 1552. It is from the *Mosco* vnto *Astracan* sixe hundred leagues, or thereabout. The Towne of *Astracan* is situated in an Iland vpon a Hill side, hauing a Castle within the same, walled about with Earth and Timber, neither faire nor strong: The Towne is also walled about with Earth: the Buildings and Houses (except it be the Captaines Lodging, and certaine other Gentlemens) most base & simple. The Iland is most destitute and barren of wood and pasture, and the ground will beare no Corne: the Aire is there most infected, by reason (as I suppose) of much fish, and specially Sturgeon, by which onely the Inhabitants liue, hauing great scarsitie of flesh and bread. They hang vp their fish in their streets and Houses to dry for their prouision, which causeth such abundance of flyes to increase there, as the like was neuer seene in any Land, to their great Plague. And at my being at the said *Astracan*, there was a great Famine and Plague among the people, and specially among the *Tartars*, called *Nagayans*, who the same time came thither in great numbers to render themselues to the *Russes* their Enemies, and to seeke succour at their hands, their Countrey being destroyed, as I said before: but they were but ill entertayned or releeued, for there dyed a great number of them for hunger, which lay all the Iland through in heapes dead, and like to beasts vnburied, very pittifull to behold: many of them were also sold by the *Russes*, and the rest were banished from the Iland. At that time it had beene an easie thing to haue conuerted that wicked Nation to the Christian Faith, if the *Russes* themselues had beene good Christians: but how should they shew compassion vnto other Nations, when they are not mercifull vnto their owne? At my being there I could haue bought many goodly *Tartars* Children, if I would haue had a thousand, of their owne Fathers and Mothers, to say, a Boy or a Wench for a Loafe of bread worth sixe pence in *England*, but we had more need of victuals at that time then of any such Merchandize. This *Astracan* is the furthest hold that this Emperour of *Russia* hath conquered of the *Tartars* towards the *Caspian* Sea, which he keepeth very strong, sending thither euery yeare prouision of men, and victuals, and Timber to build the Castle.

Astracan.

Store of Sturgeons, & flyes.

Miserable Famine.

There is a certayne Trade of Merchandize there vsed, but as yet so small and beggerly, that it is not worth the making mention, and yet there come Merchants thither from diuers places. The chiefest Commodities that the *Russes* bring thither are red Hides, red sheeps skinnes, woodden Vessels, Bridles, and Saddles, Knines, and other Trifles, with Corne, Bacon, and other Victuals. The *Tartars* bring thither diuers kinds of Wares made of Cotton Wooll, with diuers kinds of wrought Silkes: and they that come out of *Persia*, namely, from *Shamacki*, doe bring sewing Silke, which is the coursest that they vse in *Russeland*, *Crasso*, diuers kinds of pide Silkes for Girdles, Shirts of Male, Bowes, Swords, and such like things: and some yeares Corne, and Wal-nuts, but all such things in such small quantitie, the Merchants being so beggerly and poore that bring the same, that it is not worth the writing, neither is there any hope of Trade in all those parts worth the following.

This foresaid Iland of *Astracan* is in length twelue leagues, and in breadth three, and lyeth East and West in the latitude of fortie seuen degrees, nine minutes: we tarryed there vntill the

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ſixt day of Auguſt, and hauing bought and prouided a Boate in company with certayne *Tartars* and *Perſians*, wee laded our goods and imbarked our ſelues, and the ſame day departed I, with the ſaid two *Iohnſons*, hauing the whole charge of the Nauigation downe the ſaid Riuer *Volga*, beeing very crooked, and full of flats toward the mouth thereof. Wee entred into the *Caſpian* Sea the tenth day of Auguſt at the Eaſterly ſide of the ſaid Riuer, being twentie leagues from *Aſtracan* aforeſaid, in the latitude of fortie ſixe degrees, twentie ſeuen minutes.

They enter into the *Caſpian* Sea.

Volga.

Volga hath ſeuentie mouthes or fals into the Sea: and we hauing a large wind, kept the North-eaſt ſhoare, and the eleuenth day we ſayled ſeuen leagues Eaſt North-eaſt, and came vnto an Iland hauing an high Hill therein, called *Accurgar*, a good Marke in the Sea. From thence Eaſt ten leagues, we fell with another Iland, called *Bawhrata*, much higher then the other. Within theſe two Ilands to the Northwards, is a great Bay called the *Blue Sea*. From thence wee ſayled Eaſt and by North ten leagues, and hauing a contrary wind, wee came to an Anchor in a fathome water, and ſo rid vntill the fifteenth day, hauing a great ſtorme at South-eaſt, being a moſt contrary wind, which we rid out. Then the wind came to the North, and wee weighed, and ſet our courſe South-eaſt, and that day ſayled eight leagues.

The *Blue Sea*.

Thus proceeding forwards, the ſeuenteenth day we loſt ſight of Land, and the ſame day ſayled thirtie leagues, and the eighteenth day twentie leagues winding Eaſt, and fell with a Land called *Baughleata*, being ſeuentie foure leagues from the mouth of the ſaid *Volga*, in the latitude of fortie ſixe degrees fiftie foure minutes, the Coaſt lying neereſt Eaſt and by South, and Weſt and by North. At the point of this Iland lyeth buried a holy Prophet, as the *Tartars* call him, of their Law, where great deuotion is vſed of all ſuch *Mahometiſts* as doe paſſe that way.

Baughleata being 74. leagues from *Volga*.

Hondius *his Map of* Tartaria.

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The nineteenth day the winde being West, and wee winding East South-east, we sayled ten leagues, and passed by a great Riuer called *Iaic*, which hath his spring in the Land of *Siberia*, nigh vnto the foresaid Riuer *Cama*, and runneth through the Land of *Nagay*, falling into this *Mare Caspium*. And vp this Riuer one dayes iourney is a Towne called *Serachicke*, subiect to the foresaid *Tartar* Prince, called *Musa Smille*, which is now in friendship with the Emperour of *Russia*. Heere is no trade of merchandise vsed, for that the people haue no vse of money, and are all Men of warre, and Pasturers of cattell, and giuen much to theft and murther. Thus being at an anchor against this Riuer *Iaic*, and all our men being on Land, sauing I, who lay sore sicke, and fiue *Tartars*, whereof one was reputed a holy man, because hee came from *Mecca*, there came vnto vs a Boat with thirtie men well armed and appointed, who boorded vs, and began to enter into our Barke, and our holy *Tartar*, called *Azy*, perceiuing that, asked them what they would haue, and withall made a prayer: with that these Rouers stayed, declaring that they were Gentlemen, banished from their Countrey, and out of liuing, and came to see if there were any *Russes*, or other *Christians* (which they call *Cuphars*) in our Barke: To whom this *Azi* most stoutly answered, that there were none, auowing the same by great oathes of their Law, (which lightly they will not breake) whom the Rouers beleeued, and vpon his words departed. And so through the fidelitie of that *Tartar*, I with all my companie and goods were saued, and our men being come on boord, and the wind faire, we departed from that place, and winding East and South-east, that day being the twentieth of August sailed sixteene leagues.

Iaic Riuer.

Serachick.

The one and twentieth day we passed ouer a Bay of sixe leagues broad, and fell with a Cape of Land, hauing two Ilands at the South-east part thereof, being a good marke in the Sea: and doubling the Cape the Land trended North-east, and maketh another Bay, into which falleth the greater Riuer *Tem*, springing out of the Land of *Colmack*. The two and twentieth, three and twentieth, and foure and twentieth dayes, we were at anchor. The fiue and twentieth, the winde came faire, and we sayled that day twentie leagues, and passed by an Iland of lowe land, and thereabout are many flats and sands: and to the Northward of this Iland there goeth in a great Bay, but we set off from this Iland, and winded South to come into deepe water, being much troubled with shoalds and flats, and ranne that course ten leagues, then East South-east, twentie leagues, and fell with the maine Land, being full of copped Hills, and passing along the coast twentie leagues, the further we sayled, the higher was the Land.

The Country of *Colmack*.

The seuen and twentieth day we crossed ouer a Bay, the South shoare being the higher Land, and fell with a high point of Land: and being ouerthwart the Cape, there rose such a storme at the East, that we thought verily we should haue perished: this storme continued three dayes. From this Cape we passed to a Port called *Manguslaue*. The place where we should haue arriued at the Southermost part of the *Caspian* Sea, is twelue leagues within a Bay: but we being sore tormented and tossed with this foresaid storme, were driuen vnto another Land on the other side the Bay, ouerthwart the said *Manguslaue* being very lowe Land, and a place as well for the ill commoditie of the Hauen, as of those brute held people, where neuer Barke nor Boat had before arriued, not liked of vs.

The Port of *Manguslaue*.

But yet there we sent certaine of our men to Land to talke with the Gouernour and people, as well for our good vsage at their hands, as also for prouision of Camels to carrie our goods from the said Sea side to a place called *Sellyzure*, being from the place of our landing fiue and twentie dayes iourney. Our Messengers returned with comfortable words and faire promises of all things.

Wherefore the third day of September 1558. we discharged our Barke, and I with my companie were gently entertayned of the Prince, and of his people. But before our departure from thence, we found them to bee a very bad and brutish people, for they ceased not daily to molest vs, either by fighting, stealing, or begging, raysing the price of Horse, and Camels, and Victuals, double that it was wont there to be, and forced vs to buy the water that we drinke: which caused vs to hasten away, and to conclude with them as well for the hire of Camels, as for the price of such as wee bought, with other prouision, according to their owne demand: So that for euery Camels lading, being but foure hundred weight of ours, we agreed to giue three Hides of *Russia*, and foure wooden dishes, and to the Prince or Gouernour of the said people one ninth, and two seuenths: namely, nine seuerall things, and twice seuen seuerall things: for money they vse none.

They goe on land.

And thus being ready, the fourteenth of September we departed from that place, being a Caruan of a thousand Camels. And hauing trauelled fiue dayes iourney, wee came to another Princes Dominion, and vpon the way there came vnto vs certaine *Tartars* on horsebacke, being well armed, and seruants vnto the said Prince called *Timur Soltan*, Gouernour of the said Countrey of *Manguslaue*, where wee meant to haue arriued and discharged our Barke, if the great storme aforesaid, had not disappointed. These aforesaid *Tartars* stayed our Caruan in the name of their Prince, and opened our Wares, and tooke such things as they thought best for their said Prince without money, but for such things as they tooke from mee, which was a ninth (after much dissention) I rode vnto the same Prince, and presented my selfe before him, requesting his

The Countrey of *Manguslaue* It standes in 45.

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his fauour, and Paſport to trauell thorow his Countrey, and not to be robbed or ſpoyled of his people: which requeſt he granted me, and entertayned me very gently, commanding me to be well feaſted with fleſh and Mares milke: for Bread they vſe none, nor other drinke except water: but money he had none to giue me for ſuch things as he tooke of me, which might be of value in *Ruſſe* money, fifteene Rubbles, but hee gaue mee his Letter, and a Horſe worth ſeuen Rubbles. And ſo I departed from him being glad that I was gone: for he was reported to bee a very tyrant, and if I had not gone vnto him, I vnderſtood his commandement was, that I ſhould haue beene robbed and deſtroyed.

This *Sultan* liued in the fields without Caſtle or Towne, and ſate, at my being with him, in a little round houſe made of reeds couered without with Felt, and within with Carpets. There was with him the great Metropolitan of that wilde Countrey, eſteemed of the people, as the Biſhop of *Rome* is in moſt parts of *Europe*, with diuers other of his chiefe men. The *Sultan* with this Metropolitan demanded of mee many queſtions, as well touching our Kingdomes, Lawes, and Religion, as alſo the cauſe of my comming into thoſe parts, with my further pretence. To whom I anſwered concerning all things, as vnto me ſeemed beſt, which they tooke in good part. So hauing leaue I departed, and ouertooke our Caruan, and proceeding on our iourney, and trauelled twentie dayes in the Wilderneſſe from the Sea ſide without ſeeing Town or habitation, carrying prouiſion of victuals with vs for the ſame time, and were driuen by neceſſitie to eate one of my Camels and a Horſe for our part, as other did the like: and during the ſaid twentie dayes we found no water, but ſuch as we drew out of old deepe Wells, being very brackiſh and ſalt, and yet ſomtimes paſſed two or three dayes without the ſame. And the firſt day of October enſuing, we came vnto a Gulfe of the *Caſpian* Sea againe, where we found the water very freſh and ſweet: at this Gulfe the Cuſtomers of the King of *Turkeman* met vs, who tooke cuſtome of euery fiue and twentie one, and ſeuen ninths for the ſaid King and his brethren, which being receiued they departed, and we remayned there a day after to refreſh our ſelues.

Twentie dayes trauell in the Wilderneſſe, with ſcarſitie of water.

Another Gulfe of the Caſpian Sea.

Note, that in times paſt there did fall into this Gulfe the great Riuer *Oxus*, which hath his ſprings in the Mountaines of *Paraponiſus* in *India*, and now commeth not ſo farre, but falleth into another Riuer, called *Ardock*, which runneth toward the North, and conſumeth himſelfe in the ground, paſſing vnder the ground aboue fiue hundred miles, and then iſſueth out againe and falleth into the Lake of *Kithay*.

Will. de Rubricis deſcribeth this Riuer of Ardok, cap. 4.

We hauing refreſhed our ſelues at the foreſaid Gulfe, departed thence the fourth day of October, and the ſeuenth day arriued at a Caſtle, called *Sellizure*, where the King, called *Azim Can*, remayned with three other of his brethren, and the ninth day I was commanded to come before his preſence, to whom I deliuered the Emperours Letters of *Ruſſia*: and I alſo gaue him a Preſent of a ninth, who entertayned me very well, and cauſed me to eate in his preſence as his brethren did, feaſting me with fleſh of a wilde Horſe, and Mares milke without Bread. And the next day he ſent for me againe, and asked of me diuers queſtions, as well touching the affaires of the Emperour of *Ruſſia*, as of our Countrey and Lawes, to which I anſwered as I thought good: ſo that at my departure he gaue mee his Letters of ſafe conduct.

Sellizure, or *Shayzure.*

Letters of ſafe conduct.

The Caſtle of *Sellizure* is ſituated vpon an high Hill, where the King called the *Can* lieth, whoſe Palace is built of earth very baſely, and not ſtrong: the people are but poore, and haue little trade of merchandiſe among them. The South part of this Caſtle is low land, but very fruitfull, where growe many good fruits, among which there is one called a *Dynie*, of a great bigneſſe, and full of moiſture, which the people doe eate after meate in ſtead of drinke. Alſo there growes another fruit, called a *Carbuſe*, of the bigneſſe of a great Cucumber, yellow, and ſweet as Sugar: alſo a certaine Corne, called *Iegur*, whoſe ſtalke is much like a Sugar cane, and as high, and the Graine like Rice, which groweth at the top of the cane like a cluſter of Grapes; the water that ſerueth all that Countrey is drawne by ditches out of the Riuer *Oxus*, vnto the great deſtruction of the ſaid Riuer, for which cauſe it falleth not into the *Caſpian* Sea, as it hath done in times paſt, and in ſhort time all that Land is like to be deſtroyed, and to become a Wilderneſſe for want of water, when the Riuer of *Oxus* ſhall faile.

The fourteenth day of the moneth wee departed from this Caſtle of *Sellizure*, and the ſixteenth of the ſame wee arriued at a Citie called *Vrgence*, where we payed Cuſtome as well for our owne heads, as for our Camels and Horſes. And hauing there ſoiourned one moneth, attending the time of our further trauell, the King of that Countrey called *Aly Sultan*, brother to the fore-named *Azym Can*, returned from a Towne called *Coraſan*, within the borders of *Perſia*, which he lately had conquered from the *Perſians*, with whom hee and the reſt of the Kings of *Tertaria* haue continuall warres. Before this King alſo I was commanded to come, to whom I likewiſe preſented the Emperours Letters of *Ruſſia*, and he entertayned me well, and demanded of me diuers queſtions, and at my departure gaue me his Letters of ſafe conduct.

Vrgence, in 42. degr. 18. min.

This Citie or Towne of *Vrgence* ſtandeth in a plaine ground, with walls of the earth, by eſtimation foure miles about it. The buildings within it are alſo of earth, but ruined and out of good order: it hath one long ſtreet that is couered aboue, which is the place of their Market. It hath beene wonne and loſt foure times within ſeuen yeeres by ciuill warres, by meanes whereof there

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are but few Merchants in it, and they very poore, and in all that Towne I could not sell aboue foure Kerseys. The chiefest commodities there sold are such wares as come from *Boghar*, and out of *Persia*, but in most small quantitie not worth the writing. All the Land from the *Caspian* Sea to this Citie of *Vrgence*, is called the Land of *Turkeman*, and is subiect to the said *Azim Can*, and his brethren which bee fiue in number, and one of them hath the name of the chiefe King called *Can*, but he is little obeyed sauing in his owne Dominion, and where hee dwelleth: for euery one will be King of his owne portion, and one brother seeketh alwaies to destroy another, hauing no naturall loue among them, by reason that they are begotten of diuers women, and commonly they are the children of slaues, either *Christians* or *Gentiles*, which the father doth keepe as Concubines, and euery *Can* or *Sultan* hath at the least foure or fiue wiues, besides young maidens and boyes, liuing most viciously: and when there are warres betwixt these brethren, (as they are seldome without) he that is ouercome if hee be not slaine, fleeth to the field with such companie of men as will follow him, and there liueth in the Wildernesse, resorting to watering places, and so robbeth and spoyleth as many Carauans of Merchants and others, as they be able to ouercome, continuing in this sort his wicked life, vntill such time as he may get power and aide to inuade some of his brethren againe. From the *Caspian* Sea vnto the Castle of *Sellizare* aforesaid, and all the Countries about the said Sea, the people liue without Towne or habitation in the wilde fields, remooving from one place to another in great companies with their Cattell, whereof they haue great store, as Camels, Horses, and Sheepe both tame and wilde. Their sheepe are of great stature with great buttockes, weighing sixtie or eightie pound in weight. There are many wilde Horses which the *Tartars* doe many times kill with their Hawkes, and that in this order.

The Countrey of *Turkemia*.

The Hawkes are lured to seize vpon the beasts neckes or heads, which with chasing of themselues, and sore beating of the Hawkes are tyred: then the Hunterr following his game doth slay the Horse with his Arrow or Sword. In all this Land there groweth no grasse, but a certaine brush or heath, whereon the Cattell feeding become very fat.

The *Tartars* neuer ride without their Bowe, Arrowes, and Sword, although it bee on hawking, or at any other pleasure, and they are good Archers both on horse-backe, and on foot also. These people haue not vse of Gold, Siluer, or any other coyne, but when they lacke apparell or other necessaries, they barter their Cattell for the same. Bread they haue none, for they neither till nor sowe: they be great deuourers of flesh, which they cut in small pieces, and eate it by handfuls most greedily, and especially the Horse flesh. Their chiefest drinke is Mares milke sowred, as I haue said before of the *Nagayans*, and they will bee drunke with the same. They haue no Riuers nor places of water in this Countrey, vntill you come to the foresaid Gulfe, distant from the place of our landing twentie dayes iourney, except it bee in Wells, the water whereof is saltish, and yet distant the one from the other two dayes iourney and more. They eate their meate vpon the ground, sitting with their legs double vnder them, and so also when they pray. Arte or Science they haue none, but liue most idlely, sitting round in great companies in the fields, deuising, and talking most vainely.

They sixe and twentieth day of Nouember, wee departed from the Towne of *Vrgence*, and hauing trauelled by the Riuer *Oxus* one hundred miles, wee passed ouer another great Riuer, called *Ardocke*, where wee payed a certaine petie custome. This Riuer *Ardocke* is great, and very swift, falling out of the foresaid *Oxus*, and passing about one thousand mile to the Northward, it then consumeth it selfe in the ground, and passing vnder the same about fiue hundred miles, issueth out againe, and falleth into the Lake of *Kitay*, as I haue before declared.

The Riuer of *Ardock* falleth into the Lake of *Kitay*.

The seuenth of December following, we arriued at a Castle called *Kait*, subiect to a *Sultan* called *Saramet Sultan*, who meant to haue robbed all the *Christians* in the Carauan, had it not beene for feare of his brother the King of *Vrgence*, as we were informed by one of his chiefest Counsellours, who willed vs to make him a present, which he tooke, and deliuered: besides, wee payed at the said Castle for Custome, of euery Camell one red hide of *Russia*, besides petie gifts to his Officers.

The Castle of *Kait*.

Thus proceeding in our iourney, the tenth day at night being at rest, and our watch set, there came vnto vs foure Horsemen, which we tooke as Spies, from whom we tooke their weapons, and bound them, and hauing well examined them, they confessed that they had seene the tract of many Horsemen, and no footing of Camels, and gaue vs to vnderstand, that there were Rouers and theeues abroad: for there trauell few people that are true and peaceable in that Countrey, but in companie of Carauan, where there be many Camels: and Horse-feeting new without Camels were to be doubted. Whereupon we consulted and determined amongst our selues, and sent a Poste to the said *Sultan* of *Kaite*, who immediatly came himselfe with three hundred men, and met these foure suspected men which wee sent vnto him, and examined them so straightly, and threatned them in such sort, that they confessed, there was a banished Prince with fortie men three dayes iourney forward, who lay in wait to destroy vs, if hee could, and that they themselues were of his companie.

The *Sultan* therefore vnderstanding, that the Theeues were not many, appointed vs eightie men

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men well armed with a Captaine to goe with vs, and conduct vs in our way. And the *Sultan* himſelfe returned backe again, taking the foure theeues with him. Theſe ſouldiers trauelled with vs two dayes, conſuming much of our victuals. And the third day in the morning very early they ſet out before our Carauan, and hauing ranged the wilderneſſe for the ſpace of foure houres, they met vs, comming towards vs as faſt as their horſe could runne, and declared that they had found the tract of horſes not farre from vs, perceiuing well that wee ſhould meete with enemies, and therefore willed vs to appoint our ſelues for them, and asked vs what wee would giue them to conduct vs further, or elſe they would returne. To whom wee offered as we thought good, but they refuſed our offer, and would haue more, and ſo wee not agreeing they departed from vs, and went backe to their *Sultan*, who (as wee coniectured) was priuie to the conſpiracie. But they being gone, certaine *Tartars* of our companie called holy men, (becauſe they had beene at *Mecca*) cauſed the whole Carauan to ſtay, and would make their prayers, and diuine how we ſhould proſper in our iourney, and whether wee ſhould meet with any ill companie or no: To which, our whole Carauan did agree. And they tooke certaine ſheepe and killed them, and tooke the blade bones of the ſame, and firſt ſod them, and then burnt them, and tooke of the bloud of the ſaid ſheepe, and mingled it with the powder of the ſaid bones, and wrote certaine Characters with the ſaid bloud, vſing many other ceremonies and words, and by the ſame diuined and found, that wee ſhould meete with enemies and theeues (to our great trouble) but ſhould ouercome them, to which ſorcerie, I and my companie gaue no credit, but wee found it true: for within three houres after that the ſouldiers departed from vs, which was the fifteenth day of December, in the morning, wee eſcryed farre off diuers horſemen which made towards vs, and we (perceiuing them to bee rouers) gathered our ſelues together, being fortie of vs well appointed, and able to fight, and wee made our prayers together euery one after his Law, profeſſing to liue and dye one with another, and ſo prepared our ſelues. When the theeues were nigh vnto vs, wee perceiued them to be in number thirtie ſeuen men well armed, and appointed with bowes, arrowes, and ſwords, and the Captaine a Prince baniſhed from his Countrey. They willed vs to yeeld our ſelues, or elſe to bee ſlaine, but wee defied them, wherewith they ſhot at vs all at once, and we at them very hotly, and ſo continued our fight from morning vntill two houres within night, diuers men, horſes and camels being wounded and ſlaine on both parts: and had it not beene for foure hand-guns, which I and my companie had and vſed, wee had beene ouercome and deſtroyed: for the theeues were better armed, and were alſo better Archers then wee; But after we had ſlaine diuers of their men and horſes with our Guns, they durſt not approach ſo nigh, which cauſed them to come to a truce with vs vntill the next morning, which wee accepted, and encamped our ſelues vpon a hill, and made the faſhion of a Caſtle, walling it about with packes of wares, and layd our Horſes and Camels within the ſame, to ſaue them from the ſhot of arrowes: and the theeues alſo incamped within an arrow ſhot of vs, but they were betwixt vs and the water, which was to our great diſcomfort, becauſe neither wee nor our Camels had drunke in two dayes before.

Diuination by ſorcerie.

Fight with theeues.

Hand-guns very profitable.

Thus keeping good watch, when halfe the night was ſpent, the Prince of the Theeues ſent a meſſenger halfe way vnto vs, requiring to talke with our Captaine, in their tongue, the Carauan *Baſha*, who anſwered the meſſenger, I will not depart from my companie to goe into the halfe way to talke with thee: but if that thy Prince with all his companie will ſweare by our Law to keepe the truce, then will I ſend a man to talke with thee, or elſe not. Which the Prince vnderſtanding as well himſelfe as his company, ſwore ſo loude that wee might all heare. And then we ſent one of our companie (reputed a holy man) to talke with the ſame meſſenger. The meſſage was pronounced aloude in this order. *Our Prince demandeth of the* Carauan Baſha, *and of all you that bee* Buſſarmans, *(that is to ſay, Circumciſed) not deſiring your bloods, that you deliuer into his hands as many* Caphars, *that is, vnbeleeuers* (meaning vs the Chriſtians) *as are among you with their goods, and in ſo doing, hee will ſuffer you to depart with your goods in quietneſſe, and on the contrarie, you ſhall bee handled with no leſſe cruelty then the* Caphars, *if hee ouercome you, as hee doubteth not.* To the which our *Carauan Baſha* anſwered, that hee had no Chriſtians in his companie, nor other ſtrangers, but two *Turkes* which were of their Law; and although hee had, hee would rather dye then deliuer them, and that wee were not afraid of his threatnings, and that ſhould hee know when day appeared. And ſo paſſing in talke, the Theeues (contrary to their oath) carried our holy man away to their Prince, crying with a loude voyce in token of victorie, *Ollo, ollo.* Wherewith wee were much diſcomforted, fearing that that holy man would betray vs: but he being cruelly handled and much examined, would not to death confeſſe any thing which was to vs preiudiciall, neither touching vs, nor yet what men they had ſlaine and wounded of ours the day before. When the night was ſpent, in the morning wee prepared our ſelues to battell againe: which the theeues perceiuing, required to fall to agreement, and asked much of vs: And to bee briefe, the moſt part of our company being loath to goe to battell againe, and hauing little to loſe, and ſafe conduct to paſſe, wee were compelled to agree, and to giue the theeues twentie ninths (that is to ſay) twentie times nine ſeuerall things, and a Camell to carrie away the ſame, which being receiued, the theeues departed into the Wilderneſſe to their olde habitation,

A holy man.

Buſſarmans, or Muſlemans Caphars.

Fidelitie of an *Infidel.*

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habitation, and wee went on our way forward. And that night came to the Riuer *Oxus*, where wee refreſhed our ſelues, hauing beene three dayes without water and drinke, and tarried there all the next day, making merrie with our ſlaine Horſes and Camels, and then departed from that place, and for feare of meeting with the ſaid theeues againe, or ſuch like, wee left the high way which went along the ſaid Riuer, and paſſed through a wilderneſſe of ſand, and trauelled foure dayes in the ſame before wee came to water: and then came to a Well, the water being very brackiſh, and we then as before were in need of water, and of other victuals, being forced to kill our Horſes and Camels to eate.

The riuer of *Oxus*.

A wilderneſſe of ſand.

In this wilderneſſe alſo, wee had almoſt fallen into the hands of Theeues: for one night being at reſt, there came certaine ſcouts, and carried away certaine of our men which lay a little ſeparated from the Carauan where with there was a great ſhoute and crie, and we immediatly laded our Camels, and departed being about midnight, and very darke, and droue ſore till we came to the riuer *Oxus* againe, and then wee feared nothing being walled with the ſaid riuer: and whether it was for that wee had gotten the water, or for that the ſame theeues were farre from vs when the ſcouts diſcouered vs, we know not, but we eſcaped that danger.

So vpon the three & twentieth day of December, we arriued at the Citie of *Boghar* in the land of *Bactria*. This *Boghar* is ſituated in the loweſt part of all the Land, walled about with a high wall of earth, with diuers Gates into the ſame: it is diuided into three partitions, whereof two parts are the Kings, and the third part is for Merchants & Markets, and euery Science hath their dwelling and market by themſelues. The Citie is very great, and the houſes for the moſt part of Earth, but there are alſo many Houſes, Temples, and Monuments of ſtone ſumptuouſly builded, and gilt, and ſpecially Bath-ſtoues ſo artificially built, that the like thereof is not in the world: the manner whereof is too long to rehearſe. There is a little riuer running through the midſt of the ſaid Citie, but the water thereof is moſt vnwholeſome, for it breedeth ſometimes in men that drinke thereof, and eſpecially in them that bee not there borne, a Worme of an ell long, which lyeth commonly in the leg, betwixt the fleſh and the skin, and is pluckt out about the Ancle with great art and cunning, the Surgeons being much practiſed therein, and if ſhee breake in plucking out, the partie dyeth, and euery day ſhe commeth out about an inch, which is rolled vp, and ſo worketh till ſhe bee all out. And yet it is there forbidden to drinke any other thing then water, and Mares milke, and whoſoeuer is found to breake that Law, is whipped and beaten moſt cruelly through the open markets, and there are Officers appointed for the ſame, who haue authoritie to goe into any mans houſe, to ſearch if hee haue either *Aquauita*, Wine, or Brag, and finding the ſame, doe breake the veſſels, ſpoyle the drinke, and puniſh the maſters of the houſe moſt cruelly; yea, and many times if they perceiue but by the breath of a man that hee hath drunke, without further examination he ſhall not eſcape their hands.

Boghar a Citie of *Bactria*, in 39. degrees, 10. minutes.

A ſtrange Worme in mens legs.

There is a Metropolitane in this *Boghar*, who cauſeth this law to be ſo ſtraightly kept: and he is more obeyed then the King, and will depoſe the King, and place another at his will and pleaſure, as hee did by this King that raigned at our being there, and his predeceſſour, by the meanes of the ſaid Metropolitan: for hee betrayed him, and in the night ſlew him in his chamber, who was a Prince that loued all Chriſtians well.

This Countrey of *Boghar* was ſomtime ſubiect to the *Perſians*, and doe now ſpeake the *Perſian* tongue, but yet now it is a Kingdome of it ſelfe, and hath moſt cruell warres continually with the ſaid *Perſians* about their Religion, although they bee all *Mahometiſts*. One occaſion of their warres is, for that the *Perſians* will not cut the hayre of their vpper lips, as the *Boghorians* and all other *Tartars* doe, which they account great ſinne, and call them *Caphars*, that is, vnbeleeuers, as they doe the Chriſtians.

Theſe are of the *Ieſelbas Tartars*.

The King of *Boghar* hath no great power or riches, his reuenues are but ſmall, and hee is moſt maintained by the Citie: for he taketh the tenth penie of all things that are there ſold, as well by the Craftſmen as by the Merchants, to the great impoueriſhment of the people, whom hee keepeth in great ſubiection, and when hee lacketh money, he ſendeth his officers to the Shops of the ſaid Merchants, to take their wares to pay his debts, and will haue credit of force, as the like hee did to pay me certaine money that he owed me for nineteene pieces of Kerſey. Their money is ſiluer and copper, for gold their is none currant: they haue but one piece of ſiluer, and that is worth twelue-pence *Engliſh*, and the copper money are called *Pooles*, and one hundred and twentie of them goeth to the value of the ſaid twelue-pence, and is more common payment then the ſiluer, which the King cauſeth to riſe and fall to his moſt aduantage euery other moneth, and ſomtimes twiſe a moneth, not caring to oppreſſe his people, for that he looketh not to raigne aboue two or three yeeres, before he bee either ſlaine or driuen away, to the great deſtruction of the Countrey and Merchants.

The Coyne of *Boghar*.

The twentie ſixth day of the moneth, I was commanded to goe before the ſaid King, to whom I preſented the Emperour of *Ruſſia* his letters, who entertained vs moſt gently, and cauſed vs to eate in his preſence, and diuers times hee ſent for me, and deuiſed with me familiarly in his ſecret chamber, as well of the power of the Emperour, and the great *Turke*, as alſo of our Countries, Lawes, and Religion, and cauſed vs to ſhoote in hand-guns before him, and did himſelfe practiſe

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practise the vse thereof. But after all this great entertainment, before my departure hee shewed himselfe a very *Tartar*: for he went to the warres owing me money, and saw me not payed before his departure. And although indeed hee gaue order for the same, yet was I very ill satisfied, and forced to rebate part, and to take wares as payment for the rest contrary to my expectation: but of a begger better payment I could not haue, & glad I was so to be payd and dispatched.

A very *Tartar*.

But yet I must needs praise and commend this barbarous King, who immediately after my arriuall at *Boghar*, hauing vnderstood our trouble with the Theeues, sent one hundred men well armed, and gaue them great charge not to returne before they had either slaine or taken the sayd theeues. Who according to their commission ranged the wildernesse in such sort, that they met with the said companie of Theeues, and slew part, and part fled, and foure they tooke and brought vnto the King, and two of them were sore wounded in our skirmish with our Guns: And after the King had sent for me to come to see them, hee caused them all foure to bee hanged at his Palace gate, because they were Gentlemen, to the example of others. And of such goods as were gotten againe, I had part restored me; and this good Iustice I found at his hands.

The Kings iustice.

There is yeerely great resort of Merchants to this Citie of *Boghar*, which trauell in great Carauans from the Countries thereabout adioyning, as *India*, *Persia*, *Balgh*, *Russia*, with diuers others, and in times past from *Cathay*, when there was passage: but these Merchants are so beggerly and poore, and bring so little quantitie of wares, lying two or three yeeres to sell the same, that there is no hope of any good trade there to be had worthy the following. The chiefe commodities that are brought thither out of these foresaid Countries, are these following.

The *Indians* doe bring fine Whites, which the *Tartars* doe all roll about their heads, and all other kindes of Whites, which serue for apparell made of Cotton-woll and *Crasca*, but Gold, Siluer, precious Stones, and Spices they bring none. I enquired and perceiued that all such trade passeth to the Ocean sea, and the veynes where all such things are gotten are in the subiection of the *Portugals*. The *Indians* carrie from *Boghar* againe wrought Silkes, red Hides, Slaues, and Horses, with such like, but of Kersèis and other cloath, they make little account. I offered to bartar with Merchants of those Countries, which came from the furthest parts of *India*, euen from the Countrey of *Bengala*, and the riuer *Ganges*, to giue them Kersèis for their commodities, but they would not barter for such commoditie as Cloath.

Merchandise of *India*.

The *Persians* doe bring thither *Craska*, Woollen-cloath, Linnen-cloath, diuers kindes of wrought pide Silkes, Argomacks, with such like, and doe carrie from thence red hydes with other *Russe* wares, and Slaues, which are of diuers Countries, but cloath they will buy none, for that they bring thither themselues, and is brought vnto them as I haue inquired from *Aleppo* in *Syria*, and the parts of *Turkie*. The *Russes* doe carrie vnto *Boghar*, red hydes, sheepe skinnes, woollen cloath of diuers sorts, woodden vessels, brydles, saddles, with such like, and doe carrie away from thence diuers kindes of wares made of cotten-woll, diuers kindes of silkes, *Crasca*, with other things, but there is but small vtterance. From the Countries of *Cathay* are brought thither in time of peace, and when the way is open, Muske, Rubarbe, Satten, Damaske, with diuers others things. At my being at *Boghar*, there came Carauans out of all these foresaid Countries, except from *Cathay*: and the cause why there came none from thence, was the great warres that had dured three yeeres before my comming thither, and yet dured betwixt two great Countries and Cities of *Tartars*, that are directly in the way betwixt the said *Boghar* and the said *Cathay*, and certaine barbarous field people, as well *Gentiles* as *Mahometists* bordering to the said Cities. The Cities are called *Taskent* and *Caskar*, and the people that warre against *Taskent* are called *Cossacks* of the law of *Mahomet*: and they which warre with the said Countrey of *Caskar* are called *Kings*, *Gentiles* and *Idolaters*. These two barbarous Nations are of great force, liuing in the fields without Houses or Towne, and haue almost subdued the foresaid Cities, and so stopped vp the way, that it is impossible for any Carauan to passe vnspoyled: so that three yeeres before our being there, no Carauan had gone, or vsed trade betwixt the Countries of *Cathay* and *Boghar*, and when the way is cleare, it is nine moneths iourney.

Merchandise of *Persia*.

Merchandise of *Russia*.

Merchandise of *Cathay*.

Wares.

Taskent and *Caskar*.

To speake of the said Countrey of *Cathay*, and of such newes as I haue heard thereof, I haue thought it best to reserue it to our meeting. I hauing made my solace at *Boghar*, in the winter time, and hauing learned by much inquisition, the trade thereof, as also of all the other Countries thereto adioyning, and the time of the yeere being come, for all Carauans to depart, and also the King being gone to the warres, and newes come that hee was fled, and I aduertised by the Metropolitan himselfe, that I should depart, because the Towne was like to bee besieged: I thought it good and meete, to take my iourney some way, and determined to haue gone from thence into *Persia*, and to haue seene the trade of that Countrey, although I had informed my selfe sufficiently therof, as well at *Astracan*, as at *Boghar*: and perceiued well the trades not to be much vnlike the trades of *Tartaria*: but when I should haue taken my iourney that way, it was let by diuers occasions: the one was, the great warres that did newly begin betwixt the *Sophie*, and the Kings of *Tartaria*, whereby the wayes were destroyed: and there was a Carauan destroyed with rouers and theeues, which came out of *India* and *Persia*, by safe conduct: and about ten dayes iourney from *Boghar*, they were robbed, and a great part slaine. Also the Metropoli-

Carauan destroyed.

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tan of *Boghar*, who is greater then the King, tooke the Emperours letters of *Russia* from me, without which I should haue beene taken Slaue in euery place: also all such wares as I had receiued in barter for Cloath, and as I tooke perforce of the King, and other his Nobles, in payment of money due vnto me, were not vendible in *Persia*: for which causes, and diuers others, I was constrained to come backe againe to *Mare Caspium*, the same way I went: so that the eight of March, 1559. wee departed out of the said Citie of *Boghar*, being a Caruan of sixe hundred Camels: and if wee had not departed when we did, I and my companie had beene in danger to haue lost life and goods. For ten dayes after our departure, the King of *Samarcand* came with an armie, and besieged the said Citie of *Boghar*, the King being absent, and gone to the warres against another Prince his kinsman, as the like chanceth in those Countries once in two or three yeeres. For it is maruell, if a King raigne there aboue three or foure yeeres, to the great destruction of the Countrey, and Merchants.

He returneth the eight of March, 1559.

Samarcand.

The fiue and twentieth of March, we came to the foresaid Towne of *Vrgence*, and escaped the danger of foure hundred rouers, which lay in wayte for vs backe againe, being the most of them of kindred to that companie of theeues, which wee met with going foorth, as we perceiued by foure spyes, which were taken. There were in my companie, and committed to my charge, two Ambassadors, the one from the King of *Boghar*, the other from the King of *Balke*, and were sent vnto the Emperour of *Russia*. And after hauing tarried at *Vrgence*, and the Castle of *Sellysure*, eight dayes for the assembling, and making ready our Caruan, the second of Aprill wee departed from thence, hauing foure moe Ambassadours in our companie, sent from the King of *Vrgence*, and other *Sultans*, his brethren, vnto the Emperour of *Russia*, with answer of such Letters as I brought them: and the same Ambassadours were also committed vnto my charge by the said Kings and Princes: to whom I promised most faithfully, and swore by our Law, that they should bee well vsed in *Rusland*, and suffered to depart from thence againe in safetie, according as the Emperour had written also in his letters: for they somewhat doubted, because there had none gone out of *Tartaria* into *Russia*, of long time before.

Vrgence.

The King of *Balke*, or *Balgh.*

The three and twentieth of Aprill, wee arriued at the *Mare Caspium* againe, where we found our Barke which wee came in, but neither Anchor, Cable, Cocke, nor Sayle: neuertheless we brought Hempe with vs, and spun a Cable our selues, with the rest of our tackling, and made vs a sayle of cloath of Cotton-wooll, and rigged our Barke as well as wee could, but boate or anchor we had none. In the meane time being deuising to make an anchor of wood of a Cart-wheele, there arriued a Barke, which came from *Astracan*, with *Tartars* and *Russes*, which had two Anchors, with whom I agreed for the one: and thus being in a readinesse, wee set sayle and departed, I, and the two *Iohnsons*, being Master and Mariners our selues, hauing in our Barke the said sixe Ambassadours, and twentie fiue *Russes*, which had beene Slaues a long time in *Tartaria*, nor euer had before my comming, libertie, or meanes to get home, and these Slaues serued to row when need was. Thus sayling sometimes along the coast, and sometimes out of sight of land. The thirteenth day of May, hauing a contrary winde, we came to an anchor, being three leagues from the shoare, and there arose a sore storme, which continued fortie foure houres, and our cable being of our owne spinning, brake, and lost our anchor, and being off a lee shoare, and hauing no boate to helpe vs, wee hoysed our sayle, and bare roomer with the said shoare, looking for present death: but as God prouided for vs, we ranne into a creeke full of Oze, and so saued our selues with our Barke, and liued in great discomfort for a time. For although wee should haue escaped with our liues the danger of the sea, yet if our barke had perished, we knew we should haue been either destroyed, or taken slaues by the people of that Countrey, who liue wildly in the field, like beasts, without house or habitation. Thus when the storme was seased, wee went out of the creeke againe: and hauing set the land with our Compasse, and taken certayn markes of the same, during the time of the tempest, whilest we rid at our anchor, wee went directly to the place where we rid, with our Barke againe, and found our anchor which we lost: whereat the *Tartars* much maruelled, how we did it. While wee were in the creeke, we made an anchor of wood of Cart wheeles, which we had in our Barke, which we threw away, when we had found our Iron anchor againe. Within two dayes after, there arose another great storme, at the North-east, and we lay a trie, being driuen farre into the sea, and had much adoe to keepe our Barke from sinking, the billow was so great: but at the last, hauing faire weather, wee tooke the Sunne, and knowing how the Land lay from vs, we fell with the Riuer *Taik*, according to our desire, whereof the *Tartars* were very glad, fearing that wee should haue beene driuen to the coast of *Persia*, whose people were vnto them great enemies.

The *Caspian* sea.

Woodden anchor.

Dangerous tempest, and vse of the Compasse.

Taik.

Note, that during the time of our Nauigation, we set vp the red Crosse of Saint *George* in our flagges, for honour of the *Christians*, which I supposed was neuer seene in the *Caspian* sea before. Wee passed in this voyage diuers fortunes: notwithstanding, the eight and twentieth of May we arriued in safetie at *Astracan*, and there remayned till the tenth of Iune following, as well to prepare vs small Boates, to goe vp against the streame of *Volga*, with our goods, as also for the companie of the Ambassadours of *Tartarie*, committed vnto me, to be brought to the presence of the Emperour of *Russia*.

The *English* flag in the *Caspian* sea, the Country thereof is in 46. deg.

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This *Caſpian* ſea (to ſay ſomething of it) is in length about two hundred leagues, and in breadth one hundred and fiftie, without any iſſue to other Seas: to the Eaſt part wherof, ioyneth the great deſart Countrey of the *Tartars*, called *Turkemen*: to the Weſt, the Countries of the *Chyrcaſſes*, the Mountaines of *Caucaſus*, and the *Mare Euxinum*, which is from the ſaid *Caſpian* Sea, a hundred leagues. To the North is the riuer *Volga*, and the land of *Nagay*, and to the South part ioyne the Countries of *Media* and *Perſia*. This Sea is freſh water in many places, and in other places as ſalt as our great Ocean: It hath many goodly Riuers falling into it, and it auoydeth not it ſelfe except it bee vnder ground. The notable Riuers that fall into it, are firſt the great Riuer of *Volga*, called in the *Tartar* tongue *Edell*, which ſpringeth out of a lake in a marriſh or plaine ground, not farre from the Citie of *Nouogrode* in *Ruſſia*, and it is from the ſpring to the Sea, aboue two thouſand Engliſh miles. It hath diuers other goodly Riuers falling into it, as out of *Siberia*, *Yaic*, and *Yem*: Alſo out of the mountaines of *Caucaſus*, the Riuers of *Cyrus* and *Araſh*, and diuers others.

A notable deſcription of the *Caſpian* ſea.

As touching the trade of *Shamakie* in *Media* and *Tebris*, with other Townes in *Perſia*, I haue enquired, and doe well vnderſtand, that it is euen like to the trades of *Tartaria*, that is little vtterance, and ſmall profite: and I haue beene aduertiſed that the chiefe trade of *Perſia* is into *Syria*, and ſo tranſported into the Leuant ſea. The few ſhips vpon the *Caſpian* Seas, the want of Mart and port Townes, the pouertie of the people, and the Ice, maketh that trade naught.

Aſtracan in 47. deg. 9. minuts.

At *Aſtracan* there were Merchants of *Shamakie*, with whom I offered to barter, and to giue them Kerſies for their wares, but they would not, ſaying, they had them as good cheape in their Countrey, as I offered them, which was ſixe rubbles for a Kerſie, that I asked: and while I was at *Boghar*, there were brought thither out of *Perſia*, Cloath, and diuers commodities of our Countries, which was ſold as good cheape, as I might ſell ours.

The tenth day of Iune, wee departed from *Aſtracan* towards the *Moſco*, hauing an hundred gunners in our companie at the Emperours charges, for the ſafe conduct of the *Tartar* Ambaſſadours and me. And the eight and twentieth day of Iuly following, we arriued at the Citie of *Cazan*, hauing been vpon the way from *Aſtracan* thither, ſixe weekes and more, without any refreſhing of victuals: for in all that way there is no habitation.

Cazan is in 55. deg. 33. min.

The ſeuenth of Auguſt following, wee departed from *Cazan*, and tranſported our goods by water, as farre as the Citie of *Morum*, and then by land: ſo that the ſecond of September, wee arriued at the Citie of the *Moſco*, and the fourth day I came before the Emperours Maieſtie, kiſſed his hand, and preſented him a white Cowes tayle of *Cathay*, and a Drum of *Tartaria*, which hee well accepted. Alſo I brought before him all the Ambaſſadours that were committed to my charge, with all the *Ruſſe* ſlaues: and that day I dined in his Maieſties preſence, and at dinner, his Grace ſent me meate by a Duke, and asked me diuers queſtions touching the Lands and Countries where I had beene. And thus I remayned at the *Moſco* about your affaires, vntill the ſeuenteenth day of Februarie that your wares were ſent downe: and then hauing licence of the Emperours Maieſtie to depart, the one and twentieth day I came to your houſe to *Vologhda*, and there remayned vntill the breaking vp of the yeere: and then hauing ſeene all your goods laden into your Boates, I departed with the ſame, and arriued withall in ſafetie at *Colmogro*, the ninth of May 1560. And heere I ceaſe for this time, intreating you to beare with this my large diſcourſe, which by reaſon of the varietie of matter, I could make no ſhorter, and I beſeech God to proſper all your attempts.

His arriuall at *Moſco* the ſecond of September.

I haue certaine notes which ſeeme to haue beene written at Boghar *by ſome of Maſter* Ienkinſons *companie: which containe intelligences there receiued touching* Cathay *and the wayes thither. But I hope thereof in that which followes to giue better intelligense. It is there ſaid that the people of* Comoron *are very beautifull, and that they vſe Kniues and Forkes of gold and ſiluer to eate their meate, not touching it with their hands: that the Muſk-beaſt is as big as a Hound. In* Teray *they worſhip the Fire, which is thirtie foure dayes iourney from* Cathay. *At* Caſcar *is reſident the* Can. *From* Caſcar *to* Cocheke *is foure weekes; it is the firſt Land of the Emperour of* Cathay: *and then to* Camche *fiue dayes by land, and to* Cataio *eight weekes. In this laſt iourney is plentie of all things: both Horſe to bee had, and Women at too eaſie rate, &c. which as newes to them I haue heere touched, rather then related.*

See more certaintie in *Goes.*

I haue alſo by me, the laſt Will of Gabriel Willoughbie, *kinſman to that honourable Martyr of* Engliſh *Northerne Diſcouerie Sir* Hugh Willoughbie, *mentioned in the beginning of this Chapter, and ſubſcribed with his Name, the worth whereof hath cauſed heere alſo this ſubſcription. It was found in the Ship where they were frozen.*

Memoriall of Sir *Hugh Willoughbie.*

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§. V.

*Aduertisements and reports of the sixth * Voyage into the parts of* Persia *and* Media, *gathered out of sundry Letters written by* CHRISTOPHER BVRROVGH; *and more especially a voyage ouer the* Caspian *Sea, and their shipwracke and miseries there endured by the Ice.*

* The other voyages are in Master *Hakluyt*, this I haue for *Tartaria* and the *Caspian* sea brought hither.

FIrst it is to bee vnderstood, that the ships for the voyage to Saint *Nicholas* in *Russia*, in which the Factors and merchandise for the *Persian* voyage were transported, departed from *Gravesend* the nineteenth of Iune, 1579. which arriued at Saint *Nicholas* in *Russia*, the two and twentieth of Iuly, where the Factors and Merchants landed, and the merchandise discharged and laden into Doshnikes, that is, barkes of the Countrey, to be carried from thence vp by Riuer vnto *Vologda*. And the fiue and twentieth day of the said Iuly, the Doshnikes departed from *Rose* Iland by Saint *Nicholas* vp the riuer *Dwina Peremene*, that is to say in poste, by continuall sayling, rowing, setting with poles, or drawing of men, which came to *Colmogro* the seuen and twentieth day, and departed thence the nine and twentieth of Iuly vp the said riuer *Dwina*, and came to *Vstyoug* (which is at the head of the riuer *Dwina*, and mouth of *Sughano*) the ninth of August, where they stayed but a small time, prouiding some victuals, and shifting certaine of their *Cossacks* or Barkmen, and so departed thence the same day vp the *Sughano*, and came to *Totma* (which is counted somewhat more then halfe the way from *Vstyoug*) the fifteenth day, where they shifted some of their *Cossacks*, and departed thence the same day, and came to the Citie *Vologda* the nineteenth of August, where they landed their goods, and stayed at that place till the thirtieth of the same. Hauing prouided at *Vologda*, Telegas or Waggons, whereupon they laded their goods, they departed thence with the same by land towards *Yeraslaue*, the said thirtieth of August at eight of the clocke in the morning, and came to the East side of the riuer *Volga*, ouer against *Yeraslaue*, with fiue and twentie Telegas laden with the said goods, the seuenth of September at fiue of the clocke afternoone. Then the three stroogs or barkes, prouided to transport the said goods to *Astracan*, (where they should meete the ship that should carrie the same from thence into *Persia*) came ouer from *Yeraslaue* vnto the same side of the riuer *Volga*, & there tooke in the said goods. And hauing prepared the said Barks ready with all necessarie furniture, they departed with them from *Yeraslaue* down the riuer of *Volga*, on the fourteenth day of September at nine of the clocke in the morning, and they arriued at *Niznouogrod* the seuenteenth day at three of the clocke afternoone, where they shewed the Emperours letters to passe free without paying any custome, and tarried there about three houres to prouide necessaries, and then departing, arriued at *Cazan* (or neere the same Towne) on the two and twentieth of September at fiue of the clocke afternoone, where (through contrary windes, and for prouiding new *Cossacks* in the places of some that there went from them) they remayned till the sixe and twentieth day, at what time they departed thence about two of the clocke after noone, and arriued at *Tetushagorod*, which is on the *Crim* side of *Volga*, and in latitude 55. degrees 22. minutes, the eight and twentieth day at ten in the forenoone, where they anchored, and remained about three houres, and departing thence came to *Oneak*, which is on the *Crims* side (on the Westerne side of *Volga*) the fift of October about fiue of the clocke in the morning. This place is accounted halfe the way betweene *Cazan* and *Astracan*: and heere there groweth great store of Liquoris: the soyle is very fruitfull: they found there Apple-trees, and Cherrie-trees. The latitude of *Oneak* is 51. degrees 30. minuts. At this place had beene a very faire stone Castle called by the name *Oneak*, and adioyning to the same was a Towne called by the *Russes*, *Sodom*: this Towne and part of the Castle (by report of the *Russes*) was swallowed into the earth by the iustice of God, for the wicked nesse of the people that inhabited the same. There remayneth at this day to be seene a part of the ruines of the Castle, and certaine Tombes, wherein as it seemeth haue beene layd noble personages: for vpon a tombe stone might be perceiued the forme of a Horse and a man sitting on it with a Bow in his hand, and Arrowes girt to his side: there was a piece of a Scutchion also vpon one of the stones, which had characters grauen on it, whereof some part had been consumed with the weather, and the rest left vnperfect: but by the forme of them that remained, we iudged them to be characters of *Armenia*: and other characters were grauen also vpon another tombe stone. Now they departed from *Oneak* the said fift of October at fiue of the clocke after noone, and came to *Perauolok* the tenth day about eleuen or twelue of the clocke that night, making no abode at that place, but passed alongst by it. This word *Perauolok* in the *Russe* tongue doth signifie a narrow straight or necke of land between two waters, and it is so called by them, because from the riuer *Volga*, at that place, to the riuer *Don* or *Tanais*, is counted thirtie verst, or as much as a man may well trauell on foot in one day. And seuen verst beneath, vpon an Iland called *Tsaritsna*, the Emperour of *Russia* hath fiftie Gunners all Summer time to keepe watch, called by the *Tartar* name *Carawool*. Betweene this place and *Astracan* are fiue other *Carawools* or watches.

Saint *Nicholas*.
Colmogro.
Vstyoug.
Yeraslaue.
Niznouogrod.
Cazan.
Great store of Liquoris.
Sodom.
Strange iudgement.
Perauolok.
Tsaritsna.

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The Firſt is named *Kameni Carawool*, and is diſtant from *Peranolok* one hundred and twentie verſtes. The ſecond named *Stupino Carowool*, diſtant from the firſt fiftie verſtes. The third called *Polooy Carowool*, is one hundred and twentie verſtes diſtant from the ſecond. The fourth named *Keezeyur Carawool*, is fiftie verſtes diſtant from the third. The fift named *Ichkebre*, is thirtie verſtes diſtant from the fourth, and from *Ichkebre* to *Aſtracan* is thirtie verſtes.

Ice at *Aſtracan* for foure moneths.

The ſixteenth of October they arriued at *Aſtracan*. The ninteenth of Nouember the winde being northerly, there was a great froſt, and much Ice in the Riuer: the next day being the twentieth of Nouember, the Ice ſtood in the Riuer, and ſo continued vntill Eaſter day.

The ſixth of Ianuarie being Twelfe day (which they call *Chreſhenia*) the *Ruſſes* of *Aſtracan* brake a hole in the Ice vpon the Riuer *Volga*, and hallowed the water with great ſolemnitie, according to the manner of their Countrey, at which time all the Souldiers of the Towne ſhot off their ſmall Peeces vpon the Ice, and likewiſe to gratifie the Captaine of the Caſtle, being a Duke, whoſe name is *Pheodor Michalouich Troiocouria*, who ſtood hard by the ſhip, beholding them as they were on the Riuer, was ſhot off all the Ordnance of our ſhip being fifteene Peeces, *viz.* two Faulcons, two Faulconets, foure Fowlers, foure Fowlers Chambers, and three other ſmall Peeces made for the Stroogs to ſhoot Haile-ſtones, and afterwards the great Ordnance of the Caſtle was ſhot off.

An Eclipſe.

On the one and thirtieth of Ianuarie there happened a great Eclipſe of the Moone, which began about twelue of the clocke at night, and continued before ſhee was cleere an houre and an halfe by eſtimation, which ended the firſt of Februarie about halfe an houre paſt one in the morning: ſhee was wholly darkned by the ſpace of halfe an houre.

The variation of the Compaſſe in *Aſtracan*, was 13. degrees 40. min.

The ſeuenteenth of Aprill, the variation of the Compaſſe obſerued in *Aſtracan*, was 13. degrees 40. minutes from North to Weſt. This Spring there came newes to *Aſtracan*, that the Queene of *Perſia* (the King being blind) had beene with a great Armie againſt the *Turkes* that were left to poſſeſſe *Media*, and had giuen them a great ouerthrow: yet notwithſtanding *Derbent*, and the greateſt part of *Media* were ſtill poſſeſſed and kept by the *Turkes*. The Factors of the Companie conſulting vpon their affaires, determined to leaue at *Aſtracan* the one halfe of their goods with *Arthur Edwards*, and with the other halfe, the other three Factors would proceed in the ſhip on their purpoſed Voyage to the coaſt of *Media*, to ſee what might bee done there: where, if they could not finde ſafe trafficke, they determined to proceed to the coaſt of *Gilan*, which is a Prouince neere the *Caſpian* Sea bordering vpon *Perſia*: and thereupon appointed the ſaid goods to be laden aboord the ſhip, and tooke into her alſo ſome merchandiſe of *Tiſiks* or *Perſian* Merchants.

Gilan.

The ſecond of May they weighed, and plyed downe the Riuer *Volga*, toward the *Caſpian* Sea. The ſeuenth of May in the morning, they paſſed by a Tree that ſtandeth on the left hand of the Riuer as they went downe, which is called *Mahomet Agatch*, or *Mahomets* Tree, and about three verſtes further, that is to ſay, to the Southwards of the ſaid Tree, is a place called *Vchoog*, that is to ſay, The *Ruſſe* Weare: (but *Ochoog* is the name of a Weare in the *Tartar* tongue) where are certaine Cotages, and the Emperour hath lying at that place certaine Gunners to guard his Fiſher-men that keepe the Weare. This *Vchoog* is counted from *Aſtracan* ſixty verſtes: they proceeded downe the ſaid Riuer without ſtaying at the *Vchoog*. The ninth and tenth dayes they met with ſhallow water, and were forced to lighten their ſhip by the *Panos*: The eleuenth day they ſent backe to the *Vchoog* for an other *Panos*: This day by miſchance the ſhip was bilged on the grapnell of the *Panos*, whereby the companie had ſuſtayned great loſſes, if the chiefeſt part of their goods had not beene layd into the *Panos*: for notwithſtanding their pumping with three Pumps, heauing out water with Buckets, and all the beſt ſhifts they could make, the ſhip was halfe full of water ere the leake could be found and ſtopt. The twelfth day the *Panos* came to them from the *Vchoog*, whereby they lighted the ſhip of all the goods. The thirteenth day in the morning there came to them a ſmall Boat, ſent by the Captaine of *Aſtracan*, to learne whether the ſhip were at Sea cleare off the flats. The fifteenth day by great induſtrie and trauell they got their ſhip cleare off the ſhoales and flats, wherewith they had beene troubled from the ninth day vntill then: they were forced to paſſe their ſhip in three foot water or leſſe. The ſixteenth day they came to the *Chetera Bougori*, or Iland of foure Hillockes, which are counted fortie verſtes from *Vchoog*, and are the furtheſt Land towards the Sea. The ſeuenteenth day they bare off into the Sea, and being about twelue verſtes from the Foure hillockes, riding in fiue foot and a halfe water about eleuen of the clocke in the fore-noone, they tooke their goods out of the *Panoſes* into the ſhip, and filled their ſhip with all things neceſſarie. The eighteenth day in the morning about ſeuen of the clocke, the *Panoſes* being diſcharged departed away towards *Aſtracan*, the winde then at South-eaſt, they rode ſtill with the ſhip, and obſeruing the eleuation of the Pole at that place, found it to be 45. degrees 20. minutes. The nineteenth day, the winde South-eaſt, they rode ſtill. The twentieth day, the winde at North-weſt, they ſet ſayle about one of the clocke in the morning, and ſteered thence South by Weſt, and South South-weſt, about three leagues, and then anchored in ſixe foot and a halfe water, about

Vchoog.

Shallow water.

Flats.

Chetera Bougori.

The *Caſpian* Sea.

45. deg. 20. minutes.

The firſt obſeruation in the *Caſpian* Sea.

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bout nine of the clocke before noone, at which time it fell calme: the eleuation of the Pole at that place 45. degrees 13. minutes. The one and twentieth, hauing the winde at North-weſt, they ſet ſayle, and ſteered thence South by Weſt, and South vntill eleuen of the clocke, and had then nine foote water: and at noone they obſerued the latitude, and found it to bee 44. degrees 47. minutes: then had they three fathoms and a halfe water, being cleare off the flats. It is counted from the Foure hillockes to the Sea about fiftie verſtes. From the ſaid noone-tide vntill foure of the clocke, they ſayled South by Eaſt fiue leagues and a halfe: then had they fiue fathoms and a halfe, and brackiſh water: from that till twelue at night they ſayled South by Eaſt halfe a league, Eaſt ten leagues: then had they eleuen fathoms, and the water ſalter. From that till the two and twentieth day three of the clocke in the morning, they ſayled three and fiftie leagues, then had they ſixteene fathoms water: from thence they ſayled vntill noone South and by Weſt ſeuen leagues and a halfe, the latitude then obſerued 43. degrees 15. minutes, the depth then eight and twentie fathoms, and ſhallow ground: from that vntill eight of the clocke at night, they ſayled South by Eaſt fiue leagues and a halfe, then had they three and fortie fathoms ſhallow ground. From thence till the three and twentieth at foure of the clocke in the morning, they ſayled South South-weſt three leagues and a halfe: then could they get no ground in two and fiftie fathoms deepe. From thence vntill noone they ſayled South nine leagues, then the latitude obſerued, was 42. degrees 20. minutes. From that till the foure and twentieth day at noone, they ſayled South by Weſt ſeuenteene leagues and a halfe, then the latitude obſerued, was one and fortie degrees two and thirtie minutes. From noone till ſeuen of the clocke at night, they ſayled South South-weſt foure leagues, then had they perfect ſight of high Land or Hills, which were almoſt couered with Snow, and the midſt of them were Weſt from the ſhip, being then about twelue leagues from the neereſt Land: they ſounded but could finde no ground in two hundred fathoms. From thence they ſayled South-weſt vntill mid-night: about three leagues from thence till the fiue and twentieth day, foure of the clocke in the morning, they ſayled Weſt three leagues, being then little winde, and neere the Land, they tooke in their ſayles, and lay hulling: at noone the latitude obſerued, was 40. degrees 54. minutes: they ſounded but could get no ground in two hundred fathoms. At foure of the clocke in the after-noone, the winde North-weſt, they ſet their ſayles: and from thence till the ſixe and twentieth day at noone, they ſayled Eaſt South-eaſt foure leagues. From thence they ſayled till eight of the clocke at night South-weſt three leagues, the winde then at North. From thence they ſayled vntill the ſeuen and twentieth day two of the clocke in the morning, Weſt South-weſt eight leagues, the winde blowing at North very much. From the ſaid two till foure of the clocke, they ſayled South by Weſt one league: then being day light, they ſaw the Land plaine, which was not paſt three leagues from them, being very high ragged Land. There were certaine Rockes that lay farre off into the Sea, about fiue leagues from the ſame Land, (which are called *Barmake Taſh*) they ſayled betweene thoſe Rockes and the Land, and about fiue of the clocke they paſſed by the Port *Bilbill*, where they ſhould haue put in but could not: and bearing long the ſhoare about two of the clocke after noone, they came to *Bildih* in the Countrey of *Media* or *Sheruan*, againſt which place they anchored in nine foot water. Preſently after they were at anchor, there came aboord of them a Boat, wherein were ſeuen or eight perſons, two *Turkes*, the reſt *Perſians*, the *Turkes* vaſſals, which bade them welcome and ſeemed to be glad of their arriuall, who told the Factors that the *Turke had conquered* all *Media*, or the Countrey *Sheruan*, and how that the *Turkes Baſha* remayned in *Derbent* with a Garriſon of *Turkes*, and that *Shamaky* was wholly ſpoyled, and had few or no Inhabitants left in it. The Factors then being deſirous to come to the ſpeech of the *Baſha*, ſent one of the *Tiſikes* (or Merchants that went ouer with them from *Aſtracan*, paſſingers) and one of the Companies ſeruants *Robert Golding*, with thoſe Souldiers, to the Captaine of *Bachu*, which place ſtandeth hard by the Sea, to certifie him of their arriuall, and what commodities they had brought, and to deſire friendſhip to haue quiet and ſafe trafficke for the ſame. *Bachu* is from *Bildih*, the place where they rode, about a dayes iourney, on foot eaſily to be trauelled, which may be ſixe leagues the next way ouer Land: it is a walled Towne, and ſtrongly fortified. When the ſaid Meſſenger came to the Captaine of *Bachu*, the ſaid Captaine gaue him very friendly entertaynement.

Brackiſh water farre within the Sea.

43. degrees 15. minutes.

41. degrees 32. minutes.

40. degrees 54. minutes.

Bilbill.

Bachu Port.

In the morning very early, hee ſent Horſe for the reſt of the companie which ſhould goe to *Derbent*, ſending by them that went, ten Sheepe for the ſhip. Whileſt they were at breakfaſt, Maſter *Turnbull*, Maſter *Tailboyes*, and *Thomas Hudſon* the Maſter of the ſhip, came thither, and when they had all broken their faſts, they went to *Bachu*. And from *Bachu* they proceeded towards *Derbent*, as it was by the Captaine promiſed, being accompanied on their way for their ſafe conduct, with a Gentleman, and certaine Souldiers, which had the Captaine of *Bachu* his Letters to the *Baſha* of *Derbent*, very friendly written in their behalfe. In their iourney to *Derbent* they forſooke the ordinarie wayes, being very dangerous, and trauelled thorow Woods till they came almoſt to the Towne of *Derbent*: and then the Gentleman rode before with the Captaines Letters to the *Baſha*, to certifie him of the *Engliſh* Merchants comming, who receiuing the Letters, and vnderſtanding the matter, was very glad of the newes, and ſent forth to re-

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The receiuing of the *English* into *Derbent*.

ceiue them certaine Souldiers Gunners, who met them about two miles out of the Towne, saluting them with great reuerence, and afterwards rode before them: then againe met them other Souldiers, somewhat neerer the Castle, which likewise hauing done their salutations rode before them, and then came forth Noblemen, Captaines, and Gentlemen, to receiue them into the Castle and Towne. As they entred the Castle, there was a shot of twentie Peeces of great Ordnance, and the *Bashaw* sent Master *Turnbull* a very faire Horse with furniture to mount on, esteemed to be worth an hundred Markes, and so they were conuayed to his presence: who after he had talked with them, sent for a Coat of cloth of Gold, and caused it to be put on Master *Turnbuls* backe, and then willed them all to depart, and take their ease, for that they were wearie of their iourney, and on the morrow he would talke further with them. The next day when the Factors came againe to the presence of the *Bashaw*, according to his appointment, they requested him that he would grant them his priuiledge, whereby they might trafficke safely in any part and place of his Countrey, offering him, that if it pleased his Maiestie to haue any of the commodities that they had brought, and to write his minde thereof to the Captaine of *Bachu*, it should be deliuered him accordingly. The *Bashaes* answere was, that he would willingly giue them his priuiledge: yet for that he regarded their safety, hauing come so farre, and knowing the state of his Countrey to be troublesome, he would haue them to bring their commoditie thither, and there to make sale of it, promising he would prouide such commodities as they needed, and that he would be a defence vnto them, so that they should not be iniured by any: whereupon the Factors sent *Thomas Hudson* backe for the ship to bring her to *Derbent*. The latitude of *Bildih* by diuers obseruations is 40.deg.25.m. the variation of the Compas 10.deg.40.min. from North to West. They arriued at anchor against *Derbent* East and by South from the said Castle in foure fathom & a halfe water, the two and twentieth of Iune, at ten of the clock in the morning: then they tooke vp their Ordnance, which before they had stowed in hold for easing the ship in her rolling. In the afternoone the *Bashaw* came down to the water side against the ship, and hauing the said Ordnance placed, and charged, it was all shot off to gratifie him: and presently after his departure backe, he permitted the Factors to come aboord the ship. The nine and twentieth day their goods were vnladen, and carried to the *Bashaes* Garden, where hee made choice of such things as he liked, taking for custome of euery fiue and twentie Kersies, or whatsoeuer, one, or after the rate of foure for the hundred. The Factors after his choice made, determined to send a part of the rest of the goods to *Bachu*, for the speedier making sale thereof. They departed from *Derbent* with the said Barke the nineteenth of Iuly, and arriued at *Bildih* the fiue and twentieth day. *Robert Golding* desirous to vnderstand what might bee done at *Shamaky*, which is a dayes iourney from *Bachu*, went thither, from whence returning, he was set on by theeues, and was shot into the knee with an Arrow, who had very hardly escaped with his life and goods, but that by good hap he killed one of the theeues Horses with a Caliuer, and shot a *Turke* thorow both cheekes with a Dag. On the sixt day of August, the Factors being aduertised at *Derbent* that their ship was so rotten and weake, that it was doubtfull shee would not carrie them backe to *Astracan*, did thereupon agree and bargaine at that place with an *Armenian*, whose name was *Iacob*, for a Barke called a Busse, being of burden about fiue and thirtie tunnes, which came that yeere from *Astracan*, and was at that instant riding at an Iland called *Zere*, about three or foure leagues beyond, or to the Eastward of *Bildih*, which Barke for their more safety, they meant to haue with them in their returne to *Astracan*, and thereupon wrote vnto *Wincoll* and the rest at *Bachu*, that they should receiue the same Busse, and lade in her their goods at *Bildih*, to be returned to *Derbent*, and to discharge their first Boat, which was obserued by them accordingly. When all their goods were laden aboord the said Busse at *Bildih*, and being readie to haue departed thence for *Derbent*, there arose a great storme with the winde out of the Sea, by force whereof the Cables and Halsers were broken, and their Vessell put ashoare, and broken to pieces against the Rockes: euery of them that were in her saued their liues, and part of the goods. But there was a *Carobia* or Chist, wherein were Dollers, and Gold, which they had receiued for the commodities of the Companie, which they sold at *Bachu*, which at the taking out of the Busse, fell by the Barkes side into the water amongst the Rockes, and so was lost. The packes of Cloth which they could not well take out of the Busse were also lost: other things that were more profitable they saued.

The latitude of *Bildih* 40. deg.25.min. The variation of the Compasse 10.deg. 40.min.

Zere Iland.

The *English* suffer shipwracke.

The third day of October all things were brought from the shoare aboord the ship: and that day the Factors went to the *Bashaw* to take their leaue of him, vnto whom they recommended those the Companies seruants, &c. which they had sent to *Bachu*, making account to leaue them behind in the Countrey: who caused their names to be written, and promised they should want nothing, nor be iniured of any. After this leaue taken, the Factors went aboord, purposing presently to haue set sayle and departed towards *Astracan*, the winde seruing well for that purpose at South South-east: And as they were readie to set sayle, there came against the ship a man, who weued: whereupon the Boat was sent ashoare to him, who was an *Armenian* sent from *William Wincoll*, with his writing tables, wherein the said *Wincoll* had written briefly, the mis-hap of the losse of the Busse, and that they were comming from *Bildih* towards *Derbent*, they,

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they, and ſuch things as they ſaued with a ſmall Boat, forced to put aſhoare in a place by the Sea ſide called the *Armenian* Village: Whereupon the Factors cauſed the ſhip to ſtay, hoping that with the Southerly winde that then blew, they would come from the place they were at to the ſhip; but if they could not come with that winde, they meant to ſayle with the ſhip, with the next wind that would ſerue them, againſt the place where they were, and take them in, if they could: which ſtay and loſſe of thoſe Southerly winds, was a cauſe of great troubles, that they afterwards ſuſtayned through Ice, &c. entring the *Volga* as ſhall be declared. The *Armenian* Village.

The latitude of *Derbent* (by diuers Obſeruations exactly there made, is fortie one degrees fiftie two minutes. The variation of the Compaſſe at that place about eleuen degrees from North to Weſt. From *Derbent* to *Bildih* by Land fortie ſixe leagues. From *Derbent* to *Shamaky* by Land, fortie fiue leagues. From *Shamaky* to *Bachu*, about ten leagues, which may bee thirtie miles. From *Bachu* to *Bildih* fiue or ſixe leagues by Land, but by water about twelue leagues. From the Caſtle *Derbent* Eaſt-wards, there reach two ſtone wals to the border of the *Caſpian* Sea, which is diſtant one *Engliſh* mile. Thoſe wals are nine foot thicke, and eight and twentie or thirtie foot high, and the ſpace betweene them is one hundred and ſixtie Geometricall paces, that is, eight hundred foot. There are yet to bee perceiued of the ruine of thoſe wals, which doe now extend into the Sea about halfe a mile: alſo from the Caſtle Weſt-ward into the Land, they did perceiue the ruines of a ſtone wall to extend, which wal, as it is reported, did paſſe from thence to *Pontus Euxinus*, & was built by *Alexand.* the great, when the caſtle *Derbent* was made. The latitude of *Derbent* 41. degrees 52. minutes. The variation of the Compaſſe.

The fift of October about noone, the winde North North-eaſt they weighed Anchor, and ſet ſayle from *Derbent*, being alongſt the Coaſt to the South-wards to ſeeke their men: but as they had ſailed about foure leagues the winde ſcanted Eaſterly, ſo that they were forced to Anchor in three fathome water.

The ſeuenth day about ſeuen of the clocke in the morning, they ſet ſayle, the wind South-weſt. They conſidered the time of the yeare was farre ſpent, the ſhip weake, leake, and rotten, and therefore determining not to tarry any longer for *Wincoll* and his fellowes, but to leaue them behind, bent themſelues directly towards *Aſtracan*: and ſayling North North-eaſt vntill midnight about ſixteene leagues, the wind then came to the North North-weſt, and blew much, a very ſtorme, which cauſed them to take in all their Sayles, ſauing the fore Corſe, with which they were forced to ſteere before the Sea, South by Weſt, and South South-weſt. And on the eight day about two of the clocke in the morning, their great Boat ſunke at the ſhips ſterne, which they were forced to cut from the ſhip to their great griefe and diſcomfort: for in her they hoped to ſaue their liues if the ſhip ſhould haue miſcarried. About ten of the clocke before noone, they had ſight of the Land about fiue leagues to the South of *Derbent*, and bare alongſt the Coaſt to the South-eaſt-wards vnto *Nezauoo*, where they came at Anchor in three fathomes, and blacke Ozie, good Anchor hold, whereof they were glad, as alſo that the winde was ſhifted to the North-weſt, and but a meane gale. *Wincoll* and the reſt of his fellowes being in the *Armenian* Village, which is about eighteene Verſts to the Weſt-wards of *Nezauoo*, the place where againſt they rode at Anchor, ſaw the ſhip as ſhe paſſed by that place, and ſent a man in the night following alongſt the Coaſt after her, who came againſt the ſhip where ſhee rode, and with a fire-brand in the top of a Tree made ſignes, which was perceiued by them in the ſhip, whereupon they hoyſed out their Skiffe, and ſent her aſhoare to learne what was meant by the fire: which returned a Letter from *Wincoll*, wherein he wrote that they were with ſuch goods as they had at the *Armenian* Village, and prayed that there they might, with the ſame goods bee taken into the ſhips. *Nezauoo.*

The tenth day they ſent their Skiffe to the *Armenian* Village to fetch thoſe men and the goods they had, with order that if the winde ſerued, that they could not returne to fetch the ſhip, they of the ſhip promiſed to come for them, againſt the ſaid Village. But in their want God ſent them two Couies of Partridges, that came from the ſhoare, and lighted in and about their ſhips, whereby they were comforted, and one that lay ſicke, of whoſe life was ſmall hope, recouered his health. The particulars of their returne are omitted. A ſtrange accident of prouiſion for their reliefe.

Pauoſes were ſent from *Aſtracan*, in which they laded the ſhips goods, leauing her at Anchor with *Ruſſes* to keepe her.

The thirteenth of Nouember they departed alſo in thoſe Lighters, with the goods towards the *Chetera Bougori*, leauing the ſhip at Anchor, and in her two *Ruſſes*, which with three more that went in the *Pauoſes* to prouide victuals for themſelues and the reſt, and therewith promiſed to returne backe to the ſhip with all ſpeed, had offered to vndertake for twentie Rubbles in Money, to carrie the ſhip into ſome Harbour, where ſhee might ſafely winter, or elſe to keepe her where ſhe rode all Winter, which was promiſed to bee giuen them if they did it: and the ſame day when with thoſe Lighters they had gotten ſight of the foure Ilands, being about eight Verſtes South-weſt from them, the wind then at North-eaſt, did freeſe the Sea ſo as they could not row, guide, ſtirre, or remoue the ſaid Lighters, but as the wind and Ice did force them. And ſo they continued driuing with the Ice, South-eaſt into the Sea by the ſpace of fortie houres, and then being the ſixteenth day, the Ice ſtood. Whiles they droue with the Ice, the dangers which they,

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they incurred were great: for oftentimes, when the Ice with force of wind and Sea did breake, pieces of it were tolled and driuen one vpon another with great force, terrible to behold, and the ſame happened at ſometimes ſo neere vnto the Lighters, that they expected it would haue ouer-whelmed them to their vtter deſtruction: but God who had preſerued them from many perils before, did alſo ſaue and deliuer them then.

Within three or foure dayes after the firſt ſtanding of the Ice, when it was firme and ſtrong, they tooke out all their goods, being fortie and eight Bales or Packes of Raw Silke, &c. laid it on the Ice, and couered the ſame with ſuch prouiſions as they had. Then for want of victuals, &c. they agreed to leaue all the goods there vpon the Ice, and to goe to the ſhoare: and there-

Trauell vpon the Ice. vpon brake vp their Cheſts and *Corobias*, wherewith, and with ſuch other things as they could get, they made Sleds for euery of them to draw vpon the Ice, whereon they layed their clothes to keepe them warme, and ſuch victuals as they had, and ſuch other things as they might conueniently carrie, and ſo they departed from the ſaid goods and *Pauoſes* very early, about one of the clocke in the morning, and trauelling on the Ice, directed their way North, as neere as they could judge, and the ſame day about two of the clocke in the after-noone, they had ſight of

Chetera Babbas. the *Chetera Babbas* (foure Hillocks of Ilands ſo called) vnto the ſame they directed themſelues, and there remayned that night. The goods and *Pauoſes* which they left on the Ice, they judged to be from thoſe *Chetera Babbas*, about twentie Verſts. And the next morning departed thence Eaſt-wards, and came to the *Chetera Bougories* (or foure Ilands before ſpoken of) before noone (the diſtance betweene thoſe places is about fifteene Verſts) where they remained all that night, departing thence towards *Aſtracan*: the next morning very early they loſt their way through the perſwaſion of the *Ruſſes* which were with them, taking to much towards the left hand (contrary to the opinion of Maſter *Hudſon*) whereby wandering vpon the Ice foure or fiue dayes, not knowing whether they were entred into the *Crimme Tartars* Land or not, at length it fortuned they met with a way that had beene trauelled, which croſt back-wards towards the Sea: that way they tooke, and following the ſame, within two dayes trauell it brought them to a place, called the *Craſnoyare* (that is to ſay, in the *Engliſh* Tongue) *Red Cliffe*, which diuers of the company knew.

There they remayned that night, hauing nothing to eate but one Loafe of Bread, which they happened to find with the two *Ruſſes* that were left in the ſhip, to keepe her all the Winter (as is aforeſaid) whom they chanced to meet going towards *Aſtracan*, about fiue miles before they

The *Engliſh* ſhip cut in pieces with Ice. came to the ſaid *Craſnoyare*, who certified them that the ſhip was cut in pieces with the Ice, and that they had hard ſcaping with their liues.

In the morning they departed early from *Craſnoyare* towards the *Onchooge*, and about nine of the clocke before noone, being within ten Verſts of the *Vchooge*, they met *Amos Riall*, with the Carpenter, which he found at *Onchooge*, and a Gunner newly come out of *England*, and alſo ſixtie fiue Horſes with ſo many *Caſſacks* to guide them, and fiftie Gunners for guard, which brought prouiſion of victuals, &c. and were ſent by the Duke to fetch the goods to *Aſtracan*. The meeting of that company was much joy vnto them.

The Factors ſent backe with *Amos Riall*, and the ſaid company to fetch the goods, *Thomas Hudſon* the Maſter, *Tobias Paris* his Mate, and ſo they the ſaid Factors and their company marDecember. ched on to the *Vchooge*, where they refreſhed themſelues that day, and the night following. And from thence proceeded on towards *Aſtracan*, where they arriued the laſt day of Nouember. Theſe that went for the goods after their departure from the Factors, trauelled the ſame day vntill they came within ten Verſts of the *Chetera Babbas*, where they reſted that night. The next morning by the breake of the day they departed thence, and before noone were at the *Chetera Babbas*, where they ſtayed all night; but preſently departed thence *Thomas Hudſon* with the Carpenter and Gunner to ſeeke where the goods lay: who found the ſame, and the next day they returned backe to their company at the *Chetera Babbas*, and declared vnto them in what ſort they had found the ſaid goods.

The third day early in the morning, they departed all from the foure *Babbas* towards the ſaid goods, and the ſame day did lade all the goods they could finde vpon the ſaid ſleds, and withall

Aſſaulted by *Tartars.* conuenient ſpeed returned backe towards *Aſtracan*. And when they came to the *Chetera Bougori*, where they reſted the night, in the morning very early before the breake of day, they were aſſaulted by a great company of the *Nagays Tartars* Horſe-men, which came ſhouting and hallowing with a great noyſe, but our people were ſo inuironed with the ſleds, that they durſt not enter vpon them, but ranne by, and ſhot their Arrowes amongſt them, and hurt but one man in the head, who was a *Ruſſe*, and ſo departed preſently. Yet when it was day, they ſhewed

Their returne to *Aſtracan.* themſelues a good diſtance off from our men, being a very great troope of them, but did not aſſault them any more. The ſame day our men with thoſe carriages, departed from thence towards *Aſtracan*, where they arriued in ſafetie the fourth of December, about three of the clock in the after-noone, where our people greatly rejoyced of their great good hap to haue eſcaped ſo many hard euents, troubles and miſeries, as they did in that Voyage, and had great cauſe therefore to prayſe the Almightie, who had ſo mercifully preſerued and deliuered them.

They

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They remayned the Winter at *Aſtracan*, where they found great fauour and friendſhip of the Duke, Captaine, and other chiefe Officers of that place: but that Winter there hapned no great matter, worth the noting.

In the Spring of the yeere 1581. about the midſt of March, the Ice was broken vp, and cleare gone before *Aſtracan*. The breaking vp of the Ice.

A Letter of Maſter HENRIE LANE *to the worſhipfull Maſter* WILLIAM SANDERSON, *containing a briefe diſcourſe of that which paſſed in the North-eaſt diſcouerie, for the ſpace of three and thirtie yeeres.*

MAſter Sanderſon, *as you lately requeſted me, ſo haue I ſought, and though I cannot finde ſome things that heretofore I kept in writing, and lent out to others, yet peruſing at* London *copies of mine old Letters to content one that meaneth to pleaſure many, I haue briefly and as truely as I may, drawne out as followeth: The rough hewing may bee planed at your leaſure, or as pleaſeth him that ſhall take the paines.*

Firſt, the honourable attempt to diſcouer by Sea North-eaſt and North-weſt named for Cathay, *being chiefly procured by, priuiledge from King* Edward *the ſixt, and other his Nobilitie, by and at the coſt and ſute of Maſter* Sebaſtian Cabota, *then Gouernour for Diſcoueries, with Sir* Andrew Iudde, *Sir* George Barnes, *Sir* William Garrard, *Maſter* Anthony Huſſie, *and a companie of Merchants, was in the laſt yeere of his Maieſties raigne,* 1553. *The generall charge whereof was committed to one Sir* Hugh Willoughbie *Knight, a goodly Gentleman, accompanied with ſufficient number of Pilots, Maſters, Merchants, and Marriners, hauing three Ships well furniſhed, to wit, The* Bona Sperança, *the* Edward Bonauenture, *and the* Confidentia. *The* Edward Bonauenture, Richard Chancelor *being Pilot, and* Steuen Burrough *Maſter, hauing diſcouered* Ward-houſe *vpon the Coaſt of* Finmark, *by ſtorme or fogge departed from the reſt, found the Bay of Saint* Nicholas, *now the chiefe Port of* Ruſſia, *there wintred in ſafetie, and had ayde of the people at a Village called* Newnox. *Anno* 1553. Maſter *William Burrough* was then young, and with his brother in this firſt voyage. *Newnox* is from the road of S. *Nicholas* Weſtward 35. miles.

The other two ſhips attempting further Northwards (as appeared by Pamphlets found after written by Sir Hugh Willoughbie) *were in September encountred with ſuch extreame cold, that they put backe to ſeeke a wintring place: and miſſing the ſaid Bay fell vpon a deſart Coaſt in* Lappia, *entring into a Riuer immediately frozen vp, ſince diſcouered, named* Arzina Reca, *diſtant Eaſt from a* Ruſſian *Monaſterie of Monkes called* Pechingho, *from whence they neuer returned, but all to the number of ſeuentie perſons periſhed, which was for want of experience to haue made Canes and Stones. Theſe were found with the Ships the next Summer,* Anno 1554. *by* Ruſſe-*fiſhermen: and in* Anno 1555. *the place ſent vnto by* Engliſh *Merchants, as hereafter appeareth.* Note.

Anno 1554. *the ſaid ſhip* Edward Bonauenture *(although robbed homewards by* Flemings*) returned with her companie to* London, *ſhewing and ſetting foorth their entertainments and diſcouerie of the Countries, euen to the Citie of* Moſco, *from whence they brought a priuiledge written in* Ruſſe *with the Kings or great Dukes ſeale, the other two ſhips looked for and vnknowne to them where they were.* *Anno* 1554.

Anno 1555. *the ſaid companie of Merchants for a diſcouerie vpon a new ſupply, ſent thither againe with two Ships, to wit, the* Edward Bonauenture, *and another bearing the name of the King and Queene,* Philip *and* Marie, *whoſe Maieſties by their Letters to the ſaid* Muſcouite, *recommended ſundry their ſubiects then paſſing, whereof certaine, to wit,* Richard Chancelor, George Killingworth, Henrie Lane, *and* Arthur Edwards, *after their arriuall at the Bay, and paſſing vp* Dwina *to* Nologda, *went firſt vp to* Moſco, *where, vpon knowledge of the ſaid Letters, they with their trayne had ſpeciall entertainment, with houſes and dyet appointed, and ſhortly permitted to the Princes preſence, they were with Gentlemen brought through the Citie of* Moſco, *to the Caſtle and Palace, repleniſhed with numbers of people, and ſome gunners. They entred ſundry roomes, furniſhed in ſhew with ancient graue perſonages, all in long garments of ſundry colours, Gold, Tiſſue, Baldekin, and Violet, as our Veſtments and Copes haue beene in* England, *ſutable with Caps, Iewels, and Chaines. Theſe were found to bee no Courtiers, but ancient* Muſcouites, *Inhabitants, and other their Merchants of credit, as the manner is, furniſhed thus from the Wardrobe and Treaſurie, waiting and wearing this apparell for the time, and ſo to reſtore it.* *Anno* 1555. The King and Queenes letters.

Then entring into the Preſence, being a large roome floored with Carpets, were men of more eſtate, and richer ſhew, in number aboue one hundred ſet ſquare: who after the ſaid Engliſh-*men came in, doing reuerence, they all ſtood vp, the Prince onely ſitting, and yet riſing at any occaſion, when our King and Queenes names were read or ſpoken. Then after ſpeeches by interpretation, our men kiſſing his hand, and bidden to dinner, were ſtayed in another roome, and at dinner brought through, where might bee ſeene maſſie ſilner and gilt Plate, ſome like and as bigge as Kilderkins, and waſh-bowles, and entring the Dining place, being the greater roome, the Prince was ſet bare-headed, his Crowne and rich Cap ſtanding vpon a pinacle by. Not farre diſtant ſate his Metropolitan, with diuers other of his kindred, and chiefe* Tartarian *Captaines: none ſate ouer againſt him, or any, at other Tables, their backes towards him: which* Entertainment by the Duke.

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which tables all furnished with ghests set, there was for the English-*men, named by the* Russes, Ghosti Carabelski, *to wit, Strangers or Merchants by ship, a table in the midst of the roome, where they were set direct against the Prince: and then began the seruice, brought in by a number of his young Lords and Gentlemen, in such rich attire, as is aboue specified: and still from the Princes table (notwithstanding their owne furniture) they had his whole messes set oner all in massie fine Gold, deliuered euery time from him by name to them, by their seuer all Christian names, as they sate,* viz. Richard, George, Henrie, Arthur. *Likewise Bread and sundry drinkes of purified Mead, made of fine white and clarified Honey. At their rising, the Prince called them to his table, to receiue each one a Cup from his hand to drinke, and tooke into his hand Master* George Killingworths *beard, which reacheth ouer the table, and pleasantly deliuered it the Metropolitane, who seeming to blesse it, said in* Russe, *This is Gods gift. As indeed at that time it was not onely thicke, broad, and yellow coloured, but in length fiue foote and two inches of assize. Then taking leaue, being night, they were accompanied and followed with a number, carrying pots of drinke, and dishes of meate dressed, to our lodging.*

Master *Killingworths* beard of a maruellous length.

This yeere the two Ships, with the dead bodyes of Sir Hugh Willoughbie, *and his people, were sent vnto by Master* Killingworth, *(which remayned there in* Mosco *Agent almost two yeeres) and much of the goods and victuals were recouered and saued.*

Anno 1556. the disastrous voyage.

Anno 1556. *The Companie sent two Ships for* Russia, *with extraordinarie Masters and Saylers to bring home the two ships, which were frozen in* Lappia, *in the riuer of* Arzina *aforesaid. The two ships sent this yeere from* England *saying from* Lapland *to the Bay of Saint* Nicholas, *tooke in lading with passengers, to wit, a* Russe *Ambassadour, named* Ioseph Napea, *and some of his men shipped with* Richard Chancelor *in the* Edward. *But so it fell out that the two which came from* Lappia, *with all their new Master and Marriners, neuer were heard of, but in foule weather, and wrought Seas, after their two yeeres wintring in* Lapland, *became, as is supposed, vnstanch, and sunke, wherein were drowned also diuers* Russes *Merchants, and seruants of the Ambassadour. A third ship the* Edward *aforesaid, falling on the North part of* Scotland, *vpon a rocke was also lost, and Master* Chancelor *with diuers other, drowned. The said* Russe *Ambassadour hardly escaping, with other his men, Marriners, and some goods saued, were sent for into* Scotland, *from the King, Queene, and Merchants, (the messenger being Master Doctor* Laurence Hussie, *and others:) And then, as in the Chronicles appeareth, honorably entertayned and receiued at* London.

Serchthrift.

This yeere also the company furnished and sent out a Pinnesse, named the Serchthrift, *to discouer the Harborowes in the North coast from* Norway *to* Waidhouse, *and so to the Bay of Saint* Nicholas.

Stephen Borough

There was in her Master and Pilot, Stephen Borough, *with his brother* William, *and eight other. Their discouerie was beyond the Bay, toward the* Samoeds, *people dwelling neere the Riuer of* Ob, *and found a sound or sea with an Island called* Vaigats, *first by them put into the Card or Map. In that place they threw Snow out of their said Pinnesse, with shouels in August, by which extremitie, and lacke of time, they came backe to* Russia, *and wintred at* Colmogro.

Anno 1557.

Anno 1557. *The companie with foure good Ships, sent backe the said* Russe *Ambassadour, and in companie with him, sent as an Agent, for further discouerie, Master* Antonie Ienkinson, *who afterward* Anno 1558. *with great fauour of the Prince of* Muscouia, *and his letters, passed the riuer* Volga *to* Cazan, *and meaning to seeke* Cathay *by Land, was by many troupes and companies of vnciuill* Tartarians *encountred, and in danger: but keeping companie with Merchants of* Bactria, *or* Boghar, *and* Vrgeme, *trauelling with Camels, he with his companie, went to* Boghar, *and no further: whose entertainment of the King is to be had of Master* Ienkinson, *which returned* Anno 1559. *to* Muscouie. *And in* Anno 1560. *hee, with* Henrie Lane, *came home into* England: *which yeere was the first safe returne, without losse or shipwracke, or dead fraight, and burnings. And at this time was the first trafficke to the* Narue *in* Liuonia, *which confines with* Lituania, *and all the Dominions of* Russia: *and the Markets, Faires, Commodities, great Townes and Riuers, were sent vnto by diuers seruants: the reports were taken by* Henrie Lane, *Agent, and deliuered to the companie,* 1561. *The trade to* Rie, *and* Reuel, *of old time hath beene long since frequented by our* English *Nation, but this trade to the* Narue *was hitherto concealed from vs by the* Danskers *and* Lubeckers.

Boghar voyage.

Muscouie trade long vnfortunate.

1560. The first trade to the *Narue.* 1560.

Anno 1561. *the said Master* Antonie Ienkinson *went Agent into* Russia, *who the next yeere after, passing all the riuer of* Volga *to* Astracan, *and ouer the* Caspian *sea, arriued in* Persia, *and opened the trade thither.*

Alcock slaine in *Persia.* *Banister* dyed in *Media.* *Edwards* dyed at *Astracan.*

Also betweene the yeeres of 1568. *and* 1573. *sundry Voyages after Master* Ienkinsons, *were made by* Thomas Alcock, Arthur Edwards, *Master* Thomas Banister, *and Master* Geffrey Ducket, *whose returne (if spoyle neere* Volga *had not preuented by rouing Theeues) had altogether salued and recouered the Companies (called the old Companies) great losse, charges, and damages: But the saying is true,* By vnitie small things grow great, and by contention great things become small. *This may bee vnderstood best by the Companie. The frowardnesse of some few, and euill doing of some vniust Factors, was cause of much of the euill successe.*

Arthur Edwards *was sent againe* 1579. *and dyed in the voyage at* Astracan. *About which matters, are to bee remembred the Voyages of Master* Thomas Randolph *Esquire, Ambassadour* Anno 1567. *And late of Sir* Ierome Bowes, Anno 1583. *both tending and treating for further Discoueries, Freedomes, and Priuiledges, wherewith I meddle not. But in conclusion, for their paines*

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and aduentures this way (as diuers doe now adayes other wayes) as worthie Gentlemen sent from Princes, to doe their Countrey good, I put them in your memorie, with my heartie farewell. From Saint Margarets *neere* Dartforth *in* Kent.

To the Reader.

I Haue had much trouble to giue thee this Authour, both for his Language, being Portugall *(which for this, and some other parts of this worke, I was forced to get as I could) and for the rarities of his Relations, seeming both in themselues so stupendious, and not seconded in many things, that I say not contraried, by other Authours. Besides his booke came not out, till himselfe was gone out of the world. I answere, that* Ricius *the* Iesuite *his Relations came not to vs, till himselfe was likewise gone; and that that might rather plead not onely for the Maturitie, but the sinceritie, by that* Caesian *rule,* Cui bono; *for whom should a dead man flatter, or for what should hee lye? Yea, hee little spares his owne compante and Nation, but often and eagerly layeth open their vices: and which is more, I finde in him little boasting, except of other Nations; none at all of himselfe, but as if he intended to expresse Gods glorie, and mans merit of nothing but miserie. And howsoeuer it seemes incredible to remember such infinite particulars as this Booke is full of, yet an easie memorie holdeth strong impressions of good or bad:* Scribunt in marmore laeti, *as said of one; and of the other,* Omnia quae curant senes meminerunt. *Neither is it likely but that the Authour wrote Notes, which in his manifold disaduentures were lost otherwise, but by that writing written the firmer in his memorie, especially new whetted, filed, furbished with so many companions of miserie, whom in that state,* Haec olim meminisse iuuabat; *their best musicke in their chaines and wandrings being the mutuall recountings of things seene, done, suffered. More marueil it is, if a lyar, that he should not forget himselfe, and contradict his owne Relations; which sometimes he may seeme to doe in the numbers of the yeere of the Lord; yea, and other numbers: but his leaues were left vnperfect at his death, and those numbers perhaps added by others after: and besides, mine owne experience hath often found figures mistaken from my hand, which being by the Compositor set at large, haue runne at large by ten times so much; and girt in otherwhiles as narrow with the tenth place diminished, or one figure set for another. And none but the Authour, or he which knowes the subiect, can easily amend that fault, being so great by so small and easie a lapse. The graduations of places I doe confesse otherwise then in the* Iesuites, *and as I suppose not so truely as theirs: for I thinke that he neither had Arte * or Instrument to calculate the same, but contented himselfe in the writing of this Booke to looke into the common Maps of* China, *and to follow them in setting downe the degrees, and so the blind led the blind into errour; no printed Map that I haue seene being true. And perhaps the Chronicler to whom the papers were brought vnfinished might out of those Maps doe it; erring either of ignorance, or (which we haue often seene in Cards of remote places East and West) purposely, to conceale from others that which they haue found sweet and gainfull; the Mariner and Merchant not looking with the generous eyes of the ingenious, ingenuous Scholer.*

Note for numbers (if great care bee not had) how easily, how dangrously mistaken.

* So it seemes by those words of his, *fol.* 122. *Ainda que confesso que me falta o milhor, que he saber & engenho para dar a entender o clima & a Altura dos grãos &c.*

Falle graduations a common thing in Maps of East and West *Indies.*

For his repute at home; it was dedicated to King Philip *the Third of* Spaine, *which impudence would not haue obtruded (if altogether a tale) on such Maiestie; licenced by the Holy Office, and printed at* Lisbon; *translated into the* Spanish *by the Licentiate,* Francisco de Herrera Maldonado, *Canon of the Church Riall of* Arbas, *and dedicated to a Clergie-man* Seuerin de Faria, *Printed* 1620. *at* Madrid *(and small credit it had beene to the House of the* Farias, *that one of them should publish in* Portugall, *and in* Castile *to another should be dedicated, a friuolous tale and deuised foolerie.) I adde also the Authours stile so religious, and his often protestations: his credit, as* Herrera *reporteth with King* Philip *the Second, who spent much time in discourse with him about these things. I might adde the* Spanish *Translators Apologie at large, and out of him* Fr. Andrada *the* Portugall *Chroniclers testimonie.*

* *If this moue thee not to beleeue, yet beleeue thus much, that I haue no minde to deceiue thee, but giue thee what I found, onely much contracted, and not going all the way with our Authour, whose originall Booke is aboue one hundred and fiftie sheets of paper* in folio, *but contented with his* China *and* Tartaria *Relations: that also too much, if not true. And yet I would not haue an Authour reiected for fit speeches framed by the Writer, in which many Historians haue taken libertie; no, if sometimes he doth* mendacia dicere, *so as he doth not* mentiri; *that is, if he be so credulous to beleeue, or so improuident to proffer to others faith, probable falshoods related by others (as I will not sweare but of himselfe hee might mistake, and by others be mis-led, the* Chinois *here might in relating these rarities to him enlarge, and* de magnis maiora loqui) *so as he still be religious in a iust and true deliuerie of what himselfe hath seene, and belye not his owne eyes: the former is rashnesse and distastfull, the later is dishonest and detestable. Once, the Sunne Rising hath found many worshippers, but the Westerne Sunne is neerer night: and neerer obscuritie and meannesse are our Westerne affaires then those* China *Raies of the East; and wee were Backes and Owles not to beleeue a greater light then our selues see and vse. All* China *Authours how diuersified soeuer in their* lines, *yet concurre in a* centre *of* Admiranda Sinarum, *which if others haue not so largely related as this, they may thanke God they payed not so deare a price to see them; and for mee, I will rather beleeue (where reason euicts not an* electione firma) *then seeke to see*

Valignanus a great Iesuite wrote a booke with that title.

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at the Authours rate; and if he hath robbed the Altars of Truth, *as he did those of the* Calempluy *Idols, yet in* Pequin *equity we will not cut off the* thumbs *(according to* Nanquin *rigour) vpon bare surmise without any euidence against him. However, cheaper I am sure he is by farre to thee then to mee, who would haue beene loth to be so true a labourer in a lying Authour, willingly or commonly (in my conceit) falsifying his owne sight, though perhaps not seldome deceiued in things taken vp on* China *mens trust, or entred into their* China *Bookes, such as he here often citeth. Men refuse not Siluer for the Oare; gather the Rose notwithstanding the prickles; neglect not Harueſt mixed with weeds, Wheat with the chaffe, Fruit for the shells, and hate not Honie for the Bees sting; nor will I either in prodigalitie of faith beleeue all, or be so penurious as to reiect the most of that which here I present. Vse thou thy freedome, and him at thy pleasure (I say not mee) and if thou wilt not pardon such a briefe collection, thou wouldst hardly giue* Castilian *entertainement to all, and more then all, often yeelding brauadoes and enlarging flourishes of stile, beyond a translation, as if his Authour had not said enough. The variety, if it had beene meerly deuised, presents I know not how many entercourses as interludes of Comicke and Tragicke euents, more worthie the reading then most in this kinde, and as fit to recreate: how much more, where veritie is (as I suppose) the ground and substance, though perhaps inlayed with other phantasies among. That the* Iesuites *in some things differ, is their authoritie against his, who as more learned and iudicious, and longer experienced, might finde out some truths better then hee; as his various fortunes, and that time, might let him see many particularities which they could not, writing sixtie yeeres after. In many things they both agree: and* Gaspar de Cruz *hath many the same things; and that his strange Relation of the Crosse in* China *and the* Hungarian *of the Mount* Sinai, *is deliuered by* Lucena, *perhaps learned by some of His companie: and these exceptions by mee mentioned, are rather praeoccupations of censorious iudging my iudgement, then my iudiciall sentence, which the iudicious will suspend, and leaue to better experience.* Iudicent posteri; veritas Temporis filia.

CHAP. II.

Obseruations of China, Tartaria, *and other Easterne parts of the World, taken out of* FERNAM MENDEZ PINTO *his Peregrination.*

§. I.

MENDEZ *his many miserable aduentures, his strange expedition with* ANTONIO DE FARIA; *diuers coasts visited, Pirats tamed, miseries suffered, glorie recouered.*

FErnam *Mendez Pinto*, borne at old *Montemor* in the Kingdome of *Portugall*, was placed in seruice at ten or twelue yeeres of age in *Lisbon*, the thirteenth of December, *An.* 1521. on the day of *breaking the Scutchions*, or publike mourning for King *Emanuel*. A yeere and halfe after he fled vpon occasion of a sudden accident, and got aboord a Caruile which was taken by a *French* Pirat, which would haue made sale of them at *Larache* to the *Moores*. But a fortnight after taking another *Portugall* ship comming from Saint *Thome* worth 40000. Duckets, they returned for *France*, carrying some with them for Sea seruice, the rest they set on shoare by night on the shoare of *Melides*, naked; which came to *Santiago de Cacem*, where they were relieued. Thence he went to *Setuual*, and serued *Francisco de Faria* a Gentleman belonging to the Master of *Santiago*, and after that was Page to the Master himselfe. But his meanes being short hee left his seruice.

* See of *Gama tom.* 1. *pag.* 26. Straight of *Mecca* or the Red Sea. *Portugall* Fortresse in *Socotora* before the *Arabs* Conquest. A Martyr of *Mahomet. Martyrem non poena sed causa.*

An. 1537. he went for *India* in a Fleet of fiue ships; the Admirall was *Don Pedro de Sylua*, sonne of *Vasco* * *da Gama* (*first Discouerer of the* Indies, whose bones he carried with him in the ship at his returne, which were receiued by King *Iohns* appointment in greater Funerall pompe, then had beene seene done to a Subiect.) They arriued at *Diu* the fifth of September. Thence after seuenteene dayes he went with two Foists for the Straight of *Mecca*, and came in sight of *Curia Muria*, and *Abedalcuria*, almost wracked with foule weather, and comming to *Socotora*, watered neere the Fortresse which *Francisco d'Almeida* first Vice-roy of *India*, had built, 1507. Hauing receiued some refreshing of the *Christians* there, they departed, and in the heighth of *Masua* tooke a ship, but fiue men being therein left of eightie; one of which was the Captaine, a Renegado of *Malorquy*, who for loue of a *Moorish* woman had denyed his Faith, and refusing to returne to *Christianitie*, notwithstanding all perswasions, wee bound him hand and

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and foot, and threw him into Sea with a great ſtone tyed about his necke: The ſhip alſo ſunke, and little was ſaued.

They went to *Arquico* (then) in the Countrey of *Preſte Iohn*; to deliuer a letter to *Antique Barboſa*, the Factor of *Antonio Sylueira*, ſent three yeeres before by *Nuno de Cunha*, who with fortie others eſcaped from the rebellion *Xael*, in which *Dom Manoel de Meneſes*, with one hundred and ſixtie *Portugals* were taken, foure hundred thouſand Duckets, and ſixe *Portugall* Ships, which were thoſe that *Solyman Baſſa A.* 1538. brought with prouiſion for his Armada to the ſiege of *Diu*; the King of *Xael* hauing ſent them with ſixtie *Portugals* for a *Cairo* preſent; the reſt hee beſtowed as almes on *Mahomets* houſe at *Mecca*. I with three others, were ſent ſome dayes iourneys into the Countrey to *Barboſa*, then in the Fort of *Geleytor* in guard of the Queene, mother of the *Preſte Iohn*, who welcommed them, *as the nightly dew to the flowerie Garden, and as* Helena *to* Ieruſalem. *ſo were they* (ſaid ſhe) *to her eyes.* *Xael* or *Iael* inſurrection.

But (to leaue thoſe things) he went thence to *Ormus*, and then to *Goa*; there offered his ſeruice to *Pero de Faria* Captaine of *Malaca*, which entertained him. The occurrences of *Bata*, *Achem*, *Aaru* in *Samatra*, *Queda* in the continent, and his imployments in thoſe parts, as alſo of *Siaca*, *Paon*, *Patane*, I omit.

He ſaith that hee was wracked at Sea comming from *Aaru*; of eight and twentie, fiue onely eſcaping, two of which the Crocodiles deuoured. Hee was taken and ſold to a *Moore*, which carried him to *Malaca*. Thence *Pero de Faria* ſent him to *Patane* in trade: from thence againe, imployed by *Antonio de Faria* to *Lugor*, *Coia Acem* a *Guzarate* Pirate ſet vpon them, tooke, and killed all, *Burall* and *Pinto* only eſcaping, which leaping into the Sea were reſerued by a Barke, and ſent to *Patane*. *Faria* afraid to return to *Malaca*, where he was ſo indebted for thoſe goods, vowed to be reuenged of the Pirat. And by helpe of his friends armed a Iunke with fiue & fifty Souldiers, of which I and *Borall* (extreamely both indebted and wounded) were. From *Patane* we ſet forth in May, 1540. and to a Hauen called *Bralapiſaon*, ſome ſixe leagues off the firme Land, where we found a Iunke of the *Lequios*, bound for *Siam* with an Embaſſadour of *Nautaquim de Lindau*, Prince of the Ile of *Toſa* ſituate in ſix & thirty degrees, which ſeeing vs come, haſted away with all ſpeed. *Faria* ſent a *Chineſe* Pilot to them with faire offers of loue and courteſie, who returned with a preſent, a rich Sword, and ſixe and twentie Pearles in a Boxe of Gold, with this anſwer, That *the time would come, when they ſhould communicate with vs in the Law of the true God of infinite mercy, who by his death had giuen life to all men, with a perpetuall inheritance in the houſe of the good: and hee beleeued that this ſhould bee after the halfe of the halfe of time were paſt.* Neither could *Antonie de Faria* returne any thing in recompence, they being gotten farre into the Sea. *Bralapiſaon*. *Toſa*. *Span Loſſa*. A ſtrange anſwere.

Heere wee watered, and after coaſted to ſearch the Riuer of *Pulo Cambim*, which diuides the Kingdome of *Champaa*, from the Seniorie of *Camboia* in the height of nine degrees. Thither we came in the end of *May*, and the Pilot went vp the Riuer three leagues, to a great Towne called *Catimparù*, where we ſtayed to take in prouiſion twelue dayes. *Faria* being curious, deſired to know whence that Riuer came, the originall thereof (they told him) was a Lake called *Pinator*, Eaſtward from that Sea, two hundred and ſixtie leagues in the Kingdome of *Quitirvan*; which Lake was compaſſed with high Hills, at the bottome of which, alongſt the waters ſide, were eight and thirtie Townes, thirteene great, the reſt ſmall. One of theſe Great ones was named *Xincaleu*, where was a great Gold Mine, whence euery day was taken a Barre and a halfe of Gold, which in our money amounteth by the yeere to two and twentie millions of Gold. Foure Lords are ſharers, and are ſtill at warres for a ſingular proprietie. They ſaid that one of theſe called *Raiabitan*, in the Court of his houſe in iarres, had ſet vp to the necke in earth ſix hundred Bars of Gold in poulder, as good as that of *Menancabo* in *Samatra*; and that if three hundred of our men were ſent thither, with one hundred Caliuers, they would without doubt become maſters thereof. They ſaid alſo that in *Buaquirim*, another of thoſe Townes, was a Rocke of Diamonds, better then thoſe of *Laue*, and of *Taniampura* in the Ile of *Iana*. *Pullo Cambim*. *Catimparà*. Lake *Pinator*. *Quitiruan*. *Xincaleu*. 22. Millions Duckets. Gold mines, & iron minds. Rocke of Diamonds.

Proceeding along the Coaſt of *Champaa*, from *Pullo Cambim*, we came to a ſhelfe called *Saleyiacuu*, and the next day to the Riuer *Toobaſoy*, in the mouth whereof a Iunke paſſed by, to which we offered the courteſie of the Sea, and they in ſcorne made ſhew of a *Negroes* Buttockes, with many trumpets and other iollitie. Hence grew diſpleaſure: in the night three Barks came to aſſaile vs, which we tooke, with the Captain, two *Acheners*, a *Turke*, & the *Negro*. This *Negro* confeſſed himſelfe a Chriſtian, ſlaue to *Gaſper de Mello* a *Portugall*, whom that dogge (he pointed to the bound Captaine) ſlew two yeeres ſince in *Liampoo*, with ſixe and twentie *Portugals* beſides with him in the Ship. What ſaid *Faria*, is this *Similau?* Yea, ſaid he, and he had thought in ſo ſmall a Barke, there had not beene aboue ſixe or ſeuen, and hee would haue bound your hands and feet, and impaled you as hee ſerued my maſter. *Faria* hauing ſerued him and his with the ſame ſauce, tooke the Iunke, in which was thirtie ſix thouſand Taels of *Iapon* Siluer, which make fiftie foure thouſand Cruzados or Duckets, beſides much good merchandize. *Similau* a Pirate taken.

Faria proceeded alongſt the Coaſt of *Champaa*, and came to the Riuer *Tinacoru*, by our men called *Varella*: into which enter the Ships of *Siam* and the *Malaya* Coaſt, which goe for *China*, and *Truck* for Gold, Calamba and Iuory, whereof that Kingdome hath ſtore. Many Paraos or ſmall *Tinacoreu*, or *Taurlachim*, or *Varella* Truck for gold.

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small Barkes came aboord vs, and wondred to see white men with beards. They told him that if he would goe vp the Riuer to the Citie *Pilaucacem*, where the King resides, hee might in fiue dayes sell his goods: for great Merchants resorted thither from the *Lauhos*, and *Pasuaas*, and *Gueos*. That Riuer they said came from the Hill *Moncalor*, eightie leagues from that place, and beyond that Hill it is much larger, but shallower, in some places making shallow fields, where bred infinite store of Fowles which couer the ground, in such innumerable numbers, that two and fortie yeeres before they caused the Kingdome of *Chintaleuhos*, (which is eight dayes iourney) to be dispeopled. Beyond that Country of Birds, is another wilde and mountainous, where abide many creatures much worse then those Birds, Elephants, Rhinocerotes, Lions, Wilde-swine, Buffals, and Wilde-kine. In the midst of that Land or Kingdome (so it had beene in old time) is a great Lake, which the Natiues call *Cunebetee*, others *Chiammay*, from which proceeds this riuer, with other three in great quantitie washing that land. That lake, as some write, containeth in circuit sixtie Iaons (each of which is three leagues) alongst which are Mines of Siluer, Copper, Tinne, and Lead, carried thence by Merchants in *Casilas*, with Elephants and Badas (Rhinocerotes) to the Kingdomes of *Sornau*, or *Siam*, *Passiloco*, *Sauady*, *Tangù*, *Prom*, *Calaminhan*, and other Kingdomes. Being asked of the weapons of those Countries, they answered, That they haue none but Poles burned, and short Crises of two spannes. They might not go vp the Riuer in lesse then two months, or two and a halfe, by reason of the force of the water, which way downe, they might dispatch in eight or ten dayes.

Pilaucacem.

Bird-wonder.

Cunebetee, or *Chiammay.*

Faria going from thence, came to *Pullo Champeiloo*, an Iland not inhabited in fourteene degrees and twentie minutes, at the entrie of the Bay of *Cauchin-China*: and thence hauing fitted his Ordnance to *Ainam*, to seeke *Coia Acem*: and being come to *Pullo Capas*, a Fleet of fortie great Iunkes, of two or three Deckes * a piece was seene in the Riuer by *Boralho*, whom *Faria* had sent to discouer, and after that another seeming two thousand saile great and small, and a walled Towne of some ten thousand houses. At his returne hee saw also one Iunke in the Barre of the Riuer at anchor, which seemed of another Coast. *Faria* supposed this last was of that Pyrat *Coia Acem*, which therefore hee assailed and tooke. One of the company was a Christian of Mount *Sinai*, named *Tome Mostangue* a Merchant, whose Barke *Solyman Bassa* had taken *A.* 1538. in the Port of *Indaa*, with seuen others to be victuallers for his Armada of sixtie gallies, wherewith he was sent by the Great *Turke*, to restore *Sultan Baadur* to his Kingdome of *Cambaya*, whereof the *Mogor* had then dispossessed him, and to driue the *Portugalls* out of *India*. And when he demanded of the *Turkes* his freight, which they had promised, they tooke his wife and his daughter, and openly rauished them before his eyes; his sonne, which cried at that spectacle, they threw into the Sea bound hand and foot: and laid himselfe in yrons, tooke away his goods, worth aboue sixe thousand Duckets. His wife and daughter died, and hee as desperate leaped one night into the Sea, at the Bar of *Diu*, with a sonne which there hee had, and got to *Surat*, and came thrice to *Malacca* in a Ship of *Garcia de Saa*; whence by *Stephen Gama* he was sent for *China*, with *Christouan Sardinha*, Factor of *Maluco*; whom riding at anchor in *Cincapura Quiay Tayiam*, Captaine of this Iunke slew with six and twentie *Portugals*, and saued him aliue because he was a Gunner. *Faria* cried out that he had heard of this *Quiay Tayiam*, that he had killed aboue one hundred *Portugals*, and spoiled them of one hundred thousand Cruzados, and that since he killed *Sardinha*, he caused himselfe to bee called by his name. Hee asked this Armenian where he was, hee shewed where he with sixe or seuen others were hidden in the Iunke. *Faria* went and opened the skuttle, and *Taiam* with his company began a new fight, killed two *Portugals* and seuen boyes, and wounded twentie; but in the end were slaine. *Faria* hasted away for feare of the Iunkes in the Riuer, and came to the Coast of *Cauchin-China* where he rifled this Iunke, and found in her Spices and other goods, to the value of sixtie thousand Cruzados, besides Artillery, which the Pirate had taken out of the Ships of *Sardinha*, *Oliueyra*, and *Matos*.

Pullo Champeiloo.

* *Gauias.*

Quiay Taiam, a Pirate.

Thomas Mastangue his aduentures.

The next day hee set saile againe for *Ainam*, and by the way lighted on Boates fishing for Pearles, to whom they offered contract, who told them that *Guamboy*, a Port somewhat before, (as in *Cantan*, *Chincheo*, *Lamau*, *Combay*, *Sumbor*, and *Liampoo*, and other Coast Cities) was a place of trade for strangers, and counselled him to goe thither: for there they had nothing but Pearles, which they fished for the treasure of the Sonne of the Sunne, by the command of the *Tutan* of *Combay*, supreme Gouernor of all *Cauchin-China*. And that the law was, that if any Barke besides the appointed entred, it should bee burnt with all the people therein. And because hee was a stranger, it was best for him to saile away before *Buhaquirim* the *Mandirin*, which was but seuen leagues thence came; who had fortie great Iunkes, with two thousand Mariners, and fiue thousand Souldiers; and did abide there the sixe moneths of fishing, from March to August both included. They much maruelled at the *Portugall* fashion, hauing neuer seene any such men, and suspected them theeues (they professing themselues Merchants of *Siam*) with gifts and courtesie they wonne good estimation of these Fishers. One of these being asked touching *Aynam*, answered, That it was once an absolute Kingdome gouerned by *Prechau Gamu*, who dying without an heire there arose such contentions, that in foure yeeres and a halfe there dyed sixteen *Lacasaas* of men, which are so many hundred thousands, whereby the Land was so dispeopled, that

Pearle-fishers.

Guamboy, and other Coast Cities of *China*, Sonne of the Sunne, title of the King of *China*.

Aynam or *Hainam*, a great Iland S. from *China*.

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that the *Cauchin* King made himselfe master thereof, with seuen thousand *Mogores*, which the *Tartar* sent him from *Tuymican*, then the chiefe Citie of his Empire. Hee set ouer the same *Hoyha Paguarol*, who rebelled and made himselfe tributarie to the King of *China*, paying sixe hundred thousand Duckets, or foure hundred thousand Taeis yearely: and dying without heire, two hundred thirtie fiue yeares since, hee declared the King of *China* his Successour: and so it hath continued. He counselled him not to goe to *Aynam*; because they were Dissemblers, nor would the Monson suffer him to go to *Liampoo*; but to go to the good riuer *Tanauquir*, still sounding as he went for the shoalds; there he should haue sure Anchorage, and in little space hee might sell all his goods; where yet it was not safe by reason of reasonlesse men to aduenture his goods on Land. *Tanauquir.*

To that Riuer we went, and in the mouth thereof not able to stemme the Current, two Iunks assayled vs, and their first Language was sixe and twentie Peeces of Ordnance: the Issue was, *Faria* tooke them both, most of their men being drowned or slaine, and found therein seuenteene *Christians* Prisoners, by whom hee learned that the Captayne was a Rouer which bare two names, one of a *Christian*, *Francisco de Saa*, the other of a *Gentile*, *Necoda Xicaulem*. Fiue yeares he had beene a *Christian* at *Malaca*; *Garcia de Saa* Captayne of the Fortresse, in his Baptisme imparting his owne name to him, who married him to a Gentlewoman of *Portugall*. But hee going, *Anno* 1534. for *Chincheo* in a *China* Iunke with twentie *Portugals* and his Wife, slue both her and them at *Pulo Catan*: and the next yeare took another *Portugall* Iunke at *Chinchee*, which came from *Sunda*, and slue ten *Portugals* in her, and thence-forth practised Pyracie on *Chineses*, (as hee thought vs to bee) and *Portugals*. The goods of the two Iunkes amounted to fortie thousand Taeis, and seuenteene Brasse Peeces. The Captayne of this place was in league with him, and shared a third of his Pyracies. *Faria* therefore went to another Port fortie leagues Eastward, called *Mutipinan*, wherein were many Merchants which came in *Casilas* from the Land of the *Lauhos*, and *Pafunas*, and *Gueos* with great store of siluer. The current setting strong against vs at the Rock of *Tilauinera*. Wee came to *Mutipinan*, and learned that the Riuer was deepe, the best in that Bay; the people peaceable, that Merchants had come nine dayes before from the Kingdome of *Benan* in two *Casilas*, each of fiue hundred Oxen, with store of Siluer, Iuory, Waxe, Benioyn, Camfire, Gold in poulder, to buy Pepper, Drugs, and pearles of *Aynam*; that they had not any Armada of great ships because the Wars which the *Prechau* (King) of the *Cauchins* made were by land, that he abode at *Quangepaaru*, a Citie twelue dayes iourny thence; that his Mynes yeelded him fifteene thousand *Pikes* of Siluer, halfe of which by Diuine Law belonged to the people, which had remitted it to him on conditon to pay no other tributes, wherto the ancient *Prechaus* had sworne to keepe it, as long as the Sun should giue light tothe Earth. There hee sold a great part of his goods till newes of the *Tanauquir* Rouer made them afraid to come aboard: so that he was forced to set saile. *Xicaulem* another Pyrate. A Renegado *China* Robber. *Mutipinan.* *Benan.* *Quangepaaru.*

Thus after many dayes spent in this Bay of *Cauchin-china*; because *Coia Acem* and the Pyrates which robbed *Christians* were in league with the *Mandarines*, and sold that which they had gotten in *Ainan*, he pursued that purpose againe, and came to Anchor in *Madel* a Hauen in that Iland where he encountred with *Hmimilau*, a *Chinese* Rouer which had becomne lately a *Moore*, and bitter enemy of *Christians*, of which Religion hee had also beene. Fiue *Portugall* Captiue Boyes, which were aboard him, cryed out for mercy, whereby *Faria* mooued, sent to know what they were, which answering with stones on their heads that came in the Boat, a cruell fight followed, in which *Faria* remayned *Victor*, and seised of the Captaine with fifteene others left aliue. He demanded for the *Portugall* Boyes, who told them they were in the Prow vnder Hatches; whereupon sending to see, they found them lying on a heape with their heads off, a woman with her two children being also so serued. *Faria* asked why hee dealt so with the small Innocents? He answered, it was sufficient that they were children of *Portugals*. Being asked why he had forsaken the *Christian* Religion; he said, because the *Portugals* had respected him being a *Gentile*, with Cap in hand saluting him *Quiay Nicoda*, but after hee was *Christian*, made little account of him; whereupon he became a *Moore* in *Bintam*, and the King of *Iantan* vsed him with much honour, his Officers called him Brother, and hee sware on a Booke to become an Enemy to the *Portugall* and *Christian* Name as long as he liued, the King and Priest applauding and promising all happinesse to his soule. Seuen yeares he had beene in execution of that Oath, and had taken a Iunke of *Luys de Pauia* in the Riuer of *Liampoo*, with foure hundred Bares of Pepper, slue eighteene *Portugals*, besides slaues: and after that had taken at times foure ships, in which he had slaine neere three hundred persons, seuentie of them *Portugals*, and taken fifteene or sixteen hundred Bares of Pepper and other Commodities, of which the King of *Pan* had halfe, to secure him and let him haue sale: in the Riuer *Choaboque* on the Coast of *China*, he had killed *Ruy Lobo*, his old acquaintance, with seuenteene *Portugals*, escaping a wracke, and taken into his Iunke on condition to pay him two thousand Cruzados, to set him on shoare at *Patane*; which notwithstanding, hee slue him and the rest by the *Moores* counsell one night as they were asleepe. *Faria* would heare no further, but caused him to bee slaine and cast into the Sea. In Silke and other goods he found in the Iunke to the value of fortie thousand Taeis: the Iunke he burned, hauing none to man her. *Hmimilau* an *Ethnike-Christian-Moore* Pyrate.

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The other *Necodas* or Captaynes of the Iunkes, seeing what *Faria* had done, consulted together, and seeing he might also doe as much to them, sent two chiefe men to him, desiring him as *King of the Sea*, to giue them securitie to passe, in dispatch of their businesses before the Monson were ended, and that as his Tributaries, they would giue him twentie thousand Taeis of Siluer: to which he sware, and that no Thiefe should rob them: and with a Present receiued the Money brought him within an houre after. A Boy which writ their Passes, gayned in thirteene dayes aboue foure thousand Taeis (besides gifts for dispatch) each Iunke giuing fiue Taeis and the lesse Barkes two. The Vice-Roy also of *Ainan* sent him a rich Present, with a Letter to intreat him to serue the Sonne of the Sunne as Admirall from *Laman* to *Liampoo*, at ten thousand Taeis annuall wages, besides (after three yeares end) further aduancement: whereto he excused his vnworthinesse, and departed to *Quangiparu*, a Citie of fifteene thousand Housholds, and so coasted all alongst the Iland of *Ainan* seuen monothes space, till the Souldiers were wearie, and required their shares as had beene agreed; which was quieted with promise to winter at *Siam*, and hauing there made Money of all to giue each man his part.

Quangiparu.

Ilha dos ladrones.

With this agreement they came to an Iland, called *Theeues Iland*, because standing out of the Bay, it is their place to take the first of the Monson. Here at the new Moone in October wee were encountred with a cruell Tempest in the night, by which the foure Vessels were broken in pieces, fiue hundred eightie sixe persons drowned, of which eight and twentie *Portugals*; three and fiftie of vs by Gods mercie saued, *Faria* being one, and one and twentie other *Portugals*, the rest Slaues and Mariners. They spent two dayes and a halfe in Buriall of their dead, and to get some of their prouision, which yet hauing taken Salt-water, would not last aboue fiue dayes of the fifteene they stayed there. *Faria* comforted them saying, that *God would not permit so much euill but for a greater good; nor would haue taken from them fiue hundred thousand Cruzados, but to giue them sixe hundred thousand: God doth not punish with both hands, his mercie curing the wounds which his Iustice maketh.*

Miserable wracke, and their fortnights miseries.

Thus we walked naked, and bare-foot on the Strand & in the Wilderne, suffering hunger and cold, many of our companions dying, not so much for want of food, as the stinke and putrified vnholsomnesse thereof. In this disconsolate plight, a Sea-kite * came flying from behind the South Cape of the Iland, and let fall from his Talons a Mullet a span long; which he taking vp with great prayse to God, and Prayer to Iesus Christ, *not to consider their merits, but his merits for them*, hee caused it to bee rosted and giuen to the sicke. Looking to the place whence the Fowle came, they saw more of them flying vp and downe, and going thitherwards, discouered a Valley with diuers Fruit-trees, and before they came at it, they found a Deere which a Tygre had newly killed, and with their generall cry was scarred from it, hauing begun to eate it. Wee feasted with it, and with many Mullets which those Sea-kites got, and (scarred with our cries) let fall. This fishing they continued from Munday till Saturday, and then seeing a saile they hid themselues in the Woods. It was a *Lantea* or Barke with Oares, which came thither with thirtie persons to wood and water; and whiles they were disporting themselues, and had left their Barke vnmanned, *Faria* apprehended the occasion, and hauing instructed them, at the name of *Iesus* they all ranne vpon it, entred without gain-saying, and loosing the Prow put to Sea. The *Chinois* seeing their *Lantea* taken, hasted to the shoare, but scarred with a little Iron-piece out of their *Lantea*, they fled to the Thickets. We presently fell to eate, what an old man was dressing for the *Chinois*, and after searched and found Silkes, Damaskes, Muske, and other goods worth foure thousand Cruzados, besides Rice, Sugar, Hennes, which we most esteemed for recouerie of the sicke. There was a Boy of twelue or thirteene yeares old, whom *Faria* asked, whence and whose the *Lantea* was: hee answered, *it was his Fathers, from whom they had vnhappily taken in lesse then an houre, all hee had gotten in aboue thirtie yeares: hee came from a place, called* Quoaman, *where in bartar for Siluer he had gotten those goods, which he was going to sell to the Iunkes of* Siam *in the Port of* Comhay: *and now hee going to supply his want of water, you haue taken away his goods without feare of the Iustice of Heauen. Faria* promising to vse him as his Sonne; then, said hee, *set me on shoare in that miserable Land where my true Father is, with whom I had rather dye then liue with so bad people.* Much reasoning passed, and he said, they could speake well of God, but little vsed his Law: neither would he eate in three dayes space.

* *Milhano.*

Reliefe almost miraculous.

Wonderfull prouision.

Admirable escape.

Quoaman.

Comhay.

We determined to goe for *Liampoo*, two hundred and sixtie leagues Northwards from thence, and to get if we could, a better Barke, this being little, and scarsly able to brooke those New Moone-stormes on the Coast of *China*. At Sun-set wee set sayle, and next morning going East North-east, came to an Ile called *Guintoo*, where we tooke a fisher-barke with store of fresh fish, whence we tooke what we thought fit, with eight men of her, twelue to serue for the *Lantea*, our men being weake. They told vs that eighteene leagues thence was a good Riuer, called *Xinguan*, within which was a poore fisher-village, called *Xamoy*, and three leagues higher vp, a Citie of good Trade. The next day in the euening we came to *Xamoy*, where a Iunke rode fitter for *Farias* purpose, which in the night he tooke, the men being asleepe; whom he bound, threatning to kill them all if they made any cry; and sayled presently with her to the Ile *Pullo Quirim*, nine leagues off, and in three dayes after to an Iland called *Luxitay*, where for the recouery of the sicke

New Moone. Tempests in *China.*

Guintoo.

Pullo Quirim.

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sicke hee stayed fifteene dayes. In the Iunke hee found no Merchandize but Rice, the most of which he cast into the Sea to lighten her, and fit her for our Voyage. Thence wee put forth for *Liampoo*, where we heard were many *Portugals* from *Malaca*, *Zunda*, *Siam*, and *Patane*, which vsed there to winter.

In the way we encountred, after two dayes sayling, with a Iunke of *Patane*, which belonged to a *China* Pyrate, called *Quiay Panian*, a great friend of the *Portugals*, of whom he had thirtie in his company entertayned in his pay. They not knowing vs, began with a terrible salutation of fifteene Peeces of Artillery, but by Crosses in their Banner, we knew them and made signes, by which both congratulated each other with heartiest greetings, and *Quiay Panian* and he joyned in league to pursue their Fortunes together. They now purposed to goe to *Chincheo*, and there found fiue sayle of *Portugals*, which told them of a great Fleet of foure hundred Iunkes, with one hundred thousand men gone to the Iles of *Goto*, in succour of *Sucan* of *Pontir*, who had voluntarily subjected himselfe to the King of *China*, in one hundred thousand Taeis Tribute yearely. We tooke out of those fiue ships thirtie fiue Souldiers more, and proceeded on our way for *Liampoo*. In the way we encountred a small Paraoo with eight *Portugals* sorely wounded, whereof *Antonio Anriquez*, and *Mem Taborda* were, rich men of great esteeme.

Quiay Panian a *China* Pyrate.

Chincheo.

Goto.

These recounted to him that a *Guzerate* Rouer, *Coia Acem*, with three Iunks and foure *Lanteas* (in which were fiue hundred men, one hundred and fiftie of them *Moores*) set vpon them (hauing parted seuenteene dayes agoe from *Liampoo*, for *Malaca*, purposing to goe for *India*, if the Monson had permitted) before the Ile *Gumbor*, and after some houres fight tooke them; eightie two persons (eighteene of them *Portugals*) were slaine, and as many others captiued, with one hundred thousand Taeis valuein their Iunke: one of the Pyrats Iunks was fired and burnt to the water. These few in the furie of the entry escaped in the little Boat which hung at sterne; they being busied in the spoyle, and the Sunne then set, could not follow, but went into the Riuer with much triumph.

Newes of *Coia Acem.*

Faria and *Quiay Panian* who had kindred at *Lailoo*, prouided themselues there of Powder, Lead, Victuals, and other necessaries for Money, by leaue of the *Mandarine*, (no Countrey in the World being like *China* for all kind of prouisions) and there got two greater Iunkes in truck of the other, and two *Lanteas*, and one hundred and sixtie Mariners, so that they were in all fiue hundred persons, of which ninetie fiue were *Portugals*. They had one hundred & sixty Harquebusses, forty Brasse Peeces, & sixty Quintals of Powder, nine hundred pots of Powder, foure thousand Darts headed with Iron, Arrowes, and many Fire-workes, with other Weapons. Thus prouided, they set forth in pursuit of *Coia Acem*, and by a Fisher-boat learned that he was in the Riuer *Tinlau*, there to furnish and fit the Iunke lately taken from the *Portugals*, to goe with it and two others for *Siam* (where he was borne) about ten dayes thence. *Faria* sent *Vicente Moroso* in the Fisher-boat, with some of his company to informe himselfe more fully, which making a shew of fishing with the rest, he easily did, and brought word aboard of the easinesse of the attempt. In the night they anchored, and went vp the Riuer in the morning, the enemy knowing nothing till they came in sight, and *Faria* crying out, *Hey, my Masters, in the Name of Christ, to them, to them, Santiago*, off went the Ordnance, the small shot succeeded, that none now in the Iunkes durst appeare. His small Vessels (*Lorche*) comming from the shoare with succour were so entertayned with great shot that they could not helpe themselues, and by our small Vessels were fired with the fire-pots; in three of them two hundred persons were slaine. Out of the fourth they leaped into the water, and were most slaine by *Panians* men.

Lailoo.

Coia Acem which before was not knowne, seeing his *Moores* ready to try the waters courtesie to escape those fiery enemies, armed in Buffe, with Plates fringed with Gold, cryed out aloud that he might be heard, *La Ilah illallah Muhamed roçolalah: what shall you Muslemans and iust men of the Law of* Mahomet, *suffer your selues to be conquered of so feeble a Nation as are these Dogges, which haue no more heart then white Hens, and bearded women? to them, to them; the Booke of Flowres hath giuen promise from our Prophet to you and me, to bathe our selues in the bloud of these* Cafres *without Law.* With these cursed words, the Deuill so animated them, that it was fearefull to see how they ranne on our Swords. *Faria* on the other side heartned his in the name of Christ crucified, and with a zealous feruour reached *Coia Acem*, such a blow with a two hand Sword on his Head-piece of Maile, that he sunke to the ground, and with another blow cut off his legges. Whereupon his men with such furie assayled *Faria*, not caring for thirtie *Portugals* which stood about him, that they gaue him two wounds, which put such spirit into our men, that in little space, eight and fortie of the Enemies lay dead vpon *Coia Acem*, and the rest they slue all but fiue, whom they tooke and bound, the Boyes cutting the others in quarters, and throwing them into the water with *Coia Acem*, and the King of *Bintans* chiefe *Caciz*, or Priest, *the shedder and the drinker of* Portugall *bloud*, as he stiled himselfe in the beginning of his Writings, for which hee was of that cursed Sect much honoured.

Opima spolia. Coia Acem slaine.

The *Caciz* hatred of *Christians.*

Of the Enemies were slaine three hundred and eightie, of ours fortie two (eight of which were *Portugals*, *Faria* searched the Iland, and found a Village therein of fortie or fiftie houses, which *Coia Acem* had sacked, slaying some of the Inhabitants. Not farre off was a great house

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ſeeming a Temple full of ſicke and wounded men, ninetie ſixe in number, which the Pyrat had there in cure, whom he burned, ſetting the houſe on fire in diuers places, thoſe that ſought to eſcape being receiued on Pikes and Launces. The Iunke which they had taken from the *Portugals*, ſixe and twentie dayes before, *Faria* gaue to *Mem Taborda*, and *Antonio Anriquez* in Almes for remiſſion of his ſinnes, taking their Oath to take no more but their owne. He tooke ſpeciall care of the wounded, and cauſed the ſlaues to be ſet free. After all this, there remayned of cleere gaines, one hundred and thirtie thouſand Taeis in Siluer, of *Iapan* and other goods, which that Pyrat had taken along that Coaſt from *Sumbor* to *Fucheo*.

§. II.

ANTONIO FARIA *his taking of* Nouda *a Citie in* China, *triumph at* Liampoo; *ſtrange Voyage to* Calempluy, *miſerable ſhipwracke.*

Faria wracked the ſecond time.

FAria hauing recouered his ſicke men, ſet ſayle for *Liampoo*, and beeing comne to the point of *Micuy* in ſixe and twentie degrees, by a ſtorme he was driuen vpon a Rock in the darke night, and was forced to caſt out all the goods, and cut all their Maſts ouer-board; and with much adoe we eſcaped with their helpe (two and twentie drowned by ouer-haſtineſſe) to the Iunke of *Mem Taborda*. The ſecond day after came two *Portugals* from *Quiay Panians* Iunke, and plained to vs their almoſt like misfortune (one guſt hauing taken away three men, and caſt them a ſtones caſt into the Sea) and the loſſe of the ſmall Iunke with fiftie perſons, moſt of which were *Chriſtians*, and ſeuen *Portugals*. One of the *Lanteas* came and told of their diſaduenture, the other *Lantea* loſt, only thirteene men eſcaping, which the Countrey people carryed Captiues to *Nouday*: ſo that two Iunkes and a *Lantea* with aboue one hundred perſons were loſt, and in Munition and other goods, aboue two hundred thouſand Cruzados, the Captayne and Souldiers hauing nothing left but that on their backes. The Coaſt of *China* is ſubiect to theſe ſtrokes more then other Countries, ſo that none can ſayle thereon one yeare without diſaſters, except at the full and change, they betake them to their Ports, which are many and good, without barred entries, except *Laman* and *Sumbor*.

Violent wind.

Nouday.

China perillous Coaſt.

Faria went and anchored before *Nouday* and ſent ſome to ſound, and to take ſome of the people to enquire of his men, who brought a Barke with eight men and two women, one of whom (hauing firſt ſworne *by the Sea, that it below, and the winds aboue ſhould purſue him if hee brake his Faith, and the beautie of the ſtarres whoſe eyes beheld all wrong*, as the *Chineſe* requeſted) told him that he taking them to be Sea Rouers and Robbers, had taken them and caſt them in Irons. *Faria* writ to the *Mandarin* by two of thoſe *Chinois*, with a Preſent worth two hundred Duckets to returne his men, which returned the next day with an Anſwere written, that himſelfe ſhould come and demand Iuſtice at his feet, and he would doe as hee ſaw cauſe. Hee wrote againe, offering two thouſand Taeis for their Redemption, ſignifying that hee was a *Portugall* Merchant, which came to trade at *Liampoo*, and payd Cuſtomes without any Robbery; and that the King of *Portugall* his Lord was in true amitie with his Brother the King of *China*, and in *Malaca* his ſubiects vſed the *Chinois* juſtly. This calling the *King of* Portugall *the King of* Chinas *Brother*, he tooke ſo hainouſly, that he cauſed the *China* Meſſengers to be whipped, and their eares cut, and ſent them backe with a railing Anſwere written to *Faria*, which had ſo proudly blaſphemed, calling his King the Brother of *the Sonne of the Sunne, the Lion crowned with incredible power in the Throne of the Vniuerſe, vnder whoſe feet all Crownes of all that gouerne the Earth, are placed with all their Seniories, as all Writers affirme in their Hiſtories.* For this Hereſie he burned his Writing with his Picture, as he would doe to himſelfe, charging him preſently to ſet ſayle and be gone. *Faria* enraged, reſolued to aſſault the Towne, hauing three hundred men, (ſeuentie of them *Portugals*) with the company of *Quiay Panian*, for that feat.

Nouday aſſaulted.

Hauing therefore taken foure Barkes, the next morning betimes with them, three Iunkes and a *Lorcha* or *Lantea*, he went vp the Riuer, and had ſixe fathomes water and an halfe anchoring by the wals. And ſtriking ſayle without ſalutation of Artillery, we put off our Flagge of contract, after the *China* cuſtome, to fulfill all complements of peace, ſending new offers of loue and further ſatisfaction for the Priſoners. But the *Mandarine* full of indignation, hardly vſed the Meſſengers on the wall in ſight of the Armada; whereupon, *Faria* deſperate of doing any good that way leauing order with the Iunkes continually to ſhoot at the Enemie where they were thickeſt, he with his company landed without contradiction, and marched to the Towne. When we were comne within little more then a Calieuer ſhot of the Ditch without the wall, there iſſued by two gates one thouſand, or twelue hundred; about one hundred of them Horſemen, or Hackneymen rather (for they rode on leane Iades) which began to skirmiſh in ſuch diſordered ſort, encountring one with another, and many of them falling to the ground, that they

ſee-

seemed to be of some neighbour Villages, which came more of force then with force or heart to the busines. *Faria* expected them, encouraging his men, and making a signe to the Iunkes.

The Horsemen diuided themselues, and wheeled about, as if that would haue scarred vs, which seeing, without effect they joyned in one bodie or heape rather; whereat the Captayne commanded all the Caleeuers to shoot off at once, with such successe, that the former halfe of the Horsemen fell to ground. And then wee which till that time had stood still gaue the assault, crying on the name of Iesus, insomuch that they fled so confusedly, that they fell one vpon another, and when they came to the Bridge ouer the Ditch, they thronged themselues so that none could goe forward. In this case we came on them, and slue aboue three hundred, none of them scarsly drawing Sword to defend themselues. Wee prosecuted the victory to the gate, in which was the *Mandarine* with sixe hundred men, fairely mounted, armed with a Corslet of Crimson Veluet gilded, which we knew after to haue belonged to *Tome Perez*, which King *Emanuel* of glorious memorie had sent Embassadour to *China*. Hee and his began a fight with vs in the entrie of the gate, more valorous then the former, till a Boy of ours dismounted the *Mandarine* from his Horse with a Harquebusse shot thorow the breast, which caused the rest disorderly to flee, and we with them into the Towne. They casting downe their weapons ranne out at another gate toward the Countrey, none remayning. *Antonio Faria* gathering his companie together, marched orderly to the *Chifanga*, the Prison where our men were, brake vp the gates and grates, and freed his men. Then did he appoint halfe an houre to his people for spoile, himselfe going to the *Mandarines* house, and had 8000. Taeis of Siluer there, & fiue great boxes of Muske: the rest he gaue to the Boyes, which was much Silke twisted, and vnwrought, Damaske, Sattin, Porcelane; the sacke was so rich, that foure Barkes or Vessels in which they came, went foure times laden therewith to the Iunkes, that there was neither Boy nor Mariner which had not a Chist or Chists of pieces, besides what they had secretly. Hauing spent an houre and halfe, he seeing night now come on, set fire in ten or twelue parts of the Citie, which being built of Pine timber suddenly arose into such a flame, that it seemed a Hell. And without impediment, he embarked his company with much riches, and many faire Girles tyed by foures and fiues with Match, they crying, ours triumphing.

Thomas Perez.

The Mandarine slaine.

Prisoners loosed.

The Towne sacked.

It was now late, yet had *Faria* care of the wounded, which were fiftie of them, eight *Portugals*, and to burie the dead, which were nine only one *Portugall*; and keeping good watch that night, as soone as it was day, he went to a Village on the other side of the water, and found not one person in it, the houses still furnished with goods and prouisions, with which he laded the Iunkes: and departed for a desart Iland fifteene leagues from *Liampoo*, called *Pullo Hinhor*, where was good water and anchorage. After wee had sayled fiue dayes betwixt the Iles *Comolem* and the continent, *Prematà Gundel* a Rouer which had done much damage to the *Portugals* in *Patane*, *Sunda*, *Siam*, taking vs for *Chineses*, set vpon vs with two great Iunkes, in which were two hundred fighting men besides Mariners, and grapling with the Iunke of *Mem Taborda*, had almost taken it, when *Quiay Panian* came to her succour with such a stroke on her quarter, that both sunke; the three *Lorchæ* which *Faria* brought from *Nouday* comming in, saued most of our men, the enemies being all drowned, and *Mem Taborda* freed. Meane while, *Prematà Gundel* had with two hookes and Iron chaines fastned himselfe to *Farias* Iunke, both in the poope and prow, such a cruell battell following, that in lesse then an houre most of *Farias* men and himselfe were wounded, and twice in danger of taking, when the three *Lorchæ*, and a little Iunke which *Pero Sylua* had taken at *Nouday*, came in to his succour, so that eightie sixe *Moores* which had entred *Farias* Iunke were slaine, who had cooped our men before in the poop-roome; and thence entring the Pirats Iunke, put all therein to the sword.

Comolem Ilands.

Prematà Gundel a Pirate.

Another sea-fight.

Panians Iunke, and another sunke.

Farias victorie.

This victorie cost seuenteene of ours their liues, fiue of them of the best *Portugall* Souldiers, besides three and fortie wounded. The prize was valued at eightie thousand Taeis, the most of it *Iapan* Siluer, which the Pirate had taken in three Iunkes, come from *Firando* bound for *Chincheo*. In the other sunken Iunkes was said to be as much. With this prize *Faria* went to a little Iland, called *Buncalou*, foure leagues off, and stayed there eighteene dayes, making Cottages for the wounded, which there recouered health. Thence they departed, *Quiay Panian* going in that Iunke of the Pirate, with 20000. Taeis ouer and aboue for his part: in sixe dayes we came to the Ports of *Liampoo*, which are two Iles, in which the *Portugals* made at that time their contractation, and was a Towne of one thousand houses, and sixe or seuen Churches built by them, with Sherifs, an Auditor, Alcaides, and other Officers; the Notaries vsing to write, *I, N. publike Notarie for the King our Lord, in this Citie of* Liampoo, &c. as if it had beene seated betwixt *Santarem* and *Lisbon*: and such was their forwardnesse, that some houses cost three or foure thousand Cruzados, all which were razed afterwards by the *Chinois*; so vncertaine are the things of *China* (which in these parts are so esteemed) so subiect to disastres and disaduentures.

120000 Cruzados.

Buncalou.

Liampoo, a Portugall Towne on the coast of *China*, seuen leagues from *Liampoo*.

When *Faria* was come to *Portas de Liampoo*, he sent *Mem Taborda*, and *Anriques* first to acquaint the Townes-men what had passed, who sent *Ieronymo do Rego* with two *Lanteas*, to thanke him for the bountie shewed in the case of *Coia Acem*, and with refreshings; and for the

busines

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Ciuill warres in *China*. Fabulous tumour. *Quuaſy*.

Farias triumph

Calempluy.

Currents in in the Bay of *Nanquin*.

Angitur.

Nanganſu.

Silcupaquim.

Bay of *Nanquin*.

Buxipalem.

Strange Fiſhes

buſineſſe at *Nouday*, he need not beafraid there to winter, the King of *China* being as they ſaid, lately dead, and ciuill warres ſucceeding, thirteene competitors being in Armes to enforce their pretended right: and that the *Tutan Nay*, which was next perſon to the King in all the Gouernment, with meere and mixt Empire of Maieſtie Regall, was beſieged in the Citie of *Quoanſy*, by *Prechan Muan* Emperour of *Cauchinas*; in whoſe fauour it is holden for certaine, that the King of *Tartaria* is comming with an Armie of nine hundred thouſand men: and that in this troubled eſtate *Nouday* would not be thought of, which was in compariſon of many other Cities in *China*, leſſe then *Oeiras* compared with *Lisbon*. He was ſixe dayes after with great triumph and glorious ſhewes, made of his owne Fleet, and of the many Boats, Barkes, and Citizens which came to fetch him, there being three hundred men in feſtiuall apparell, with many Gold Chaines, and gilded Swords, till he came into the Port, in which rode in a rew, twentie ſix Ships, and eightie Iunks, beſides a greater number of ſmaller veſſels, faſtned one before another in two wings, making a ſtreet betwixt them, adorned with Laurell, and other greene boughes, and ſweet herbs, the Ordnance thundring on both ſides a congratulation. The *Chinois* wondred, and asked if he were Brother or neere Kinſman to their King, they receiued him in ſuch honour: Nay, ſaid a conceited *Portugall*, but his father ſhooed the Kings Horſes, and therefore is he worthie of this honour. Hereat they were more then amazed, and ſaid, There were great Kings in the World, of which their Authours had made no mention, and the King of *Portugall* ſeemes one of them, and much to exceed the *Cauchim*, or the *Tartar*, and it were no ſinne to ſay he may hold compare with the Sonne of the Sunne, the Lion crowned in the Throne of the World. Others confirmed the ſame, alledging the great riches which the bearded men generally poſſeſſed. A glorious *Lantea* was purpoſely adorned for his perſon in which hee went, with many Muſicall Inſtruments of the *Chinas*, *Malayos*, *Champaas*, *Siamites*, *Borneos*, *Lequios*, and other Nations which there ſecured themſelues vnder the *Portugals*, for feare of Rouers which filled thoſe Seas.

I ſhould wearie you to let you ſee the reſt of thic pompous ſpectacle, and more to heare their Orations preferring him before Alexander, Scipio, Annibal, Pompey, Cæſar: *Neither will Religion let mee goe with him to their Maſſe: nor doe I euer dine worſe then at ſolemne Feaſts; and others will grudge me a roome at Comedies: all which pompes I will leaue to our Author, enlarged by the* Spaniſh *tranſlator, Canon of the Church of* Arbas, *as dedicated to* Manuel Seuerin de Faria. There hee ſtayed fiue moneths, ſpending the time in Hawking, Hunting, Fiſhing, Feaſting. *Quiay Panian* in this time dyed. After hee made ready to goe to the Mines of *Quoangiparu*. Others diſſwaded him by reaſon of warres in thoſe parts, and a famous Pyrat called *Similau*, told him of an Iland called *Calempluy*, in which ſeuenteene Kings of *China* were buried with much treaſures, in Veſts, and Idols of Gold, and other incredible riches; which hee on no other teſtimonie embraced, (without conſulting with his friends, who not a little blamed him therefore) and went with *Similau* in ſearch of this Iland, ſetting out May the fourteenth, 1542.

He ſet foorth with two *Panouras*, which are as it were Frigots, but ſomewhat higher: Iunkes he vſed not, both for ſecrecie, and becauſe of the Currents which ſet out of the Bay of *Nanquin*, which great ſhips cannot ſtemme, by reaſon of the ouer-flowings from *Tartaria* and *Nixiburu Flaon*, in thoſe moneths of May, Iune, and Iuly. He had with him ſixe and fiftie *Portugals*, with a Prieſt, and fortie eight Mariners of *Patane*, and fortie two Slaues: more our Pilot *Similau* would not admit, fearing ſuſpition in trauerſing the Bay of *Nanquin*, and entry of many Riuers much inhabited. That day and night wee cleared the Iles of *Angitur*, and followed our voyage thorow a Sea before neuer ſayled by *Portugals*. The firſt fiue dayes, we ſayled with good winde, in ſight of land to the entrie of the Bay of *Nanquins* fiſhings, and paſſed a gulfe of fortie leagues, and had ſight of a high Hill called *Nangaſu*, alongſt which we ranne to the North fiue dayes; at the end whereof, *Similau* put into a ſmall Riuer, the people whereof were white, of good ſtature, with ſmall eyes like the *Chinois*, but differing in ſpeech and behauiour. After three dayes the tempeſt ceaſing, we ſet ſayle Eaſt North-eaſt, ſeuen dayes together in ſight of land, and croſſing another gulfe, there was a ſtraight open to the Eaſt, called *Silcupaquim*, ten leagues in the mouth, within which we ſayled fiue dayes in ſight of many Townes and Cities very faire; and this Riuer or ſtraight was frequented with innumerable ſhipping; inſomuch that *Faria* was afraid to bee diſcouered, and would needs againſt *Similaus* minde turne ſome other way. Thus out of the Bay of *Nanquin* (*Similau* telling them of a moneths worke of ſayling by the Riuer *Sumbepadan*, one hundred and ſeuentie leagues diſtant thence to the North) wee ſayled fiue dayes, at the end whereof wee ſaw a very high Hill called *Fanius*, and comming neere it, entred a goodly rode, where one thouſand ſhips might ride at anchor. Wee ſayled thence thirteene dayes along the coaſt, and came to the Bay of *Buxipalem* in 49. degrees, where wee found it ſomwhat cold and ſaw Fiſhes of ſtrange ſhapes, ſome like Thornbacks, aboue foure braces or fathoms compaſſe, flat noſed like an Oxe; ſome like great Lizards, ſpeckled blacke and greene, with three rewes of prickles on the backe, like briſtles, three ſpannes long, very ſharpe, the reſt of the body full, but of ſhorter; theſe Fiſhes will contract themſelues like Hedge-hogs, and looke fearefully; they haue a ſharpe blacke ſnout with tuskes, after the manner of a Bore, two ſpannes long.

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long. Other deformities and diuerſities of Fiſhes we ſaw. Fifteene leagues further, we came to an another fairer Bay called *Calnidan*, ſixe leagues in compaſſe ſet round with Hills, diuerſified with Woods and Riuers, foure very great. *Calnidan.*

Similau ſayd that the filth of dead Carcaſſes of creatures, proceeding from the ouerflowings, ſpecially in Nouember, December, and Ianuarie, at the full of the Moone, cauſed the generation of ſuch diuerſitie of Fiſhes and Serpents in that Bay, and the former, which were not ſeene in other parts of that Coaſt. *Faria* asked him whence thoſe Riuers came, and hee ſaid that he knew not, but if it were true which was written, two of them came from a great lake called *Moſcumbia*, and the other two from a Prouince of great Mountaines, which all the yeere were couered with ſnow, called *Alimania*, and in Summer when great part of the ſnow was melted, they became ſo impetuous, as wee now ſaw: and for that Riuer in the mouth whereof we were entred, called *Paatebenam*, wee were now in the name of the Lord of heauen to turne the Prow to the East, and East South-east * to ſearch againe the Bay of *Nanquim*, which we had left behind two hundred and ſixtie leagues, all which way we had made higher then *Calempluy*. The ſecond day we came to a high Mountaine called *Botmafan*, ſtored with diuers kindes of wilde beaſts, which continued neere fiftie leagues and ſixe dayes ſayling: and after came to another Hill as wilde as the former, called *Gangitanon*, and all the way forward was mountainous, and ſo thicke of trees that the Sunne could not pierce. *Similau* ſayd, that in ninetie leagues ſpace there was no habitation, and in the skirts thereof liued a deformed ſauage people onely by their Hunting, and ſome Rice which they got in *China*, by exchange of wilde beaſts skinnes, which hee ſayd came to aboue a million yeerely. Of theſe *Giganhos*, wee ſaw a beardleſſe youth with ſixe or ſeuen Kine before him, to whom *Similau* made a ſigne, and hee ſtayed till we came to the Bankes ſide, and ſhewing him a piece of greene Taffata (which hee ſayd they much eſteemed) with a harſh voyce he ſayd, *Quiten paran fanfan*, words which none vnderſtood. *Faria* commanded to giue him three or foure Couados of the taffata, and ſixe Porcelanes, which he receiued with much ioy, ſaying, *Pur param pocby pilaca bunangue doren*, ſigning with his hand to the place whence hee came, and leauing his Kine, he ranne thither. He was cloathed with a Tygers skin, the hayre outward, his armes, head and legges bare, with a rude pole in his hand; well ſhaped, ſeeming ten palmes or ſpans long, his hayre hanging on his ſhoulders. Within a quarter of an houre hee returned with a liue Deere on his backe, and thirteene perſons with him, eight men and fiue women, with three Kine tyed in coards dancing at the ſound of a Drum, giuing now and then fiue ſtrokes on it, and other fiue with their hands, crying aloude, *Cur cur bimau falem*. *Antonio de Faria*, cauſed to ſhew them fiue or ſixe pieces and many Porcelanes. All of them were cloathed in like manner, only the women had on their wriſts groſſe bracelets of Tin, their hayre longer then the men, and full of Flowers, and on their neckes a great neck-lace with coloured Shels, as big as Oyſter-ſhels. The men had great poles in their hands, furred halfe way with ſuch Pelts as they wore; they were ſtrong ſet, with thicke lippes, flat noſes, great open noſtrils, bigge faces. *Faria* cauſed to meaſure them, and none of them were higher then ten ſpannes and a halfe, one old man nigh eleuen, the women not ten; but I ſuppoſe the moſt ſauage that euer yet were diſcouered. *Faria* gaue them three corges of Porcelane, a piece of greene Taffata, and a basket of Pepper; and they fell on the ground, and lifting vp their hands with their fiſts ſhut, ſayd, *Unnguahilen opomguapan lapan, lapan, lapan*. They gaue vs the three Kine and the Deere, and after many words, in three houres conference returned with like dance as they came.

Paatebenam.
* *A leſte & à leſſueſte.*
Botinafan.
Gangitanon.
Giants.
Their wilde dance.
A Corge is 20.

Wee followed our way fiue dayes more vp the Riuer, about fortie leagues, in which we had ſight of that people, and ſixteene dayes more without ſight of any, at the end of which we came to the Bay of *Nanquim*, hoping in fiue or ſixe dayes to effect our deſires. *Similau* willed *Faria* not to let his *Portugals* be ſeene. And hauing ſayled ſixe dayes East and East North-east, we had ſight of a great Citie called *Sileupamor*, and entred into the Port two houres within night, being a faire Bay almoſt two leagues in circuit, where abundance of ſhipping rode at anchor, ſeeming aboue three thouſand: which made vs ſo afraid, that out againe we went, and croſſing the Riuer (which may bee about ſixe or ſeuen leagues ouer) wee ranne alongſt a great Champaine the reſt of the day with purpoſe to get ſome refreſhing, hauing paſſed thirteene hungry dayes. We came to an old building called *Tanamadel*, and got prouiſion to our mindes. This place, the *Chinois* which wee found there, told vs, belonged to an Hoſpitall two leagnes thence for entertainment of the Pilgrims, which viſited the Kings Sepulcher. Wee continued our voyage ſeuen dayes more, hauing ſpent two moneths and a halfe ſince wee came from *Liampoo*, and now *Faria* could no longer conceale his diſcontent, that hee had thus followed *Similaus* proiect, and receiuing of him anſwer little to the purpoſe, had ſtabbed him with his Dagger if others had not interpoſed *Similau*, the night following as wee rode at anchor neere the land, ſwam a ſhoare, the watch not perceiuing, which *Faria* hearing was ſo impatient, that going on ſhoare to ſeeke him, hee returned fruſtrate, and found of his ſixe and fortie *Chinais*, two and thirtie fled. Full now of confuſion, it was by counſell reſolued to ſeeke *Calemplay*, which could not be farre off: and the next night entred a Barke riding at anchor, and tooke fiue men ſleeping therein; of whom hee

Sileupamor.
Tanamadel.

learned

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learned that *Calempluy* was ten leagues off, and with their helpe found it, eightie three dayes after he had set out on that enterprise.

This Iland was seated in the midst of the Riuer, and seemed to bee a league in Compasse. Hither came *Faria* with trouble and feare, three houres within night, anchoring about a chamber shot from it. In the morning it was agreed, first to goe about it to see what entrances it had, and what impediments might befall their designe. The Iland was all enuironed with a rampire of hewen Marble, sixe and twentie spannes high, so well cut and set together, that all the wall seemed but one piece, the like whereof wee had neuer seene in *India*, or elsewhere: from the bottome of the water to the brim, it contayned other sixe and twentie spannes. In the top was a border of the same worke round ingirting it, like a Friers girdle, of the bignesse of a rundlet of twelue gallons, on which were set grates of Latten turned, euery sixe fathoms fastened into holes of the same Latten; in each of which was the Idoll of a woman, with a round ball in her hands, none knowing what it signified. Within these grates, was a rew of many Monsters of cast Iron, which in manner of a dance hand in hand, compassed the Ile round. Further inwards from those monstrous Idols, in the same ranke, was another of Arches of rich worke pleasant to behold. And all from hence inward, was a groue of dwarfe Orange-trees thicke set; in the midst whereof were builded three hundred and sixtie Hermitages, dedicated to the Gods of the yeere, whereof those *Paynims* haue many fabulous praises. A quarter of a league higher, on a hill to the East, were seene buildings with seuen fronts of houses like Churches, all from the top to the bottome wrought with gold, with high Towers seeming Bell-steeples; and without, two streets with Arches which encompassed these buildings, of the same worke with the fronts; and all from the highest top of the steeple pinacles to the bottom wrought with gold; whereby we iudged it some sumptuous and rich Temple.

The wonderfull wall.

Statues.

360. Hermitages.

Steples-pinacles.

After this view taken, *Faria* resolued (though it were late) to goe on shoare, to see if he could speake with any in those Hermitages; and so (leauing sufficient guard in the Barkes) with fortie Souldiers, twentie Slaues, and foure *Chinois*, (which knew the place, and had beene sometimes there, and might serue vs for Interpreters) he committed the two Barkes to Father *Diego Lobato*, and entred at one of the eight Entrances; walking thorow the Orangetto-groue to an Hermitage, two Caliuer shots from our landing place, with the greatest silence that might bee, and with the name of *Iesus* in our heart and mouth. Hauing yet seene no person, he felt at the doore of the Hermitage with his Halberd, and perceiued it locked on the inside: hee bade one of the *Chinois* knocke, which hauing done twice, he heard an answer within answering, *Praised bee the Creator which gilded the beautious Heauens, goe about and I will know thy businesse.* The *Chinois* went about and entring the backe doore, opened that where *Faria* stood, who with his companie going in, found one man seeming aboue one hundred yeeres old, in a long Russet Damaske garment, by his presence seeming Noble (as after wee learned he was) who seeing such a troupe fell downe, trembling hand and foot. A good while it was before hee could speake, and then asked what wee were, and what we sought. The Interpreter answered by *Farias* command, that hee was the Captaine of these strangers of *Siam*, who bound for the Port of *Liampoo* in trade of Merchandise was wracked at Sea; hee and these escaping miraculously, and therefore vowing to come to that Holy land on Pilgrimage, to praise God for deliuerance from so great a danger, and was now come to fulfill it; and withall to demand somewhat in almes to relieue him for his returne, protesting after three yeeres to restore it double whatsoeuer hee now tooke. *Hiticon* (that was his name) answered, *I haue well heard what thou hast said, and that damnable designe whereto thy blindnesse (as the Pilot of Hell) hath drawne thee and thine associates to the bottome of the lake of night. For in stead of thankes for so great a benefit, thou commest to rob: and what I pray thee will the Diuine iustice repay thee at thy last breath! change thou thy euill purpose, and (beleeue me) God will change thy punishment.* *Faria* prayed him, hee would not bee angry, saying, hee had no other remedie of life: whereat the Hermite lifting his hands and eyes to Heauen, sayd, weeping. *Blessed bee thou Lord, which sufferest on earth men, which take for remedie of life thine offences, and for certaintie of glorie will not serue thee one day.* And then turning his eyes to the companie which were rifling the Hangings and Chests, taking the siluer from amongst the bones of the deceased therein, hee fell twice from his seate with griefe; and pensiuely put *Faria* in minde of his last breath, of restitution, of penance perpetuall to his flesh, and liberall and discreet communicating to the poore, that the seruant of night should haue nothing to accuse him in the day of account: praying him also to command his companie, to gather vp the bones of the Saints, that they should not lye contemptible on the ground. *Faria* gaue him many good words and complements, professing himselfe (which hee whispered neerer) sorrie of what had passed, but if hee should not doe it, his companie had threatened to kill him. If it bee so, said the Hermit, then *shall thy paine bee lesse then these ministers of night, whom as hungry Dogs, it seemes all the siluer of the world would not satisfie.*

He goeth on land.

Iesus made a patron of theeues.

He enters an Hermitage.

The speech betwixt *Faria* and an Hermit

Absolons vowes

Compleat hypocrisie.

Thus with many good words hee tooke leaue of the Hermit (hauing taken all they could get) who told him *his knowledge might make his sinne more penall.* *Nuno Coelho* praying him not to be

so

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so angry for so small a matter, hee replyed, *More small is the feare which thou hast of death, when having spent thy life in foule facts, thy soule shall stand as foule at the passage of this dung-hill of thy flesh. And if thou seekest more Siluer to fill thy infernall appetite, thou mayst finde in the houses adioyning enough to make it split, as well in danger of Hell for this already, saue that more burthened thou shalt descend swifter to the bottome.* Pray, sayd *Coelho*, take all in patience, for so God hath commanded in his holy Law : the Hermit shaking off his head, sayd, I now see that which I neuer thought to haue heard, *Inbred wickednesse and vertue fained, the same man stealing and preaching:* and turning to *Faria*, prayed him that hee would not suffer them to spet on the Altar, being liefer to dye a thousand times then to see it, which he promised. Hee then demanded of *Hitticon*, what persons liued in all those houses ; who answered, three hundred and sixtie *Talagrepos* onely, and fortie *Menigrepos* which serued them without, for their prouision, and the care of the Sicke. Hee asked if the Kings vsed to come thither : no sayd he, *The King being sonne of the Sunne, can absolue all and none may condemne him.* Asked of their Armes, hee sayd, *To goe to Heauen, there needed not armes to offend, but patience to suffer.* For the mixture of that Siluer with dead bones in the chests, hee answered, that it was the *Almes which the deceased carryed with them, to prouide them of necessities in the heauen of the Moone.* Asked of women with them, hee sayd, that *the Bee stings those which eate the honey, and pleasures of the flesh needed not to the life of the Soule.* And thus parted hee from the Hermit with embraces, with purpose to returne the next day (it being now night) to the other houses, and not taking aboard with him this Hermit, as hee was aduised, saying, his gowtie legges could carrie no tydings of vs : which yet hee did, creeping to the next, and bidding him goe call the *Bonzij*.

The Hermitages, Hermits & attendants, as Lay brethren. Papall power.

For an houre after midnight, wee saw fires in a rew, which our *Chinois* told vs, were signes of our discouerie, and therefore aduised vs to haste away. *Faria* was awakened, and would needs a shoare with sixe men, and ranne like a mad-man from one place to another : his companie requested him to haste away, and he answered, for his honour hee would first see the danger, and intreated them to stay one halfe houre, and swearing hereto, away hee goeth, and followes the sound of a Bell to an Hermitage, in which were two men in religious habits ; the place was richer then the former wee had beene in. They tooke thence an Idoll of Siluer from the Altar with a myter of Gold on his head, and a wheele in his hand, and three Candlesticks of siluer with long chaynes ; and taking the two Hermits with them, returned aboard the Barkes with great haste. Of one of these, they learned that *Pilau Angiroo* had come to the house of the Sepulchers of the Kings, and cryed out to them to awaken out of their sleepe, telling them of their oath to the Goddesse *Amida*, of Strangers with long beards and Iron bodies, which had robbed the Saints, and would kill them all, whence followed the fires, and sending to giue notice to the Cities *Corpilem*, and *Fumbana* for ayde, their Religion prohibiting them to handle any thing which might draw bloud. *Faria* now hauing gone downe the Riuer a great way, was much enraged for omitting such oportunitie, plucking his beard, and beating himselfe with anguish, till not long after his heate was cooled.

They are discouered.

§. III.

Their Shipwracke in which Faria *and most of them were drowned ; the miserable wandrings of the rest to* Nanquin : *their Imprisonment, sentence and appeale to* Pequin ; *rarities obserued in those places and wayes ; of the beginnings of the* China *Kingdome, and of their admirable Wall.*

SEuen dayes wee layled thorow the Bay of *Nanquim*, the force of the current carrying vs more speedily, and came all discontent to a Village called *Susoquerim*, and there prouided our selues of victuall and instruction, and entred into a straight called *Xalingau*, in which wee ranne in nine dayes one hundred and fortie leagues, and turning to enter the same Bay of *Nanquim*, which was there ten or twelue leagues wide, wee sayled with Westerly windes thirteene dayes : and being in the sight of the Mines of *Conxinacan* in 41. degrees and two thirds, there a *Tufan* or tempest from the South, tooke vs with windes and raines seeming more then naturall, and the winde chopped into the North North-west, the Sea going so high that (except our prouisions and Chests of plate) we threw all into the Sea, cut both our masts ouer-board, and about midnight heard a great cry in the *Pantra* of *Antonia de Faria*, *Mercy Lord God*, whereby wee imagined shee was cast away ; we seconded the same cry, but heard no answer. Our Barke also the next day, split on a Rocke, and of fiue and twentie *Portugals*, eleuen were drowned, besides eighteene *Christian* boyes, and seuen *China* Mariners. This hapned the fifth of August, 1542.

Xalingau.

Conxinacau.

Faria drowned, and both the Barkes wracked.

Wee fourteene which escaped, the next day trauelled into the Land, alongst a Hill, and discouered a Lake, without shew of Land, which made vs returne backe, where wee found our men cast

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caſt on ſhoare, to the renewing of our ſorrow, and the next day buried them, that the Tigres (of which there are many) ſhould not eate them. In this, hauing nothing but our hands to doe it, and they thirtie ſixe now ſtinking, wee ſpent the moſt part of the day. Thence wee went Northward thorow the Woods three dayes, till wee came at a ſtraight, without ſight of any perſon. In ſwimming ouer three men and a boy were drowned, being faint, the current ſtrong, and the water ſomewhat ſpacious: the men were two brethren *Belchior* and *Gaſpar Barboſa*, and *Franciſco Borges Cayciro*, all of *Ponte de Lima*, and of good account. Wee which remayned (eleuen men and three boyes) paſſing that obſcure nights winds, raines, and cold, imitated by our diſconſolate ſighs, teares, and feares, ſaw before day a fire Eaſtward, and went right towards it, commending our ſelues to God our only hope. And trauelling along the Riuer, wee came in the euening where fiue men were making Coles, and caſting our ſelues at their feet, deſired them to take pitie on vs, and helpe vs to ſome place where wee might finde reliefe. They gaue vs a little Rice and warme water, and ſhewed vs the way to a Village where was an Hoſpitall, to which wee came an houre within night, and found there foure men appointed to that charge, which vſed vs charitably.

Foure other drowned.

An Hoſpitall.

The next day they asked what wee were, and whence: and wee told them, ſtrangers of *Siam* *, which came from the Port of *Liampoo* to the fiſhing at *Nanquim*, where by tempeſt we loſt all but our battered fleſh. They asked what wee intended to doe, and wee anſwered, to goe to *Nanquim*, to get paſſage to *Cantan*, or *Combay*, where our Countrey-men haue trade by licence of the *Aitao* of *Paquim*, vnder the ſhadow of *The Sonne of the Sunne, the Lion crowned in the Throne of the World*; for whoſe ſake we deſired them to let vs ſtay there till we had recouered ſtrength to trauell, and to giue vs ſome clothing to couer vs. They carried vs about the Village, and begged ſome old clothes and victuals, and two Taeis in money for our reliefe, and gaue vs two Taeis of the Houſe; and with words of much comfort to truſt in God, they gaue vs a Letter of commendation to the Hoſpitall of *Sileyiacau*, which was in a great Towne three leagues thence, and had better maintenance. Thither we went, and ſhewed our Letter from the Ouerſeers of *Buatendoo*, in the ſaid Village of *Catthoran* to the Officers of this houſe, which ſate then at Table in conſultation, and the Scribe reading the Letter, they accommodated vs in a neat roome with fourteene Beds, a Table, and many Stooles, and Meate; and next morning examined vs, wee anſwering as before. They gaue charge to a Phyſician to cure vs, and wrote our names in a Booke, to which we ſubſcribed. In eighteene dayes wee all recouered, and went thence to a place called *Suſoanganee*, fiue leagues off, and ſate downe wearie at a Well, where one came to vs with a handful of Wheat eares, which he wetted in the water, and adjured vs holding the ſame in our hands, by theſe ſubſtances of bread and water, which the high Creator had made for the ſuſtenance of man to tell the truth what we were, &c. which we did, anſwering as before; and he gaue leaue to his neighbours to relieue vs. They layde vs in a Church Porch, and gaue vs victuals, and the next day we begged from doore to doore foure Taeis, which well helped our wants.

* *Malaca* is ſaid to ſtand in the Kingdome of *Siam*, though now not yeelding ſubiection.

Sileyiacau.

Suzanganee. Strange oath.

Thence we went two leagues to *Xiangulee*, with intent to goe to *Nanquim*, one hundred and fortie leagues diſtant. Comming thither late, three boyes which were feeding Cattell, ranne into the Towne with an out-crie of *Theeues*; the people running out, and ſo welcomming vs, that one of the boyes died with the blowes. They kept vs two dayes in a Ciſterne of water vp to the waſte, full of Horſ-leaches, without victuals, and our hands bound; whence by a man of *Suzanganee*, wee were freed, reporting better things of vs. Thence wee went to *Fingmilau* (in the way finding good reliefe at a Gentlemans houſe) ſtill auoyding Cities and Townes of note, for feare of ſtricter iuſtice, two moneths holding on our way, ſometime in, ſometimes out, from Village to Village, one of which was *Chautir*, where a woman was then buried which had made the Idoll her Heire, and we were inuited as poore men to eate at her Graue, and had ſixe Taeis giuen vs to pray for her ſoule. At *Taypor* an Officer charged vs to be Rogues, begging againſt the Law, and therefore layed vs in Priſon, where we continued ſixe and twentie dayes, in which *Rodrigues Brauo*, one of our companie died. Thence wee were ſent to *Nanquim*, and there continued ſixe weekes in a miſerable Priſon (in which was ſaid to be foure thouſand Priſoners) where two of our companie and a boy died of the whipping, and the reſt hardly eſcaped; being beſides ſentenced alſo to haue our thumbs cut off as theeues.

Xiangulee hard vſage.

Chautir.

Taypor.

Nanquim.

After this bloudy whipping, they brought vs to a houſe within the Priſon where wee were cured, being as it were an Hoſpitall for the ſicke, where in eleuen dayes wee were pretily well recouered, but lamenting the cutting off our thumbes according to the rigour of the Sentence which had beene giuen, one morning came in two honourable perſons which were Procurers of the poore. Theſe queſtioned vs of our caſe, and hearing the ſame, made a Petition to the *Chaem* on our behalfe, and the eight *Conchacis*, which are as it were Criminall Iudges; and being there delayed, they made another Petition to another Table, called *Xinfau nicor pitau*, where are foure and twentie *Talagrepos* aſſiſtants, auſtere Religious men, as *Capuchines* amongſt vs, which reuiew the caſes of the poore, which prohibited the *Chaem* to proceed, and granted an appeale to the *Aitau* of *Aitaus* in *Pequim* to moderate the Sentence, which the two Procurers brought vs.

Talagrepos.

Wee

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Wee and thirtie others were embarked, chained with long chaines, the two Procurers procuring vs some clothing, and Rice, and commending vs to *Chifu*, the Officer or Captaine appointed to carrie vs, with a Certificate in our behalfe to procure vs almes. The Riuers being then high swollen hindred our iourney. Three dayes wee stayed at a Village called *Mincacantem*, where *Chifu* dwelt, and embarked his wife and children; wee were tyed to the seats where wee rowed, and could not haue perfect sight of the Cities, yet thus much wee obserued. *Nanquim* is in 39. degrees and a third, washed by the Riuer *Batampina*, which signifieth *The flower of fish:* which Riuer, as I was then told and after saw, comes from *Tartaria*, out of the Lake *Fanoftir*, nine leagues from the Citie *Lançame*, where *Tamerlane* King of the *Tartars* resided. This Lake is eight and twentie leagues long, and twelue broad, very deepe, and yeelds fiue Riuers; first, this of *Batampina*, running thorow the midst of *China* three hundred and sixtie leagues, and entring the Bay of *Nanquin* in 36. degrees. The second *Lechune* which goeth alongst the Hills of *Pancruum*, & diuiding the Land of *Cauchim*, and *Catebenan*, which within the Countrey confines with the Kingdome of *Champaa* in 16. degrees. The third is *Tauquiday*, that is, *The mother of waters*, passing West North-west by the Kingdome of *Nacataas* (a Land whence *China* was peopled) and falls into the Sea in the Kingdome of *Sornau*, or *Siam*, by the Barre of *Cuy* an hundred and thirtie leagues beneath *Patane*. The fourth Riuer is *Batobasoy*, which passing by the Prouince of *Sanfim* (which was drowned *An.* 1556.) goeth into the Sea by the Barre of *Cosmim* in the Kingdome of *Pegù*. *Leysacotay* is the fifth, runneth Eastward to the *Archipelagus* (as the *Chinois* say) of *Xinxinpou*, which confineth the *Moscouites*, entring into a Sea innauigable, as being in 70. degrees of latitude. The *Chinois* affirme, that in *Nanquin* are eight hundred thousand housholds, foure and twentie thousand houses of *Mandarines*, sixtie two great market places; one hundred and thirtie shambles, each hauing eightie blockes; eight thousand streets, of which the sixe hundred principall haue grates of Latten on both sides all alongst; two thousand three hundred *Pagodes* or Temples, one thousand of which are Monasteries of Religious persons, richly built, with Towres of sixtie or seuentie Bells of Metall and Iron, which make a noise horrible to heare; thirtie Prisons great and strong, each hauing two or three thousand Prisoners, and an Hospitall. The houses of the *Mandarines* are of earth, encompassed with Walls and Ditches, with faire Bridges, and rich Arches. The principall Magistrates haue high Towers with gilded pinacles, where are their Armories and Treasures. The Street-arches with their night shut Gates, their new and full Moone feasts, incredible fishings, their ten thousand Silke-loomes, one hundred and thirtie Gates in the strong wall, with as many Bridges ouer the ditch (a Porter, and two Halbardiers in each to see what goeth in or out) twelue Fortresses with Bulwarkes and Towers, but without Artillerie, the value to the King three thousand Cruzados a day, or two thousand Taeis, I can but touch. The rarities of *China*, compared with the things seene at home, seeme doubtfull or incredible.

In the first two dayes wee saw in our iourney by the Riuer no notable Citie or Towne, but of Villages a great quantitie which seemed to be of Fisher-men and Labourers, and within Land as farre as we saw, appeared woods of Pines and other trees, Orange groues, fields of Wheat, Rice, Millet, Panike, Barley, Rie, Pulse, Flaxe, Cotton, and Gardens with houses for the *Grandes*. Cattell appeared alongst the Riuer as much as in *Prete Iohns* Countrey. On the tops of Hills were seene Temples with gilded * Steeples shining farre off. On the fourth day we came to a good Citie called *Poeasser*, twice as big as *Cantan*, well walled with Townes and Bulwarkes, in manner like ours, with a Hauen before the wall of two Falcon shots long, fastned with Iron grates in two rewes, with Gates for the entrance and vnlading of ships, which come thither from all parts. In the end of the Towne on a Mount stood a Castle with three Bulwarkes and fiue Towers, in one of which the *Chinois* told vs, that the Father of this King held Prisoner nine yeeres a King of *Tartaria*, poisoned at last by his owne vassals, vnwilling to giue so much to redeeme him as was demanded. In this Citie, *Chifu* gaue leaue to three of vs nine, to goe (with foure Halbardiers to guard vs) and begge Almes, which in sixe or seuen streets gat the worth of twentie Cruzados in clothes and money, besides Flesh, Rice, Fruits, and Meale; halfe of which our Guard had according to the custome. They carried vs to a Temple where was great concurse of people that day, being solemne to that Sect of *Taubinarel* (one of their 32. *Gentile* Sects.) That House they said had beene the Kings, and that this Kings Grand-father was borne there, his Mother dying in child-birth, in honour of whose death and buriall in the same chamber he had dedicated this Temple in that Palace. All the Building with the Offices, Gardens, and all the appurtenances are founded in the aire on three hundred and sixtie Pillars (each of one stone) seuen and twentie spannes high, bearing the names of the three hundred and sixtie dayes of the yeere; and in each of them is a feast with much almes, bloody Sacrifices, and dances to the Idoll of that day and Pillar, which stands therein richly enshrined, with a Siluer Lampe before him. Beneath goe eight streets or wayes enclosed on both sides with Latten grates, with doores for the people which come to those feasts.

Ouer the house where the Queene was buried was a round Chappell all lined with Siluer, seeming richer in the worke then matter. In the midst was a siluer Throne of fifteene steps, round

The *Iesuites* place this Citie in 32. and in other places they likewise disagree in their calculation. The reason I suppose is, that *Pinto* neuer obserued the height by Instrument, nor perhaps had skill thereby: his he confesseth, *cap* 105. *pag.* 222. but followed the Maps which at his returne he saw, which haue placed *Nanquin* in that height, falsly, as I conceiue to keepe others from the true knowledge of these parts; a thing vsuall in the old Maps of the East and West parts of the World: and sometimes they did graduate places falsly of ignorance.

Nanquin described: See of it in *Pantoia*.

Their iourney by water from *Nanquin* to *Pequin*.

* This gilding perhaps is but a kind of earth which the *Chinois* haue, looking like gold: *Pocasser*.

The *Tartar* Prisoner.

A pensile Palace.

360. Pillars to the 360. dayes of the yeere.

Queens siluer Chappell, and the riches and Images therein

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to the top encompaſſed with ſixe rewes of ſiluer grates with the tops gilded. On the higheſt of them was a great Globe, and thereon a Lion of ſiluer, bearing vp a chiſt of Gold three ſpans ſquare, in which they ſaid were her bones, by the blind people worſhipped as great Relikes. There hung on foure ſiluer tyres which croſſed the Houſe, fortie three ſiluer Lampes (ſo many yeares ſhe liued) and ſeuen of Gold in memory of her ſeuen Sonnes. Without at the entry were two hundred fiftie three ſiluer Lampes great and rich, which the *Chaens* and great mens Wiues preſented in her honour. Without the doores were in ſixe rewes round about Statues of Giants fifteene ſpans high, well proportioned of Braſſe, with Halberds and Maces in their hands, which the *Chinois* ſaid were twelue hundred. Amongſt them were foure and twentie Serpents of Braſſe very great, each hauing a woman ſitting thereon with a Sword in her hand of the ſame metall, and a ſiluer Crowne on the head: *ſo many had ſacrificed themſelues at her death to doe her ſeruice in the next World.* Another compaſſe enuironed that of the Giants, all of triumphant Arches gilded, with a great quantitie of ſiluer Bels hanging on ſiluer chaines, which by the motion of the Aire continually yeelded a ſtrange ſound. Without thoſe Arches in the ſame proportion ſtand two rankes of Latten grates encircling the whole worke, ſet in ſpaces with Pillars of the ſame, and thereon Lions ſet on balls, which are the *Armes of the Kings of* China.

The Ieſuits ſay his armes are golden Dragons.

Monſtrous ſtatues.

At the foure corners were placed foure Monſters of Braſſe, one (which the *Chinois* call *the Deuouring Serpent of the deepe Caue of the Houſe of ſmoke*) in the figure of a dreadfull Serpent, with ſeuen Serpents comming out of his breſt, ſpotted with greene and blacke with many prickles more then a ſpan long, quite thorow the bodie like Hedge-hogges, each hauing in his mouth a woman ouerthwart, with diſheuelled haires, looking deadly. The old or great Serpent holds in his mouth a Lizard halfe out, of aboue thirty ſpans in length, as bigge as a Pipe, with noſe and lips full of bloud, and in his hands he holds a great Elephant ſo forcibly, that his entrailes ſeeme to come out of his mouth; all ſo naturally repreſented, that it is moſt dreadful to behold. The folds of his tayle were aboue twentie fathome long, enfolding therein another Monſter, the ſecond of the foure, called *Tarcamparoo*, which they ſay was *the Sonne of that Serpent*, which ſtands with both his hands in his mouth, which is as bigge as a gate, the teeth ſet in order, and the blacke tongue hanging out aboue two fathomes. Of the two other, one was the *Figure of a woman*, named *Nadelgau*, ſeuenteene fathomes long, and ſixe about, from whoſe waſte iſſued a beake or face aboue two fathomes, which caſt ſmoake out of the noſthrils, and flames of fire out of the mouth, which they make therein continually, ſaying, ſhee is the Queene of the Fierie Spheare, and ſhall burne the Earth at the end of the World. The fourth is *like a man*, ſet cowring with cheekes puffed like ſhips ſayles, ſo monſtrous that a man could not endure the ſight. The *Chinois* call him *Vzanguenaboo*, and ſay, that it is hee which makes Tempeſts in the Sea, and throwes downe Houſes by Land, to which the people giue much Almes not to hurt their Iunkes.

Xinligau.

The ſecond day we went from *Pocaſſer*, and came to another Citie called *Xinligau*, very great, well built, walled with Tyles, ditched about; with two Caſtles at the end, hauing their Towres, Bul-warkes, and Draw-bridges: in the midſt of each Caſtle was a Towre of ſiue Lofts with many workes painted, in which the *Chinois* ſaid, were fifteene thouſand Picos of ſiluer, of the Rents gathered in that *Archipelago*, which this Kings Grand-father there layd vp in memory of his Sonne *Leuquinau*, which ſignifieth *the ioy of all*, holden for a Saint, becauſe he dyed a Religious man, and lyes there buried in the Temple of *Quiay Varatel*, the *God of all the Fiſhes in the Sea*, of whom they haue large Legends. In that Citie and another fiue leagues from it is made the greateſt part of the Silke of that Kingdome, the waters there giuing quicker colours (they ſay) then in other parts. The Weauers Loomes of theſe Silkes, which they affirme thirteene thouſand, pay yearely to the King three hundred thouſand Taeis. Going further vp the Riuer, wee came the next day Euening to a great Champaigne, continuing ten or twelue leagues, in which were many Kine, Horſes, and Mares, paſtured for the ſhambles as well as other fleſh, and kept by many men on Horſe-backe. Theſe Champaignes paſt, wee came to a Towne, called *Iunquileu*, walled with Tyles, but without Towres or Bul-warkes. Here wee ſaw a ſtone Monument with an Inſcription, *Heere lyeth* Trannocem Mudeliar, *Vncle to the King of* Malaca, *who dyed before hee was reuenged of Captayne* Alboquerque, *the Lion of Sea Robberies.* We enquiring hereof, an old *Chineſe* ſaid, that about fortie yeares agoe, the man there interred had come Embaſſadour from a King of *Malaca*, to ſue to *the Sonne of the Sunne*, for ſuccour againſt a Nation of a Land without name, which had comne from the end of the World, and taken *Malaca*, with other incredible particularities printed in a Booke which hee made thereof. Hauing ſpent three yeares in this Suite, and brought it to ſome maturitie, hee ſicknes of the *Aire* one night at Supper, dyed in nine dayes, and left this Memoriall.

Leuquinau. God of Sea fiſh.

Silke-loomes.

Huge paſtures.

Iunquileu.

Alboquerque. See *tom. 1. lib. 2. pag 32.*

The *Spaniſh* hath the Palſy, and it ſeemes a kind of Palſie gotten by ſtroke or blaſting of the Aire.

Wee proceeded on our way the Riuer growing leſſe, but the Countrey more peopled, ſcarſly a ſtones caſt free of ſome Houſe, eyther of a *Pagode*, or Labourer. And two leagues higher on a Hill compaſſed with Iron grates were two Braſſe Statues ſtanding on their feete, one of a man,

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man, the other of a woman, both seuentie foure spans long with their hands in their mouthes, and puffed cheekes; fastned to Cast-Iron Pillars, seuen fathomes high. The Male was named *Quiay Xingatalor*, the woman *Apancapatur*. The *Chinois* told vs that the man was Fire-blower in Hell to torment such as in this life gaue them no Almes: the woman was the Hell-Porter, which suffered the Almes-giuers to flye by a Riuer of cold water, called *Ochilenday*, and hid them their from the Deuils hurting them. One of our company laughed at this Tale, whereat a *Bonzo* was so offended, that hee set *Chisu* in rage with vs, who bound vs hand and foot, and gaue vs one hundred stripes a-piece. Twelue Priests were incensing these Monsters when wee were there with Siluer-censours full of sweet Odours, Saying, *as wee serue thee, helpe thou vs:* another company of Priests answering: *So I promise thee as a good Lord.* And thus went they on Procession about the Hill an houres space sounding certayne Bels causing a dreadfull noyse. Two monstrous statues and their deuotions.

Hence wee passed vp the Riuer eleuen dayes, all peopled with Cities, Townes, Villages, Castles, in many places, scarsly a Calieuer shot distant one from another: and all the Land in compasse of our sight had store of great Houses, and Temples with gilded Steeples, which amazed vs with the sight. Thus wee came to the Citie *Sampitay*, where wee stayed fiue dayes by reason of the sickneese of *Chisus* Wife. There by his leaue wee went thorow the streets, a begging, the people wondering at vs, and giuing vs largely. One woman amongst others which busily questioned with vs, shewed vs a Crosse branded on her left arme, asking if we knew that signe, and wee deuoutly answering, yes; shee lifted vp her hands to Heauen, and sayd, *Our Father which art in Heauen, hallowed be thy Name*, in *Portugues*, and could speake no more, but proceeded in *China* speech, and procured leaue to lodge vs at her House those fiue dayes; telling vs she was named *Inez de Leiria*, and was the Daughter of *Thomas Perez*, which came Embassadour to *China*, and by reason of a Rebellious *Portugall* Captayne, hee was taken as a Spye with twelue others; so beaten that fiue dyed, the other seuen hundred to diuers places, where they dyed in misery, only *Vasco Caluo*, being now left aliue. Her Father, she said, was banished to this Towne, and there marryed with her Mother hauing somewhat to mayntaine her, and by him made a Christian. They liued together many yeares like good Catholikes, and conuerued many to the Faith of Christ, in that Citie three hundred assembled on Sundayes to her house to their holies. She shewed vs an Oratorie in which was a Crosse of wood gilded, with a Candlesticke and siluer Lampe. Wee asked her what they did, when they came there, and shee said, nothing but kneele before that Crosse, with their hands and eyes lifted to Heauen, and say, *Lord Iesus Christ, as it is true that thou art the true Sonne of God, conceiued by the Holy Ghost in the wombe of the Holy Virgin* Mary, *for the saluation of Sinners, so pardon our sins, that wee may obtayne to see thy face in the glory of thy Kingdome, where thou sittest at the right hand of the Highest. Our Father which art in Heauen, hallowed be thy Name. In the Name of the Father, and of the Sonne, and of the Holy Ghost, Amen.* And so kissing the Crosse, they embraced one another and went home; alway liuing friendly with each other. Her Father (she said) had left other Prayers written, which the *Chinois* had stolne away, so that now they could say no more. Whereupon we promised to leaue her other Prayers, and taught the Christians seuen times there, and *Christopher Borrall* writ in *China* Letters the Lords Prayer, *Aue Mary*, Creed, *Salue Regina*, Tenne Commandements, and other good Prayers. Shee had giuen a Present to *Chisus* Wife to deale with her Husband to giue vs this leaue, and to vse vs kindly, and the Christians there gaue vs fiftie Taeis of Siluer, and *Inez de Leiria* other fiftie closely, desiring vs to remember her in our Prayers. Frequencie of *China* people. *Sampitay.* See *Maff. l. 6.* these *Portugall* Rebels had possessed *Tamus*, and raised a Fort in the Iland, whence followed that out-rage to *Perez* after foure moneths trauell from *Canton* to the Court. *Lopez Soarez* which sent *Peirez* to *China*, weng Vice-roy, *A.* 1515. *China* Christians and Christianitie.

We continued our journey vp the *Batampina*, to a place called *Lequimpau*, of tenne or twelue thousand Houses. Neere to the wall stood a long house with thirtie Furnaces for the purifying of siluer which was taken out of a Hill fiue leagues distant, called *Tuxenguim*; in which Mines the *Chinois* told vs, there continually laboured one thousand men, and that it yeeled to the King yearely fiue thousand * *Pikes* of siluer. We departed thence in the Euening, and the next Euening anchored betwixt two small Cities standing ouer against one another, one named *Pacan*, the other *Nacau*, both well walled and builded. These two Cities occasion mee to recite what I haue heard often heard read in the thirteenth Chapter of the first Chronicle of the foure-score which they haue of the Kings of *China*; that sixe hundred thirtie nine yeares after the Floud, there was a Land, called *Guantipocau*, in which liued a pettie Prince, called *Turban*, which had by his Concubine *Nancaa*, three Sonnes, refusing to marry, and entring into Religion of the Idoll *Gizom* (still much esteemed in *Iapon*, *China*, *Cauchin-china*, *Camboia*, *Siam*, of which I haue seene many Temples) appointing his eldest Sonne by the said *Nancaa* his heire. His Mother then liuing was against this, and marryed herselfe with *Silau* a Priest, and slue *Turban*; whereupon *Nancaa* and her children fled downe the Riuer seuentie leagues, and fortified a place which she called *Pilaunera*, that is, *the refuge of the poore.* Fiue yeares after *Silau* prepared a Fleet of thirtie Barkes to destroy her and all her faction, thinking that her Sons comming of age might dispossesse him. But she hauing Intelligence, hauing of men, women, and children, not aboue one thousand and three hundred persons, and but three or foure Boats not sufficient to conueigh away those few, by common consent and aduice appointed a three dayes Fast therein to begge succour *Lequimpau*, Mynes of *Tuxenguim*. * 1000. Picoes is a Million of Taeis. *Pacan* and *Nacau*. *China* Chronicles and Legends. Beginnings of the Kingdome of *China*.

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of God, in all which time none might eate aboue once, in paine of death. This Faſt ended they caſt Lots and the Lot fell on a Boy of ſeuen yeares old, which was alſo named *Silan*, whom after all Ceremonies ended) they bid lift vp his hands to Heauen, and tell them ſome remedie to theſe dangers. Who propheſied Victory to her ouer the Tyrant *Silan*, commanding her to embarke hers in her Enemies Barkes, and at the ſound of the waters to runne along the Land, till God ſhewed where ſhee ſhould found a habitation of great name, which through all times ſhould ſend out his mercy with voyces and bloud of ſtrange Nations: after which words the Boy fell downe dead.

Legend of *Pequim.*

The thirty Barkes came (ſaith the Storie) fiue dayes after without any people therein: for at a place called *Catebaſoy*, a blacke Cloud aroſe ouer them, which rayned on them ſcalding drops, which deſtroyed them all. *Nancaa* with teares and thankes embarked her three Sonnes and the reſt, and went downe the Riuer conducted by the ſound fortie ſeuen dayes, and then came to the place where *Pequim* now ſtands. Fiue dayes after they came aland, was the firſt ſtone layd thereof by *Pequim*, eldeſt Sonne of *Nancaa*, and the Citie called by his owne name. And a ſiluer ſhield hangeth on the Arch of the chiefe gate *Pommicotay*, and hath this inſcribed, in which are fortie Warders, and in the reſt ordinarily but foure. The day alſo of the foundation (beeing the third of Auguſt) is kept with great Solemnitie, and thereon the King vſeth to ſhew himſelfe to the people. The later Kings alſo haue made a Law that no Strangers, except Embaſſadours and Slaues ſhould enter the Kingdome. The two other Brethren founded theſe two Cities, called by their owne names *Pacan* and *Nacan*, and their Mother founded *Nanquin*, which tooke the name of hers.

No ſtranger may enter *China.*

IN the fift Booke of the *chiefe places of that Empire*, is written, that King *Criſnagol* (which reigned as we may accord our computation with theirs) about the yeare of our Lord 528. builded the wall, the people contributing ten thouſand Pikes of ſiluer (which are fifteene Millions of Cruzados) and two hundred and fiftie thouſand men (thirtie thouſand Officers and the reſt Labourers) which was continued ſeuen and twentie yeares, and then finiſhed, being, ſaith that Booke the length of ſeuentie Iaons (euery Iaon is foure leagues and an halfe) which make three hundred and fifteene leagnes. The Prieſts and Iles are ſaid to contribue as many, and the King and Officers another third, ſo that ſeuen hundred and fiftie thouſand men laboured therein. This wall I haue ſeene and meaſured, being generally ſixe fathomes high, and fortie ſpannes thicke: and foure fathomes runneth a kind of Rampire, twice as thicke as the wall ſtrengthened with a Bituminous ſubſtance on the out-ſide like Potters worke; and in ſtead of Bulwarkes it hath houſes of two lofts with beames of blacke wood, called *Caubeſy*, that is, *Iron-wood*, ſeeming ſtronger then if they were of ſtone-worke. This wall or *Chanfacan* (ſo they call it, that is, *ſtrong reſiſtance*) runneth with an equall courſe till it encounters with Hils, which are all Chanfred and made ſo that it is ſtronger then the wall it ſelfe, the wall being only in the ſpaces twixt Hill and Hill, the Hils themſelues making vp the reſt.

The wall of *China.*

Seis braſas dalto & quarenta palmes de largo.

Vam todas chanfradas ao piam.

Fiue Riuers interrupting the wall.

Wall-forts.

In all that way are but fiue entrances, cauſed by the *Tartarian* Riuers, which with impetuous force cut the Countrey aboue fiue hundred leagues entring the Sea of *China*, and *Cauchin-china*: And one of them more forcible then the others enters the Kingdome of *Sornau* (commonly called *Siam*) by the *Barre of Cuy*. At euery of thoſe fiue entrances the King of *China* hath one Fort and the *Tartar* another: in euery of the *China* Forts there are ſeuen thouſand men, ſix thouſand foot, and one thouſand Horſe, in continuall pay; moſt of them Strangers, *Mogors*, *Champaas*, *Pancrus*, *Coracones*, and *Gizares* of *Perſia*, the *Chineis* being but meane Souldiers. In all the ſpace of this wall are three hundred and twentie Regiments, each of fiue hundred men (in all one hundred & ſixty thouſand) beſides Miniſters, Commanders, and their retinue which the *Chineis* ſaid, made in all two hundred thouſand men, allowed by the King only ſuſtenance, all or moſt of them being condemned to that ſeruice, and therefore receiuing no pay. And in *Pequim* is a great and admirable Priſon-houſe, in which are Priſoners continually for the Fabricke of this wall of three hundred thouſand men and vpwards, moſt of them from eighteene to fiue and fortie yeares old: whereof ſome are men of good qualitie, which for their ill behauiours and enormities are hither ſentenced, expecting to be remoued hence to the ſeruice of the wall: whence they may haue returne according to the Statutes thereof made, and approoued by the *Chaens*, which therin diſpenſe the Regall power with meere and mixt Empire. There are twelue of them which may pay to the King a Million of Gold for Rent.

Thus in *Spaine*, Malefactors are ſentenced to the Gallies, or Garriſons of *Oran*, *Penon*, &c Huge Priſon. *Chaens* of the wall.

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§. IIII.

Mindo *Salt-pits: Mines of* Coretumbaga, *Copper-workes; Idolatry and Christianitie;* China *Trades, and Riuer Faires; their comming to* Pequin, *tryall and sentence. Rarities of* Pequin.

TO returne to our Voyage, from *Pacan* and *Nacan*, wee passed vp the Riuer to *Mindoo*, a greater Citie then either of the former, which on the Land side had a great Lake of Salt-water, with great store of Salt-pits therein, which the *Chinois* said, did ebbe and flow like the Sea, from which it is aboue two hundred leagues distant; and that this Citie Rents to the King yearely one hundred thousand Taeis, of the thirds of the Salt, and as much more of the Silkes, Sugars, Porcelane, Camfire, Vermillion, Quick-siluer, which are there in great quantitie. Two leagues aboue this Citie were twelue long Houses, in which many men were sounding and purifying Copper, making such a noyse with the Hammers that this place (if any on Earth) may resemble Hell. In each House were fortie Furnaces, twentie on a side, with fortie great Anuiles, on each whereof eight men were hammering round, with such quicknes as scarce permitted the eyes obseruance; so that in each house there were three hundred and twentie continuall Labourers, besides Workmen of other kinds. Wee asked how much Copper they might make yearely, and they answered, betwixt one hundred and ten, and one hundred and twentie thousand Pikes, of which the King had two parts, because the Mynes were his; the Hill where the Mine was, is called *Coretumbaga*, that is, *Riuer of Copper*, which in two hundred yeares (so long was since the Discouery) was not emptied.

Mindoo.

The customes 300000. Cruzados.

3840. Hammer-men.

A Pico is 1000. Taeis.

Aboue these Houses one league neere the Riuer, wee saw on a Hill encompassed with three rewes of Iron Grates, thirtie Houses in fiue rankes, very long, with great Towres of Bels of Metall, and Cast-Iron, with gilded Pillars and carued workes, and artificiall Frontispieces of stone. Here we went on Land by *Chifus* leaue, because hee had so vowed to that *Pagode*, which is called *Bigaypotim*, that is, *the God of one hundred and ten thousand Gods, Corcheo, Fungane, ginato ginaca*, strong & great (say they) aboue all the rest: For they hold euery thing hath a particular God which made it and preserues it in its nature, & that this *Bigaypotim* brought forth all of them at his arme-pits, and that of him they all hold their being, as of a father by filiall vnion, which they call *Bijaporentesay*. In *Pegu* where I haue beene sometimes, there is a *Pagode* like this (there called *Ginocoginana*, the *God of all greatnesse*) whose Temple was built by the *Chinois* when they ruled in *India*, which was after their Computation accorded with ours from *Anno Dom.* 1013. till 1072. conquered by *Oxinagan*, whose Successor seeing how much bloud was payd for so little good, voluntarily relinquished it. In those thirtie Houses stood a great quantitie of Idols of gilded wood, and as many more of Tinne, Copper, Latten, Iron, Porcelane, so many that I dare not mention the number. Wee had not gone thence sixe or seuen leagues, when we saw a great Citie ruined with the houses and wals on the ground, seeming a league in circuit. The *Chinois* said, that it had beene called *Cobilouzaa*, that is, *Flowre of the field*, sometimes prosperous; and that one hundred fortie two yeares since, as is written in a Booke, name *Toxefalem*, there came in company of Merchants from the Port of *Tanaçarim*, a man which wrought Miracles, in a moneths space raising vp fiue dead persons, the *Bonzos* saying, he was a Witch, and because they could not hold dispute with him, prouoking the people against him, saying, that if they did not kill him, God would punish them with fire from Heauen. The inraged multitude killed one *Iohn* a Weauer, where he sojourned, and his two Sonnes in Law, and his Sonne; which sought to defend him, and when they had gone about to burne him, in vaine, the fire being extinct, the *Bonzos* stoned him, preaching Christ vnto them, which had come from Heauen to dye for Sinners, and to giue life to all which professed his Law with Faith and Works. They say, that the bodie was cast into the Riuer, which for the space of fiue dayes would not runne lower, and thereby many were moued to professe that Religion: and as wee doubled a point of Land, we saw a Crosse of stone on a little Hill enuironed with Trees. *Chifus* Wife falling into trauell (of which she dyed) we stayed there nine dayes, and did our Deuotions thereto, prostrate on the Earth. The people of the Village (called *Xisangu*) maruelling, came running to the place and falling on their knees, kissed the Crosse often, saying, *Christo Iesu, Iesu Christo, Maria Micau, late impone Moudel*, that is, was a Virgin in his Conception, Birth, and after it. They asked if they were Christians, and we affirming it, had vs to their Houses and vsed vs kindly, being all of that Weauers Posteritie and Christians. They also confirmed that which the *Chinois* had told vs, and shewed vs the Booke printed of his Miracles, which they said was named *Matthew Escandel*, an *Hungarian* by Nation, an Heremite of Mount *Sinay*, borne at *Buda*. That Booke tels that nine dayes after his death, the Citie *Cobilouza* shooke so, that the people ranne out into the fields, and abode in Tents; to whom the *Bonzos* came and bid them feare nothing, for they would beseech *Quiay Tiguarem, The God of the night*, to command the Earth

Bigaypotim.

China ruled ouer *India.*

Cobilouzaa.

A Christian martyred. *Lucena* hath this storie.

A Crosse.

Mat. Escandel an *Hungarian.*

Earthquake. The *China* Pluto.

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to doe so no more, otherwise they would giue him no Almes. Thus went the Priests alone in Procession to that Idols House, and making their night-Sacrifices and Perfumes, the Earth quaked about eleuen of the clocke at night, and ouerthrew the whole Citie (one only of about foure thousand *Bonzos* remayning aliue) into a Lake more then one hundred fathomes deepe, called after this *Fiunganorsee*, that is, *punished from Heauen.*

Iunquil.nau. Hence we came to a great Citie, called *Iunquilinau*, very rich, with many Iunkes and Barkes, where we stayed fiue dayes, *Chifu* there celebrating his Wiues Exequies, and giuing vs food and rayment for her soule, freeing vs from the Oare, and giuing vs leaue to goe on Land when wee would, without our * Collers, which was very great ease to vs. Thence we went vp the Riuer, still seeing on both sides many and faire Cities and Townes, and other very great populations, strongly walled, and Fortresses alongst the water with Towres and rich Houses of their Sects, with innumerable cattell in the fields, and shipping in the Riuer, in some places fiue hundred, six hundred, yea, one thousand sayle, in which were sold all things could be named. Many *Chinois* affirmed, that there were as many liued in that Empire on the water, as in Cities and Townes: so many in both, that were it not for the good gouernment of their Trades, they would eate one an other. As in Duckes, one trades in buying and hatching the Egges, and selling the young; another in breeding them for sale when they are great, others in the Feathers, others in the heads, and in wares, others in the Egges, &c. none interloping the others Trade vnder paine of thirtie stripes. In Hogs, one trades in selling them together aliue, others kill them, and sell them by weight, others in Bacon, others in Pigges, others in Souse. So in fish, hee which sels freth may not sell salt, some sell them aliue, &c. and so in Fruits and other things. And none may change his Trade without license. They haue also along this Riuer of *Batampina*, in which wee went from *Nanquin* to *Pequin*, (the distance of one hundred and eightie leagues) such a number of Ingenios for Sugar, and Presses for Wines, and Oyles made of diuers sorts of Pulse and Fruits, that there are streets of them on both sides of the Riuer, of two or three leagues in length. In other parts are many huge store-houses of infinite prouisions of all sorts of flesh, in which are salted and smoked Beese, tame and wilde Hogs, Ducks, Geese, Cranes, Bustards, Emes, Deere, Buffals, Ants, Horse, Tygres, Dogs, and all flesh which the Earth brings forth, which amuzed and amazed vs exceedingly, it seeming impossible that there should bee people in the World to eate the same. Wee saw also great store of Barkes fenced at Poupe and Prow, with Reedes of Canes full of Ducks to sell, in diuers lofts ouer one another, which goe out at foure strokes of a Drumme, sixe or seuen thousand together to feed, where they set them, at the sound of the Drumme returning againe, with like exceeding crie. In the like sort they let them out to lay on the grasse. They that hatch them haue long houses with twentie Furnaces full of dung, with some hundreds of Egges couered therein, and hatched by that heate, the mouth stopped till they thinke fit time, then putting in a Capon halfe plucked and wounded on the brest, they shut it againe, and after two dayes, the Capon hath drawne them all forth, and they put them into holes prouided for them.

Sem colares, nem algemas.

How such infinite numbers liue.

Sugar-houses. Infinite prouisions and store houses.

Pastures of beasts.

Dogs for meat.

We saw along the Riuer in some places store of Swine wild and tame kept by men on Horseback, in other places tame Deere kept by Footmen, all maymed in the right foreleg, that they should not runne away, which they doe when they are young. Wee saw Pennes full of little Dogges to sell, Barkes full of Pigges, others of Lizards, Frogs, Snakes, Snailes, all being meate with them. In these (being of small price) they may sell many kinds. Yea, the dung of men is there sold, and not the worse Merchandize, that stinke yeelding sweet wealth to some, who goe tabouring vp and downe the streets to signifie what they would buy. Two or three hundred sayle are seene sometimes fraighted with this lading in some Port of the Sea; whence the fatned soyle yeelds three Haruests in a yeare.

Moueable Cities on the water.

Wee came to a Faire of *China* where on the water 2000. Barkes, besides small Boats which goe vp and downe and small Barkes were assembled in one place, and made a Citie with streets in the water aboue a league long, and a third part of a league broad. These Faires are principally on the Holy day of some *Pagode*, whose Temple is by the waters side. In this *Water-citie*, by the order of the *Aitao* of *Batampina* (who is chiefe President of the thirtie two Admirals of the thirtie two Kingdomes of this Monarchie) are sixtie Captaynes appointed; thirtie for the gouernment and ordering of the same in matters of Iustice, and other thirtie to guard the Merchants in comming safely secured from Theeues. Ouer all these is a *Chaem*, which hath Mere and mixt Rule in Causes Ciuill and Criminall without Appeale. These Faires last from the new Moon to the full, in which it is a goodly thing to see two thousand streets or ranks strait, enclosed with Barkes, most of them flourishing with Streamers and Banners, and raile painted, whereon are sold all things that can be desired, in others Mechanike Trades, & in the midst Boats going vp and downe with people to trade without any confusion or tumult. As soone as it is night, the streets are enclosed with Cables. In euery street is ten Lanthornes lighted on the Masts (which yeelds a fairer lustre then the former sight by day) to see who goeth by and what is his businesse. In each of these streets is a Watch-bell, and when that of the *Chaems* sounds, all the rest answer with as strange an Obiect to the Eare as the former to the Eye. In euery of these Vowes are

Beauties and glories of this Riuer-Citie.

Ora-

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Oratories built on Barkes with gilded Tents, where the Idoll and Priests receiue the Deuotions and Offerings of the people.

Amongst other remarkable things we saw one rew or street of aboue one hundred Barkes laden with Idols of gilded wood of diuers sort, which are sold to be offered in the *Pagodes*; and besides, feet, legs, armes, and heads, which sicke folkes offered for Deuotion. Other Barkes there are with Tents of Silke, in which *Comedies* and pastimes are represented. In others are sold *Letters of Exchange*, the Priests giuing them Bils to receiue in Heauen what their folly lay downe there, with great increase (*Our Scriueners would scarsly grow rich here with that Trade*) others are laden with *skuls of dead men*, they dreaming that all the Almes of those men, whose skuls these haue beene, shall belong to their soules, and that the *Porter of Heauen* seeing them come with thus many attending, will open to him as an honourable person: Others haue *Cages of Birds*, and call to men to set free those Captiues, which are the creatures of God, with their Almes which they which doe, let loose the Bird and bid him tell God what he hath done in his Seruice: others do the like with *liuing fishes*, offering their freedome to the charitable Redeemers (*which themselues will not giue them; much like the sale of Indulgences*) saying, they are Innocents which neuer sinned, which freed by Almes are let goe in the Riuer, with commendations of this their Redeemers Seruice to the Creator. Other Barkes carry *Fidlers and Musicians* to offer their Seruice: Others (the Priests) sell *Hornes of sacrificed Beasts*, with promise of I know not what Feasts in Heauen: others had *Tents of sorrow, Tombes and all Funerall appurtenances with Women-mourners*, to be let out for Burials: others laden with *Books of all sorts of Historie*, and these also haue Scriueners and Proctors; others haue such as offer their seruice *to fight* in defence of their honour; others haue *Mid-wiues*, others *Nurses*; others carry *graue men and women to comfort* those that haue lost Husbands, Wiues, Children, and the like disconsolate persons: others Boyes and Girles for *seruice*; others offer *Counsellors* in Cases of Law or Learning; others *Physicians*: and to conclude, nothing is to bee sought on the Land which is not here to be found in this *Water-citie*.

Once, the cause of the greatnesse of this Kingdome of *China*, is this easie concourse of all parts by water and Riuers: some of which in narrow places haue bridges of stone like ours, and some made of one only stone laid ouer, sometimes of eightie, ninetie, or one hundred spannes, long, and fifteene or twentie broad. All the High-wayes haue large Causies made of good stone, with Pillers and Arches fairely wrought inscribed with the Founders names and prayses in golden Letters. In many places they haue Wels to refresh the Trauellers. And in more barren and lesse inhabited places are single women which giue free entertainment to such as haue no monie, which abuse and abomination, they call a worke of Mercie, and is prouided by the deceased for good of their soules, with Rents and mayntenance. Others haue also bequeathed in the like places, houses with Lights to see the way, and fires for Trauellers, water and Lodging. I haue in one and twentie yeares vnfortunate trauels seene a great part of *Asia*, and the riches of *Europe*, but if my testimonie be worthy credit, all together is not comparable to *China* alone: such are the endowments of nature in a wholsome Ayre, *Soyle, Riuers, and Seas*, with their Policie, Iustice, Riches and State, that they obscure all the lustres of other parts. Yet such is their bestiall and Deuilish Idolatry, and filthy Sodomitry publikly permitted, committed, taught by their Priests as a vertue, that I cannot but grieue at their vngratitude.

Bridges, and high-wayes admirable.

Filthy charity.

The Authors opinion.

Departing from this admirable Citie, we sailed vp the Riuer, till on the ninth of October, on Tuesday we came to the great Citie of *Pequim*, whither wee were sent by Appeale. Wee went three and three as Prisoners, and were put in a Prison called *Gofania ferca*, where for an entrance they gaue each of vs thirtie stripes. *Chifu* which brought vs presented to the *Aitao* our Processe signed with twelue seales from *Nanquin*. The twelue *Conchalis* which are Criminall Iudges, sent one of their company with two Notaries, and sixe or seuen Officers to the Prison where wee were, and examined vs, to whom we answered as before, and hee appointed vs to make petition to the *Tanigores*, of the holy Office by our Proctors, and gaue vs a Taell for almes, with a caueat to beware of the Prisoners that they robbed vs not; and then went into another great Roome, where he heard many Prisoners Causes, three houres together, and then caused execution to be done on seuen and twentie men, sentenced two dayes before, which all dyed with the blowes to our great terrour.

Pequim.

Their hard vsage.

And the next day wee were collared and manicled, being much afraid that our *Calemplus* businesse would come to light. After seuen dayes the *Tanigores* of the Hospitall of that Prison came in, to whom we with pitifull lamentation gaue the Certificate which wee brought from *Nanquin*. By their meanes the *Conchalis* petitioned the *Chaem* to reuoke the Sentence of cutting off our thumbs, seeing there was no testimonie of theft by vs committed, but only our pouertie, we more needed pitie then rogour. He heard the pleading for and against vs for diuers daies, the Prometor or Fiscall laying hard against vs that wee were theeues; but being able to proue nothing, the *Chaem* suspended him from his Office, and condemned him in twentie Taels to vs, which was brought vs. And at last we were brought into a great Hall painted with diuers representations of execution of Iustice for seuerall crimes there written, very fearefull to behold: and at the end a fairer gilded roome crossed the same, where was a Tribunall with seuen steps, com-

Their Cause heard.

The *Fiscall* (set on worke it seemes by the Iudge which had sentenced them) punished.

Tribunal and pompe.

compaſſed with three rewes of grates, Iron, Latten, and blacke Wood; inlayed with Mother of pearle, hauing a Canopie of Damaske fringed with Gold and greene Silke, and vnderneath a Chaire of Siluer for the *Chaem*, and a little Table before him, with three Boyes attending on their knees richly attired, with chaines of gold on their neckes; the middlemoſt to giue him his Penne, the other two to receiue Petitions and to preſent them on the Table; two other Boyes ſtanding at his ſide in exceeding rich aray, the one repreſenting *Iuſtice*, the other on the right hand *Mercy*, without which conioyned, the Iudge (they ſay) becomes a Tyrant. *(The reſt of the ſtate and ceremonie I omit)* wee kneeling on our knees, with our hands lifted vp, and our eyes caſt downe to the ground, heard gladly our Sentence of abſolution. Only we were for one yeere

Quanſy works.

baniſhed to the workes of *Quanſy*, and eight moneths of that yeere ended to haue free paſport to goe home, or whither we would. After the Sentence pronounced, one of the *Conchalys* ſtood vp, and fiue times demanded aloud if any could take exception againſt the Sentence: and all being ſilent, the two Boyes repreſenting Iuſtice, and Mercy, touched each others Enſignes which they had in their hands, and ſaid aloud, *let them be free according to the Sentence*, and preſently two *Chumbinis* tooke off our Collars and Manicles, and all our bonds. The foure moneths (the *Tanigores* told vs) were taken off the yeere, as the Kings almes in regard of our pouertie; for had wee beene rich, wee muſt haue ſerued the whole yeere. They gaue vs foure Taeis of almes, and went to the Captaine which was to goe for *Quanſy* to commend vs to his charitie, which vſed vs accordingly.

The Kings almes.

Deſcription of *Paquim*, or as the *Chinois* call it *Pequim*. *Aqueſendoo* a Booke written of *Pequin*.

PEquin may be called the Mother Citie of the Worlds Monarchie for the wealth, gouernment, greatneſſe, iuſtice, prouiſions. It ſtands in the height of 41. degrees to the North; it contayneth in circuit, as the *Chinois* (and as I after heard read in a little Booke written of the greatneſſe thereof, called *Aqueſendoo*, which I brought with mee into this Kingdome) thirtie leagues, ten in length, and fiue in bredth, all which ſpace is enuironed with two Walls, and innumerable Towers and Bulwarkes. Without is a larger ſpace, which they ſay, was anciently peopled, which now hath but Hamlets, and ſcattered Houſes, and Garden-houſes (of which

1600. houſes for Deputies.

ſixteene hundred are of principall note, in which are the ſixteene hundred Proctors for the ſixteene hundred Cities and Townes of note, of the two and thirtie Kingdomes of this Monarchie, which reſide there three yeeres for the ſaid Townes. Without this circuit or wall, there

24000. ſepulchers.

are in the ſpace of three leagues broad, and ſeuen long, foure and twentie thouſand Sepulchres of *Mandarines*, with their little gilded Chappels, encompaſſed with grates of Iron and Latten, with rich Arches at their entries. Neere to them are Gardens, Groues, Tankes, Fountaines; the walls lined within with fine Porcelane, adorned alſo with Lions and Pinacles of diuers paintings. There are in that ſpace fiue hundred Lodgings, called Houſes of the Sonne of the Sunne,

Hoſpitals 500.

for entertainment of Souldiers maimed in the Kings warres (beſides many others for the old and ſicke) euery of which receiue their monethly allowance, and haue in them as they ſaid two

24000. Bargemen.

hundred men, in all one hundred thouſand. Wee ſaw another ſtreet very long, where liued foure and twentie thouſand Rowers for the Kings ſhipping: and another aboue a league long,

14000. Purueyors.

where liued fourteene thouſand Tauerners for prouiſion for the Court; and another where were

Curteſan ſtreet.

infinite Curteſans freed from tribute (which thoſe of the Citie pay) for ſeruice of the Court, many running from their husbands, and here protected by the *Turan* of the Court, which is ſupreme in caſes of the Kings houſe.

100000. Landerers.

In that compaſſe alſo liue the Landerers of the Citie, which were, as they told vs, aboue one hundred thouſand, there being many Tankes or Ponds compaſſed with ſtone and Riuers. There

1300. Monaſteries.

are therein, as that Booke ſayth, thirteene hundred Noble houſes of Religious men and women, which profeſſe the foure chiefe Sects of the two and thirtie which are in that Kingdome: ſome of which, they ſay, haue aboue one thouſand perſons within them beſides ſeruitors. There are other houſes ſtore with great walls in which are Gardens, and Groues with game for hunting; and are as it were the Halls of Companies where many reſort to ſee Playes, and the great men make their feaſts there with incredible coſts. Some of theſe houſes coſt aboue a million, main-

* By letting the houſes to other men.

tayned by Companies of rich Merchants, which are ſaid to gaine * much thereby. And when any will make a feaſt, he goeth to the *Xipatom* of the houſe, who ſheweth him a Booke wherein is contayned the order of feaſts and ſeruices (which Booke I haue ſeene and heard read) of all ſorts, and of what prices they are, whether Sacred to their Idols, or Secular, *(of which our Authour hath a large Chapter, here omitted.)*

360. Gates and Caſtles.

Now for *Pequin*, it hath three hundred and ſixtie Gates, each hauing a Caſtlet with two Towers, and a Draw-bridge, a Notarie, and foure Warders, to take notice of thoſe which goe

3800. Temples

in and out, and an Idoll proper according to the dayes of the yeere, euery of which is feſtiuall in one of them. The *Chinois* reported that there are therein three thouſand eight hundred Temples or Pagodes, in which are continually ſacrificed birds and wilde beaſts, which they ſay, are more acceptable then tame: thoſe eſpecially very faire which are of the *Menigrepos*, and *Conquiais*,

Foure chiefe Sects.

and *Talagrepos*, the Prieſts of the foure chiefe Sects, of *Xaca*, *Amida*, *Gizon*, and *Canom*. The ſtreets are long and large, the houſes faire, of one or two lofts, encompaſſed with Iron and Latten

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ten grates, and at the streets end are triumphall arches, closed at night; in the chiefe are Watch-bells. Euery street hath a Captaine and foure Quarter-masters or Corporals, which euery ten dayes acquaint the *Lonchacys* or *Chaems* with occurrents. That Booke reports of one hundred and twentie water-passages, sixe fathome deepe of water, and twelue wide, with many stone bridges, which are said to be eighteene hundred rich and faire, with arches, pillars, and chaines: it tels also of one hundred and twentie Market-places, each of which haue their monethly Faires, (which make some foure faires a day thorow the yeere) of which we saw ten or twelue in our two moneths free abode, very full of horse-men and foot-men with all commodities to be sold. Thereare one hundred and sixtie Shambles, each hauing one hundred blockes for Flesh of all sorts, the price set downe on euery blocke, and besides the shop-weights, are weights at euery Gate to examine the weight againe. And besides those generall shambles, euery street hath fiue or sixe shops which sell all kinde of Flesh: houses also for Poultrie, and for Bacon, and hanged Beefe.

120. Riuerets, 1800. Bridges, 120. Market-places. 160. Shambles.

§. V.

Foure Buildings incredibly admirable in Pequin, *and diuers of their superstitions: their Hospitals and prouisions for the Poore. The Kings reuenues and Court; their Sects.*

BVt nothing seemed to me more admirable, then the Prison, called *Xmangwibalen*, that is, *the Prison of the exiled*, whose compasse contayneth about two leagues square, as well in length as breadth, walled high and ditched deepe, with draw-bridges hanged on Iron cast pillars very great. It hath a high arch with two towers, whereon are six great watch-Bels, at the sound whereof the rest within answer, which are sayd to bee one hundred. In this Prison are continually three hundred thousand men from * sixteene to fiftie yeers of age, all condemned to banishment, for the fabrike of the wall betwixt *Tartaria* and *China*; whom the King findes maintainance onely, without other pay. After they haue serued sixe yeares they may goe out freely, the King freely remitting their sentence in satisfaction of their labour. And if in the meane time, they kill an enemie, or haue beene thrice wounded in sallies, or performe any worthy exploit, he is also freed. There are * two hundred & ten thousand employed in that seruice, of which yeerly in those that dye, are maimed or freed, one third part is set off, and supplyed from that Prison, which was builded by *Goxuley* the successor of *Crisnagol*, the founder of the wall, brought thither from all parts of the Realme, and sent to the *Chaem* of the wall at his appointment. These prisoners are sent from other prisons, being loose, saue that they weare at their necke, a board of a spanne long and foure fingers broad, inscribed with their name, and sentence of exile, such a time. In this Prison are two Faires yeerely, one of which wee saw, kept in Iuly and Ianuarie, franke and free without payment of tolls; to which are thought to assemble three millions of persons: the Prisoners being meane-while shut vp. The Prison hath three Townes, as it were, with streets and Officers, besides the *Chaems* lodgings, fit to entertaine a King. There are also all necessaries sold. Their are groues, and tankes of water for washing, Hospitals also and twelue Monasteries, with rich houses, wanting nothing that a rich and noble Citie should haue: the Prisoners hauing their Wiues and Children with them, the King allowing a competent house for them.

Prison of the exiled, to the *Tartarian* wall, almost eight leagues compasse. *Or 18. to 45. Multitudes of Prisoners and men employed in the wall. *Before hee sayd 200000. Huge Faires.

Another building about as great as that, was the *Muxiparan*, or *treasure of the Dead*, compassed with a strong wall and ditch, with many stone Towers and painted pinacles: the wall on the top in stead of battlements, was compassed with Iron grates, close to which were set great store of Idols of different figures, of Men, Serpents, Horses, Oxen, Elephants, Fishes, Snakes, monstrous formes of Wormes, and creatures neuer seene; all of Brasse and cast Iron, and some of Tinne, and Copper; a sight more admirable to the view, then can be imagined. Passing by a bridge ouer the ditch, wee came to a great Hill, * at the first entrie all enuironed with thicke grates of Latten, floored with stones white and blacke, so shining that a man might see himselfe therein, as in a glasse. In the midst of that Hill stood a marble pillar of sixe and thirtie spannes high, all seeming to bee but one stone; on the top whereof stood an Idoll of siluer with a womans face, with both hands griping a Serpent spotted with blacke and white. And further, before the gate (which stood betwixt two high towers, borne vpon foure and twentie bigge stone pillars) stood two figures of men with Iron maces or battle Axes, in their hands, as guarding the passage, one hundred and fortie spannes high, with dreadfull countenances, called *Xixipitan Xalican*, that is, the *Blowers of the House of Smoake*. At the entrie of the gate, stood twelue Halberdiers, and two Notaries at a table, which writ downe all that entred. After wee were entred, we came into a large street set on both sides with rich Arches, with infinite bells of Latten hanging thereon, by latten chaynes, by the mouing of the ayre yeelding a great sound. The street was almost halfe a league

Another admirable Fabrike. *Terreyro, and so after. Fire-blowers of Hell.

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3000 Houſes full of skals.

a league long, and within thoſe arches were two rankes of houſes, like as it were great Churches with gilded pinacles, and painted inuentions, in number as the *Chinois* affirmed three thouſand, all from the bottome to the roofe full of *Sculls of dead men*. Behind thoſe houſes was a hill of Bones, reaching to the roofes of the houſes, of the ſame length of halfe a league and very broad. Wee asked the *Chinois*, if any account were kept thereof, and they anſwered, that the *Talagrepos* which had the gouernment of thoſe houſes, had regiſters for them all, and that euery houſe yeelded two thouſand Taeis rent, left thereto by the deceaſed for their ſoules diſcharge, the King hauing therof the fourth part, and the *Talagrepos* the reſt for expences of the Fabrike; the Kings fourth part was ſpent on the exiled Priſoners of *Xnamquibalen*.

China Chatnel or Purgatorie.

The Deuils banner tryumphant in ſtupendious Serpents; then which neither figure nor creature hath beene more abuſed to ſuperſtition as glorying of that his conqueſt, *Gen.* 3. though a ſtronger then he repreſented by the brazen Serpent, *Ioh.* 3. hath taken the *old Serpent* and led captiuitie captiue, and brake the Serpents head, which heere ſeemes intended with Ethnike vanitie.

Wee walked thorow the ſtreet, and in the midſt ſaw a great hill round encompaſſed, with two rewes of Latten grates; in the midſt whereof was a brazen Serpent, aboue thirtie fathoms in her circles, well proportioned, notwithſtanding that incredible maſſineſſe. This monſtrous Snake which the *Chinois* call the *Serpent deuourer of the Houſe of ſmoake*, had ſet in his head, a Ball or Bullet of caſt Iron of two and fiftie ſpannes circumference. Aboue twentie paces further, was the figure of a Man in braſſe, of Giantly limbes and proportion, who ſuſtained with both his hands another bullet, which (eying the Serpent with an angry viſage) made as though he threw it at him. Round about that figure, were many ſmal gilded Idols on their knees, with hands lifted vp to him as in admiration: and in foure wyres of Iron enuironing, were one hundred and ſixtie two ſiluer Candleſticks, each hauing ſixe, ſeuen, and ten noſles. This Idoll gaue name to the whole Fabrike, and was called *Muchiparom*, who was, ſayth the *Chinois*, the *Treaſurer of all the bones of the dead*, and that Serpent comming to rob them, hee threw that bullet in his hands, and made her flee to the darke bottome of the houſe of ſmoake, where God had caſt her for her badneſſe: And that three thouſand yeeres before hee made the former throw, and that three thouſand yeeres after, he ſhall make another, and ſo each three thouſand yeeres another, till the fifth which ſhall kill her: after which all theſe bones ſhall returne to their bodyes, to remayne alway in the houſe of the Moone. This their *Bonzos* preach, and that thoſe ſoules ſhall bee happie, whoſe bones are thither brought, ſo that no day paſſeth in which two thouſand bones are not brought thither. And they which are too farre diſtant to haue their bones brought, ſend a Tooth or two, which with their almes will doe as much good as the whole: ſo that I ſuppoſe there are teeth enough in thoſe houſes to lade many ſhips.

The third ſtrange Ædifice of *Nacapiraw* the *Iuno* of *China*.

A third building wee ſaw without the walls, ſumptuous and rich, named *Nacapiraw*, which ſignifieth, *The Queene of Heauen*; which they meane not of the Virgin *Marie*, but thinke that as temporall Kings are married, ſo alſo is the Heauenly, and that the Children which hee getteth of *Nacapiraw*, are the *Starres*; and when the ſtarres ſeeme to ſhoute or fall in the ayre, that then one of thoſe Children dye, all his brethren weeping ſo many teares, that the Clouds are therewith filled, and water the earth, and make it fruitfull, as being the almes which God giues for the ſoule of the deceaſed. Wee ſaw heere one hundred and fortie Monaſteries, of their wickedly Religious men and women; in euery of which, were ſayd to bee foure hundred perſons, which come to ſixe and fiftie thouſand; beſides ſeruitours, which haue not yet vowed the profeſſion, as thoſe within, who goe in ſacred habite of red with greene ſtoles, their beards and heads ſhauen, with beades about their neckes, for their prayers, but aske no almes, hauing ſuſtenance of their owne proper. In this Edifice of *Nacapiraw*, the *Tartarian* King lodged, *Anno* 1544. when hee layd ſiege to this Citie, as ſhall after bee deliuered; wherein for a diuelliſh and bloudie Sacrifice, he commanded 30000. perſons to be ſlaine: fifteen thouſand of which were Women, or gifts rather, the Daughters of the chiefe men of the Kingdome, and Religious, profeſſed of the Sects of *Quiay Figrau*, God of *the Motes of the Sunne*, and of *Quiay Nuandel*, God of the *Battells*, and of *Compouitau*, and of foure others, *Quiay Mitru*, *Quiay Colompom*, *Quiay Muhelee*, and *Muhee Lacaſaa*, whoſe fiue Sects, are the chiefe of the two and thirtie. Within this building wee ſaw diuers memorable things. One was a Wall againſt the other, almoſt a league compaſſe, borne vp with ſtone arches, and in ſtead of battlements, arounded with Latten grates, and at euery ſixe fathoms, Iron workes on pillers of Braſſe faſtened one to another, whereon by chaynes hung innumerable bells, making a continuall ſtrange noyſe, with the motion of the ayre.

140. Monaſteries.

Tartarian crueltie.

Nunnes ſacred to diuers Gods

The Porters of Hell.

At the great Gate of this ſecond wall, in terrible ſhapes, ſtood the two Porters of Hell (as they call them) *Bacharom* and *Quqifau*, with Iron Maces in their hands, terrible to looke on. Paſſing vnder an Iron chayne, faſtened to the breſts of theſe Diuels, wee came into a faire ſtreet long and wide, compaſſed with painted arches, on the top whereof were two rankes of Idols all that length, in which were aboue fiue thouſand Images, wee knew not of what matter, being all gilded, with Myters on their heads of diuers inuentions. At the end of this ſtreet, was a great ſquare Hill ſet with blacke and white ſhining ſtones, the whole ſquare compaſſed with foure rewes of Giants of mettall, each of fifteene ſpannes, with Halberds in their hands, and gilded beards. At the end of all ſtood *Quiay Huiaon*, God of the *Raine*, ſet vp againſt a baſtion or border, ſeuentie ſpannes long, and his head ſo high, that it reached to the battlements of the tower, (which were aboue twelue fathoms) by his mouth, eyes, noſtrils, and breſts, caſting out water, which the people below gathered as a great relique. This water came from the top of the tower by

Iupiter or God of Rayne.

* *Encoſtado à hum bordão.*

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by ſecret pipes. Wee paſſed vnder his legges, which ſtood as a great portall, and came to a large houſe like a Church, with three Iles on marble pillars, and on the walls on both ſides, many Idols great and ſmall of diuers figures, all gilded, ſet on their baſes in good order. At the end of this houſe on a round of fifteene ſteps, ſtood an Altar made in faſhion of a Throne, and thereon the Image of *Nacapiran*, like a goodly woman, with her hayre looſe, and her hands lifted to heauen, all of gold ſo burniſhed, that it dazeled the eyes. About that tribunall in the foure firſt ſteps, ſtood twelue Kings of *China* crowned in ſiluer. And beneath, were three rewes of gilded Idols on their knees, with their hands lifted vp, many ſiluer Candle-ſticks hanging about them. Going thence, wee came to another ſtreet of arches like the former; and from thence by two others of rich buildings, to a great hill, in which were eightie two Bells of mettall very great, hanging by chaynes from Iron beames ſuſtained with Iron Columnes. Thence wee went to a ſtrong Gate 'twixt foure towers, in which ſtood a *Chiſa* with thirtie Halberdiers, and two Notaries, which tooke the names of all paſſengers, to whom wee gaue thirtie Reis for entrance.

Golden ſtatue of *Nacapiran*.

The fourth remarkable and famous building, was in the Riuer of *Batampina*, in an Iland about a league in compaſſe, walled round with ſtone eight and thirtie ſpannes aboue water, within filled with earth, round encompaſſed with two rewes of Latten grates; the vttermoſt ſixe ſpannes high for people to leane on, the inner of nine, holding ſiluer Lions with balls, the Armes of the *China* Kings. Within theſe grates in good order, were placed one hundred and thirteene Chappels, in manner of round Bulwarkes; in each of them, was an alabaſter Sepulcher ſeated on the heads of two ſiluer Serpents, with faces of women and three hornes on their heads. In euery of them were thirteen Candleſticks of ſiluer, with ſeuen lights in each burning. In the midſt of a ſpacious place compaſſed with three rewes of grates, with two rankes of Idols, ſtood a high Tower with fiue ſteeples of diuers paintings, and on their tops, Lions of ſiluer; in which tower the *Chinois* ſayd, were the bones of the one hundred and thirteene Kings, worſhipped by them for great reliques. Theſe bones ſay they, euery New Moone, feaſt one with another, whereupon the vulgar at thoſe times, offer to them infinite ſtore of Fowles of all ſorts, Rice, Kine, Hogges, Sugar, Honey, and other prouiſion; which the Prieſts receiue, and deceiue them in recompence, with as it were Iubilees, of plenarie Indulgences, and remiſſion of ſinnes as they beleeue.

The fourth glorious Edifice.

113. Chappels, and their contents.

1469. Candleſtickes.

Indulgences.

In this Tower wee ſaw a rich houſe all lined with ſiluer plates, from the top to the bottome, in which ſtood thoſe one hundred and thirteene Kings ſtatues, and the bones of each King in his owne ſtatue; and they ſay, that by night theſe Kings communicate and paſſe the time together, which none may ſee but the *Cabizondos*, (a higher degree of *Bonzos*, as that of *Cardinals* with vs) which fables they beleeue for very certaintie. In this great circuit wee told three hundred and fortie Bells of mettall and caſt Iron, in ſeuenteene places, by twentie in a place, which all ſound on thoſe New-moone feaſts aboueſayd. Neere to that tower, in a rich Chappell built on ſeuen and thirtie columnes of ſtone, ſtood the Image of *Amida* made of ſiluer, with the hayres of gold, on a Throne of foureteene ſteps, all wrought with gold, the hands eleuated to Heauen: beneath her ſhoulders, hung (like lines of beades) many little Idols, as big as the middle finger: and the ſecret parts were couered with two great Oyſter-pearles, garniſhed with gold: They being demanded the meaning of this myſterie, ſayd, that after the generall Floud in which all mankinde was drowned, God ſent *Amida* from the Heauen of the Moone, (being great Chamberlaine to *Nacapiran* his wife) to reſtore the deſtroyed world; who ſetting heere feete in *Calemplus* before mentioned, being lately freed of the waters, ſhee turned it into gold, and there ſtanding on her feet with her face in heauen, a great quantitie of Creatures iſſued from downe her arme; downe her right hand Males, and Females downe the left; hauing no other place in her bodie whence to bring them foorth, as other women of the world, whom for ſinne God hath ſubiected to filthineſſe of corruption, to ſhew how filthy ſinne is. After ſhee had finiſhed this trauell or child-birth of 33333. Creatures, (as they number) one third part Males, and two parts Females; ſhee remayned ſo weake, hauing no bodie to prouide her any thing, that with dizzineſſe ſhee fell to the ground dead without recouerie. Whereat the Moone in condoling her death couered her ſelfe with ſorrow, which are thoſe ſhadowes wee ſee from the earth; which ſay they, ſhall remaine ſo many yeers as ſhe produced Creatures (33333) & then the Moone ſhall put off her maske of ſorrow, and the night ſhall bee after as cleere as the day. Such and other like mad ſtuffe did they tell, which might make one wonder, and more to weepe, that the Deuill ſhould gull them with ſuch manifeſt lyes, being otherwiſe ſo vnderſtanding a people.

Rich ſiluer Temple.

Lady *Amida's* Image.

Amida Chamberlaine to *Nacapiran*, as *Iris* to *Iuno*: a tale perhaps deuiſed from that Raine-bow couenant, *Gen.* 9. 15. as that which followeth from *Gen.* 3. 16.

From this Hill we went to another Temple of Nuns, ſumptuous and rich, in which they told vs was the Mother of this King, *Nhay Camiſama*, but would not let vs enter being ſtrangers. Thence by a ſtreet of Arches, wee went to a hauen called *Hecharioo Topilen*, where was ſtore of ſtrange ſhipping of diuers Kingdomes, which come continually to that Temple for a plenarie Iubilee, which the King with many priuiledges hath granted them, and dyet on free coſt. To ſpeake of other Temples and matters of *China*, which wee ſaw in our two moneths libertie were infinite.

A Nunnerie.

The

Hoſpitals for children.

The King of *China* moſt reſideth at *Pequin*, for ſo he ſweareth at his Coronation. There are certaine ſtreets ſeuered in this Citie by themſelues, wherein are houſes called *Laginampur*, that is, *The Schoole of the poore*, in which Orphans which know no father are taught to write and reade, and mechanike trades to earne their liuings. Of theſe Houſes they haue aboue two hundred, and as many more of poore Nurſes which giue ſucke to Children, expoſed or caſt foorth by their Parents (which are puniſhed if they bee knowne) and after they are weaned, are committed to the former houſes. And if any by naturall defect are vnable to learne a Trade, they apply him to that whereto he is able, as thoſe that are blind to Mills, two to grind, and one to ſift; and ſo in other caſes. Beſides, no Tradeſ-man may keepe ſhop without licence, which is not granted but with impoſing on them ſome of theſe poorer. The Miller is to giue meate and drinke to each of thoſe blinde perſons, and clothes, and fifteene ſhillings yeerely, which when hee dieth he may giue for his ſoule, that no poore ſhould periſh, according to the fourth precept of * *Amida*. For Creeples which cannot goe, they place them with makers of Frailes, Baskets, and other handiworkes: and thoſe which cannot vſe their hands haue great Hampers giuen them, and Baskets to ſerue for Porters to carrie what men buy, from the Markets to their houſes; ſuch as haue neither hands nor feet to vſe, are placed in great houſes like Monaſteries, where are many mercenary women which pray for the dead, halfe of the Offerings remayning to them, the other halfe to the Prieſts. If they be dumbe, they place them in a houſe like an Hoſpitall, where they are ſuſtayned with the Fines impoſed on Regraters and ſcolding women. For common women which are diſeaſed they haue other houſes, where they are cured and prouided for, at the coſts of other common women, each paying a monethly fee. The Dowries or Ioynters of conuicted Adultereſſes are beſtowed on the Hoſpitals of female Orphans, that honeſtie may gaine by diſhoneſties loſſe. Other honeſt poore men are maintayned in other ſtreets, at the charges of Sollicitors and Lawyers which maintayne vniuſt Suits, and of partiall bribed Iudges.

How the poore children are placed to Trades.

* *Span. Aminto.*

Prouiſions for all ſorts of poore.

Prouiſion againſt ſterility, and for the poore. See *ſup. cap.* 4. §. 6.

For the prouiſion of the poore I haue further heard read out of their Chronicles that *Chanſiran Punagor*, Great Grandfather of the King now reigning, deſiring to doe God ſeruice (being blinde after a ſickneſſe which he had) ordayned that in euery Citie there ſhould be ſtore-houſes of Wheat and Rice, that if any dearth ſhould happen, there might be a yeeres prouiſion, and the poore ſhould not periſh: and to this purpoſe he applyed the tenth part of the Kings Cuſtomes. They ſay, that God recompenced this his charitie with reſtitution of his ſight, which continued fourteene yeeres after till his death. This is ſtill obſerued, and the number of thoſe Store-houſes is ſaid to be fourteene thouſand. At Harueſt the old is diuided to the Inhabitants as they haue need, which after two moneths are to lay in as much new, and ſixe in the hundred more, that the ſtore be not diminiſhed. But if the yeere proue barren, it is diuided to them without gaine: and that which is giuen to the poore which haue not to ſatisfie, is paid out of the Kings Rents of that place, as the Kings Almes. And all the reſt of the Royall reuenues are diuided into three parts; one for maintenance of the Kings eſtate, and for the gouernment of the Kingdome; the ſecond for the defence of the Countrey, for Ports, Fleets, and the like; the third is put vp in the Treaſurie at *Pequin*, with which the King by ordinary power may not meddle, being deputed for defence of the Kingdome againſt the *Tartars*, and other warres with confining Kings; this part of the treaſure is called *Chidampur*, that is, *The wall of the Kingdome*. For they ſay, that if ſuch occaſions happen, the King ſhall not lay tribute whiles that laſteth, nor ſhall the people be vexed, as in other Countries, where ſuch prouidence is not vſed.

Royall reuenue how diſpoſed.

The *Ieſuites* alſo ſay, the King cannot at pleaſure diſpenſe it.

Indeed I feare to particularize all that we ſaw in this Citie, leſt the Reader ſhould doubt or mutter at the raritie, meaſuring things by that little they haue ſeene, and iudging by their owne curtalled conceits the truth of thoſe things which mine eyes haue ſeene. But high capacities, haughtie ſpirits, and large vnderſtandings, that meaſure not other ſtates by the miſeries and meanneſſe before their eyes, will perhaps be willing to heare things ſo rare; which I hold the more pardonable in others to doubt of, foraſmuch as I verily confeſſe, that I my ſelfe which beheld them with mine eyes, am often amazed, when with my ſelfe I recount the greatneſſes of *Pequim*, in the admirable eſtate of that *Gentile* King, in the ſplendor of the *Chaens* of Iuſtice, and of the *Anchacys* of gouernment, in the terror and dread cauſed in all by their Officers, in the ſumptuouſneſſe of the Houſes and Temples of their Idols; and of all the reſt therein. For only in the Citie *Minapau* which ſtands within the wall of the Kings Palace are 100000. * Eunuchs, and 30000. women, 12000. men for his Guard, and 12. *Tutans*, which is the greateſt dignitie, and commonly called the Sun-beames, as the King is called, the Sonne of the Sunne, whoſe perſon they repreſent. Beneath theſe 12. are 40. *Chaens* as Vice-royes, beſides the inferiour dignities, as *Anchacys*, *Aytaos*, *Ponchacys*, *Lauteaas*, and *Chumbins*, all which in the Court are aboue 500. and none of them haue leſſe then 200. men depending, the greater part of which are *Mogores*, *Perſians*, *Coraçons*, *Moens*, *Calaminbans*, *Tartars*, *Cauchins*, and ſome *Bramaas*; the Naturals being little eſteemed as effeminate, and wanting valour, how wittie ſoeuer in Arts and husbandrie: The women are white, chaſte, more giuen to labour then the men.

Not to compare *China* with what we ſee here. *Admiranda Pequini.*

* *Minapau* the Kings Palace: the number of Eunuches perhaps is miſtaken by the Printer: the *Span.* hath 10000. one cipher leſſe. Yet *Pantoia* ſaith, that yeere when hee writ, were choſen 3000. out of 20000. and in the Palace were 16000. Eunuchs.

The earth is fertile, which their ingratitude rather aſcribes to the merit of their King, then the prouidence of God. Some Prieſts alſo barter with them vpon Bills of exchange to bee repayed

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payed an hundred for one in Heauen, which Letters they call *Cuchimiocos*. Other Priests are of another Sect, called *Nauſtolins*, which denye the Soules immortalitie, and therefore teach to take their pleaſures in this life. Another Sect is called *Trimecau*, which holds, that a man ſhall ſo long lie in his Graue as hee hath liued aboue ground; after which, by the prayers of their Prieſts, the Soule ſhall returne into another creature ſeuen dayes, and then ſeeke for the old bodie left in the Graue, to carrie it to the Heauen of the Moone, where it ſhall ſleepe many yeeres, till it be conuerted into a Starre, and there remayne fixed for euer. Another beaſtly Sect, called *Gizom*, holds that Beaſts onely ſhall enioy Heauen, in recompence of their penance and trauels here ſuſtayned, and not Men which follow their luſts, except they leaue to Prieſts at their death, to pray for them.

Sects in *China*. *Cuchimiocos*. *Nauſtolins*. *Trimechau*. *Gizom*.

§. VI.

Their remoue to Quanſy, *quarrels, miſeries*; Tartarian *huge Armie, and loſſe at the ſiege of* Pequim, *reported.* Quanſy *taken, and* Nixianco: MENDEZ *his exploit. Their entertaynment by the* Tartar *King, and going to* Cauchinchina *with his Embaſſadours, with many* Tartarian *obſeruations.*

AFter we had two moneths and a halfe gone vp and downe in the Citie of *Pequim*, on Saturday the thirteenth of Ianuary, 1544. they carried vs to *Quanſy* to fulfill our Sentence, where we were brought before the *Chaem*, who made vs of his Guard of eightie Halbarders allowed him by the King, which made vs thankfull to God, being a place of little labour and more maintenance and liberty. But after a moneth, the Deuill ſowed ſtrife betwixt two of our companie, which in reaſoning about the Families of the *Madureyras*, and the *Fonſecas*, whether were more eminent, grew to heate, thence to brauing words, and after to blowes and wounds, not onely of thoſe two, but by part takings of fiue of the reſt. The *Chaem* and *Anchacys* ſentenced vs to thirtie blowes a man, which made vs more bloudy then our wounds. Then they carried vs to a priſon, where we lay in Irons ſixe and forty dayes. After which we were brought to the Barre, and receiued other thirty ſtripes, and remoued to another priſon, where we ſtayed two moneths, then remoued to certaine Iron-works fiue moneths, much pinched in backe and belly, and being diſeaſed with a contagious ſickneſſe, they ſent vs forth to begge, which wee did foure moneths. In this miſerie wee ſware to each other to liue Chriſtianly and louingly, and that each moneth one ſhould bee chiefe, whom all the reſt ſhould obey, whereby wee after liued in peace.

Quanſy. *Portuga's* quarrell. Paritie a peace-breaker.

Chriſtouan Borralho the chiefe for that moneth, diſtributed vs by couples to take their turnes weekely to begge, two to fetch water, and make ready what we got, two to get wood. I and *Gaſpar de Meyrelez* went one morning to the Wood, and *Meyrelez* being Muſicall played on his Viall, and ſung; a thing pleaſing to that people, which ſpend much time in paſtime and banquets, and profitable to vs in procuring almes. As wee went, wee met with a Funerall pompe with Muſicke in the midſt: one of which Muſicians knowing *Meyrelez*, prayed him to play and ſing as loud as he could, that this dead man wee now carrie to buriall may heare thee, to comfort him in leauiug his wife and children, whereto he was much affected. Hee modeſtly refuſing, the other angerly anſwered, and others intreated, and almoſt forced him to goe with them to the burning Buriall after their cuſtome. I thus left alone, went and got my bundle of wood on my backe. In the way homeward I met in the way an old man, clothed in blacke Damaske furred with white Lambe, who hauing ſhewed mee a ſiluer Croſſe, told me, that he was a poore *Portugall*, *Vaſco Caluo*, which ſeuen and twentie yeeres ſince was captiued with *Tomé Pirez*, whom *Lope Soarez* had ſent Embaſſadour to *China*, which had a miſerable ſucceſſe by reaſon of a *Portugall* Captaine. Hee brought me to his houſe, and told me the ſtorie of his and his fellowes aduentures, and I ours to him: and at his requeſt I fetched the reſt of our companie to his poore houſe. Hee brought vs to another roome, where his wife was, with her two little ſonnes, and two ſmall daughters. Shee entertayned vs louingly, and ſhewed vs her Cloſet with an Altar, and a Croſſe thereon, ſecretly kept; ſhee alſo and her children ſaid a *Portugall* Prayer, with the *Pater noſter*, *Creed*, and *Aue Maria*, to our great ioy.

Muſick for the comfort of the dead. *Vaſco Caluo*. See the former note §. 3.

Eight moneths being ſpent in this our miſerie and beggerie, on Wedneſday the thirteenth of Iuly, a great tumult and crie aroſe amongſt the people, by reaſon of newes of the *Tartarian* King his comming to *Pequin*, with a greater power then euer any King had in the World; that there were in his Armie 1800000. men, 600000. of which were Horſe-men, which had comne by Land from *Lançame*, and *Faniſtir*, and *Mecuy*, with 80000. Badas * to carrie their prouiſion. Twelue hundred thouſand Foot-men had comne in ſixteene thouſand Laulees and Iangas downe the *Batampina*. And becauſe the King of *China* durſt not reſiſt ſo great a power, hee was gone

Newes of the *Tartarian* Armie, and ſiege of *Pequim*. *Lançame*. * Rhino erots. 16000. Barkes,

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to *Nanquim*. Moreouer it was said that in the *Pinall* of *Manicataron*, a league and halfe off was lodged one *Nauticor*, a *Tartarian* Captaine with 70000. Horse, who within few houres would bee at that Citie. This newes much terrified vs, and the next morning the Enemie appeared with Colours quartered greene and white in seuen battels, neere to a *Pagode* called *Petilau Nameioo*, a little from the walls. From that *Pagode* they came with sound of Instruments of warre in one grosse Squadron like a halfe Moone, and encircled the Citie: and being within Caliuer shot, they made a shout as if Heauen and Earth would haue gone together, and scaling it with two thousand Ladders which they brought with them, assaulted it in all places they could very resolutely, and at last brake into the gates by certaine deuices of great Iron Presses, and slue the *Chaem* with many *Mandarines*, putting the Citie to the sword, sacke, and fire; killing, as was thought, 60000. persons, and after stay of seuen dayes there, went for *Pequim*, where their King was.

Nauticor commeth to *Quansy*.

The Citie taken.

Nixiamco a *China* Castle assaulted.

Two dayes after they were gone, they came to a Castle called *Nixiamcoo*, which he besieged. *Nauticor* called the seuentie Captaines to consultation, and agreed to make ready fiue hundred Ladders that night for the next dayes assault. The next day their *Palungnindoens* (so they call their Martiall Instruments) sounded, and fourteene battalions marched, and gaue assault with great cries, scaling the walls, and fighting furiously; the besieged also defending themselues couragiously, and in two houres killing three thousand *Tartars*, the rest fleeing; many wounded with poisoned Arrowes, whereof they died. A Counsell of Warre was hereupon called, one of them being the man which had vs in custodie; who returning with two Captains of his acquaintance to supper, in their discourse of that misfortune they cast eyes vpon vs there prisoners, and questioned of what Nation we were, and whether our Kings vsed to warre, and whether any of vs knew any Stratagem to get that Castle, promising our freedome if we could effect it. To which we answered accordingly, and *George Mendez* vndertooke the designe against our likings fearing his disabilitie, and our further danger. One of these Captaines told the *Mitaquer* (*Nauticor*) hereof, who sent to *Tileymay* the Captaine which had charge of vs, to bring vs to him. He gaue vs a graue welcome (being now in counsell with the seuenty Coronels, two houres after midnight, and first made vs to eate, hauing taken off part of our Irons; and then made large promises to *George Mendez* if he could doe as he had said; to which he answered, that hee could answere nothing till he saw it, and then he would tell him the way to take it. Wee were remoued to a Tent adioyning, and there guarded, full of feare lest this vndertaking would cost our liues with a People so cruell. The next day *George Mendez* and two others of our companie were carried with a band of Horse-men about the Castle to view it, and then brought to the *Mitaquer*, to whom he professeth great facilitie of effecting his purpose: which so contented him, that he sware by the Rice he eate to present vs to the King, and to fulfill his promises, presently taking off the remainder of our Irons. Hee made vs to eate neere him, and did vs other honour. After which, *George Mendez* as Camp-master appointed store of Chists, Boxes, and matterials to fill vp the ditch, and three hundred large scaling Ladders able to hold each three Souldiers, against the next morning to be made ready two hours before day. All this was happily effected, the ditch filled, and *Mendez* with two others of vs first scaled the wall, and set vp the *Tartars* Colours; fiue thousand *Tartars* gallantly seconding, so that with a hote skirmish the besieged were all slaine, and the Castle taken; the gates opened to the *Mitaquer*, who with great ceremonies tooke thereof possession. He caused *George Mendez* and the rest of vs to eate neere him, razed the Castle, and taking *Mendez* with him on horse-backe returned to his Tent, giuing him 1000. Taeis, and each of vs 100. the cause of much emulation in some of our companie, who by his meanes had obtayned libertie. Thence the *Mitaquer* marched by places desolate, to a good Towne by the Riuers side, called *Lautimey*, the people whereof were fled; the Towne these barbarians fired, as they did other places where they came. The next day they burned *Bunxay*, a sowne field of aboue sixe leagues circuit; most Wheat; and came to the Hill *Pommitay*, and the next day to the Riuer *Palemzitan*, within two leagues of the Kings Campe. *Guiyay Paran* sonne of the King of *Persia*, at the Castle of *Lautir*, by the Kings appointment stayed for him; to whom *Mitaquer* on his knees deliuered his Scimitar, hauing first kissed the ground fiue times. Hee welcomed him with honourable termes, and after that, stepping backe two or three paces with a new ceremonie, and with a voyce high and seuere (as he which represented the Kings person) said, *He, whose rich border of his garment my mouth continually kisseth, whose great power ruleth ouer others by Land, and on the Iles of the Sea, sends to tell thee by mee his Slaue, that thy honourable comming is as welcome to his presence as the sweet Summer morning, wherein the bathing of cold water most delights the flesh: and that without delay thou hastenest to heare his voice, mounted on this Horse richly furnished out of his Treasurie with mee, that thou mayest be equall in honour with the principall of his Court, and they which see thee thus honoured may know that thou art a strong member, whose valour deserues this reward.*

Mendez his vndertaking.

The Castle taken.

Lautimey.

Thus with great state and pompe they went to the King: and fifteene dayes after he brought vs to the Tents of the King well horsed, then in the sumptuous House of *Nacapirau*. When he came to the Trenches, hee descended from his Litter (wee from our Horses) and asked leaue of

Nantaran

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Nautaran to enter, which granted, he againe went to his Litter, and we followed on foot: at the next passage he descended, and went in leauing vs to expect him. An houre after he returned with foure faire Boyes gallantly arayed in greene and white, with their golden Xorcás on their feet, to whom all the people rose vp, and drawing their Scimitars laid them on the ground, saying three times, *A hundred thousand yeeres liue the Lord of our heads.* Wee lying prostrate with our faces on the ground, one of the Boyes said to vs with a loude voice, *Reioyce yee men of the Worlds end, for the houre of your desire is comme, in which the libertie which the* Mitaquer *promised you in the Castle of* Nixianco, *shall bee granted you. Lift vp your heads from the ground, and your hands to Heauen, giuing thankes to the Lord which made the Stars.* Wee answered as wee were taught, *Let it bee our fortune that his foot tread on our heads:* the Boy answered, *The Lord grant your request.* State of the *Tartarian* Campe and Tent Royall.

These foure Boyes with *Mitaquer* guided vs on thorow a Gallerie standing on sixe and twentie Pillars of Brasse, from which wee entred a great Hall of timber, in which stood *Mogores, Persians, Berdios, Calaminhans,* and *Bramas:* thence wee came to another Hall, called *Tigibipan,* where were great store of armed men in fiue files quite thorow the Hall, their Swords garnished with Gold. There *Mitaquer* performed some ceremonies, swearing on the Maces which the foure Boyes carried, kneeling and kissing the ground three times. Then we passed another gate, and came to a square great Hall like the Cloister of a Monasterie, in which stood foure files of brazen Images like Sauages with Maces and Crownes, seuen and twentie spannes high, and sixe broad, which the *Tartars* said were the three hundred and sixty Gods which made the dayes of the yeere; which the *Tartar* King had taken out of a Temple, called *Angicamoy,* in the Citie *Xipatom,* in a Chappell of the Sepulchres of the Kings of *China,* to carrie home in triumph. In this Hill was a Garden of strange herbs and flowers, and therein a Tent vpon twelue turned posts of Camphire wood, in which was a Throne all garnished with much curiositie of Gold and Siluer workes, representing very liuely the Sunne, Moone, Starres, Cloudes. In the midst of the Throne stood a siluer great Statue, called *Abicaunilancor,* that is, *God of the health of Kings,* (taken also from *Angicamoy*) about which stood foure and thirtie Idols as big as children about sixe yeeres old, in two rankes set on their knees and hands lifted vp as in veneration. At the entrie of the Tent were foure Boyes gorgeously arayed which went about it with Censers, and at the sound of a Bell prostrated themselues on the ground, and censing, said, *Let our crie come vnto thee as a sweet sauour that thou mayest heare vs.* That Tent was guarded by sixtie Halbarders, standing a pretie distance from it round about. Beyond that Hill wee entred another place, where were foure rich roomes, in which were many great persons. The Guards. *Xipatom.* Curious Throne.

Thence we followed *Mitaquer* and the Boyes vnto a great Hall like a Church, where stood sixe Porters with Maces, which with new ceremonie let vs in. Here was the King of *Tartars,* accompanied with his *Grandes,* among which were the Kings of *Pasua, Mecuy, Capimper, Rasa Benam,* and the *Anchesacotay,* and other Kings to the number of fourteene, all in rich attire, placed at the foot of the Throne, two or three paces distant; and a little further off stood two and thirtie faire women, playing on diuers Instruments. The King sate on the Throne, encompassed with twelue Boyes on their knees, with small Scepters of gold on their shoulders; amongst which was a faire Damsell which euer and anone fanned the King. This was the sister of *Mitaquer,* who by her meanes enioyed that grace and respect in the Armie. The King was about fortie yeeres old, tall, not fleshy, well set; his beard short with Mostachos like the *Turks,* his eyes somewhat small, his countenance seuere; clothed in a shining reddish vesture set with Pearles; on his feet certaine Slippers greene wrought with Gold and Pearles; and on his head a kind of Sallet with a border of Diamonds and Rubies. Before we came at him by ten or twelue paces, we made our courtesie, three times kissing the ground, with other ceremonies which wee were taught. The King commanded the Musike to cease, and bid *Mitaquer* aske this Nation of the end of the world, if they haue a King, and how their Land is called, and how farre it is from *China.* One of vs answered for the rest, that our Land was called *Portugall,* our King was great and mightie, and from thence to *Pequin* was about three yeeres Voyage; whereat he much maruelled, as not thinking the World so great; and striking on his thigh said aloud with eyes to Heauen, *O Creator of all things, which of vs poore Pismires on the Earth may be able to comprehend the maruels of thy greatnesse?* And signing with his hand he made vs come neerer to the steps of the Throne where the fourteene Kings were placed, and demanded vs againe, how farre? and when we said, three yeeres; he asked, why we came rather by Sea then by Land? wee answered, that the diuersitie of States and Kings in the way hindred. He asked, What doe you seeke with so farre trauels and great troubles? wee gaue as good reason as we could; whereat he shaking his head, said to the King of *Benan,* an old man, that it seemed that our Countrey had much Couetousnesse, and little Iustice; so, said the other, it appeares; for those men which flie on the top of all waters, by wit and industrie to get that which God hath not giuen them, either pouerty forceth to forsake their Countrey, or vanitie and blindnesse caused by couetousnesse, makes them forget God and their Fathers. After this, the women began againe to play, and the King retired himselfe into a house alone with his women which played, and the Damsell The *Tartar* King. His State. His person.

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that fanned. One of the twelue Scepter-boyes told *Mitaquer* from his Sister, that the King commanded hee should not goe away, which he tooke for a great grace, and wee returned to our Tents.

Tartars losse. Consultation.

Fortie and three dayes after we came to the Campe Royall (in which space were many fights betwixt the besiegers and besieged, two assaults by scaling with the *Tartars* losse) the *Tartarian* called a Councell, where were assembled seuen and twentie Kings, and many great men and Captaines, which agreed that seeing Winter was now comming, and the waters of both Riuers had risen and filled the Trenches, and many were sicke (foure or fiue thousand dying daily) that it was best to rayse the siege. The King therefore embarked the Foot-men with the munitions, fired the Tents, and went away with 300000. Horse by land, and 20000. *Badas*, 450000. men being found by accounts, to haue dyed in this expedition, most of sickenesse, 300000. Horses and 60000. *Badas*, for want of prouisions the two last moneths and a halfe of this Siege (which endured sixe moneths and a halfe.) Besides, 300000. had runne to the *Chinois*, wonne by their great pay. Hee lodged the first night of his departure at a Riuer called *Quaytragum*; the next day he came to *Guisampee*, which hee found wholly forsaken; thence to *Liampew*, and after seuenteene dayes (eight leagues a day) he came to *Guauxitum*, and forced it, committing therein cruell slaughters, to prouide his Armie of necessaries by the spoyle thereof. The next day hee came to *Caixilo*, which he medled not with being great and strong, hauing therein 50000. men, of which 10000. were *Mogores*, *Cauchins*, and *Champaas*, better Souldiers then the *Chinois*. Thence hee passed to the walls of *Singrachiron*, and the next day to *Xipator*, and then sent away most of his Soul liers, spending seuen dayes in the pay, and execution of Iustice on Prisoners. Thence discontent, hee went to *Lançame* by water, (with onely one hundred and twentie Laulees, in which were some ten or twelue thousand men) where sixe dayes after hee arriued in the night without any pompe.

Siege of *Pequim* breakes vp.

The Kings returne into *Tartaria*.

Lançame.

There he stayed sixe and twentie dayes, till all his companie were come both of horse and foot; after which hee went to a greater Citie called *Tuymican*, where he was personally visited by confining Princes and Ambassadours from remoter Kings, *Xatamas* of *Persia*, *Siammom* Emperour of the *Gueos*, which within the Countrey confine with *Brama* of *Tangu*, the *Calaminhan* Lord of the brute force of Elephants, the *Sornau* of *Odiaa*, (intituled King of *Siam*) whose Seniorie comprehendeth seuen hundred leagues of coast, from *Tanauçarim* to *Champaa*, containing seuenteen Kingdomes; the King of the *Mogores* whose Kingdome lyes within land, betwixt *Corazan* neere *Persia*, and the Kingdome of *Dely* and *Chitor*, and an Emperour called *Caran*, whose Seniorie confineth within the Mountaines of *Goncalidan*, with a Nation which the Naturals call *Moscoby*, of whom wee saw some in this Citie, ruddie, of bigge stature, with shooes, and furred cloathes, hauing some latine words, but seeming rather for ought wee obserued *Idolaters* then *Christians*, and much giuen to vnnaturall lust. To the Ambassadour of that Prince *Caran*, better entertainment was giuen then to all the rest. Hee brought with him one hundred and twentie men of his guard, with Arrowes and gilded quiuers, all cloathed in Shamois skinnes murrie and greene; and twelue Porters on horsebacke with Maces of Siluer, leading twelue Horses in their right hands with rich embroidered Furnitures. After whom followed twelue men of high and Giant-like stature, cloathed Sauage-like in Tygers skinnes, leading great Grey-hounds in chaynes and collers of Siluer, muzled. Then came twelue Boyes, faire and well proportioned of equall stature in gallant array, & next them *Leixigau* the Ambassador himselfe, in a Chariot (they call it a *Pirange*) with three wheeles on a side, garnished with Siluer and a Chayre of the same, attended with fortie Foot-men in murrie and greene, yeelding a goodly sight, all things manifesting the greatnesse of his Lord. Wee were one day in his lodging with *Mitaquer*, who was sent to visit him, where amongst other strange things, we saw fiue roomes hanged with Tapestrie of Frogges very rich, like that vsed amongst vs, as if they had come from one place; the Canopies, Siluer-tables, Furniture and State, all rich. This Ambassadour came not only to welcome home the *Tartar*, but to treate also of a Marriage for his Lord, with one of the *Tartars* Sisters, named *Meica Vidau*, a woman of thirtie yeeres, very charitable to the poore, whom wee haue often seene in their Festiuall dayes.

Tuymican.

The *Mogor* is now much altered, & since that time Lord of *India*,

Caran.

A Marriage treated on betwixt the *Caran* and *Tartar*.

Mitaquer at our request mentioned vs to the King, who sayd, he would send vs with his Ambassador shortly to *Cauchenchina*; and caused vs to be brought againe to his presence with great ceremonie of State and Maiestie as before at *Pequim*, where hee questioned vs, if we would serue him, which we excused saying, we had Wiues and Children in our owne Countrey; and asking *George Mendez*, hee accepted. Eight of vs were commended to the Ambassadour which was to goe to *Vzanguee* in *Cauchenchina* & we went in the same Barke. We set forth from *Tuymican* the ninth of May, and came to a Schoole or Vniuersitie called *Guaipamor*, where wee lodged in a Temple (or Monasterie) called *Naypatim*. Next morning wee followed our voyage downe the Riuer, and two houres within night came to *Puxanguim*, a small Citie, well fortified with Towers and Bulwarks after our fashion, with store of Artillerie of wood, like the Pumps of ships, the stocks where the Barrels were fastned being plated with Iron, and carrying a bullet as bigge as a Falcon: which inuention they say, they receiued of a people called *Alimanis*, of a land named

They depart from *Tartaria*.

Vzanguee.

An Vniuersitie.

Puxanguim.

Guns of wood.

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named *Muscoo*, which by a great and deepe lake of salt water, came thither with nine Barkes of oares, in companie of a Lady, which was sayd to bee exiled out of her Countrey by a King of *Denmarke*. The next day wee came to *Linxau*, and fiue dayes after we continuing our course downe the Riuer, came to *Singuafatur*, a huge Temple, more then a league in compasse; in which space were built one hundred and sixtie foure large and long houses full of Skuls, the other bones lying without in great piles. On a Hill compassed with nine grates of Iron, was standing against a strong stone wall, a monstrous statue of Iron thirtie braces high, and six broad, in both his hands holding a bullet sixe and thirtie spannes about, of cast Iron also. (This to wound the Serpent which came to robbe them) himselfe being hee which should one day restore the flesh to their owne bones, if they gaue Almes, otherwise to the most vnable and putrid: his name *Pachinaran Dubeeulem Pinanfaque*, who 74000. yeeres agoe, was borne of a *Tortoyse* named *Migania*, and of a *Sea-horse* one hundred and thirtie braces long, named *Tibremoucan*. The Ambassadours told vs, that of his Confraternities, there arose to him of annuall rents aboue 200000. Taeis, and as much more of the Sepulchers of the Nobles, which were by themselues; that there belonged to him twelue thousand Priests preying on him, and praying for the dead, who might not without their Superiours licence depart out of that Circuit. These Priests once a yeare may defile themselues in fornication within that Circuit; without, as oft as they will, without sinne, the *Chisangues* permitting egresse. There are many women also enclosed, who by their *Libangús* or *Prioresses* leaue, permit themselues to those Priests.

Linxau. *Singuafatur* Temple and superstitions. Monkes and Nuns, chaste in the Deuils name.

The second day after, wee came to a great Citie on the Riuer side called *Quanginau*, where the Ambassadours stayed three dayes for prouision, and by reason of a Feast at the entrance of *Talapicor* of *Lechune*, who is there as a Pope: who had priuiledged these inhabitants to be all Priests, authorised to Sacrifice and giue Bills of exchange for money to bee repayed in Heauen. He gaue the Ambassadour grace to legitimate in his Countrey for money, and to giue tytles of Honour; which hee recompenced, giuing to the Priests all that he could make, and two thousand Taeis the King had giuen vs, for which he gaue vs fifteene in the hundred. Foure dayes wee passed downe the Riuer to *Lechune*, the mother Citie of that false Religion of *Gentilitie*, as *Reme* is with vs, wherein is a sumptuous Temple, in which are seuen and twentie *Tartar* Emperours buried in rich Chappels lyned with Siluer, hauing abundance of siluer Idols. On the North-side a little from the Temple, was a notable strong great wall, within which were built two hundred and eightie Monasteries, of men and women; in which were sayd to bee two and fortie thousand religious professed, besides seruitours. In those Houses are many Brazen pillars with Idols of their Saints thereon, so much more gilded as esteemed. In one of them was the Kings Sister a widow, which had beene wife of *Raia Benan*, Prince of *Pafua*, after whose death shee entred Religion with sixe thousand women. The Ambassadour visited her, and kissed her foot as a Saint.

Quanginau. A *Gentile* Pope *Lechune.* Idols. Monasteries.

Departing thence downe the Riuer fiue dayes, wee came to a great Citie called *Rendacalem*, in the confines of *Tartaria*. And thence forwasds began the Segniorie of *Xinaleygrau*, thorow which wee trauelled foure dayes, and then came to a Towne called *Voulem*, where the Ambassadours were well receiued, and prouided of Pylots for those Riuers; which wee descended seuen dayes without seeing any thing of note, and then came to a straight called *Quatanqur*, into which the Pylots entred to escape a Pyrat, which had spoyled the most part of the Countrey. Thus wee came to the Lake *Singapamor*, called by the Naturals *Cunebetee*, and sayd to contayne sixe and thirtie leagues in Circuit. Foure Riuers runne thence, *Ventrau* Eastward thorow *Siam*, entring the Sea by the barre of *Chiatabu*, in twentie sixe degrees; *Iangumaa* Southwards by the *Laos* and *Gueos*, and part of *Dãbambu* enter the Sea at *Martauan*, in the Kingdome of *Pegu*; *Pumfileu* runnes thorow all *Capimper* and *Sacotay*, and all the Empire of *Monginoco*, with part of *Meleytay* and *Souady*, and so to the barre of *Cosmim*, neere *Arracan*. Of the fourth Riuer the Ambassadours could giue vs no instructions, but some thought it to bee *Ganges*. In seuen dayes more, wee came to a place called *Caleypute*, where they threw stones at vs, and would not suffer vs to land. Thence we sayled by another larger Riuer nine dayes, and came to *Tarem* a good Towne, subiect to the *Cauchim*, where we were well receiued: and in seuen dayes more came to a good Citie called *Xolor*. There were Siluer mines, in which one thousand men were at worke, whence they sayd was yeerely taken sixe thousand Pikes, which makes eight thousand Quintals of ours. Thence wee went other fiue dayes by that great Riuer, the Countrey being well peopled, and came to the Citie *Manaquileu* at the foot of the Hills *Combay* in the borders of *China*, and *Cauchim*; thence to *Tinamquaxy*. Thence they sent their foure Barkes to *Huzamguee*, the chiefe Citie of *Cauchim*, and went by Land to *Fanaugrem*, where the King was.

Xinaleygrau. *Singapamor* Lake, or *Cunabetee.* *Ventrau.* *Chiabata.* *Iangumа.* *Pumfileu.* *Caleypute.* *Tarem.* *Xolor.* *Combay.* *Huzamguee.*

Their entertainment there and iourney thence to Iapan, *I omit, with their following long Pilgrimage in that Easterne world; wherein I am afraid to wander in places and affaires so vncouth. Wearie already of things so strange, and therefore vncertaine, I will passe to other Authors; and first to the* Philippina's *and* Spanish *Commerce of* China. *The Voyage of* Legaspi, *is taken out of a* Latine *Manuscript, the rest out of* Mendoza, *his* Spanish *discourse of* China, *and certayne Friars which went thither; the two Letters except, borrowed of an* Italian *Author.*

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Chap. III.

Spanish *plantation of the* Philippinas, *and what entercourse hath thence hapned betwixt them and the* Chinois.

§. I.

First discouerie of the Philippinas : *written by Frier* Ivan Gonzales de Mendosa.

Magelane straights.

Magalianes, was the first that discouered these Ilands, hauing passed the straight (which vnto this day beareth the tytle of his name) and came vnto the Iland of *Zubu*, whereas they did Baptise certaine of the Inhabitants, and afterwards in a banquet, the same Ilanders did kill him, and other fortie of his companions, which was the occasion that *Sebastian de Guetaria*, a naturall *Biskin* borne, for to escape with his life, did put himselfe in a ship that remayned of the voyage (which afterwards was named the *Victorie*) and in her, and with a few people that helped him, with the fauour of God hee came vnto *Sinill*, hauing compassed the whole world, from the *Orient* vnto the *Ponent*, a thing which caused vnto all men great admiration, but in particular vnto the Emperour *Charles* the first of famous memorie, who after he had giuen many gifts and fauours vnto the sayd *Sebastian de Guetaria*, he gaue order that a new Armie should bee made readie, and to returne againe in demand of the sayd Ilands, and to discouer that new world.

The second Voyage.

So when all things were in a readinesse, for to depart on their Voyage (the which was done with great breuitie) they ordayned for Generall of all that fleete, one *Villa Lobos*, commanding him to goe by the *Nuoua Espania*, The *Villa Lobos*, arriued at the Ilands of *Malucas*, and at those of *Terrenate*, and at other Ilands joyning vnto them, the which Ilands were layd to gage by the aforesayd Emperour vnto the Crowne of *Portugall*. In these Ilands they had great warres by meanes of the *Portugals*, and seeing themselues with little helpe and small resistance, for to goe forwards with their conquest, they left it off, and went to the most part of them with the aforesayd *Portugals*, vnto the *India* of *Portugall*, from whence afterwards, they sent them as prisoners vnto the sayd King of *Portugall*, as offenders, that had entred his Ilands without his licence : who did not onely leaue to doe them any harme, but did intreate them very well, and sent them vnto their owne Countrey of *Spaine*, and gaue them all things necessarie for their iourney, and that in abundance.

Villa Lobos.

Then certaine yeeres after, *Don Philip* King of *Spaine*, being very willing that the discouering should goe forwards, which the Emperour his father had so earnestly procured, sent and commanded *Don Luys de Velasco*, who was his Vice-roy of the *Nuoua Espania*, that hee would ordayne an armie, and people for to returne and discouer the sayd Ilands, and to send in the sayd fleete for Gouernour, of all that should bee discouered. *Miguel Lopez de Legaspi*, who did accompilsh all that his Maiestie had commanded, and made the discouerie thereof as followeth, to bee declared.

When the *Spaniards* came vnto them, they were without Lord or head, or any other to whom they should shew dutie, but hee which had most power and people, did most command : so that this (and that there were so many of equall power) was the occasion that ciuill warres continued, without any respect of nature, kindred, or any other durie, but like vnto bruite Beasts, killing, spoyling, and captiuing one another, the which was a great helpe vnto the *Spaniards*, for to subiect that Country with so great ease vnto the King, and called them the Ilands *Philippinas*, in respect of his name. They did vse amongst them, to make Captiues and Slaues, such as they did take in vnlawfull warres, and for trifling matters, the which God did remedie, by the going thither of the *Spaniards* : for you should haue a man with fortie or fiftie friends in his companie, or seruants, that vpon a sodaine, would goe and set vpon a small Village of poore people and vnprouided, and take and binde them all, and carrie them away for Slaues, without any occasion or reason, and make them to serue them all the dayes of their life, or else sell them to other Ilands. And if it so chanced, that one did lend vnto another, a basket or two of Rice (the which might bee worth a Ryall of plate) with condition, to returne it againe within ten dayes : if the debtor did not pay it the same day, the next day following hee should pay it double, and afterward to double it euery day, so long as he did keepe it, which in conclusion, would grow to bee so great, that to pay the same, hee is forced to yeeld himselfe for Captiue and Slaue.

But vnto all such as were captiued in this order, or in such like, the King of *Spaine* hath commanded to giue libertie, yet this iust commandement is not in euery point fulfilled and accomplished, because such as should execute the same, haue interest therein. All these Ilands were *Gentiles* and *Idolaters*, but now there is amongst them many thousands Baptised, vnto whom the King

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King hath shewed great mercie, in sending vnto them the remedie for their soules in so good time: for if the *Spaniards* had stayed any more yeares, they had beene all *Moores* at this day, for that there were come vnto the Iland of *Burneo*, some of that Sect that did teach them, and lacked little, for to worship that false Prophet *Mahomet*, whose false, peruerse and corrupt memory, was with the Gospel of Christ easily rooted out.

In all these Ilands they did worship the Sunne and Moone, and other second causes, figures of men and women, which are called in their Language *Maganitos*, at whose Feasts (which they doe make very sumptuous, with great Ceremonies and Superstition) they doe call *Magaduras*. But amongst them all, they haue in most veneration an Idoll, whom they called *Batala*, the which reuerence they had for a Tradition, yet can they not say what should be the occasion that he should deserue more then any of the rest, to be had in so great estimation. In certayne Ilands not farre off, called the *Illocos*, they did worship the Deuill, and made vnto him many Sacrifices, in recompence of a great quantitie of Gold he had giuen vnto them, but now by the goodnesse of God, and the great diligence put and done by the Fathers of the Order of Saint *Austin* (who were the first that passed into those parts, and liued worthily) and also by the Friers of Saint *Francis*, which went thither ten yeares after, all these Ilands or the most part of them are baptized, and vnder the Ensigne of Iesus Christ: and the rest which doe remayne and are not, is more for lacke of Ministers and Preachers, then for any obstinacie of their parts. There is now gone thither certayne Fathers of the Order called Iesuits, who will be a helpe vnto them with their accustomed zeale and labour. And now goeth thither many other Religious men, very well learned and Apostolike, of the Order of Saint *Dominicke*, who will doe their endeuour to conuert them vnto Christ, as it behoooueth Christians to doe.

The Deuil was worshipped.

They of these Ilands were accustomed to celerate their Feasts aforesaid, and to make Sacrifices vnto their Idols, by the order of certayne women which were Witches, whom they doe cal in their Language *Holgoi*, that were had in as great estimation amongst them, as be the Priests amongst *Christians*. These did talke ordinarily with the Deuill, and many times in publike, and doe Deuillish Witch-crafts both in wordes and deedes: into whom it is to bee beleeued, that that the Deuill did enter, for that straight-wayes they did answere vnto all things that were demanded of them, although for the most part they would tell a Lye, or else such words that might be giuen diuers interpretations of, and of diuers vnderstandings. They did also vse to cast Lots, they were great *Agorismers*, or obseruers of times: in so much that if they beginne any Iourney, and at the beginning they meete with a *Cayman* or Lizard, or any other sauage Worme, they know it to be a signe of euill fortune, whereupon they would straight-wayes leaue off their Iourney, although it did import them very much, and returne vnto their Houses, saying, that the Heauen will not that they should goe forwarde on that Iourney: but all these lyes and falseneese haue beene taught them, and they perswaded to by the Deuill, are ouerthrowne and taken away by the Law of the Gospel (as aforesaid) and haue now amongst them many Monasteries full of Religious men, of the Order of Saint *Austine*, Saint *Francis*, and of Iesuits. According vnto the common opinion, at this day there is conuerted and baptized more then foure hundred thousand soules, which is a great number: yet in respect of the quantitie that are not as yet conuerted, there are but a few. It is left vndone (as aforesaid) for want of Ministers, for that, although his Majestie doth ordinarily send thither, without any respect of the great charge in doing the same, yet by reason that there are so many Iland, and euery day they doe discouer more and more, and being so farre off, they cannot come vnto them all, as necessitie requireth. Such as are baptized doe receiue the faith with great firmenesse, and are good *Christians*, and would be better, if that they were holpen with good ensamples: as those which haue beene there so long time are bound to doe: that the lacke thereof doth cause some of the Inhabitants so much to abhorre them, that they would not see them once painted vpon a wall. For proofe whereof (and for to moue such as haue power and authoritie to put remedie in the same, I will declare vnto you here a strange case, the which royally did passe of a truth in one of these Ilands, and is very well knowne amongst them: that is, there chanced to dye an Ilander, a principall man amongst them: a few dayes after that he was baptized, beeing very contrite for his sinnes, the which he had done against God before he was baptized, and after hee dyed. So after by the Diuine permission of God he appeared vnto many of that Iland whom hee did perswade forthwith to receiue the Baptisme, with reasons of great efficacie, and declared vnto them (as one that had experienced the same) the reward of that good deed which without all doubt should be giuen vnto them, if they would receiue the same, and liue after conformable, and according vnto the Commandements of Christ, for the which he told them, and said, that forth-with so soone as he was dead, he was carried by the Angels into glory, there whereas all things were of delight, pleasure, and content, and did communicate onely in the sight of God, and that there was none that entred therein, neither could enter, except he were baptized, according vnto the preaching of the *Spaniards*, of whom and of others that were like vnto them, there was an infinite number. Therefore, if so be that they would goe and enjoy of those benefits and delights, it is necessary that first they should be baptized, and afterwards to obserue and keepe the Com-

Witches.

Spaniards hated in the *Philippinas*.

Spanish report of a Vision.

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The *Indians* would not goe into Heauen becauſe there were *Spaniſh* Souldiers.

mandements that be preached vnto them by the Fathers, that are amongſt the *Caſtillas*, and therewith he vaniſhed away, and they remayned treating amongſt themſelues, concerning that which they had heard, and was the occaſion that ſome of them forth-with receiued the Baptiſme, and that others did delay it, ſaying, that becauſe there were *Spañard* Souldiers in glorie, they would not goe thither, becauſe they would not be in their company. All this hurt is done by one peruerſe or impious man, and with one euill enſample, the which amongſt many good, as you haue in thoſe parts: but eſpeciall amongſt them in particular, it ought to bee reprehended and puniſhed ſeuerely with rigour.

Theſe Ilands at the firſt diſcouery of them, had the fame to be *Mal Sanos*, or vnwholeſome, but ſince experience hath ſhewed and proued it to the contrary: It is a Countrey maruellous fertill, and yeeldeth very much Rice, Wheate, Goates, Hennes, Deere, Buffes, Kine, and great ſtore of Hogges, whoſe fleſh is ſo ſauourie as the Mutton they haue in *Spaine*: there be alſo many Cats that yeeld Ciuet, great ſtore of fruits which be very good and ſauourie: great abundance of Honey, and Fiſh, and all ſold at ſo ſmall a price, that almoſt it is ſold for nothing. Alſo there is great ſtore of Cinamom, but no Oyle of Oliues, but that which is carried thither out of the *Nueua Eſpania*: they haue much Oyle of *Algongoli*, and of Flaxe-ſeed, the which they doe ſpend ordinarily in that Countrey, ſo that the Oyle of Oliues is not miſſed with them.

Ciuit. Honey. Cinamon. Linſeed Oyle.

There is great ſtore of Cloues, Saffron, Pepper, Nutmegs, and many other Drugges: great ſtore of Cotton and Silke of all colours, the which is brought vnto them by Merchants of *China*, euery yeare a great quantitie, from whence commeth more then twentie ſhips laden with pieces of Silkes of all colours, and with Earthen Veſſell, Powder, Salt-peter, Iron, Steele, and much Quick-ſiluer, Braſſe, Copper, Wheate, Flowre, Walnuts, Bisket, Dates, Linnen Cloth, Counting Cheſts very gallantly wrought, Calls of Net-worke, *Buratos*, *Eſpumillas*, Baſons and Ewres, made of Tinne, Parchment Lace, Silke Fringe, and alſo of Gold, the which is ſpunne and twiſted after a faſhion neuer ſeene in all Chriſtendome, and many other things of great curioſitie, and all this aforeſaid is ſold very good cheape. Likewiſe ſuch things as the Ilands doe yeeld, are ſold very good cheape, for you ſhall haue foure Roues of Wine, which commeth of the Palme-tree for foure Rials of Plate (the which for lacke of that made of Grapes is very good) twelue Haneges of Rice for eight Rials of Plate, three Hens for one Riall, a whole Hogge for eighteene Rials, a whole Buffe for foure Rials, a Deere for two Rials, and yet it muſt bee both great and good, foure Roues of Sugar for ſixe Rials, and the like.

§. II.

Firſt Plantation of the Philippinas, *by* MICHAEL LOPEZ DE LEGASPI.

* This I tranſlated out of a Manuſcript *Latine* which I found with M. *Hak.*

Michael * *Lopez de Legaſpe*, Generall of the *Spaniſh* Armada, on Tueſday the one and twentieth of Nouember, *Anno Dom.* 1565. ſet forth of the Hauen of Natiuitie in New *Spaine*, and ſayled betwixt the South and the Weſt, and after Weſt-ward, till he came in nine degrees; in that height ſeeking the Ilands *de los Reyes*, thence to make for the *Philippinas*. After eight dayes, the ſhip called Saint *Luke* was miſſing, the Captayne whereof was *Alfonſus de Arellano*, ſuſpected to haue maliciouſly with-drawne himſelfe. The Fleet continuing their courſe in nine and ten degrees, after fiftie dayes had ſight of an Iland of Fiſhermen and many other ſmall Ilands not inhabited, which they paſſed by. It was agreed that they ſhould heighthen their courſe to thirteene degrees, in which way they came on Monday the ſeuenteenth of Ianuary, 1566. to one of the Ilands of Theeues, called *Goean*, and ſayling toward it, ſixe miles off, fiftie or ſixtie *Paraos* ſwift ſayling Barkes with eight or ten men quite naked met them and inuited them to their Habitations, where at night they anchored. The next morning, ſixe hundred of their *Paraos* came about them with victuals to ſell, Rice, Honey, Sugar-canes, Plantans, Fruits of diuers kinds, and Ginger whereof there groweth great ſtore naturally. Their principall deſire in barter was Iron Nailes, giuing a large ſacke of Rice for a Naile; their ſackes deceitfully filled with grauell and chaffe, with Rice in the top. Theſe people are well proportioned and ſtrong. They fought with the *Spaniards* which were watering, and in the time of fight would be trucking with the ſhips, as ſenſleſſe of their danger. A Mariner which ſtayd behind was ſlaine, whoſe death they reuenged with many of the Sauages ſlaine in the night, one of them being taken and ſent into New *Spaine*. Their name fits their Theeuiſh diſpoſition.

Iſlas Ladrones.

The *Philippinas* called alſo the Ilands of the Ponent or Weſt.

Eleuen dayes after the fleet renewed their Voyage, and courſe in thirteene degrees eleuen dayes longer, and then had ſight of the *Philippinas*, hauing ſailed from the Port of Natiuitie, eight thouſand miles. They anchored in a faire Bay called *Baia de Sibabas*, and there rode ſeuen dayes; whiles two Boats went to diſcouer, one to the North, the other Southward..

Baia de Sibabas.

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A Gentleman of one of them was slaine by an *Indian*, rashly leaping on shoare. These *Indians* haue Iron Launces, with a head or tongue a handfull and halfe long. They haue also shields, Bowes and Arrowes. In making peace each man takes two or three drops of bloud of his arme or breast and mixe both in some Vessell together, which is drunke with Wine and Water. Many *Paraos* came to the *Spaniards* with a white flag in the Prow, in token of peace, and the Admiral erected the like in her Poope to signifie their leaue to enter. These *Indians* are clothed, but barefoot. The *Spaniards* demanded prouision, which the other promised, but gaue only to the Captayne a sucking Pigge and an Egge. These people are very timorous, perfidious, and therefore suspicious. The Ilands beare Hogges, Goats, Hennes, Rice, Millet, Potatoes, Pome-citrons, Frisoles, Cocos, Plantans, and many sorts of Fruits. They weare Bracelets, and Earings, and Gold Chaines, and whithersoeuer the Fleet went, was shew of Gold in the Land, whereof they digge but for necessary vses: the Land is their Money bagge. *Gold.*

The Fleet departed hence, and two dayes after came to the Port of the Ile *Tandoia*, where a small Riuer enters; vp which they went in Boats, and came to a Towne called *Camungo*. There they were well entertayned, and had victualls set them: which whiles they were eating, an *Indian* spake some *Spanish* words, and asked for *Antonio Baptista Villalobos*, and Captaine *Cabeça de Vaca*: for which the Lord of the place was angrie with him, and hee appeared no more. The next day the *Spaniards* returning found them armed; threatning them if they came on shoare. They minding not to deale cruelly, *Martin de Goyte* was sent to discouer some conuenient harbour, who saw the Citie *Tandaya*, and other Townes of other neere Ilands, and hauing gone sixtie miles found the great Bay where was *Cabalia* a Towne well inhabited. Thither went the Fleet, and the Inhabitants fled. Onely *Camatuan* the sonne of *Malataque* a blind man, chiefe of that place, came to them, whom they detayned thinking thereby to get some prouision; but in vaine. He sent forth Souldiers which brought him fiue and fortie Hogs, leauing in lieu somwhat for exchange, and dismissing *Camatuan*, who had taught the Captaine the names of the neighbouring Iles and of their Gouernours. Hee brought them to *Mesagua* two and thirtie miles off, and then was sent away apparelled and ioyfull. The Iland *Masagua* hath beene frequent, but then had but twentie Inhabitants, which would not see the *Spaniards*. They went to another Iland where the people were fled with their goods. Then went they to *Butuan* which is subiect to the Ile *Vindena* or the Ilands *Corrientes*. The winde draue them to *Bohol*, where they anchored. The next day they saw a Iunke and sent a Boat to it, which wounded some of their men. They had Arrowes and Lances and a Base, and two brasse Peeces. They cryed to the *Spaniards abordo, abordo*. The *Spaniards* sent out another Boat better fitted, which tooke eight, the rest were slaine or fled, hauing fought valiantly. In the Iunke they found white sheets painted, Silke, Almayzarez, Callicos, Iron, Tin, Brasse, and some Gold. The Iunke was of *Borneo*, and so were these *Moores*. All was restored, their intent being to get friends, and the *Burneois* satisfied.

Tandoia. *Camungo.* *Tandaya.* *Masagua.* *Bohol.*

The Captaine sent the Saint *Iohn* to discouer the Coast of *Butuan*, and learne where the Cinamon was gathered, and to find some good Port in fit place to build. The *Burneois* told the Captaine the cause of the *Indians* flight, that about two yeeres before some *Portugals* bearing themselues for *Spaniards*, had comne thither from the *Molucas*, and hauing made peace with them, set on them and slue aboue a thousand *Indians*, the cause of that depopulation. This the *Portugals* did to make the *Spaniards* odious, that if they came thither, they might not be admitted. The Captaine sent a well furnished ship to search the Coast, which came to a place where the *Borneo* Gouernour said he had friends, and leaping on shoare hee was slaine of the *Indians*. The Saint *Iohn* returned from *Buthuan*, which said, they had seene the King, and two Iunkes of *Moores* in the Riuer at anker, and that the Iland was great and rich, and exchanged with them fine Gold for Testons, one for six in equall weight. They bought Wax of the *Moores* but had Earth inclosed in the Cakes; they also incensed the *Indians* against the *Castilians*, which would haue made purchase of them, but were forbidden by the King. They said, they had there seene Wax, Cinamon, Gold, and other precious things.

Wicked policy, an Indian pestilence which since hath infected others. *Moores coenage.*

On Easter Euen the other ship returned to their great ioy, which had thought her lost, hauing staid twentie dayes longer then her limited time. They had sailed about the Iland *Igla* the space of six hundred miles: and in their returne came to *Subo* a well peopled Iland, and plentifull of all things. The Captaine determined to goe thither to buy prouision, or else to force them. For *Magelane* had beene there; and the King, and most of the Inhabitants were baptised, and acknowledged the Catholike King; *Magelane* also dying in their defence, and thirtie other Souldiers in *Matan*. They also had broken league and slaine some of *Magelane* Souldiers. On Friday April twentie seuen, the Fleet arriued at the Port of *Subo*, and one came from King *Tupas* to them, saying, that Hee with ten chiefe men would come to them. The Captaine expected them a whole day and the next, in which space the Ilanders hid their goods in the Woods. The third day the Captaine sent his brother *Andrew* and the Camp-master, to admonish the King in the *Malayan* tongue, to receiue them, as Vassals of the *Spanish* King. Which not succeeding, hee resolued to vse force. The *Indians* out of other Ilands had assembled together to the number of

Igla. *Subo.* See *tom. 1. l. 2. c. 2.*

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two thouſand, which prouoked our men, but at the report of the Ordnance ran away, and the *Spaniards* wan the Towne. Many ſignes of Gold and Gemmes appeared in the Iland. And being ſituate ſo neere to the richeſt Regions, the Gouernour hopeth acceſſe thereby to the increaſe and glorie of the *Spaniſh* Crowne, if *Spaniſh* Colonies be there planted. The Captaine from the Citie of *Subo* ſent the Admirall ſhip with his brother *Andrew de Vrdanera*, to certifie the L. *Lewys de Velaſco*, the ſonne of the Vice-roy, what had beene done,

This which followeth is taken out of *Fray Iuan Gonzales de Mendoſa* his *Spaniſh* Relation of *China*, & is here much abbreuiated.

Miguel Lopez de Legaſpi, Generall of the Fleet, and Gouernour of the Countrey which they ſhould diſcouer, dyed in the ſaid Ilands with the Title of *Adelantado*, hauing firſt peopled ſome of them to the vſe of His Maieſtie, eſpecially that of *Manilla*, which is fiue hundred leagues in circuit; in which is ſeated the Citie of *Luſon* (called alſo *Manilla*) as the Metropolitan of all the Iland, where the Gouernours haue ſetled their reſidence euer ſince the firſt diſcouerie. They haue there founded a Cathedrall Church, and Friar *Dom. Domingo de Salachar* was conſecrated the firſt Biſhop thereof in *Madrid*, 1579. At this preſent there be three Monaſteries of Religious men in that Iland, the one of the Order of Saint *Auſtine*, and were the firſt that by the Commandement of his Majeſtie did enter into this Ilands, preaching the Law of the Goſpell, which was great profit vnto their ſoules, yet great trauell vnto them, & coſt many of them their liues in doing it: the other Monaſterie is of barefoot Friers of the Order of S. *Francis* of the Prouince of S. *Ioſeph*, who haue bin great Examples, with great profit vnto them of thoſe Parts. The third are of the Order of S. *Dominicke*, or Preachers, who haue done their dutie in all things ſo well as the other. Theſe three Orders were alone in thoſe Ilands for certayne yeares, till now of late time haue gone thither Ieſuits, which haue bin a great ayde and helpe vnto their Religion.

Manilla.

When theſe *Spaniards* were come vnto theſe Ilands, they had ſtraight-wayes notice of the mightie Kingdome of *China*, as well by the relation of them of the Ilands (who told vnto them the maruels thereof) as alſo within a few dayes after, they did ſee and vnderſtand, by ſhips that came into thoſe Ports with Merchants, that brought Merchandize and other things of great curioſitie from that Kingdome, and did particularly declare the mightineſſe and riches thereof. This being knowne vnto the Religious people of Saint *Auſtin*, who at that time were alone in thoſe Ilands: but in eſpeciall vnto the Prouinciall, Frier *Martin de Herrada*, ſeeing the great capacitie or towardneſſe which the *Chinois* had more then thoſe of the Ilands in all things, but in eſpeciall in their gallantneſſe, diſcretion and wit: hee ſtraight-wayes had a great deſire to goe thither with his fellow to preach the Goſpell vnto thoſe people, of ſo good a capacitie to receiue the ſame: who with a pretended purpoſe to put it in vre and effect, he began with great care and ſtudie to learne that Language, the which he learned in few dayes: and did make thereof a Dictionarie. Then afterwards they did giue great entertaynment and Preſents vnto the Merchants that came from *China* for to procure them to carrie them thither, and many other things, the which did ſhew their holy zeale: yea, they did offer themſelues to bee ſlaues vnto the Merchants, thinking by that meanes to enter in to preach: but yet none of theſe diligences did take effect, till ſuch time as the Diuine Majeſtie did diſcouer a better way, as ſhall bee declared vnto you in this Chapter following.

§. III.

Of LIMAHON *a* China *Robber and Rouer, by whoſe occaſion the* Spaniards *ſent into* China.

THe *Spaniards* did enjoy their neere habitation of *Manilla* in great quietneſſe & in obedience vnto the Chriſtian King *Don Philip*, and in continuall Traffick with the *Chineis*. But being in this ſecuritie and quietneſſe, vnlooked for, they were beſet with a mightie and great Armada or Fleet of ſhips, by the Rouer *Limahon*, of whoſe vocation there are continually on the Coaſt, the one by reaſon that the Countrey is full of people, whereas of neceſſitie muſt be many idle perſons: and the other and principall occaſion, by reaſon of the great tyrannie that the Gouernours doe vſe vnto the Subiects. This *Limahon* came vpon them with intent to doe them harme as you ſhall vnderſtand. This Rouer was borne in the Citie of *Truchoo*, in the Prouince of *Cuytan*, which the *Portugals* doe call *Catim*. He was of meane Parentage, and brought vp in his youth in libertie and vice, he was by nature Warlike and euill inclined. He would learne no Occupation, but was giuen to rob in the high-wayes, and became ſo expert that many came vnto him and followed that Trade. Hee made himſelfe Captaine ouer them which were more then two thouſand, and were ſo ſtrong that they were feared in all that Prouince where as they were. This being knowne vnto the King and to his Councell, they did ſtraight way command the Vice-roy of the Prouince whereas the Rouer was, that with all the haſte poſſible he ſhould gather together all the Garriſons of his Frontiers, to apprehend and take him, and if it were poſſible to carry him aliue vnto the Citie of *Taybin*, if not his head.

Limahon a China Rouer.

Where *Limahon* was borne.

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head. The Vice-roy incontinent did gather together people neceſſary, and in great haſte to follow him.

The which being knowne vnto *Limahon* the Rouer, who ſaw, that with the people hee had, he was not able to make reſiſtance againſt ſo great a number as they were, and the eminent danger that was therein, hee called together his Companies, and went from thence vnto a Port of the Sea, that was a few leagues from that place: and did it ſo quickly and in ſuch ſecret, that before the people that dwelt therein, could make any defence (for that they were not accuſtomed to any ſuch aſſaults, but liued in great quietneſſe) they were Lords of the Port, and of all ſuch ſhips as were there: into the which they imbarked themſelues ſtraight-wayes, weighed Anchor and departed to the Sea, whereas they thought to be in more ſecuritie then on the Land (as it was true.) Then he ſeeing himſelfe Lord of all thoſe Seas, beganne to rob and ſpoyle all ſhips that hee could take, as well ſtrangers as of the naturall people: by which meanes in a ſmall time he was prouided of Mariners, and other things which before hee lacked, requiſite for that new Occupation. He ſacked, robbed and ſpoyled all the Townes that were vpon the Coaſt, and did very much harme. So hee finding himſelfe very ſtrong with fortie ſhips well armed, of thoſe he had out of the Port, and other that hee had taken at the Sea, with much people ſuch as were without ſhame, their hands imbrued with Robberies and killing of men, he imagined with himſelfe to attempt greater matters, and did put it in execution: he aſſaulted great Townes, and did a thouſand cruelties. So he following this trade and exerciſe, he chanced to meete with another Rouer as himſelfe, called *Vintoquian*, likewiſe naturally borne in *China*, who was in a Port void of any care or miſtruſt, whereas *Limahon* finding opportunitie, with greater courage did fight with the ſhips of the other: that although they were threeſcore ſhips great and ſmall, and good Souldiers therein, he did ouercome them, and tooke fiue and fiftie of their ſhips, ſo that *Vintoquian* eſcaped with fiue ſhips. Then *Limahon* ſeeing himſelfe with a fleet of ninetie fiue ſhips well armed, and with many ſtout people in them, knowing that if they were taken, they ſhould be all executed to death; ſetting all feare apart, gaue themſelues to attempt new inuentions of euill, not onely in robbing of great Cities, but alſo in deſtroying of them.

Vintoquian a Rouer robed by this Rouer.

For the which, commandement was giuen ſtraight-wayes vnto the Vice-roy of that Prouince (whereas he vſed to execute his euill) that with great expedition he might be taken, who in few dayes did ſet forth to Sea, one hundred and thirtie great ſhips well appointed, with forty thouſand men in them, and one made Generall ouer them all, a Gentleman called *Omoncon*, for to goe ſeeke and follow this Rouer with expreſſe commandement to apprehend or kill him. Of all this prouiſion, *Limahon* had aduertiſemant by ſome ſecret friends, who ſeeing that his Enemies were many, and he not able to counteruaile them, neither in ſhippes nor men, determined not to abide their comming, but to retyre and depart from that Coaſt: ſo in flying he came vnto an Iland in ſecret, called *Tonzuacaotican*, which was fortie leagues from the firme Land, and is in the right way of Nauigation to the Ilands *Philippinas*.

One hundred and thirtie great ſhips of Warre with forty thouſand men. *Omoncon*.

From this Iland they did goe forth with ſome of their ſhips robbing and ſpoyling all ſuch as they met with Merchandize, and other things that they carried from one Iland to another, and from the Iland vnto the firme, and comming from thence amongſt them all, they cauſed to take two ſhips of *China* which came from *Manilla*, and were bound to their owne Countrey. And hauing them in their power, they ſearched them vnder hatches, and found that they had rich things of Gold, and *Spaniſh* Rials, which they had in trucke of their Merchandize, the which they carried to the Ilands. They informed themſelues in all points of the State, and fertilitie of that Countrey, but in particular of the *Spaniards*, and how many there were of them in the Citie of *Manilla*, who were not at that preſent aboue ſeuentie perſons; for that the reſt were ſeparated in the diſcouering and populing of other Ilands newly found, and vnderſtanding, that theſe few did liue without any ſuſpition of Enemies, and had neuer a Fort nor Bulwarke, and the Ordnance which they had (although it was very good) yet was it not in order to defend themnor offend their Enemies, hee determined to goe thither with all his fleete and people, for to deſtroy and kill them, and to make himſelfe Lord of the ſaid Iland of *Manilla*, and other adjacent there nigh the ſame. So with this determination hee departed from thoſe Ilands whereas hee was retyred, and went to Sea, and ſayling towards the Ilands *Philippinas*, they paſſed in ſight of the Ilands of the *Illocos*, which had a Towne called *Fernandina*, which was new founded by the Captayne *Iohn de Salzedo*, who at that inſtant was in the ſame for Lieutenant to the Gouernour: Foure leagues from the ſame they met with a ſmall Galley, which the ſaid *Iohn de Salzedo* had ſent for victuals. He caſt about towards her, and with great eaſe did take her, and did burne and kill all that was in her, and pardoned one of them. This being done, hee did proſecute his Voyage according vnto his determination, and paſſed alongſt, but not in ſuch ſecret but that he was diſcouered by the Dwellers of the Towne of *Fernandina*, who gaue notice thereof vnto the Lieutenant of the Gouernour aforeſaid, as a wonder to ſee ſo many ſhips together, and a thing neuer ſeene before at thoſe Ilands. Likewiſe it cauſed admiration vnto him, and made him to thinke and to imagine with great care what it might be, he ſaw that they did beare with the Citie of *Manilla*, and thought with himſelfe, that ſo great a fleet

Illocos.

Fernandina.

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as that was, could not goe to the place which they bare in with, for any goodnesse towards the dwellers therein, who were voide of all care, and a small number of people, as aforesaid: Wherewith he determined with himselfe with so great speed as it was possible, to ioyne together such *Spaniards* as were there, which were to the number of fiftie foure, and to depart and procure to get the fore-hand of them, to aduertise them of *Manilla*, and to aide and helpe them to put their Artillerie in order, and all other things necessarie for their defence.

This *Limahon* was well prouided of prouision, and all other things necessarie, and hauing the wind faire, hee was alwaies in the fore-front, and came in the sight of *Manilla* vpon
1574. Saint *Andrewes* Eue, in the yeere 1574. whereas hee came to an anchor that night with all his whole estate.

For all the contradiction of the winde this same night the foure hundred *Chinois* did put themselues within a league of the Citie, vpon Saint *Andrewes* day at eight of the clocke in the morning, whereas they left their Boats and went on land, and in great haste began to march forwards in battel aray diuided in two parts, with two hundred Harquebusses afore, and immediatly after them other two hundred Pike-men: and by reason that they were many, and the Countrey very plaine, they were straightwaies discouered by some of the Citie, who entred in with a great noise, crying, *Arme, arme, arme, the Enemies come.* The which aduice did little profit, for that there was none that would beleeue them: but beleeued that it was some false alarme done by the people of the Countrey for to mocke them. But in conclusion, the Enemies were come
Martin de Goyti slune. vnto the house of the Generall of the Field, who was called *Martin de Goyti*, which was the first house in all the Citie that way which the Enemies came. And before that the *Spaniards* and Souldiers that were within the Towne could be fully perswaded the rumour to be true, the Enemies had set fire vpon his house, and slue him and all that were within.

Guido de Labacates Gouernour. At this time, by the order of his Maiestie was elected for Gouernour of these Ilands *Philippinas*, *Guido de Labacates*, after the death of *Miguel Lopez de Legaspi*, who vnderstanding the great fleet and power of *Lymahon* the Rouer, and the small resistance and defence that was in the Citie of *Manilla*, with as much speed as was possible he did call together all their Captaines and dwellers therein: and with a generall consent they spared no person of what qualitie and degree soeuer he was, but that his hand was to helpe all that was possible, the which endured two
A fort erected. dayes and two nights, for so long the Rouer kept his ships and came not abroad. In which time of their continuall labour, they made a Fort with Pipes and Boards filled with sand and other necessaries thereto belonging, such as the time would permit them: they put in carriages, foure excellent Peeces of Artillerie that were in the Citie. All the which being put in order, they gathered all the people of the Citie into that little Fort. The night before the Enemie did giue assault vnto the Citie, came thither the Captaine *Iohn de Salzedo*, Lieutenant vnto the Gouernour. The Rouer in the morning following, before the breake of the day (which was the
Citie burnt. second after he gaue the first assault) was with all his fleet right against the Port, and did put aland sixe hundred Souldiers, who at that instant did set vpon the Citie, the which at their pleasure they did sacke and burne. They did assault the Fort with great cruelty, as men fleshed with the last slaughter, thinking that their resistance was but small. But it fell not out as they did beleeue, for hauing continued in the fight almost all the day, with the losse of two hundred men, that were slaine in the assault, and many other hurt, he straightwaies departed from thence, and returned the same way that he came, till they arriued in a mightie Riuer, fortie leagues from the
Pangasinan. Citie of *Manilla*, that is called *Pangasinan*, the which place or soyle did like him very well, and where he thought he might be sure from them, who by the commandement of the King went for to seeke him. There hee determined to remayne, and to make himselfe Lord ouer all that Countrey, the which he did with little trauell, and built himselfe a Fort one league within the Riuer, whereas he remayned certaine dayes, receiuing tribute of the Inhabitants thereabouts, as though he were their true and naturall Lord: and at times went forth with his ships robbing and spoyling all that he met vpon the coast. And spred abroad, that he had taken to himselfe the Ilands *Philippinas*, and how that all the *Spaniards* that were in them, were either slayne or fled away. With this consideration they entred into counsell, and did determine to ioyne together all the people they could, and being in good order, to follow and seeke the Rouer. Then the Gouernours commanded to be called together all the people bordering thereabouts, and to come vnto the Citie whereas hee was. Likewise at that time hee did giue aduice vnto such as
Pintados. were Lords and Gouernours of the Ilands, called *Pintados*, commanding them to come thither, with such ships as they could spare, as well *Spaniards* as the naturall people of the Countrey. The Generall * of the field with the people aforesaid, did depart from *Manilla* the three and twentieth day of March, *Anno* 1575. and arriued at the mouth of the Riuer *Paganſinan* vpon tenable Wednesday in the morning next following, without being discouered of any. Then straightwaies at that instant the Generall did put a-land all his people and foure Peeces of Artillerie, leauing the mouth of the Riuer shut vp with his shipping, in chayning the one to the other, in such sort, that none could enter in neither yet goe forth to giue any aduice vnto the Rouer of his arriuall: he commanded some to goe and discouer the fleet of the Enemie, and the

* *Iohn de Salzedo* who succeeded *Goyti*, and was Nephew to *Michael Legaspi*.

place

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place whereas he was fortified, and charged them very much to doe it in ſuch ſecret ſort, that they were not eſpied: for therein conſiſted all their whole worke. Hee commanded the Captaine *Gabriel de Ribera*, that ſtraightwaies he ſhould depart by Land, and that vpon a ſudden he ſhould ſtrike alarme vpon the Enemie, with the greateſt tumult that was poſſible. Likewiſe he commanded the Captaines *Pedro de Caues* and *Lorenſo Chacon*, that either of them with forty Souldiers ſhould goe vp the Riuer in ſmall ſhips and light, and to meaſure the time in ſuch ſort, that as well thoſe that went by land, as thoſe that went by water, ſhould at one inſtant come vpon the Fort, and to giue alarme both together, the better to goe thorow with their pretence: and he himſelfe did remayne with all the reſt of the people, to watch occaſion and time for to aide and ſuccour them if need be required. This their purpoſe came ſo well to paſſe, that both the one and the other came to good effect: for thoſe that went by water, did ſet fire on all the fleet of the Enemie: and thoſe that went by land at that inſtant had taken and ſet fire on a Trench made of timber, that *Limahon* had cauſed to bee made for the defence of his people and the Fort: and with that furie they ſlue more then one hundred *Chinos*, and tooke priſoners ſeuenty women which they found in the ſame Trench, but when that *Limahon* vnderſtood the rumour, hee tooke himſelfe ſtraightwaies to his Fort which hee had made for to defend himſelfe from the Kings Nauie, if they ſhould happen to finde him out.

The next day following, the Generall of the field did bring his Souldiers into a ſquare battell, and beganne to march towards the Fort, with courage to aſſault it if occaſion did ſerue thereunto: hee did pitch his Campe within two hundred paces of the Fort, and found that the Enemie did all that night fortifie himſelfe very well, and in ſuch ſort, that it was perillous to aſſault him, for that he had placed vpon his Fort three Peeces of Artillerie, and many Baſes, beſides other Engines of fire-worke. Seeing this, and that his Peeces of Artillerie that hee brought were very ſmall for to batter, and little ſtore of munition, for that they had ſpent all at the aſſault which the Rouer did giue them at *Manilla*, the Generall of the field, and the Captaines concluded amongſt themſelues, that ſeeing the Enemie had no ſhips to eſcape by water, neither had he any great ſtore of victuals for that all was burnt in the ſhips, it was the beſt and moſt ſureſt way to beſiege the Fort, and to remayne there in quiet vntill that hunger did conſtraine them either to yeeld or come to ſome concluſion: which rather they will then to periſh with hunger.

This determination was liked well of them all, although it fell out cleane contrarie vnto their expectation; for that in the ſpace of three moneths that ſiege endured, this *Limahon* did ſo much that within the Fort he made certaine ſmall Barkes, and trimmed them in the beſt manner he could, wherewith in one night he and all his people eſcaped. *Limahon after three moneths ſiege eſcapeth.*

It happened vpon a day, that there came to the Campe a ſhip of *Miguell de Loarcha*, wherein was Friar *Martin de Herrada* Prouinciall of the *Auguſtine* Friars. Seuen leagues after they were out of the mouth of *Pagaſinan*, they met with a ſhip of *Sangleyes*, who made for the Port, and thinking them to bee Enemies, they bare with them (hauing another ſhip that followed them for their defence) and had no more in them but the ſaid Prouinciall and fiue *Spaniards*, beſides the Mariners. This ſhip of *Sangley* ſeeing that hee did beare with them, would haue fled, but the winde would not permit him, for that it was to him contrary, which was the occaſion that the two ſhips wherein the *Spaniards* were, for that they did both ſayle and rowe, in a ſmall time came within Cannon ſhot. In one of the ſhips there was a *Chino*, called *Sinſay*. This *Sinſay* went ſtraightwaies into the fore-ſhips, and demanded what they were, and from whence they came: and being well enformed, hee vnderſtood that hee was one of the ſhips of warre that was ſent out by the King of *China*, to ſeeke the Rouer *Limahon*, who leauing the reſt of the fleet behind, came forth to ſeeke in thoſe Ilands to ſee if hee could diſcouer him to bee in any of them: and the better to bee enformed thereof, they were bound into the Port of *Buliano*, from whence they came with their two ſhips: from whom they would haue fled, thinking they had beene ſome of the Rouers ſhips. Being fully perſwaded the one of the other, they ioyned together with great peace and friendſhip: the *Spaniards* ſtraightwaies entred into their Boat, and went vnto the ſhip of the *Chinos*, and carried with them the aforeſaid *Sinſay*, for to be their Interpreter, and to ſpeake vnto the *Chinos*. In the ſaid ſhip came a man of great authoritie, who was called *Omoncon*, who brought a Commiſſion from their King, and ſhewed it vnto the *Spaniards*, and vnto the Father Prouinciall: in the which the King and his Counſell did pardon all thoſe Souldiers that were with *Limahon*, if that forthwith they would leaue him and returne vnto the Kings part: and likewiſe did promiſe great gifts and fauour vnto him that did either take or kill the aforeſaid Rouer. Then did *Sinſay* declare vnto him of the comming of the Rouer vnto the Ilands, and all that happened in the ſiege of the Citie, as aforeſaid: and how they had him beſieged in the Riuer of *Paganſinan*, from whence it was not poſſible for him to eſcape.

The Captaine *Omoncon* reioyced very much of theſe newes, and made many ſignes of great content, and did embrace the *Spaniards* many times, and gaue other tokens whereby hee did manifeſt the great pleaſure hee receiued, and would therewith ſtraightwaies depart vnto the

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reſt of the fleet. And for that they looked euery day for the death or impriſonment of the Rouer, the better to enforme himſelfe: hee determined (for that it was ſo nigh hand) to goe and ſee the Generall of the field in *Paganſinan*, and carrie with him *Sinſay*, one that was known both of the one and the other: by whoſe meanes they might treate of ſuch things that beſt accompliſhed the confirmation of the peace and friendſhip betwixt the *Chinois* and the *Spaniards*, as alſo of the death or impriſonment of *Limahon*. With this reſolution, the one departed vnto *Paganſinan*, whereas they arriued the ſame day, and the others vnto *Manilla*, whither they went for victuals.

Omoncon remayned there certaine dayes, after the which he ſeeing that the ſiege did long endure, and that his ſtaying might cauſe ſuſpicion of his death: and againe, that the whole fleet did tarrie his comming to his intelligence of the Rouer, being fully perſwaded and certaine, that he could not eſcape the *Spaniards* hand: they had him in ſuch a ſtraight, and that they would without all doubt, ſend him vnto the King aliue or dead (as they promiſed him) hee was determined to returne vnto *China*, with the good newes that hee had vnderſtood, with a determinate intent, to returne againe and carrie the Rouer, after that they had him priſoner. With this reſolution in the end of certaine dayes hee went vnto the Gouernour, certifying him of his pretence, whereby hee might giue him licence to put it in execution. The Gouernour did like well of his pretence, and did promiſe him the ſame, the which the Generall of the field did offer vnto him: and which was, ſo ſoone as the Rouer ſhould be taken priſoner, or ſlayne, to ſend him vnto the King without any delay, or elſe, to put him whereas he ſhould be forth-comming, and to giue them aduertiſement to ſend for him, or come himſelfe: and did offer him more, that for his voyage he ſhould bee prouided forthwith of all things neceſſarie, without lacking of any thing. *Omoncon* did giue him great thankes for the ſame, and in recompence thereof did promiſe vnto the Gouernour, for that he vnderſtood, and had intelligence of the Fathers, of Saint *Auguſtine*, that his Honour, and his Anteceſſor, and the *Adelantado, Miguel Lopez de Legaſpi*, had deſired many times to ſend vnto the Kingdome of *China* ſome Religious men, to treate of the preaching of the Goſpell, and to ſee the wonders of that Kingdome, and how that they neuer could put this their deſire in execution, for that thoſe *Chinois* which came thither, although they did offer them whatſoeuer they would demand, fearing the puniſhment that ſhould be executed on them according vnto the Lawes of the Kingdome: hee did promiſe him, that he would carrie them with him vnto *China*, ſuch Religious men as his Honour would command, and ſome Souldiers, ſuch as would goe with them: hoping with the good newes that hee carried, to runne in no danger of the Law, neither the Vice-roy of *Aucheo* to thinke euill thereof, and for a more ſecuritie that they ſhould not bee euill entreated, hee would leaue with him pledges to their content.

Omoncon promiſeth to carrie the Friers vnto *China*.

The Gouernour being very ioyfull of theſe newes, did therewith ſend for the Prouinciall of the *Auguſtine* Friers, who was elected but few dayes paſt: his name was Frier *Alonſo de Aluarado*, vnto whom hee declared the offer that the Captaine *Omoncon* had made vnto him, whereat he reioyced. They determined that there ſhould goe but two Religious men, by reaſon that at that time there was but a few of them, and two Souldiers in their companie. The Religious men ſhould be, Frier *Martin de Herrada* of *Pamplona*, who left off the dignitie of Prouinciall: and in companie with him ſhould goe, Frier *Hieronimo Martin*, who alſo was very well learned, and of the Citie of *Mexico*: the Souldiers that were appointed to beare them companie were called, *Pedro Sarmiento*, chiefe Sergeant of the Citie of *Manilla* of *Vilorado*, and *Miguel de Loarcha*, both principall men, and good *Chriſtians*, as was conuenient for that which they tooke in hand. Theſe Fathers did carrie them for this purpoſe, that if they did remaine there with the King, preaching of the Goſpell, then they ſhould returne with the newes thereof, to giue the Gouernour to vnderſtand of all that they had ſeene, and happened vnto them: and likewiſe vnto the King of *Spayne*, if need did ſo require. And the Gouernour in token of gratitude, did giue vnto the Captaine *Omoncon* in the preſence of them all, a gallant Chaine of Gold, and a rich Robe of crimſon in graine: a thing that hee eſteemed very much, and much more eſteemed in *China*, for that it is a thing that they haue not there. Beſides this, they did ordayne a reaſonable Preſent for to ſend vnto the Gouernour of *Chincheo*, hee that diſpatched *Omoncon* by the commandement of the King, to goe and ſeeke the Rouer: alſo another Preſent for the Vice-roy of the Prouince of *Ochian*, who was at that preſent in the Citie of *Aucheo*. And for that *Sinſay* ſhould not finde himſelfe agreeued (who was a Merchant well knowne amongſt them, and perhaps might bee the occaſion of ſome euill and diſturbance of their pretence) they gaue vnto him alſo another Chaine of Gold, as well for this, as alſo for that hee was euer a ſure and perfect friend vnto the *Spaniards*. Then ſtraightwaies by the commandement of the Gouernour there were brought together all ſuch *Chinois* as were captiue and taken from *Limahon* out of the Fort aforeſaid, at *Paganſinan*, and gaue them vnto *Omoncon*, to carrie them free with him: and gaue likewiſe commandement that the Generall of the field, and all ſuch Captaines and Souldiers that were at the ſiege of the Fort, ſhould giue vnto him all ſuch as did there remaine: binding himſelfe to pay vnto the Souldiers,

A good pretence.

The Friers names that went to *China*.

A token that fine cloth is eſteemed.

Spaniſh bounty.

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Souldiers, to whom they did appertaine, all whatsoeuer they should bee valued to bee worth.

Vpon a sunday at the break of day, being the fiue and twentieth of Iune, after they had prayed vnto God to direct their voyage, they set sayle with a prosperous wind: there were with the Friars, Souldiers and men of seruice, twentie persons, besides the *Chines* that were captiues, and the people of the Captaine *Omoncon*. They were not so soone off from the coast, but the wind abated, and they remayned becalmed certaine dayes: but afterwards they had a lustie gale, that carried them forwards. The *Chines* doe gouerne their ships by a compasse diuided into twelue parts, and doe vse no Sea Cards, but a briefe description or Ruter, wherewith they sayle: and commonly for the most part they neuer goe out of the sight of Land. They maruelled very much when that it was told them, that comming from *Mexico* vnto *Philippinas*, they were three moneths at the Sea and neuer saw Land. Vpon the Sunday following, we had sight of the Land of *China*: so that wee found all our Voyage from the Port of *Buliano*, from whence wee had last departed, vnto the firme Land to bee one hundred and fortie leagues; and twentie leagues before they came in the sight thereof, they had sounding at threescore and ten and foure-score fathom, and so waxed lesse and lesse vntill they came to the Land: which is the best and surest token they haue to bee nigh the Land. In all the time of their Voyage the Captaine *Omoncon* with his Companie shewed such great courtesie and friendship to our men, as though they had beene the owners of the said ship: and at such time as they did embarke themselues, hee gaue his owne Cabine that was in the sterne to the Friers, and vnto *Pedro Sarmiento*, and to *Miguel de Loarcha*, hee gaue another Cabine that was very good, and commanded his companie in the ship that they should respect them more then himselfe: the which was in such sort, that on a day at the beginning of their Voyage, the Fathers found them making of Sacrifice vnto their Idols, and told them, that all which they did was a kinde of mockage, and that they should worship but onely one God: and willed them to doe so no more. Who onely in respect of them did leaue it off, and not vse it after in all the Voyage: whereas before they did vse it euery day many times. Besides this, they would worship the Images that the Friers did carrie with them, and kneele vpon their knees with great shew of deuotion: who now hauing sight of the firme Land, in so short time, and passed that small Gulfe so quietly, which was wont to bee very perillous and full of stormes: they did attribute it vnto the Prayers of the Friers, their companions and Souldiers. As they drew neerer the Land, they might discouer from the Sea, a very gallant and well towred Citie, that was called *Titubul*, whereas the King hath continually in Garrison ten thousand Souldiers, and is vnder the gouernement of the Prouince of *Chincheo*. The next day wee came vnto a Watch-towre, which was situated vpon a Rocke at the entrie into a Bay, who had discouered our ship, and knew the Standard or Flagge to bee the Kings: and made a signe vnto seuen ships which were on the other side of the Point, which was part of a companie ordayned for to keepe and defend the coast, which were more then foure hundred. Straightwayes the Captaine of the seuen ships came forth to know what wee were. Hee issued forth from behind the Point, with three ships that did rowe with Oares very swift: and when he came nigh vnto them, he shot at them to make them to amaine: the which *Omoncon* would not doe, for that he supposed (as afterwards hee did confesse) that he should be some man of little estimation, and not the Generall of the coast. But as he drew nigher vnto him, he did know him by the Flagge hee bare on the sterne, in the Foist wherein he was himselfe with his Souldiers, and straightwaies caused to amaine his sayles, and tarried for him. The Generall did the like, and stayed behind, sending a Boat for to bring the Captaine vnto him, and to declare what hee was, and from whence hee came. *Omoncon* did forthwith embarke himselfe into his Boat without any resistance, but rather with feare that he should be punished for that hee did flee from him. The Generall gaue him good entertainment.

This Generall was a goodly man of person, and was very well apparelled, and did sit in a Chaire in the sterne of his ship, the which was all couered to keepe away the Sunne: he commanded the Captaine *Omoncon* to sit downe by him vpon the hatches, without Chaire or any other thing, who did obey him, although first he did refuse it with great modestie, as not worthie to haue that honour, which was not esteemed a little. After that he was set, hee gaue him to vnderstand in effect of all his voyage and successe, and in what extremitie hee left *Limahon*, and also how that he carried with him the Friars and other *Spaniards*, which went to carrie the newes, and to treat of peace with the Vice-roy of *Auchee*: vnto whom, and vnto the Gouernour of *Chincheo*, he carried presents, sent from the Gouernour and Generall of the field of the Ilands *Philippinas*. When the Generall had heard this relation, he commanded the Boat to returne and to bring them before him, that he might see what manner of men they were of person, and the vse of the apparell: and likewise to satisfie himselfe of other desires that came into his mind by that which *Omoncon* had said of them. The Fathers and their companions did obey the commandement, and did embarke themselues in the Boat, and came vnto the ship whereas the Generall receiued them with great courtesie after his fashion.

They departed towards *China*.

China Compasses diuided into 12. parts. *Chines* meane Mariners.

Sounding.

They leaue the worshipping of one Idoll to worship another.

Titubul in the Prouince of *Chincheo*.

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℣. IIII.

Friar MARTIN DE HERRADA, *and other* Spaniards *entertaynment in* China, *and their returne to the* Philippinas.

Tanfuſo, or Tanſuſo.

WIthin a little while after, *Omoncon* and his companie arriued at the Port of *Tanfuſo* hard by, vpon Wedneſday in the euening, being the fift day of Iuly. This *Tanfuſo* is a gallant and freſh Towne of foure thouſand Houſholders, and hath continually a thouſand Souldiers in Garriſon, and compaſſed about. with a great and ſtrong wall, and the gates fortified with plates of Iron, the foundations of all the houſes are of Lime and Stone, and the walls of Lime and Earth, and ſome of Bricke: their houſes within very fairely wrought, with great Courts, their ſtreets faire and broad all paued. Before that *Omoncon* did come vnto an anchor, they ſaw all the Souldiers and the people of the Towne were gathered together vpon the Rockes that were ioyning vnto the Port, all armed ready vnto the battell, amongſt whom there was a principall Captaine, and three more of his companions, that were ſent him by the Gouernour of *Chinchee*, whom they doe call in their language, *Inſuanto*, who had vnderſtanding of the comming of *Omoncon*, when the ſhip entred into the Port, *Omoncon* did ſalute the Towne with certaine Peeces of Artillerie, and diſcharged all his Harquebuſſes ſixe times about, and therewithall tooke in her ſayle, and let anchor fall. Then ſtraightwaies the Captaine whom the *Inſuanto* had ſent, came aboord the ſhip, who had expreſſe commiſſion, not to leaue the companie of our people after that they were diſembarked, till ſuch time as they came whereas he was, but to beare them companie, and to prouide them of all things neceſſarie: the which he did accompliſh.

Enſignes to know the Loytias.

All theſe Captaines and Miniſters of the King doe weare certaine enſignes for to be knowne from the common people, to wit, broad Waſtes or Girdles emboſſed after diuers manners: ſome of Gold and Siluer, ſome of the Tortois ſhell, and of a ſweet wood, and other ſome of Iuorie, the higher eſtates hath them embroidered with Pearles and precious ſtones, and their Bonnets with two long eares, and their Buskins made of Sattin, and vnſhorne Veluet.

Board-licence.

Then after, ſo ſoone as they were come to an anchor in the Port, the Iuſtice did ſend them a Licence in writing for to come forth of the ſhip, as a thing neceſſarie, for that without it the Waiters or Guards of the water ſide, will not ſuffer them to put foot on land. This Licence was written vpon a boord whited, and firmed by the Iuſtice, whoſe charge it is to giue the Licence.

The firſt landing of the Friars.

Then when they came aſhoare, there were the Souldiers that were appointed by the *Inſuanto* in a readineſſe to beare them companie, and did direct and leade them vnto the Kings houſes of the ſaid Citie: the like hath euery Citie almoſt throughout all the Kingdome, and there they bid lodge them. Theſe houſes are very great and very well wrought, and gallant, with faire Courts below, and Galleries aboue: they had in them Stanges or Ponds of water full of fiſh of ſundry ſorts.

The people of the Citie did preſſe very much to ſee theſe ſtrangers, ſo that with the preſſe, as alſo with the great heate, they were maruellouſly afflicted: which being perceiued by the Iuſtice, he gaue order that they might bee eaſed of that trouble, and cauſed Sergeants to keepe the doore, and their Yeomen to make reſiſtance againſt the people. When night was come, the Iuſtice of the Citie did make a Banquet according to the faſhion of the Countrey: and it was in

The vſe of their banquets

the faſhion following. They were carried into a Hall that was very curiouſly wrought, wherein were many Torches and waxe Candles light, and in the midſt thereof was ſet for euery one of the Gueſts a Table by himſelfe, as is the vſe and faſhion of that Countrey; euery Table had his couering of Damaske or Sattin very well made, the Tables were gallantly painted, without any Table-clothes, neither doe they vſe any, for they haue no need of them, for that they doe eate all their victuals with two little ſtickes made of Gold and Siluer, and of a maruellous odoriferous wood, and of the length of little Forkes, as they doe vſe in *Italie*, with the which they do feed themſelues ſo cleanly, that although their victuals be neuer ſo ſmall, yet doe they let nothing fall, neither foule their hands nor faces. They were ſet downe at theſe Tables in very good order, and in gallant Chaires, in ſuch ſort, that although they were euery one at his Table by himſelfe, yet they might ſee and talke one with another, they were ſerued with diuers ſorts of cates, and very well dreſſed, both of fleſh and fiſh, as gamons of Bacon, Capons, Geeſe, whole Hens, and pieces of Beefe, and at the laſt, many little baskets full of ſweet meats made of Sugar, and Marchpanes all wrought very curiouſly. They gaue them Wine of an indifferent colour and taſte, made of the Palm-tree. All the time that the ſupper laſted, there was in the Hall great ſtore of Muſicke of diuers Inſtruments, whereon they played with great conſort, ſome one time and ſome another. The Inſtruments which they commonly doe vſe, are Hoybuckes, Cornets, Trumpets, Lutes, ſuch as be vſed in *Spaine*, although in the faſhion there is ſome difference. There was at this Banquet (which endured a great while) the Captaine that was ordayned for their Guard, and the Captaine *Omoncon*, and *Sinſay*. When Supper was done

Wine of a Palme tree.

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done, they were carryed into very faire Chambers, whereas were faire Beds, where they slept and eased themselues.

The next day in the morning, was brought vnto them their ordinarie victuals, and that in abundance, as well of Flesh as of Fish, Fruits and Wine, to be dressed vnto their owne content, and according vnto their manner: they would take nothing for the same, for so they were commanded by the *Insuantes*. This was brought vnto them euery day, so longas they were there, & in the way when as they went vnto *Chincheo*. The same day arriued a Captayne of fortie Ships in the same Port, and so soone as hee was ashoare, he went straight-wayes vnto the Palace for to see the strangers: who being aduertised of his comming, came foorth and receiued him at the Palace gate, whereas was vsed betwixt them great courtesie. The Captayne came with great Maiestie, with his guard of Souldiers and Mace-bearers before him, with great musicke of Hoy-buckes, Trumpets and Drums, and two Whiffelers, or Typ-staues, that made roome, putting the people aside: also there came with him two executors of Iustice, hauing each of them in their hands a Set made of canes, which is an instrument wherewith they doth whip and punish offenders. When this Captayne came vnto the Palace gate, whereas the father Friars and their companions did receiue him, he was brought on the shoulders of eight men very richly apparelled, in a chayre wrought of Iuorie and Gold, who stayed not till they came into the inner Chamber, whereas he did alight from the chayre, and went straight vnder a Cloath of estate, that was there ordinarily for the same purpose, and a Table before him: there hee sate downe, and straight-wayes arose vp, and standing he did receiue the strange ghests, who did courtesie vnto him according vnto their fashion, which is to joyne their hands together, and to stoope with them and their heads downe to the ground: hee gratified them againe, with bowing his head a little, and that with great grauitie. These speeches being finished, there was brought foorth certaine pieces of blacke Silke of twelue vares long a piece. And his Officers did put on the Friars shoulders each of them two, which was for either shoulder one, and was brought about their bodies and girt therewith: the like was done in order vnto the *Spanish* Souldiers, and vnto *Omoncon*, and *Sinsay*, and to their Interpreter. But vnto *Omoncon*, and *Sinsay*, was giuen vnto either of them a branch or Nosegay made of Siluer, which was set vpon their heads, which is accustomable honour, that is done vnto such as haue done some great enterprise, or such like. After that this ceremonie was done, they played vpon the Instruments aforesayd, which came with the Captayne. In the meane time of their musicke, there was brought foorth great store of Conserues, March-panes, and things made of Sugar, and excellent good Wine: and so being on foote standing, hee caused them to eate, and hee himselfe from the Chayre whereas he sate, did giue them to drinke euery one in order, without rising vp, which is a ceremonie and token of great fauour, and of loue.

Captaine of fortie Ships.

Sergeants.

This being done, hee arose from the chayre vnder the Cloath of state, and went and sate downe in that which was brought on mens backes, and with declyning of his head a little, hee departed out of the Hall and out of the house, and went vnto his owne house, whereas by the counsell of *Omoncon*, and *Sinsay*, within an houre after they should goe and visite him, the which they did: hee receiued them maruellously well and with great courtesie: who maruelled at his great Maiestie and authoritie, for that *Omoncon* and *Sinsay*, when they did talke with him were vpon their knees, and so did all the rest. Hee gaue them againe in his owne house a gallant banquet, of diuers sorts of Conserues and Fruits, and excellent Wine of the Palme-tree, and did talke and reason with them in good sort, and was more familiar than at his first visitation.

After that the Fathers with their companions had remained two dayes in the Port of *Tansuso*, the thrid day they departed in the morning towards *Chincheo*. At their going forth of the Town, they were accompanied with a great number of Soldiers, both Harquebusses & Pikes, and before them a great noyse of Trumpets, Drums, and Hoy-bucks, till such time as they came vnto the Riuers side, whereas was a Brygandine prouided and made readie in all points, to carrie them vp the Riuer: all the streets alongst whereas they went, there followed them so much people that it was innumerable, and all to see them. All alongst the Riuers whereas they went, was seated with Villages very gallant and fresh, both on the one side and on the other.

At the end of the two leagues, they came vnto a great Bay, where was at an Anchor a fleete of more then one hundred and fiftie Ships men of warre, whose Generall was this Captaine, whom wee haue spoken of. At such time as the fleete did discouer them, they began to salute them, as well with great pieces of Artillerie, as with Harquebusses, and other kinde of pastimes, which commonly they doe vse at such times.

Our *Spaniards* did trauell vp the Riuer more than three leagues, hauing continually both on the one side and on the other, very many and faire Townes, and full of people. In the end of the three leagues, they went aland halfe a league from the Towne of *Tangoa*, whereas straight-wayes all such things as they carryed with them, were taken vpon mens backes, and carryed vnto the Towne before them, whereas they were tarrying their comming, for to giue them great entertaynment. At their going ashoare, they found prepared for the two Religious men, little Chayres to carrie them vpon mens backes, and for the Souldiers and the rest of their companions horse. The Fathers did refuse to bee carryed, and would haue gone a foot, but *Omoncon*, and the

Tangoa.

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other Captayne would not conſent thereunto. The Fathers obeyed their reaſons, and entred into the Chayres, and were carryed with eight men a piece, and the other their companions with foure men a piece, according vnto the order giuen by the Gouernour. Thoſe that carryed the Chayres, did it with ſo good a will, that there was ſtriuing who ſhould firſt lay hands to them. This Towne of *Tangoa*, hath three thouſand Souldiers, and is called in their language *Coan*: at the entring in, it hath many Gardens and Orchards and a ſtreet where through they carryed the *Spaniards* vnto their lodging, they affirmed to bee halfe a league long, and all the ſtreet whereas they went, was full of boards and ſtalles whereon was layd all kinde of Merchandiſe very curious, and things to bee eaten, as freſh Fiſh and ſalt Fiſh of diuers ſorts, and great abundance of Fowle, and Fleſh of all ſorts, Fruits and greene Herbes in ſuch quantitie, that it was ſufficient to ſerue ſuch a Citie as *Siuill* is. They were brought vnto the Kings houſe, which was very great, marueilouſly well wrought with ſtone and bricke, and many Halls, Parlours, and Chambers, but none aboue, but all below. So ſoone as they were a foote, there was brought from the Captayne or Iuſtice of the Towne, whom they doe call *Ticoan*, a meſſage, bidding them welcome, and therewith a preſent, which was great ſtore of Capons, Hennes, Teales, Ducks, Geeſe, Fleſh of foure or fiue ſorts, freſh Fiſh, Wine, and fruits of diuers ſorts, and of ſo great quantitie, that it was ſufficient for two hundreth men. All the which they would haue giuen for a little coole ayre, by reaſon that it was then very hot weather; and againe, the great number of people that came thither to ſee them did augment it the more. In the Euening the two *Spaniſh* Souldiers went foorth into the ſtreets to walke abroad, and left the two Friars within their lodging, vnto whom afterwards they did giue intelligence of all things that they had ſeene, which did cauſe great admiration: the wall of the Towne was very broad, and wrought with lyme and ſtone, full of loope-holes and watch-towers. And as they paſſed through the ſtreets there came foorth of a houſe a very honeſt man, as it ſeemed, who was very well apparelled and ſtayed them, for that in the ſame houſe, there were certayne Dames principall perſonages, that did ſee them a farre off, and not content therewith, they did requeſt them with great curteſie for to enter into the houſe, that they might the better ſee them: the which they did ſtraightwayes accompliſh, and entring in, they were brought into a court, whereas was ſet Chayres for them to ſit downe, and the Ladies were there a little from them, beholding them with great honeſtie and grauitie. Then a little after, they ſet them a banquet with March-panes and ſweet meats made of Sugar, which they did eate without any curioſitie, and drunke after the ſame. The banquet being done, they made ſignes and tokens vnto them, that they receiued great content with their ſight, and that they might depart when that their pleaſure was, the which they did, after that they had made great curteſies with thankes, for their friendſhip receiued of both parts.

China Women.

So after they had taken their leaue, they went to ſee a Houſe of pleaſure, that was hard by the Towne-wall, wrought vpon the water, with very faire galleries and open lodges to banquet in, made of Maſons worke, and therein many Tables finely painted, and round about it Ciſterns of water, wherin was ſtore of Fiſh, and joyning vnto them Tables of very faire Alabaſter, all of one ſtone, and the leaſt of them was of eight ſpannes long: and round about them were brookes of running water, that gaue a pleaſant ſound in the meane time they were banquetting, and nigh thereunto many Gardens full of all ſorts of Flowers. And a little from that place they ſaw a Bridge all of Maſons worke, and the ſtones very well wrought and of a mightie bigneſſe, they meaſured ſome of them, that were twentie and two and twentie foote long, and fiue foot broad, and ſeemed vnto them, that it was a thing impoſſible to bee layd there by mans hands. Of this bigneſſe, yea and bigger they did ſee layd vpon many other Bridges, in the diſcourſe of their voyage, going to *Chincheo* and *Aucheo*. The next day in the morning when they were vp and readie, they found in the houſe all things in a readineſſe and in very good order, for their departure, as well their little Chayres, and Horſe, as for men to carrie their ſtuffe and apparell, which did not a litle make them to maruell, how that euery one of them with a waſter vpon their ſhoulders, did diuide their burthen in two parts, ſixe roues before and ſixe roues behinde, and did trauell with the ſame with ſo great eaſe and ſwiftneſſe, that the Horſe could not indure with them. They went vnto the *Ticoan* his houſe. They found him with great Maieſtie, but yet gaue them great and good entertaynment. Hee did likewiſe put vpon each of them, two pieces of Silke, in the ſame order as the Gouernour of *Tanſuſo* did.

Houſe of pleaſure.

Stone-bridge.

From this Towne of *Tangoa* vnto *Chincheo*, is thirteene leagues, and ſo playne way that it giueth great content to trauell it: in all the way they could not ſee one ſpanne of ground but was tilled and occupied. The like they doe ſay, is of all the ground that is in the whole Kingdome: it is full of people, and the Townes one ſo neere to another, that almoſt you can not iudge them to bee many Townes but one, for that there was but a quarter of a league diſtant, one Towne from another, and it was told vnto them that in all the Prouinces of the Kingdome, it is peopled in the ſame order. All their ground they till is watred, which is the occaſion of the fruitfulneſſe therof, ſo that they doe gather fruit all the yeere long, and our *Spaniards* did ſee in all places whereas they came, that they were gathering of Rice, ſome new ſprung vp, ſome with eares, and ſome ripe. They doe plough and till their ground with Kine, *Bufalos*, and Bulls, which are very

Thriftie tillage

Plowing with *Buffalos*.

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very tame, and although they bee very great, yet be their hornes but of a spanne long and turning backwards to the tayle, in such sort that they cannot doe any hurt or harme with them: they doe gouerne them with a coard that is made fast to a ring that is in their nose, and in like sort doe they gouerne the *Bufales*. They doe feed them commonly in the fields of Rice, for that they haue no other grasings, and all the time that they are feeding, a Boy doth ride on euery one of them to disturbe them, that they doe no harme therein. But to eate the weedes and grasse that doe grow in the Rice. Pasturage.

All the high-wayes are couered with the shadow of very faire Orchards, which doe garnish it very much, and they are planted in very good order: and amongst them there are Shops, where as is sold all manner of Fruits, to the comfort of all such as doe trauell by the way, which is an infinite number, some on foote, some on horse-backe, and others in little chayres. Their waters by the high-wayes, are very good and light. The same day when they had trauelled halfe way, they saw a farre off comming marching towards them in very good order, a squadron of Souldiers, which at the first caused them to maruell, and to bee afrayd, till such time as they drew nigher, it was told vnto them, that it was the Captayne of the guard vnto the *Insuanto*, or Gouernour of *Chincheo*, who came by his order to receiue them with foure hundred Souldiers, very well armed with Pikes and Harquebusses, and well apparelled. So soone as the Captayne came vnto them, hee was mounted on a bay Horse, but of small stature, as they for the most part bee in all that Prouince, hee alighted and came vnto the Fathers, and his companions (who likewise did alight from their little Chayres) and did salute the one the other with great courtesie.

The Captayne came very well apparelled with a Chayne of gold about his necke, a man of a good audacitie and vnderstanding. Hard vnto his stirrop hee had a Page that went with him, and carryed a great *Tira sol*, made of Silke, that did shadow him all ouer. Hee had before him great musicke of Trumpets and Hoybuckes, whereon they played in great concord; This Captayne with his foure hundreth Souldiers, did continually guard them for pompe, not necessitie; for the people may not weare weapons but the Souldiers. In this high-way continually there went and came many packe-Horses, laden with Merchandise and other things, but the most part of them were Mules. The high-wayes are very broad, that twentie men may ride together on a ranke, and one not hinder another, and are all paued with great stones. A thing to keepe away the Sunne. High-wayes.

VPon a Saturday being the eleuenth of Iuly, came our *Spaniards* vnto the Citie of *Chincheo*, foure houres before it was night. This Citie is of the common sort in that Kingdome, and may haue seuentie thousand housholds. It is of great traffick and well prouided of all things, for that the Sea is but two leagues from it: it hath a mightie Riuer running alongst by it downe into the Sea, by which is brought by water and carryed downe all kinde of merchandise. There is a Bridge ouer the sayd Riuer, which is supposed to bee the fairest that is in all the world: it hath a draw bridge to serue in time of warres, or for any other necessitie: the Bridge is eight hundred paces long, and all wrought with stones of two and twentie foote long, and fiue foote broad, a thing greatly to bee maruelled at: at the entrie thereof, there were many armed Souldiers readie to fight, who when they came within Harquebusse shot did salute them in very good order. There was nigh vnto the sayd bridge in the Riuer riding at anchor, more then a thousand Ships of all sorts, and so great a number of Boates and Barkes, that all the Riuer was couered, and euery one full of people that had entred into them for to see the *Castillas*, for so they did call the *Spaniards* in that Countrey, for the streets in the Suburbes, nor in the Citie could not hold them, the number was so great, yet their streets are as broad as our ordinary streets in any Citie in all *Spaine*. This Citie is compassed with a strong Wall made of stone, and is seuen fathom high, and foure fathom broad, & vpon the Gates many towers, wherein is placed their Artillerie, which is all their strength, for that they doe not vse in their Kingdome strong Castles, as they doe in *Europe*. The houses of the Citie are all built after one sort and fashion, but faire, & not very high, by reason of the Earthquakes which are ordinarily in that Country. All the streets (but especially that wherein they passed at their comming thither) haue on the one side and on the other, Sheds, vnder the which are shops, full of rich Merchandise and of great value, and very curious. They haue in equall distance the one from the other, many triumphant Arches which doe set out the streets very much, and is vsed in euery principall street throughout all the Kingdome, in the which they haue excellent Market-places, whereas is to bee bought all things that you will desire to be eaten, as well of Fish, as of Flesh, Fruits, Hearbs, Comfits, Conserues, and all things so good cheape, that it is almost bought for nothing. *Chincheo* hath seuentie thousand housholds. Faire Bridge. A thousand ships in one Riuer. They haue no vse of Castles. Earthquakes in this Countrey. Rich Merchandise. Triumphant Arches.

The *Insuanto* or Gouernour of the Citie, did send that forthwith they should goe vnto his House, for that hee had great desire to see them. In the midst of the streete, where was no lesse number of people then in the other, whereby they entred into the Citie, they met with a *Loytia*, that came to entertaine them with great Maiestie, and had carryed before him many Banners, Mace-bearers, and Tipstaues, and others which carryed Sets or Whips, which they did trayle after them, made fast vnto long stickes, which were the Executioners, the which doe goe alwayes making of way, parting the people before the *Loytias*, as you haue heard. The maiestie and The *Insuanto*.

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An Aſſiſtant.

and company wherewith he came was ſo great, that they verily did beleeue him to be the *Inſuanto*: but being certified, they vnderſtood that it was one of his Counſellors that came from the Gouernours home to his owne houſe, which was in the ſame ſtreet whereas hee met with them. This Counſellor was carried in a Chaire of Iuorie, garniſhed with Gold and with Curtaines of Cloth of Gold, and on them the Kings Armes, which are certayne Serpents knotted together (as hath beene told you.) But when he came right againſt the *Spaniards*, without any ſtaying he made a ſigne with his head, and commanded that they ſhould returne backe againe vnto his houſe, which was hard by: the Captaines did ſtraight-wayes obey his commandement, and returned with them. The Counſellor entred into his houſe, which was very faire, hee had in it a faire Court, and therein a gallant Fountaine and a Garden. After him entred the *Spaniards* all alone, the reſt remayned without in the ſtreet at the *Loyſas* commandement, hee entertayned them with very good words of ſemblance, and commanded a Banquet to be brought forth, and Wine to drinke, he began firſt both to eate and drinke. Then he commanded to call in the Captaine, vnto whom was giuen the charge to beare them companie, and did chide with him very ſharpely and ſeuerely, becauſe he did carrie them on foot (they could not vnderſtand whether it were done for a policie, or of a truth, although the effects wherewith hee did chide ſeemed of a truth) hee ſtraight-wayes commanded two rich Chaires to bee brought forth to carry the Fathers, and to giue vnto their companions Horſes: the which beeing done, hee willed them to goe and viſit the Gouernour, who did tarrie their comming: and that another time at more leiſure he would ſee and viſit them.

Serpents knotted the Kings Armes.

They followed their way all alongſt the ſtreet, which ſeemed vnto them to bee more fairer then the other wherein they entred, and of more fairer houſes and triumphant Arches: and alſo the ſhops that were on the one ſide and on the other, to bee better furniſhed with richer things then the others, in ſo ample ſort, that what therewith, as alſo the great number of people which they ſaw, they were ſo amazed, that they were as people from themſelues, thinking it to bee a Dreame. To conclude, after they had gone a good while in that ſtreet, delighting their eyes with new things neuer ſeene of them before: they came into a great place, whereas were many Souldiers in good order with their Harquebuſſes, Pikes and other Armour in a readineſſe, apparelled all in a Liuery of Silke, with their Ancients diſplayed. At the end of this place, was there a very faire and ſumptuous Palace, the gate was wrought of Maſons worke of ſtone, very great and full of figures or Perſonages, and aboue it a great window with an Iron grate all gilt: they were carried within the gates, the Soulders and the people which were without number, remayned without and could not be auoyded but with great difficultie. When they were within the firſt Court, there came forth a man very well apparelled and of authoritie, and made ſignes with his hand vnto them that brought the *Spaniards*, that they ſhould carrie them into a Hall that was vpon the right hand, the which was ſtraight-wayes done. The Hall was very great and faire, and at the end thereof there was an Altar, whereon were many Idols, and all did differ the one from the other in their faſhion: the Altar was rich and very curiouſly trimmed with burning Lampes: the Altar-cloth was of cloth of Gold: and the fruntlet of the ſame.

Goodly ſight.

The Palace.

After awhile that they had beene there whereas the Idols were, there came a Seruant from the Gouernour and ſaid vnto them in his behalfe, that they ſhould ſend vnto him the Interpreter; they ſtraight-wayes commanded him to goe. And the Gouernour ſaid vnto him that he ſhould aduiſe the Fathers and the reſt of his companions, that if they would talke and treate of ſuch buſineſſe as they came for, that it muſt be done with the ſame ceremonie and reſpect, as the Nobles of that Prouince doe, vſe to talke with him, which is vpon their knees (as afterwards they did ſee many times vſed) if not that they ſhould depart vnto the Houſe whereas they were lodged, and there to tarrie the order that ſhould be ſent from the Vice-roy of *Aucheo*.

State-ceremonie.

The *Spaniards* were of diuers judgements, ſtriuing amongſt themſelues a good while, but yet in concluſion, the Religious Fathers, whom the Gouernour of the Ilands had ordayned and ſent as principals in this matter, and whoſe judgement they ſhould follow, ſaid, that they ought to accept the condition, ſeeing that by no other meanes they could not come vnto that they pretended: and not to leaue it off for matters of ſmall importance, for that therein they make no offence vnto God, and it may be a meane vnto the conuerting of that mightie Kingdome.

When that the *Inſuanto* vnderſtood that the *Spaniards* would enter with the reuerence accuſtomed, and in ſuch order as was declared vnto them, hee ſtraight-wayes commanded that they ſhould come into the Hall whereas hee was, they entred into another Hall as bigge as the firſt: whereas were many Souldiers with their weapons in their hands in very good order, and richly apparelled, and next vnto them were many Tipſtaues and Sergeants, with different Enſignes or Badges, all apparelled with long Robes of ſilke, garded and embroydered with Gold, and euery one of them had a Helme on his head, ſome of ſiluer and other ſome of Tinne gilt ouer, which was a gallant thing to ſee: all had long haire and died yellow, which hung downe behind their eares vpon their backes: they were placed in very good order, and made a lane that the *Spaniards* might paſſe thorough: then they came into a Gallerie, which was joyning vnto the Chamber where the Gouernour was, and there they heard ſuch a noyſe of Inſtruments of diuers ſorts,

which

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which endured a good while, and was of so great melodie, that it seemed vnto them that they neuer before heard the like: which caused vnto them great admiration to see so great Majestie amongst *Gentiles*. When the Musicke was ended, they entred into the Hall aforesaid, and had not gone many steps, when as they met with the Counsailer that met with them in the street afore-said, and with him other two of his companions all on foot and bare-headed before the Gouernour, and their Ensignes of Majestie left off: which is generally vsed in all the Kingdome, the inferiour to make any shew when that he is before his Superiour. Then they made signes vnto them for to kneele downe, for that the *Insuanto* was nigh at hand in a rich Towre, vnder a Canopie of great Riches, and did represent so great Majestie as the King himselfe: hee did entertayne them with tokens of great loue, and humanitie, and told them by their Interpreter, that they were very well welcome, and that hee did greatly rejoyce to see them, with many other words of great fauour. This Gouernour was a man of goodly person, well fauoured, and of a merry countenance, more then any that they had seene in all that Countrey. Hee caused to bee put vpon the shoulders of the Fathers and of the Souldiers that were with him, euery one of them two pieces of silke, which was crossed about them like Skarfes, and likewise to either of them a branch of siluer: the like courtesie he did vnto the Captaine *Omoncon*, and vnto *Sinsay*, and commanded to giue vnto all their Seruants euery one of them a Mantle of Cotton painted. This being done, the Fathers did giue vnto him the Letters which they carried from the Gouernour and Generall of the field, and a note of the Present that was sent him: craving pardon for that it was so small, but time and oportunitie would not serue as then to send vnto him a thing of greater price and valour: certifying him, that if the friendship which they pretended did goe forwards, and come to be established, that then all things should be amended and amplified. Hee answered vnto their proffers with words of great fauour, and made signes vnto them to arise, and to goe and take their rests there, whereas they were lodged: the which they did, and found all things in very good order and well furnished, as well of Beds as of all other necessaries, which was done by the commandement of the Gouernour. Before they departed out of the Palace the Captaine of the guard did carrie them vnto his Lodging, which was within the Court, and there he made them a Banquet with Conserues, and Fruits in abundance: the which being done, hee and other Gentlemen of the Palace did beare them company vntil they came to their Lodgings, which they greatly desired, for that they were wearie of their Iourney, and also with the trouble of the great presse of people that pressed on them in the streets, & otherwise for to see them: the which Captaine of the guard did appoint a Company of Souldiers for to guard them both night and day, the which was done more for Maiestie then for necessitie or securitie of their persons. They had a Steward appointed to prouide them and all their company of all things necessary, and that in abundance, and not to take of them any thing, which was giuen by particular commandement by the Gouernour.

Great Maiesty.

The *Insuantos* person and entertaynment.

The next day, many of the Gentlemen of the Citie did goe vnto the *Spaniards* to visit them, and such as could not goe themselues did send their Seruants, bidding them welcome. The *Spaniards* did make answere, and gratified them all, in the which visitation they spent all the whole day, hauing great admiration to see the good behauiour, nurture, and gallant demeanour of those Gentlemen, and the great discretion they had in the demanding of any thing they would know as also in their Answeres made to our requests. The next day the *Insuanto* sent a commandement wherein he willed the two Fathers to remayne in their Lodgings and take their ease: but the two Souldiers *Pedro Sarmiento*, and *Miguel de Loarcha*, should come and speake with him, and that they should bring with them their Interpreter, for that hee had one there with him (who was a *Chino*, and vnderstood the Language of the *Philippinas*, but so badly, that they could not by his Interpretation talke of any matter of importance. So when they came thither, they were brought whereas he was, but with lesse ceremonie, he requested them to declare vnto him the whole circumstance of the comming of *Limahon* the Rouer, vnto the Ilands, and how the *Spaniards* dealt with him: that although he had beene informed particularly in all things, by the Captaine *Omoncon* and *Sinsay*, yet he was in a iealousie that they told him not the truth. Hee was nothing deceiued in that he suspected,) for after that our Souldiers had made a true Relation of the comming of the Rouer vnto *Manilla*, and of all the rest, hee found that they differed very much, the one from the other, for that they did attribute it wholly vnto themselues to get honour and benefit: but the *Insuanto* like a wise man straight-wayes vnderstood their pretence. But when that he perceiued that *Limahon* was neither dead nor Prisoner, but onely besieged, he offered vnto them that if they would returne againe vnto *Paganſinan* vpon him whereas he was, he would giue vnto them fiue hundred ships of warre, with people sufficient to serue both by Sea and Land, and more if they would request. They answered him, that all such cost and labour were but in vaine, for that the Generall of the field who hath him in siege, with the people and ships that he hath are sufficient to end that Enterprize, and to send him hither aliue or dead, and that long before that their fleet should come thither. And besides this, their Ilands were poore of victuals, and could not sustaine so great an Armie many dayes. Beeing satisfied with these reasons, he gaue place that the Interpreter which they brought should come in where as they were,

Vaine glory.

Boasting.

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were, for he remayned at the doore without, for that hee would bee fully certified to auoid the suspitious doubt he had before he come in presence, yet he did helpe them very much. So when their Interpreter was come in, the *Spaniards* seeing good occasion and oportunitie for to declare
Mortified Friers. that which passed the day before, betwixt them and the Fathers, touching the speaking vnto him on their knees: and seeing, as it seemed vnto them, that he was at that time in a good mind for to heare them, they did vtter vnto him all the whole contention (after that they had declared many reasons of great consideration, to giue them to vnderstand that it was not conuenient to doe it, but especially to religious men, who were there as principals ouer the rest, vnto whom the King of *Spaine* (their Lord) himselfe doth stand on foot, when as they doe intreate of any matter, although it be but of small importance: for that they are Priests and Ministers of God, whom he doth worship and reuerence.

The *Insuanto* with a merry countenance did answere them, that vnto that time hee vnderstood no more of them, then in that he was informed by the Captaine *Omoncon*, and did not acknowledge them to bee any other but *Castillas*: without knowing wherefore they came, nor from whom, for lacke of the Letters sent from their Gouernour, and Generall of the field, the first time that hee spake with them: neither had hee any knowledge of the custome of their Countrey: yet notwithstanding, that which hath passed heere, without any exception of person, if they would take it in good part, in that which is to come shall be amended: and from that day forwards, at all times whensoeuer it were their pleasure to come of themselues, or at such time as they were sent for, for to talke with him as they doe vse in *Castilla* or *Spaine*, vnto such of their dignitie and vocation, the which hee granted with a very good will: although hee not grant vnto any that pre-eminence, no not vnto a Vice-roy, except he were an Ambassador sent from some King.

The next day, the Gouernour called a Gentleman of his House vnto him, and commanded him to go and visit the *Spaniards*, and to informe himselfe of them if that they lacked any thing. And also that he should in his name inuite them for the next day following to dine with him in his House. This Gentleman went vnto them and accomplished his message: and the *Spaniards* answered, kissing his hand for the great care he had of them: they were carryed into a Hall that was below in the second Court, whereas were many Chaires of Veluet and Tables that
Spaniards feasted. Table-rite. were painted with their frontals before. In the first Chaires they caused the Friers to sit downe, euery one at a Table by himselfe, and each of them other sixe Tables, placed in order, compassing round like a Circle: then were the *Spanish* Souldiers set in the same manner, and each of them had fiue Tables, and next vnto them the Captaine of the guard belonging vnto the Gouernour, and two other Captaines: and euery one of them had three Tables. For that it is the custome
A Comedy & other sports. of that Countrey to make a difference in the qualitie of the guests, by the number of the Tables. All these were placed in circle or compasse (as aforesaid) that they might see one another. In the midst betwixt them there was a round compasse, whereas was represented a Comedie with much pastime, and indured all the Dinner time, and a good while after. There was also great store of very good and excellent Musicke, accompanied with gallant voyces, also Iesters with
The Viands. Puppets, and other things of great pastime, to driue the time away. On the first Table was set to euery one of the guests, little Baskets wrought with Gold and Siluer wyre, full of sweet meates made of Sugar, as March-panes, Castles, Pitchers, Pots, Dishes, Dogges, Buls, Elephants, and other things very curious, and all gilt: besides this there were many Dishes full of flesh, as Capons, Hennes, Geese, Teales, Gamons of Bacon, pieces of Beefe, and other sorts of flesh wherewith all the Tables were repleniſhed, sauing that whereat they did sit to dine, which was repleniſhed with victuals that was dressed (for all the other was raw) and was of so great abundance, that there was at times more then fiftie dishes, and they were serued with great curiositie. They had Wine of diuers sorts, and of that which they doe make in that Countrey of the Palme-tree, but of so great excellencie, that they found no lacke of that which was made of Grapes. The Dinner endured foure houres, in so good order that it might haue beene giuen vnto any Prince in the World.

Their Seruants and Slaues that they brought with them at the same time, did dine in another Hall nigh vnto the same, with so great abundance as their Masters. When Dinner was done, the Gouernour commanded the people to come vnto him, with whom hee did talke and common with great friendship, and good conuersation, and would not consent that they should kneele downe, neither to be bare headed. So after that he had made vnto them tokens of friendship, and detayned them a while, in demanding of many things, lastly, he told them that there was an order come from the Vice-roy of *Aucheo*, that they should goe thither with great speed. So hee tooke his leaue of vs with great friendship and courtesie. At their going forth out of the Hall, they found the Captaine that did dine with them, and with him many other Gentlemen that tarried their comming for to beare them company vnto their Lodging: going before them many Seruants, that did carrie the raw meate, that was vpon the other Tables ouer and aboue that which they did eate on, the which was done for great Maiestie, and a Ceremonie very much vsed in that Kingdome, so many times as they doe make any Banquet.

When

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When they came vnto their Lodging they found that the *Insuanto* had sent them a very good Present, in the which was for euery one of them foure pieces of silke, and counting chiles with other things, and certayne painted Mantles for the Seruants and Slaues. After they had taken their leaue of the Captaines and Gentlemen that did beare them company home, they beganne with great ioy to put all things in order for their Iourney the next day following.

THe next day in the morning, before that the *Spaniards* were stirring, there was within the House all things necessary for their Iourney, as well of Litter chaires, as of Horses and Men for to carrie them, and their stuffe, the which they did with so good a will (as aforesaid) that they did fall out and striue amongst themselues, who should be the first that should receiue their burthen. So all things beeing in good order, they departed, hauing in their company the same Captaine and Souldiers, that vnto that time had beene their guard, vntill they came vnto the Citie of *Aucheo*, whereas the Vice-roy was. This day by reason they vnderstood that they should depart, the preasse and multitude of the people was so great, that although they had Tip-staues before them, to beate the people away and to make roome, yet was it almost night before they could get out of the Citie: so that they were constrained to remaine in a Towne there hard by all that night, whereas by the commandement of the Gouernour they were very well lodged, and their Supper made readie in very good order, as it was in seuen dayes together, till such time as they came vnto *Aucheo*, without taking for the same, or for any other thing necessarie for their sustentaion, any price or value. There went continually before them a Post with a prouision from the Gouernour, written in a great board wherein was declared who they were, and from whence they came, and commanding that there should be prouided for them all things necessarie in abundance, vpon the Kings cost, which was the occasion that so much people came for to see them, that in the high-waies they were many times disturbed with great trouble, the third day they came vnto a Citie which was called *Megoa*, which was sometimes the head gouernment, the which was of forty thousand housholds, but a great part thereof was dispeopled: the occasion thereof they told vs (and was) that about thirtie yeares past, the *Iapones*, who brought for their Guides three *Chinois*, came vpon that Citie (to reuenge themselues of an injurie that was done vnto them) the which they put *in* execution with so great secrecie and policie, that they made themselues Lords of the Citie without any danger or hurt vnto themselues: for that fiftie *Iapones*, men fit for that purpose, did apparell themselues in *Chinois* apparell without being knowne, and came vnto a Gate of the Citie, whereas the Souldiers that had the charge thereof were void of all suspition. And within a little while after that, followed two thousand that did dis-imbarke themselues in a secret and vnknowne place, and came in very secret order, because they would not be discouered, and did beset that gate of the Citie, whereas their companions were, which they sent before: who so soone as they saw them nigh at hand, drew out their weapons, the which they carried hid vnder their apparell, & set vpon the Soldiers (that were void of feare and vnarmed) with so great furie and force, that they being amazed wert easily slain, so that they were Lords of the Gate, whereas they left very good guard, and followed their victorie, and made themselues Lords of the Citie, without any danger vnto their persons, and did possesse the same certaine daies, and did sacke the same in spite of them all, with great harme and losse vnto the Inhabitants thereof, vntill such time as the Vice-roy of *Aucheo* did leuie an Armie together of threescore and ten thusand men, but they seeing that they could not defend themselues against so many, in one night they left the Citie and went vnto their ships, whereas they had left them in very good order, and carried with them the spoile of the Citie, leauing it beaten downe.

Aucheo.

Megoa a great Citie spoyled by *Iapanders.*

Stratagem.

So soone as they came thither, the Friers remayned in their Lodgings, but *Pedro Sarmiento* and *Miguel de Loarcha* went to visit the Gouernour, vsing the *Spanish* courtesie with him: and he receiued them with great joy and courtesie. After they had taken their leaue and returned vnto their Lodgings, the Gouernour sent to visit them *El Tyn*, who is the ancientest of his Councell. At their departure from this Citie, trauelling towards *Aucheo*, they passed ouer a mightie great Riuer, by a Bridge all made of stone: the goodliest and greatest that euer they had seene, whose greatnesse did cause wonderfull admiration, so that they stayed and did measure it from one end to another, that it might be put amongst the wonders of that Countrey, which they tooke a note of. They found that it was one thousand and three hundred foot long, and that the least stone wherewith it was built, was of seuenteene foot, and many of two and twentie foot long, and eight foote broad, and seemed vnto them a thing impossible to bee brought thither by mans art, for that all round about so farre as they could see, was plaine ground without any Mountaines: by which they judged them to be brought from farre. When they were passed that Bridge, they trauelled all the rest of the day till night vpon a Cawsie that was very broad and plaine, and on both sides many Victualling Houses, and the fields sowed with Rice, wheate, and other Seeds: and so full of people as in the streets of a good Towne or Citie

Admirable stone bridge.

After they had trauelled more then halfe a league in the Suburbs of the Citie of *Aucheo*, they met with a Post that came from the Vice-roy: who brought order that they should remaine

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Suburbs of *Aucheo.*

mayne in a house that was appointed for them in the sayd Suburbes. So soone as they were alighted, there came a Gentleman to visite them, sent from the Vice-roy to bid them welcome, and to know how they did with their iourney, and also to see that they were well prouided for that night, of all things necessarie, and that in abundance. After this Gentleman, came other Captaynes to visite them, and brought with them great store of Conserues, Wine and Fruit: which is a common custome amongst them, when that they goe in the like visitation, and it is carryed by their seruants in little Baskets very curiously wrought, or else in Barrels made of earth all gilt. Within two houres after their comming thither, there came another messenger from the Vice-roy, with many men laden with Capons, Hennes, Geese, Teales, gamons of Bacon, and Conserues of diuers sorts, and of great abundance, sufficient for one hundred men to suppe that night, and for their dinner the next day. The next day in the morning very earely, there came much people vnto their lodging, sent by the Vice-roy, and brought with them two rich Chayres, for to carrie the Fathers in, and the Curtaines tyed vp, that they might the better bee seene, and for their companions very good Horses, sadled after the fashion which they doe vse. They foorthwith made haste for to depart, and although they made great speed, yet were they a good houre and a halfe, before they could come vnto the gates of the Citie, and seemed vnto them that they had trauelled two leagues in the Suburbes: well peopled, faire houses, and many shops full of Merchandise.

Before they came vnto the Gates, they passed a mightie Riuer three times ouer Bridges, that were great and very faire, and the Riuer so deepe, that great Ships came vp the same, but their maste stooping downe, to passe vnder the bridges. This Citie is the head Citie of all the Prouince, verie rich and fertile, and many Townes belonging vnto it, and but eight leagues from the Sea. They had no leasure to tell the Souldiers, but they saw that from the Gate vntill they came vnto the Vice-royes Palace on both sides, which was a good way, to bee full of them, and all richly apparelled and of one colour. The people that were at the windowes and in the street, betwixt the houses and the Souldiers were so great a number, that it seemed to be doomes day, and that all the people in the world were there ioyned together in that street. When they came vnto the Palace which was two houres after day, the Gentlemen that were their guides, did cause the *Spaniards* to enter into a roome which was hard by, till such time as the Gate was open, for that it is open but once a day, and so continue no longer time then the audience endureth, which is done by the Vice-roy once euery day, and that is but a small time. But first, before he doth enter into audience, there is shot off foure peeces of Artillerie, with a great noyse of Trumpets, Drums and Waytes. And there is no day that passeth without audience, as our people did see by experience so long as they were there, and were likewise informed of others. The houre being come, and the ceremonie done as aforesayd, the Gates were opened, and there was in the Court many Souldiers, apparelled in the same liuerie that those were of in the street. From the midst amongst them came foorth a Gentleman, who was as it was told them, the Captayne of the guard of the Vice-roy, who came with great grauitie and authoritie, towards the place whereas our people were, and after they had saluted the one the other, hee made signes vnto them, that they should goe towards the gates of the Palace. When they were within the first Court, which was great and wrought with mightie pillars, there was a great number of Souldiers, and many Sergeants, that entred into another great court, and mounted vp a payre of stayres that was on the one side, whereas all the people were with great silence, sauing the Captayne of the guard, who went with our people till they came to the gates of the Hall, where was the Vice-roy, at which gate hee stayed with his head discouered, and made signes vnto ours that they should doe the like.

Palace open once a day.

State.

Ceremonie.

Then straight-wayes came foorth of the Hall a man apparelled in a long Robe, of good personage, and asked of the *Spaniards*, if they would speake with the Vice-roy, and they answered, yea: then asked hee againe from whom they came, and by whom they were sent, they answered, that they were sent by the Gouernour of *Philippinas*, who was seruant vnto the mightiest King in all Christendome. When he had this answer, he returned againe into the Hall, and within a little while after he came foorth, and bad them come in, but gaue them to vnderstand, that in entring into the hall whereas the Vice-roy was, that they should kneele downe, and talke with him in that order, till hee commanded to the contrarie, if they would vse this Ceremonie, that then they should come in, if not, that they should returne backe againe. They sayd, that they would obserue the order giuen vnto them. Therewith hee went in, who seemed to bee the Master of ceremonies, making a signe that they should follow after him, and doe that which hee willed them to doe. At the entring in at the doore, they stayed a little, and then kneeled downe right ouer against there whereas the Vice-roy sate, in a Chayre very high like vnto a Throne, with a Table before him, and was in so darke a place that almost they could not see his face very well. On the one side of him, there were some like vnto Heralds of Armes, with Scepters in their hands, and on the other side, two men of a gallant comlinesse armed with Corslets, made of scales of Gold downe to the calfe of their legges, with Bowes in their hands of gold, and Quiuers at their backs of the same. Both the one and the other were vpon their knees. There was

Vice-royes state.

vpon

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vpon the Table before him, paper and all things neceſſarie to write : which is an ordinarie vſe amongſt them at all times, when there is any publike audience, and on the one ſide of the board a Lion made of blacke wood, which was (as after they vnderſtood) the Armes of that Prouince. So ſtraight-wayes hee made ſignes vnto them to draw neere, which they did, and kneeled downe a little from the Table which was whereas the Maſter of Ceremonies did will them. In this ſort they began to talke with him by their Interpreter, and told them the occaſion of their comming into that Citie and Kingdome, and from whom and vnto whom they were ſent. But hee made ſignes vnto them that they ſhould ariſe, the which they did with a very good will, and did perſeuer in their intent. But the Vice-roy did cut them off before they could make an end, and asked if they had brought any Letter from their King, vnto the King his Lord, whom they would goe to ſee and talke with : but when they anſwered no, hee ſtraight-wayes tooke his leaue of them, ſaying, that they were welcome, and that they ſhould depart vnto their lodgings and to take their eaſe, for that afterwards they ſhould haue occaſion to declare their mindes vnto him, and hee would giue them their anſwer, for that the King was farre off, and it requireth a long time to come whereas hee is, but he would write vnto him, and according vnto his commandement, he would make them anſwer. And therewith hee tooke the Letter, and the memoriall of the preſent, and commanded in his preſence, to put about the neckes of the Friars in manner of a ſcarfe, to either of them ſixe pieces of Silke, and vnto the Soldiers their companions, and vnto *Omoncon*, and *Sinſay*, each of them foure pieces, and to euery one of their ſeruants two a piece, and to giue vnto the two Friars and the Souldiers, *Omoncon*, and *Sinſay*, euery one of them two branches of Siluer.

Lions the Armes of that Prouince, perhaps this deceiued *Piats*, who miſtooke them (ſeeing them common on pillars &c.) to be the Kings Armes, which were but of ſome places.

With the Silke about their neckes, and with the branches in their hands, they returned out of the Hall and downe the ſtayres the way they came, and ſo through the court into the ſtreets, from whence they ſaw them ſhut the Court gate with ſo great a noyſe, as when they did open it. From thence at the requeſt of *Omoncon*, and *Sinſay*, they went vnto the houſe of *Totoc*, who is the Captayne generall of all the men of Warre, and vnto the houſe of *Cagnitoc*, who is the chiefe Standard-bearer : their houſes were nigh the one the other, very faire and great. They found them with as great Maieſtie as the Vice-roy, and in the ſame order, with a Table before them, and had on each ſide of them armed Souldiers, kneeling on their knees. Yet did they not vſe our men with the courteſie that the Vice-roy vſed, to cauſe them to ſtand vp, which was the occaſion, that ſtraight-wayes they made a ſhow that they would depart and bee gone, complaining of *Omoncon*, and *Sinſay*, for that they did carrie them thither, and told them with anger, that the Gouernour of *Manilla*, did intreat them in a different ſort, who was there reſident for the mightieſt Prince in all the world, and they but eaſie Merchants, neither was their going thither to bee equalled, vnto the benefite that they came thither for. This diſcontent the which they receiued, was the occaſion that they would not goe to make any more viſitations, although the ſayd *Omoncon*, and *Sinſay*, for their owne intereſt, would haue carryed them to the houſes of other Officers, and Gentlemen of the Court.

Totoc.

Cagnitoc.

At their comming thither, they found all their ſtuffe in good order, and their dinner marueilous well prouided, and the whole houſe hanged and trimmed, as though it had beene for the Kings owne perſon, with many wayting men and Souldiers, thoſe which did guard them both day and night, and hanging at the doore two tables or boards (commanded by the Vice-roy) whereon was written who they were, that were there lodged, and from whence they came, and wherefore, and that none whoſoeuer, ſhould bee ſo hardie as to offer them any wrong or diſturbance, vpon payne to bee for the ſame offence ſeuerely puniſhed. In this houſe they were more in quiet, then in any other place, whereas they had beene, neither did the people giue them ſo much trouble, by reaſon of the great care which the Iudges had in putting order for the ſame, by the commandement of the Vice-roy, yet was it the greateſt Towne and moſt populed, of all that Prouince (although in other Prouinces there bee that be much bigger) and is affirmed that the Citie of *Taybin*, or *Suntiem*, (there whereas the King and his Court is reſident) hath three hundred thouſand houſholds, and yet there is a bigger Citie in the Kingdome called *Lanchin*.

Reports of *Pequin*, called *Taybin* alſo and *Suntiem*. *Lanchin* for *Nanchin*, or *Nanquin*. See *Ricci*.

This Citie of *Auchee*, hath a very faire and ſtrong Wall made of ſtone, which is fiue fathom high, and foure fathom broad, the which was meaſured many times by our people, for that they had a gate out of their lodging that did open to the ſame. This wall is all couered ouer with tyles to defend the rayne-water for hurting of it, which could not to the contrarie but receiue damage, for that there is no lyme vſed in the whole wall. They haue not one Caſtle in all this Citie, neither is there any vſed in all that Kingdome, for all their force and ſtrength is in their Gates, the which bee made very ſtrong, with a double wall, within very broad, betwixt the which are continually many Souldiers, ſuch as doe keepe watch and ward both day and night. Vpon theſe gates they haue much Ordnance, but very ill wrought. The whole wall is full of battlements, and thereon written the names of ſuch Souldiers as are bound to repayre thither in the time of neceſſitie. At euery hundred paces they haue lodgings, the which are very huge and great : there whereas in the time of neceſſitie doe remayne and dwell their Captaynes,

Auchee deſcribed.

Ordnance bad

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The Citie double moted.

so long as their troubles doe indure, all the wall is fortified with two great motes or ditches, the one within and the other without, the which they doe fill at all times when they please, by sluces which they haue from the Riuer for the same purpose, and doe serue of water almost all the houses in the Citie, whereas they haue their stanges for the most part full of Fish. This mightie Citie is situated in a great playne, and compassed round about with mightie Rockes and Mountaines, which is the occasion that it is not so healthfull, and the Inhabitants say, that it is by reason of the Mountaines, and many times it is ouer-flowen in the winter, by spring-tydes from the Riuer. And in that yeere that this doth happen, it doth destroy and ruinate a great part of the Citie, as it was at that time when our people did see it, for that in the winter before they were troubled with these great tydes, which did them much harme.

Vnwholsome.

Inundations.

Vice-royes Feast.

The next day after that our people came into the Citie, the Vice-roy did send to inuite them to dinner to his owne house, whereas he made them a great banquet in the forme following. At their comming vnto the Palace there came forth a great number of Gentlemen, seruants vnto the Vice-roy, to bid them welcome, with great store of musicke and tokens of mirth. Being entred into the first Court, they brought them into a mightie Hall that was maruellously well trimmed, wherein was a great number of Tables set in such order, as they were in the banquet that was made them by the Gouernour of *Chinchéo*, (as hath beene told you) although the number and furniture did farre excell the other. But before they did sit downe, there came vnto them two Captaynes principall men, vnto whom the Vice-roy had committed the charge of the banquet, to doe all things in his name, for that it is a custome in that Kingdome, that Noble men must not be present in their banquets they make. So the charge was giuen vnto them, to make them be merrie, & to bid his ghests welcome. When they came vnto them they vsed great courtesie, and passed away the time in gallant discourses, till it was time to go to dinner, and that they began to bring in their victuals. Then before they did sit downe, the Captaynes did take each of them a cup in his hand, in manner of a *Sorlue*, as they doe vse, and being full of Wine, they went together whereas they might discouer the Heauen and offered it vnto the Sunne, and vnto the Saints of heauen, adding thereunto many words of prayers: but principally they did request that the comming of their new ghests might be profitable vnto them all, and that the friendship which they did pretend to establish, might be for good both vnto the one and to the other. This their prayer being done, they did spill out the Wine making a great courtesie, then were they straight-wayes filled againe, and making reuerence vnto their ghests euery one by himselfe, they set the Cups downe vpon the Tables whereas the Fathers should dine, whereas they were set euerie one by himselfe. This being done, the first seruice was set vpon the boards, and the Captaynes were set at other Tables. The time which the banquet indured (which was very late) there was great store of musicke of diuers Instruments, as of Vials, Gitterns, and Rebuckes, and with them many Iesters did make them merrie at their dinner. The which being done, the sayd Captayns did beare their ghests companie out of the Palace, whereas they did anew inuite them to dinner for the next day, in the same Hall: they obeying their request did come, whereas was made vnto them a banquet more notable than the first. This day at the banquet was present the *Totoc*. In this second banquet they had as the day before, very much musicke, and a Comedie that indured long, with many prettie and merrie iests: there was also a Tumbler, who did his feates very artificially, as well in vauting in the ayre, as vpon a staffe that two men did hold on their shoulders. Before the Comedie did begin, by their Interpreter the signification thereof was told them, that the better they might content themselues in the conceiuing.

Idolatrous rite to the Sunne.

Comedies.

Tomblers.

Taybin or *Paquin*; diuersly called, either by reason of diuers languages; or because they giue appellatiue names (as the *Tartars* call the same Citie *Cambalu*, that is, the Royall Citie) thereto.

The next day they sent the present, and those who carryed it in, did afterward giue our people to vnderstand that in opening the prestnt, there was a note thereof taken before a Notarie, and straight-wayes put in againe where it was taken out, before the sayd Notarie and other witnesses, the which being done, hee sealed it vp, and sent it vnto the Citie of *Taybin*, vnto the King and his Counsell, for that they haue a rigorous Law in that Kingdome, that doth prohibite all such as haue any office of Gouernment, to receiue any present of what qualitie soeuer it bee, without licence of the King or of his Counsell. This is conformable vnto that, which the Gouernour of *Chinchéo* did in the presence of our people.

The next day following, the Vice-roy did send to visite them, and to aske of them a Sword, a Harquebusse and a Flaske: for that hee would cause others to bee made by them, the which they did send, and afterwards vnderstood, that they had counterfeited the same, although not in so perfect manner.

All things good cheape.

Then after a time our people seeing, that their being in that Citie seemed to be long and like to be longer, they did procure to driue away the time in the best manner they could, and went abroad into the Citie, and did by either of them that which they thought best. Whereof they found great abundance, and of so small price, that they bought it almost for nothing. They bought many Bookes that did intreat of diuers matters, which they brought with them to the Ilands. The next day they went to see the Gates of the Citie, and all such curious things as were to bee seene, so farre as they could learne or vnderstand, which were many. But amongst them all, they saw a sumptuous Temple of their Idols, in whose chiefe Chappell they counted, one hundred

III. Idols in one Chappell.

and

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and eleuen Idols, besides a great number more that were in other particuler Chappels, all were of carued worke, very well proportioned and gilded: but in especiall three of them that were placed in the midst of all the rest, the one had three heads proceeding out of one bodie, the one looking on the other in full face, the second was the forme of a Woman with a Child in her armes, the third of a Man apparelled after the forme and fashion, that the *Christians* doe paynt the Apostles. Of all the rest some had foure armes, and some had sixe, and other eight, and other some maruellous deformed monsters. Before them they had burning Lamps, and many sweet perfumes and smels, but in especiall, before the three aboue specified. *Three headed Image. A woman with childe.*

But when that the Vice-roy did vnderstand, that our people did goe viewing the Citie gates and Temples (and perceiueth that they that gaue him the notice did suspect it, that it was to some ill intent) therewith hee straight-wayes commanded, that they should not goe forth of their lodging, without his licence: and likewise commanded the Captayne that was their guard not to consent thereunto, as he had done, and likewise that none should carrie them any thing for to sell, for he that did it should be punished with whipping. Yet notwithstanding, they had euery day very sufficient necessaries for their personages in such ample wise, that there did always remayne, and not lacke. In this closeneſſe and keeping in, they suffered many dayes with much sadneſſe, and oppressed with melancholicke humours, to see that their purpose wherefore they went thither seemed to be long, and euery day was worse and worse. Yet notwithstanding they did passe it ouer in the best wise they could, in committing it with heartie zeale vnto God, for whose honour and glory they did attempt that voyage, and prayed vnto him for to mooue their hearts to consent, that the religious Fathers might remayne in that Countrey, for to learne the language (as they had begun many dayes before) by which meanes their soules might be saued, and clearely deliuered from the tyrannie of the Deuill, who of truth had them in possession. So after many dayes, that they had remayned in that close estate, as aforesayd, they determined for to goe and talke with the Vice-roy, and to bee fully resolued, either to tarrie or returne from whence they came, but were not permitted. *Vice-royes iealousie.*

In this order they remayned in the Citie certayne dayes, and for to conclude, either to stay there, or depart the Kingdome, they were resolute, and determined to write a Letter vnto the the Vice-roy. They could finde none that would write this letter for them, although they would haue payed them very well for their paines. Till in the end, by great request and prayings, the Captayne *Onuncen* did write it for them, and straight-wayes departed vnto the Citie of *Ampin*, that was not farre off, to put away the suspition they might conceiue, that hee did write the letter, if that peraduenture the Vice-roy would take it in ill part. Their letter being written, they found great difficultie in sending the same, for that there was none that would carrie it, neither would they consent, that our men should enter into the Palace to deliuer it. But in conclusion, what with requests and gifts, they perswaded their Captayne of their guard to carrie it, who did deliuer the same vnto the Vice-roy, in name of the *Castillos*, saying, that he tooke it of them to bring it vnto him, for that they did certifie him, that it was a thing that did import very much. Hauing read the letter, he answered, that he would giue the King to vnderstand thereof, as hee said at the first time. And in that, touching the Friars remaining in that Countrey to preach, at that time he could make them no answer, for that in such matters, it was first requisite to haue the good-will of the Royall Counsell. Yet would hee make answer vnto the Letter they brought from the Gouernour of *Manilla*, and that they might depart, and returne againe at such time as they brought *Limahon* prisoner or dead, the which being done, then shall the friendship be concluded which they doe pretend, and to remayne and preach at their will. With this answer they remayned without all hope to remaine there, and did incontinent prepare themselues for to depart from *Manilla*, and bought many bookes to carrie with them, wherein was comprehended all the secrets of that Kingdome. By reason whereof, they might giue large notice vnto the royall Maiestie of King *Philip*. The which being vnderstood by the Vice-roy, who had set spyes to watch their doings, he did send them word that they should not trouble themselues in the buying of bookes, for that he would giue them freely, all such bookes as they would desire to haue: the which afterwards hee did not accomplish. *Ampin. People in great subiection.*

In the meane time that they stayed in this Citie, amongst all other things that they vnderstood, to driue away the time was one, it was giuen them to vnderstand that in one of the Prisons, there was a *Portugall* prisoner, who was taken in a ship of the *Iapones*, with others of his Nation, who were all dead in the Prison, and none left aliue but hee alone. Our people being very desirous for to see him, and to learne of him some secrets of that Countrey, for that hee had beene there a great while, they did procure to talke with him, asking licence of the supreame Iudge and Lieutenant vnto the Vice-roy, who did not onely refuse to grant it them, but did make diligent inquirie who they were, that did giue them to vnderstand thereof, for to punish them. *A Portugall prisoner.*

Vpon a sodaine there came newes vnto the Citie, that the Rouer *Limahon*, was vpon the coast of *Chinchea*, vsing his old accustomed cruelties, and how that he had spoyled and robbed a Towne vpon the sea coast. This newes was throughout all the Citie, and appeared to bee true, touching

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Taocay another Pirat, taken to bee *Limahon*. Suſpition of euill.

the effect of the deed: yet falſe touching the perſon, for that the Rouer was called *Taocay*, an enemie, and contrarie vnto *Limahon*: but a friend vnto *Vintoquian*, of whom wee haue ſpoken of. But thereupon the Vice-roy, and all of the Citie, were comformable in the ſuſpition that they had receiued, which was that our people were come into that Kingdome vpon ſome euill pretence, and to ſee the ſecrets thereof, to ſome euill end, which was the occaſion that from that time forwards, they ſhewed them not ſo good countenance as they did before. Theſe newes was not ſo ſoone come, but ſtraight-wayes the Vice-roy did ſend for *Omoncon*, (who was then returned from his viſiting) and *Sinſay*, vnto whom he had done courteſie, and giuen them the tytle of *Loytias* and Captaynes, and hee did reprehend them very ſharpely for that they had brought ouer people thither, and ſayd, that they had told him a lye, in ſaying that *Limahon* was beſieged, in ſuch ſort that hee could not eſcape, neither had the *Caſtillos* burnt his Ships, and that all was but a made matter amongſt themſelues, and how that the Captiues which they brought, and ſayd that they had taken from *Limahon*, they had robbed from other places, and ſayd that the *Spaniards*, were ſpyes that came to diſcouer the ſecrets, and ſtrength of the Kingdome, and that they had brought them thither, by force of gifts that they had giuen them. They anſwered him with great humilitie, in ſaying, that in all that which they had ſayd they did ſpeake the truth, and that it ſhould appeare at ſuch time, as the newes of the Rouer ſhould bee better knowne, the which if it ſhall appeare to be contrarie, they were there readie for to ſuffer whatſoeuer puniſhment that ſhould bee giuen them. The Vice-roy being ſomewhat ſatisfied with this their iuſtification, bad them to depart, remitting all things vnto time for the true declaration thereof. Then *Omoncon*, and *Sinſay*, came ſtraight-wayes to giue the *Spaniards* to vnderſtand of all that had paſſed with the Vice-roy, and what they vnderſtood of him, which cauſed in them ſo great teare, that for the time which it indured (which was till ſuch time as they vnderſtood the truth as aforeſayd) they payed very well for their feaſts and banquets the which they had made them. All this happened in the time that *Omoncon*, and *Sinſay*, were at variance, and ſpake many iniurious words the one of the other, diſcouering their intents and deuiſes, whereby it plainely appeared, that in all that which they had told vnto the Vice-roy, they lyed, but in eſpeciall *Omoncon*. *Sinſay* did diſſemble, for hee ſayd and told vnto all people, that by his order and induſtrie, our people did fire the Ships of *Limahon*, and beſieged him, with other ſpeeches in the like ſort, yet twentie dayes before his comming thither, all was ended and done as appeared. The occaſion of their enmitie and falling out, was for that the Vice-roy, had giuen vnto *Omoncon*, a tytle and charge of more honour, then vnto *Sinſay*, hauing made betwixt them a conſort, that the reward or dignitie ſhould bee equally diuided betwixt them, and that the one ſhould ſpeake of the other the beſt they could, becauſe the Vice-roy ſhould doe them friendſhip. This condition and conſort (as appeareth) was euill performed by *Omoncon*, being addicted vnto ſelfe-loue, and ſeemed vnto him that *Sinſay*, did not deſerue ſo much as hee did, for that he was a baſe man, and of the Sea, and hee of the more nobilitie, and had the office of a Captayne.

Omoncon and *Sinſay*, at variance.

WIth this griefe and care remayned the *Spaniards* certaine dayes kept cloſe in their lodgings, and were not viſited ſo often as they were when they firſt came thither, which did augment very much their feare, till ſuch time as they vnderſtood, that the Vice-roy either of his owne good-will, or elſe by ſome particular order from the King and his Counſell, had called together all the Gouernours of that Prouince of *Aucheo*, to intreat of matters touching *Limahon*, as alſo in particular, why and wherefore the *Spaniards* came thither, and to reſolue themſelues wholly in all things requiſite for the ſame. So when that they were all come together, which was in a ſhort time, and amongſt them the Gouernour of *Chincheo*, who by another name was called *Inſuanto*, they had particular meetings together with the Vice-roy, in the which they were all agreed to haue a generall meeting, whereunto ſhould bee called the *Caſtillos*, and to demand of them in publike audience, the cauſe of their comming and being heard, to giue them their anſwer according as they had determined: for the which vpon a day appointed they met all together (but not the Vice-roy) in the houſe of the *Cagontoc*, and commanded to come before the *Caſtillos*, who did accompliſh their requeſt with a great good-will, for that they vnderſtood that they were called to entreat of their matter, either to tarrie or depart. So when they came thither, they were commanded to enter into a mightie Hall, whereas they were all ſet in verie rich Chayres with great grauitie and maieſtie. The *Inſuanto* ſeemed to bee the chiefeſt amongſt them, but whether it was for that hee was the principalleſt next vnto the Vice-roy (or as it was told them) for that it was hee that ſent *Omoncon*, in the chaſe of the Rouer *Limahon*, they knew not, but ſo ſoone as they were entred into the Hall, they were commanded to draw nigh, there, whereas they were all placed, without bidding them to ſit downe, neither did they vſe any particular circumſtances or courteſie. The *Inſuanto* tooke vpon him the charge, and demanded of the *Spaniards* (by meanes of the Interpreters) what was the occaſion of their comming into that Countrey. The *Spaniards* anſwered as they thought: and ſuppoſed, that at that time it could not bee, but that *Limahon* was either taken priſoner or ſlaine. Then did the *Inſuanto* con-

Generall conſultation.

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conclude his ſpeech, in ſaying vnto them that they ſhould returne vnto their owne Countrey to the Ilands, and at ſuch time as they did bring *Limahon*, they would conclude all things touching the friendſhip they requeſted, and alſo for the Preaching of the Goſpell.

So from that day forwards, they did procure with all haſte for to depart, and gaue the Vice-roy to vnderſtand thereof, who anſwered them and ſayd, that they ſhould comfort themſelues and receiue joy and pleaſure, and that hee would diſpatch them, ſo ſoone as the Viſitor of that Prouince was come to *Aucheo*, which would bee within ten dayes, for that hee had written vnto him, that he ſhould not diſpatch them vntill his comming, for that he would ſee them. From that day forwards, he commanded that ſometimes they ſhould let them goe foorth abroad to recreate themſelues, and that they ſhould ſhew vnto them ſome particular pleaſure or friendſhip. So one of them was carryed to ſee the Muſtering of their men of warre, which they haue in a common cuſtome throughout all the Kingdome, to doe it the firſt day of the New-moone, and is ſure a thing to bee ſeene : and they doe it in the field which is joyning vnto the walls of the Citie, in this manner following. There were joyned together little more or leſſe then twentie thouſand Souldiers, Pike-men and Harquebuſſe ſhot, who were ſo expert, that at the ſound of the Drum or Trumpet, they ſtraight-wayes put themſelues in battle aray, and at another ſound in a ſquadron, and at another the ſhot doe diuide themſelues from the reſt, and diſcharge their Pieces with very gallant and good order, and with a trice put themſelues againe into their places or ſtandings : this being done, the Pike-men came foorth and gaue the aſſault all together, with ſo good order and conſort, that it ſeemed vnto the *Spaniards*, that they did exceed all the warlike orders vſed in all the world : and if it were ſo, that their ſtomacks and hardineſſe were equall vnto their dexteritie, and number of people, it were an eaſie thing for them to conquer the dominion of all the world. If it ſo chance, that any Souldier ſhould lacke in his Office, and not repayre to his place appointed, hee is ſtraight-wayes puniſhed very cruelly, which is the occaſion, that euery one of them hath a care vnto his charge. This their Muſter indured foure houres, and it was certified vnto the *Spaniards*, that the ſame day and houre it is done in all Cities and Townes, throughout the whole Kingdome, although they are without ſuſpection of enemies.

New-moone Muſters.

Their actiuitie, their Pieces, & hearts, are ſayd to be naught.

Souldiers are puniſhed.

Fiue and twentie dayes after that the *Inſuanto* had giuen the reſolute anſwer vnto the *Spaniards*, came the Viſitor thither : and the whole Citie went foorth to receiue him, who entred in with ſo great Maieſtie, that if they had not knowne who hee was, they could not haue beene perſwaded, but that he had beene the King. The next day following, the *Spaniards* went to viſite him, for duties ſake, as alſo for that hee had a deſire to ſee them. They found him in his lodging, where he began to make viſitation of the Citie. In their Courts were an infinite number of people, which came thither with Petitions and complaynts, but in the Halls within, there was none but his Seruants and Sergeants. When that any came for to preſent his Petition, the Porter that was at the entrie made a great noyſe, in manner of an *Oeſt*, for that it was a good way from the place whereas the Viſitor did ſit, then commeth foorth ſtraight-wayes one of his Pages, and taketh the Petition, and carryeth it vnto him. At this time it was told him how that the *Caſtillas* were there : hee commanded that they ſhould enter, and talked with them a few words, but with great courteſie, and all was touching the Impriſonment of *Limahon*, without making any mention of their departure or tarrying. So after a while that hee had beheld them and their apparell, he tooke his leaue of them, ſaying, that by reaſon of the great buſineſſe hee had in that viſitation, he could not ſhew them any courteſie, neither to vnderſtand of them what their requeſt and deſire was, but gaue them great thankes for their courteſie ſhewed, in that they would come to viſite him.

Viſitors entrance in ſtate.

Manner of his Courts.

Three dayes after the Viſitor was come thither, the *Inſuanto* departed for his owne houſe, with order that with all ſpeed poſſible, hee ſhould ordayne Ships wherein the *Caſtillas* ſhould returne vnto the *Philippinas*. Likewiſe the ſame day, all thoſe that were there aſſembled by the order of the Vice-roy, departed vnto their owne houſes. And the *Spaniards* were commanded for to ſtay vntill the full of the Moone, which ſhould bee the twentieth of Auguſt, and that day they ſhould take their leaue of them : for on that day amongſt them, it is holden for good to begin any thing whatſoeuer. Wherein they doe vſe great ſuperſtition, and doe make many banquets, as vpon New-yeeres day.

Superſtition.

The day before the departure of the *Spaniards*, there came ſome in behalfe of the Vice-roy to inuite them, and made them banquet in the order and faſhion as at the firſt : although this (for that it was at their departure) was more ſumptuous, wherein was repreſented a Comedie, which was very excellent and good, whoſe argument was firſt declared vnto them. All the which they did repreſent ſo naturally, and with ſo good apparell and perſonages, that it ſeemed a thing to paſſe in Act. There was not in this banquet the Vice-roy, but thoſe Captaynes which were there the firſt time : and another Captayne, vnto whom was giuen the charge to bring the *Spaniards* vnto *Manilla*, who was called *Chautalay*, a principall Captayne of that Prouince. When the banquet was ended, they were carryed with great companie from the Hall whereas the banquet was made, vnto the houſe of the *Cogontoc*, who was the Kings Treaſurer, & dwelt there hard by,

Parting complement.

Treaſurer.

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of whom they were maruellously well receiued with louing words and great courtesie: in saying that he hoped very shortly to see them againe, at such time as they shall returne with *Limahon*, and that as then their friendship should be fully concluded, and would intreat with them in particular of other matters. This being done, he gaue vnto them a Present for to carrie vnto the Gouernour of *Manilla* in recompence of that which was sent vnto the Vice-roy: the Present was forty pieces of Silke and twentie pieces of *Burato*, a Litter Chaire and gilt, and two *Quitasoles* of Silke, and a Horse. Likewise hee sent the like Present vnto the *Generall of the field*, and to either of them a Letter in particular: these things were put in Chists which were very faire and gilt. Besides this he gaue other forty pieces of Silke of all colours for to bee parted amongst the Captaines and other Officers that were at the siege of *Limahon*, with three hundred blacke Mantles and as many *Quitasoles* to be parted amongst the Souldiers. Besides all these, he gaue vnto the Friers each of them eight pieces of Silke, and vnto the Souldiers their companions foure pieces of each of them, and to euery one his Horse and a *Quitasol* of Silke; their Horses were very good to trauell by the way. This being done, the *Cogomroe* tooke his leaue of them, and willed them to goe and take leaue and licence of the *Vice-roy* and the *Visitor*, that they might depart, for that all things were in a readinesse for their Voyage: the which commandement they did straight-wayes accomplish, being very well content and satisfied of the great fauours and courtesies, the which they receiued both of the one and the other: Likewise of the *Tococ*, i *Captaine Generall*, whom they also did visit and tooke their leaue.

Presents.

To keepe away the Sun.

The *Spaniards* departed from the Citie of *Auchoo*, vpon a Tuesday, beeing the three and twentieth of August in the sight of all the people of the Citie, who came forth to see them with so great presse and throng, as they did when they first came thither into the Countrey: they were all carried in Litter Chaires, yea, their very slaues, for that it was so commanded by the Vice-roy: the Friers were carried by eight men a piece, and the Souldiers by foure men a piece, and all their Seruants and Slaues were carried by two men a piece. Looke so many men as was to carrie them, there went so many more to helpe them when they waxed wearie, besides foure and twentie that carried their Stuffe. There went alwayes before them a Harbinger for to prouide their Lodgings, and with him went a Pay-master, whose charge was to ordaine and prouide men for to carrie their Litter Chaires, and to giue them for their trauell that which is accustomed, and to pay all costs and charges spent by the *Spaniard*.

After that they departed from *Auchoo*, they made of two dayes Iourney one, which was the occasion that they came to *Chincheo* in foure dayes. At their entring into the Citie they found a Seruant of the *Insuanto*, with order and commandement, that they should proceed forwards on their Iourney, and not to stay in the Citie, but to goe vnto the Port of *Tansuso*, whither he will come the next day following. They obeyed his commandement, and made so much haste that in two dayes they came vnto the Village of *Tangoa*, whereas they had beene before, and particular mention made thereof. In the same Village they were lodged, well entertayned and had great good cheere: from thence they went in one day to *Tansuso*, which was the first Port whereas they did dis-imbarke themselues, when as they came from the Ilands vnto that firme Land: the Iustice of the Towne did lodge them in the same House whereas they were first lodged, and did prouide for them of all things necessary and needfull, and that in abundance, till the comming of the *Insuanto*, which was within foure dayes after, for that hee could not come any sooner (although his desire was) for that it was very foule weather.

Superstition.

The third of September, the *Insuanto* sent and commanded the *Spaniards* that they should imbark themselues, for that it was that day the conjunction of the Moone (although at that time the ships were not fully in a readinesse.) They obeyed his commandement, and the *Insuanto* himselfe went to the water side, in whose presence came thither certaine Religious men of their manner, and after their fashion they made Sacrifice with certaine *Prayers*, in the which they craued of the Heauens to giue good and faire weather, and a sure Voyage and fauourable Seas vnto all those that saile in those ships. This Ceremony being done (which is a thing very much vsed in that Countrey) the *Spaniards* went vnto the *Insuanto*, who was there with great company and Maiestie: he entertayned them very friendly and with cheerefull words making an outward shew that he bare them great loue, and that their departure was vnto him a great griefe. Then he requested them to giue him a remembrance of such things as was necessary and needfull for their prouision for the Sea, for that he would giue order for the prouiding of the same, the which hee did, and was with so great abundance that they had for the Voyage, and remayned a great deale to spare. He then commanded to be brought thither Cates to eate and drinke, and gaue it them with his owne hands, as well the one as the other: he himselfe did eate and drinke with them, which is the greatest fauour that can be shewed amongst them. The Banket being ended, he commanded them in his presence to goe aboard their ships, because that was a luckie day, and also to accomplish that which the Vice-roy had cõmanded, which was that he should not depart from thence, vntill they had first seene them imbarked. The *Spaniards* obeyed the commandement, and tooke their leaue of the *Insuanto*, with great courtesie and reuerence, and with outward shewes that they remayned indebted for the great courtesie & good will that they had receiued:

Plentifull prouision.

Luckie day.

and

and therwith they departed to the waters side, towards the Boat which was tarrying for them.

As they passed by the Religious men (that before we spake of) they saw a great Table set, and vpon it a whole Oxe with his throat cut, and hard by the same a Hogge and a Goate, and other things to be eaten: the which they had ordained for to make Sacrifice, which they doe vse in the like Affaires.

They being imbarked in the Boate, they were carried aboard the Admirall, which was the ship appointed for them to goe in: then presently they beganne to stirre the ship, from one place vnto another with certaine Boats and Cables which they had there readie for the same purpose. The ship did not so soone begin to mooue, but the Religious men ashoare did beginne their Sacrifice, the which did indure vntill night, ending their Feasts and Triumphs in putting forth of the Citie, and vpon their Gates many Cressets and Lights. The Souldiers shot off all their Harquabusses, and the shippes that were in the Port shot off all their Artillerie, and on the shoare a great noyse of Drummes and Bels: all the which being ended and done, the *Spaniards* went ashoare againe vnto their Lodging: but first the *Insuanto* was departed vnto his owne House, with all the company that he brought with him.

Insuantos farewell Feast.

The next day the said *Insuanto* did inuite them vnto a Banket, which was as famous as any which had beene made them vnto that time. He was at the Banket himselfe, and the Captaine Generall of all that Prouince. There was abundance of meates and many pretie deuises to passe away the time, which made the Banket to indure more then foure houres: the which being done, there was brought forth the Present which the *Insuanto* did send vnto the Gouernour of *Manilla* in returne of that which was sent to him. The Present was fourteene pieces of silke for the *Gouernour of Manilla*, and ten pieces for the *Generall of the field*: he also commanded to be giuen vnto the Friers each of them foure pieces, and vnto the Souldiers each of them two pieces, and vnto their Seruants and Slaues certaine painted Mantels, and therewith hee tooke his leaue of them very friendly, and gaue vnto them Letters, the which he had wrote vnto the Gouernour, and vnto the Generall of the field, answere vnto those, the which they had wrote vnto him, and said that all things necessary for their departure was in a readinesse, with victuals for tenne moneths put aboard their ships, so that when as wind and weather did serue they might depart. Also that if in their Voyage it should so fall out, that any of the *Chinois* that went in their ships, should doe vnto them any euill, either abroad or at the Ilands: that the Gouernour thereof should punish them at his pleasure, and how that the Vice-roy will thinke well thereof: In conclusion, he said vnto them, that he hoped to see them there againe very shortly, and to returne againe with *Limahon*, and then he would supply the wants which now they lacked. The *Spaniards* did kisse his hands, and said, that they had receiued in courtesie more then they deserued, and that in all things, there did abound and not lack, that they remained greatly indebted vnto him for their friendship, and would giue their King notice thereof, that whensoeuer occasion should be offered, to repay them with the like: and therewith the *Insuanto* departed to his owne House, leauing in the company of the *Spaniards* fiue Captains, those which should go with them in their company to Sea, and also *Omoncon* and *Sinsay* who were that day in the Banket, with the Habit and Ensigne of *Loytias*, for that the day before it was giuen vnto them by the *Insuanto*.

Ten moneths prouision.

Vpon Wednesday which was the fourteenth of September, the wind came faire, wherewith they hoysed vp their Sayles and went to Sea: at their departure there was at the waters side the *Insuanto* and the Iustice of *Chincheo* to see them sayle, they sayled forwards directing their course towards a small Iland that was not farre off, with determination there to take water for their ships, for that it had in it many Riuers of very sweet water. Within a small space they arriued there, and it had a very faire and sure Port, wherein might ride in securitie a great Nauy of ships. All Thursday they were there recreating and sporting themselues, for that it was a pleasant Iland, and full of fresh Riuers. Vpon Friday being the sixteenth of September, the day being somewhat spent, they made saile and tooke Port foure leagues from that place in another Iland called *Laulo*, for to put themselues in a new course, different and contrary vnto that which they tooke when they came vnto that Kingdome, for that the *Chinois* had by experience proued, that in those monethes the winds were more fauourable then in other monethes, and for the most part North and North-east winds: all that night they remained in that Iland, and the next day following they sayled vnto another Iland which was called *Chautubo*, not farre distant from that of *Laulo*. This Iland was full of little Townes, one of them was called *Gautin*, which had fiue Forts of Towers made of Lime and stone, very thicke and strongly wrought: they were all foure square, and sixe fathome high, and were made of purpose for to receiue into them all the people of those little Townes, to defend themselues from Rouers and Theeues that daily come on that Coast.

Laulo.

Monsons.

Chautubo.

Gautin.

They very much noted, that although this Iland were rockie and sandie, yet was it tilled and sowed full of Rice, Wheate, and other Seeds and Graine. There was in it great store of Kine and Horse, and they vnderstood that they were gouerned, not by one particular man, to whom they were subiect, neither by any other amongst themselues, nor of *China*, but in common: yet notwithstanding they liued in great peace and quietnesse, for that euery one did content himselfe with

Kine and Horse. Common-wealth.

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with his owne. Vpon Sunday in the afternoone they departed from this Iland, and ſayled their
Corchu. courſe all that night, at the next morning they arriued at another Iland, called *Corchu*, which was twentie leagues from the Port of *Tanſuſo*, from whence they departed. The *Spaniards* ſeeing what leiſure they tooke in this their Voyage, they requeſted the Captaines to command the Mariners that they ſhould not enter into ſo many Ports or Harbours. The Captaines anſwered, and requeſted them to haue patience, for that in making their Iournies as they did, they doe accompliſh and follow the order ſet downe by the Vice-roy and *Inſuanto*, the *Chinois* are very fearefull of the Sea, and men that are not accuſtomed to ingulfe themſelues too farre,
Ancon. neither to paſſe any ſtormes.

Neere vnto this Iland there was another ſomewhat bigger, which is called *Ancon*, wholly diſpeopled and without any dwellers, yet a better Countrey and more profitable for to ſow and reape then that of *Corchu*. The *Spaniards* being at an Anchor there, vnderſtood by the *Chinois* that in times paſt it was very well inhabited, vnto the which arriued a great Fleet belonging to the King of *China*, and by a great ſtorme were all caſt away vpon the ſame: the which loſſe and deſtruction being vnderſtood by another Generall that had the Guard of that Coaſt, ſuſpecting that the dwellers thereof had done that ſlaughter, hee came to the ſhoare and ſlue many of the Inhabitants, and carried all the reſt in their ſhips vnto the firme Land, who afterwards would neuer returne thither againe, although they gaue them licence after that they vnderſtood the truth of that ſucceſſe: ſo that vnto that time it remained diſpeopled, and full of wilde Swine, of the brood that remained there at ſuch time as they were ſlaine and carried away as you haue heard.

This Iland and the reſt adjoyning thereunto (which are very many) haue very excellent and ſure Ports and Hauens, with great ſtore of fiſh. Theſe Ilands endured vntill they came vnto a
A ſtraight. little Gulfe, which is fiue and fortie leagues ouer, and is ſayled in one day, and at the end thereof is the Port of *Cabite*, which is neere vnto *Manilla*. So when that winde and weather ſerued their turne, they departed from the Iland of *Ancon*, and ſailed till they came vnto another Iland called *Plon*, where they vnderſtood by a ſhip that was there a fiſhing, how that the Rouer *Limahon* was eſcaped in certaine Barkes, which he cauſed to bee made very ſecretly within his Fort, of ſuch Timber and Boards as remained of his ſhips that were burnt, the which was brought in by night by his Souldiers, on that ſide of the Fort which was next vnto the Riuer, and were not diſcouered by the *Caſtillas*, which were put there with all care and diligence to keepe the mouth that come in to helpe them. And towards the Land there whereas he might eſcape, they were without all ſuſpection (they were ſo ſtrong) and did not miſtruſt that any ſuch thing ſhould be put in vre, as afterwards did fall out, the which was executed with ſo great policie and craft, that when they came to vnderſtand it, the Rouer was cleane gone, and in ſafeguard, calking his Barkes at the Iland of *Tocaotican*, the better for to eſcape and ſaue himſelfe, and they ſaid, that it was but eight dayes paſt that he fled. With this newes they all receiued great alteration, but in eſpeciall *Omoncon* and *Sinſay*.

After they had remained three weeks in that Harbour detayned with a mighty North-wind, that neuer calmed night nor day in all that time. The eleuenth day of October two houres before day, they ſet ſayle and went to Sea. Sixteene leagues from the Port, ſailing towards the South, they diſcouered a mightie Iland very high Land, which was called *Tangarruan*, and was of three ſcore leagues about, all inhabited with people like vnto thoſe of the Ilands *Philippinas*. Vpon Sunday in the morning being the ſeuenteenth day of October, they diſcouered the Iland of *Ma-*
From the *Philippinas* to the *China* is 200. leagues *nilla*, of them greatly deſired, they ſayled towards the Iland that they ſo long deſired to ſee, and came thither the twentie eight day of October, as aforeſaid. So that from the Port of *Tanſuſo*, which is the firſt Port of *China*, till they came vnto the Iland of *Manilla*, they were fiue and fortie dayes, and is not in all ful two hundred leagues, which may be made with reaſonable weather in ten dayes at the moſt.

I could haue here added two other Voyages of Franciſcans, *to* China, *the one by* Peter de Alfaro, *and other three of his Order*, 1579. *the other* 1582. *by* Ignatio, *&c. both written at large by* Mendoza. *But I haſten to our Ieſuites exacter Relations. Only I will conclude this Storie with* Alfaros *returne from* China *to the* Philippinas; *and his Relation of their Witch-crafts vſed in a Tempeſt then happening: after that two Letters mentioning* Engliſh *ſhips on that Coaſt.*

A Tempeſt. But it ſo fell out, as they were going alongſt the Coaſt of the Iland for to enter into the Port of *Manilla*, and being within fiue leagues of the entry thereof, vpon a ſudden there aroſe the North-wind with ſo great furie, and cauſed ſo great a Sea, that they found themſelues in a great deale more danger then in the other ſtorme paſt, in ſuch ſort that they ſponed before the winde with their fore-ſayle halfe Maſt high, ſhaking it ſelfe all to pieces, and in euery minute of an houre readie to be drowned. The *Chinois* for that they are Superſtitious and Witches, beganne to inuocate and call vpon the Deuill, for to bring them out of that trouble (which is a thing commonly vſed amongſt them, at all times when they find themſelues in the like perplexitie) alſo they doe requeſt of him to ſhew them what they ſhould do to bring themſelues out of trouble. But when the *Spaniards* vnderſtood their dealings, they did diſturbe them that they ſhould

not

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not perseuer in their Lots and Inuocations, and beganne to conjure the Deuils, which was the occasion that they would not answere vnto the Inuocation of the *Chinois*, who did call them after diuers manners, yet they heard a Deuill say, that they should not blame them because they did not answere vnto their demand, for they could not doe it for that they were disturbed by the conjuration of those *Spanish* Fathers, which they carried with them in their ship. Coniuring against coniuring.

So presently when the night was come, God was so pleased that the storme ceased, and became in few houres very calme, although it endured but a while, for as they began to set sayle to nauigate towards the Port, and almost at the point to enter into the same, a new storme seized on them, and with so great force, that they were constrayned to returne vnto the Sea, for feare to bee broken in pieces vpon the shoare. The *Chinos* began anew to inuocate the Deuils by writing, which is a way that they neuer let but doe answere them, as they did at this instant, and were not disturbed by the coniurations of the Fathers, yet notwithstanding they lyed in their answer, for that they said, that within three dayes they should be within the Citie of *Manilla*, and after it was more then foure dayes. Inuocation by writing.

In conclusion, hauing by the fauour of almightie God ouercome all their trauels by the Sea, and the necessitie of the lacke of water and victuals, they arriued at the desired Port the second day of February, *Anno* 1580. whereas they were receiued by the Gouernour, and of all the rest with great ioy, &c.

Two Letters taken out of BARTOLOME LEONARDO DE ARGENSOLA his Treatise, called *Conquista de las Islas Malucas*, Printed at *Madrid*, 1609. *pagg.* 336. 337. mentioning the comming of two *English* ships to *China*: which seeme to bee two ships of the fleet of * BENIAMIN WOOD: The former written by the Visitor of *Chincheo* in *China*, vnto the Gouernor of the *Philippinas*, *Don* PEDRO DE ACVNNA.

* See *sup. l.* 3. *c.* 1. §. 2.

TO *the grand Captaine of* Luzon. *Because wee haue vnderstood, that the* Chineses, *which went to trade and trafficke into the Kingdome of* Luzon, *haue beene slaine by the* Spaniards, *wee haue made inquisition of the cause of these slaughters, and haue besought the King to doe iustice on him, that hath beene the cause of so great mischiefe, to procure a remedie for the time to come, and that the Merchants may liue in peace and safety. In the yeeres past, before I came hither to be Visitour, a certaine* Sangley, *called* Tioneg, *with three* Mandarines *or Iudges hauing the Kings Passe, came to* Cabit *in* Luzon, *to seeke Gold and Siluer: which was all lyes: because he found neither Gold nor Siluer. And therefore I besought the King, that he would punish this deceiuer* Tioneg, *that the good iustice that is vsed in* China *might be knowne. In the time of the former Vice-roy, and* Capado, Tioneg *and his companion* Yanlion *deliuered this vntruth. I afterward besought the King, that hee would cause all the Papers of the cause of* Tioneg *to be coppied out, and that he would send for the said* Tioneg *with his processes before himselfe: And I my selfe saw the said Papers, and caused it to appeare that all was but lyes which the said* Tioneg *had said. I wrote vnto the King, saying, That by reason of the lyes which* Tioneg *had made, the* Castillians *suspected that wee sought to make warre vpon them: and that therefore they had slayne aboue thirtie thousand* Chineses *in* Luzon. *The King did that which I besought him. And so he chastised the said* Yanlion, *commanding him to bee put to death. And hee commanded* Tionegs *head to be cut off, and to be put in a Cage. The people of* China *which were slayne in* Luzon, *were in no fault. And I with others negotiated this businesse with the King, that I might know his pleasure in this affaire: and in another matter, which was this: That there came two* English *ships to these coasts of* Chincheo; *a thing very dangerous for* China: *That the King might consider what was to bee done in these two matters of so great importance. Likewise wee wrote vnto the King, that he would command the two* Sangleys *to be punished, which shewed the Hauen to the* Englishmen. *And after wee had written these things aforesaid to the King, he answered vs that wee should learne, wherefore the* English *ships came vnto* China? *whether they came to robbe or no? That they should dispatch from thence a Messenger immediatly to* Luzon: *and that they should signifie to them of* Luzon, *that they should not giue credite to the base and lying people of* China: *And that forthwith they should put to death those two* Sangleyes, *which shewed the Hauen to the* Englishmen. *And touching the rest that wee wrote vnto him, wee should doe as wee thought best. After wee had receiued this order, the Vice-roy, the* Capado, *and I sent this message to the Gouernour of* Luzon: *That his Lordship might know the greatnesse of the King of* China. *Seeing hee is so mightie, that hee gouerneth all that the Moone and Sunne doe shine vpon. And also that the Gouernour of* Luzon *may know the great wisedome wherewith this mighty Kingdome is gouerned. Which Kingdome this long while none durst attempt to offend. And albeit the* Iaponians *haue pretended to disquiet* Corea, *which is vnder the Gouernment of* China: *yet they could not obtayne their purpose: but they were driuen out of it: And* Corea *hath remayned in great peace and safety, as at this day they of* Luzon *doe well vnderstand.*

I found this transl. with Master H. *Luzon.*

Tioneg.

30000. *Chineses* slaine in the *Philippinas.*

Two *English* ships on the coast of *Chincheo* in *China.*

Iealousie of Strangers.

Danger of bringing ships to a *China* Hauen.

China ambition.

Iaponian attempt.

Corea is vnder *China.*

The

The Anſwer of *Don* PEDRO DE ACVNNA, Gouernour of the *Philippinas*, to the Viſitour of *Chincheo* in *China*.

THe Gouernour anſwered theſe Letters by the ſame Meſſengers that brought them: vſing termes full of courteſie and authoritie. Hee rehearſed the rebellion of the Sangleyes, *from the beginning: Hee iuſtified the defenſe of the* Spaniards, *and the puniſhment that was executed vpon the Offenders. Hee ſaid, that no Common-wealth can be gouerned without chaſtiſing the bad, nor without rewarding the good. And therefore that he did not repent him of that execution: becauſe it was done for repreſſing of them that thought to deſtroy vs. That the Viſitour ſhould bee Iudge, what kee would doe, if the like caſe ſhould happen in* China. *That the griefe that he had was, that he could not ſaue certaine* Sangleyes *Merchants* Anhayes, *which died among the offenders: But that this was vnpoſſible to be remedied; becauſe the furie of warre doth not giue leaue to kill ſome, and to ſaue others, eſpecially being not knowne of the Souldiers in the heate of battell. That vſing mercy to thoſe that remayned aliue, condemned them to rowe in the Galleyes: which is the puniſhment, which is ordayned among the* Caſtillians *for thoſe that haue deſerued death. Yet if it ſeeme in* China *that it ought to be moderated, hee would grant them libertie. But let it be conſidered, ſaid* Don Pedro, *that this may be a cauſe, that in not chaſtiſing ſo great an offence, they may hereafter fall againe into the ſame. A thing that would ſhut vp all acceſſe vnto fauour. That the goods of the* Chineſes *that were ſlayne are in ſafe cuſtodie. And that it may be ſeene, that no other affection moueth mee then that of iuſtice, I will ſhortly ſend them to be deliuered to the right Heires, or vnto ſuch perſons as of right they belong vnto. None other reſpect moueth mee to any of theſe things, but that of reaſon. Whereas you tell mee, That if I will not ſet at libertie thoſe priſoners, licence will be granted in* China *to the kinſfolke of thoſe, which died in the Rebellion, to come with an Armie to* Manila, *it breedeth no feare in mee. For I hold the* Chineſes *to be ſo wiſe, that they will not be moued to ſuch things vpon ſo weake a ground: eſpecially none occaſion thereof being giuen them on our part. And in caſe they ſhould be of another minde, wee* Spaniards *are a People which know very well how to defend our Right, Religion, and Territories. And let not the* Chineſes *thinke, that they are Lords of all the World, as they would haue vs thinke. For wee* Caſtillians, *which haue meaſured the World with ſpannes, know perfectly the Countreyes of* China. *Wherefore they ſhall doe well to take knowledge, that the King of* Spaine *hath continuall warres with as mighty Kings as theirs is, and doth ſuppreſſe them, and putteth them to great troubles. And it is no new caſe, that when our enemies thinke that they haue vanquiſhed vs, they finde vs marching and deſtroying the Confines of their Land, and not to ceaſe, vntill wee haue caſt them out of their Thrones, and taken their Scepters from them. I would be much grieued with the change of the commerce: But I beleeue alſo that the* Chineſes *would not willingly loſe it, ſince that thereby they obtayne ſo great profit, carrying to their Kingdome our Siluer, which neuer faileth in trucke of their merchandiſe, which are ſlight things, and ſoone worne out.*

China pride retorted.

Spaniſh Siluer carried to China.

The ſhips of the Engliſhmen, *which arriued on the coaſt of* China, *it was determined not to receiue: becauſe they be no* Spaniards, *but rather* * *their enemies, and Pirats. Wherefore if they come to* Manila, *they ſhall be puniſhed. Finally, becauſe wee* Spaniards *doe alwaies iuſtifie our cauſes, and doe boaſt our ſelues, that it cannot bee ſaid in the world, that wee vſurpe other mens poſſeſſions, nor inuade our friends, that ſhall be fulfilled which is here promiſed. And from hence forward let them know in* China, *that wee neuer doe any thing for feare, nor for threats of our enemies.* Don Pedro *concludeth, offering continuance of amitie by new bonds of peace with the Kingdomes of* China: *and that he will ſet at libertie in due time the Priſoners which he held in the Galleyes: albeit he thought to vſe them, as he did, in the voyage of* Maluco; *which be put in execution with ſpeed. And all this he preciſely performed.*

* The *Engliſh* ſhips ſpoken of by *Spaniards* according to the mutuall hoſtilitie of thoſe times.

CHAP. IIII.

The report of a Mahometan *Merchant which had beene in* Cambalu: *and the troubleſome trauell of* BENEDICTVS GOES, *a* Portugall Ieſuite, *from* Lahor *to* China *by land, thorow the* Tartars *Countreyes.*

Epiſt. Eman. Caruel. 1599.

IEROME Xauere a Ieſuite, in a Letter from *Lahor* in *India*, ſubiect to the *Mogoll*, dated, Auguſt, 1598. relateth that an old man there knowne to haue diſtributed 100000. Peeces of Gold at *Mecca*, affirmed to the Prince that he had liued in *Xatai* thirteene yeeres, in *Xambalu* the chiefe Citie; that the King thereof was mighty, and had in his Empire one thouſand and fiftie Cities, ſome very populous; that he had often ſeene the King, with whom no man ſpeakes but by a Supplication, nor is anſwered but by an Eunuch. And asked how hee had acceſſe thither, he ſaid, he being a Merchant ſuſtayned alſo the perſon of the Embaſſadour of the King of *Caygar*, and

Xatai and *Xambalu*, for *Catai* and *Cambalu*.

Caygar.

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and being detained in the first Citie by the Magistrate, he shewed his Commission, and Poste was presently sent to the King, who returned in a moneth, riding ninety or an hundred courses a day, with change of Horses; bringing him Letters of admission. Hee said that they punish theeues seuerely: that these *Xaitaians* are white, long bearded, personable, and comely, therein to be preferred before the *Rumes* or *Turkes*; in Religion *Isauites (Christians*, so called of *Iesus)* some *Musauites* or *Iewes*, and many *Mahumetans*, insomuch that they hoped to bring the *Christian* King to that Sect. They had (he said to the *Iesuite* in another conference) many Temples, and Images painted and grauen, and Crucifixes which they with great deuotion worshipped; many Priests, much reuerenced, each hauing his owne Church; to whom they offer their gifts, they liued single and kept Schooles; one supereminent: at the Kings charge were the Churches built and repaired; they ware blacke clothes, and on holidayes red, with Caps like the *Iesuites*; but greater; many Monasteries of both Sexes, and some in their owne houses, obseruing a single life; the Countrey rich, hauing many siluer Mines; and that the King had foure hundred Elephants, which they said were brought from *Malaca*, and that Merchants resorted thither; the Voyage sixe moneths. *Xauerius* addeth, that in *Caximir* he heard of many *Christians* in *Rebat*, a Kingdome adioyning to *Catai*, with Churches, Priests, and Bishops. These reports (sayth *Trigantius*) the *Saracens* made, either of purpose to deceiue, after their wont; or were deceiued by like shew of Holies in Images, Lamps, Altars, Priests vestments, Processions, Singings, and the like, which the Deuill hath imitated among the *Chinois* like to our *(Romish)* Rites.

A Course or Cose is a mile and halfe, and sometime two miles.

These reports caused the *Iesuites* in *India* to thinke of sending one of their Society into those parts. *Pimenta* the Father Visitour sent notice thereof to the Pope, and to the King of *Spaine*, who tooke Order with the Vice-roy to be aduised herein by *Pimenta*. *Benedictus Goez* a brother of that Society and Coadjutor to *Xauerius*, was thought fit for that designe, hauing the *Persian* tongue. And hauing come from *Echebar* (father of the present *Mogol)* who had lately taken *Brampor*, with his Legat, to *Goa*; hee was sent backe to *Lahor*, to accompanie the Merchants; which euery fifth yeere, as that *Saracen* related, with title of Legats of the King of *Persia*, and other Easterne Kings (not otherwise admitted) went thither. In the yeere therefore 1602. he went to *Agra*, where *Echebar* applauded his purpose, and gaue him foure hundred Crownes for his iourney, besides a thousand Rupias hee had already spent. He changed his habite, and disguised himselfe like an *Armenian* Merchant, and so went to *Lahor*, calling himselfe *Branda Abedula*, whither he came on the eight of December. He went to the house of *Iohn Galisco* a *Venetian*, and there prouided himselfe of necessaries, wearing his haire and beard long, and *Leo Grimone* a *Greeke*, well skilled in *Turkish* and *Persian*, vndertaking to be his companion, with *Demetrius* another *Greeke*, and *Isaac* an *Armenian*. Furnished with diuers writings and a Catalogue of moueable Feasts till *An.* 1610. he set forth *An.* 1603. the sixth of Ianuarie from his Superiour, and in Lent after from *Lahor*, with the companie of Merchants which goe from the *Mogols* to *Cascar*, almost fiue hundred men, with many Camels and carriages.

De christ. expedit. ap. Sinas l. 3 c. 11, 12, 13. Ianic. thes. rer. Ind. t. 3. c. 24.

In a moneths iourney they came to a Citie called *Athec*, in the Prouince of *Lahor*; and after fifteene dayes, passed a Riuer a flight shot broad, where they stayed fiue dayes, being told of theeues in great number at hand. Two moneths after they came to another Citie called *Passaur*, where they rested twentie dayes. Thence they going to another small Towne, met with a certaine Anchorite a stranger, by whom they vnderstood that thirtie dayes off was a Citie named *Capherstam*, into which the *Saracens* are not permitted entrance, and if they enter are put to death. But *Ethnike* Merchants are admitted their Citie, yet not their Temples. Hee said, that the Inhabitants of that Region goe to Church all of them in blacke; their Countrey fertile, and plentifull of Grapes. Hereby *Goes* supposed that they were *Christians*. In the place where they found this stranger, they stayed other twentie dayes. And because the way was infested with Theeues they receiued of the Lord of the place a Conuoy of foure hundred Souldiers. In fiue and twentie dayes they came from hence to a place called *Ghideli*, all which way their carriages went at the foot of a Hill. The Merchants with Armes on the tops of the Hill made search for Theeues, which vse to throw stones from thence on the Passengers, except thus preuented. In this place the Merchants pay Tribute. Being assaulted by Theeues many were wounded, and they had much adoe to saue their liues and goods. *Benedict* escaped by flight into the Woods. At night they came againe together, and auoyded the Theeues. After other twentie dayes iourney they came to *Cabul*, a Citie and Mart frequent, not yet hauing passed the *Mogols* Dominions. Here they stayed eight dayes: for some of the Merchants would goe no further, and others durst not, being so few. In this Mart the Sister of the King of *Cascar*, by whose Dominion they were to passe to *Catay*, happened on the Carauan. The Kings name was *Maffamet Can*; this his Sister was Mother to the King of *Cotan*, and called *Agehanem* (*Age* is a title giuen by the *Saracens* to those which haue beene on Pilgrimage at *Mecca*, whence she now returned.) Being destitute of prouision for her iourney, shee demanded aide of the Merchants, promising to restore all faithfully with encrease when they were come to her Kingdome.

Athec.

Passaur.

Capherstam. Saracens not admitted.

Ghideli.

Assault of Theeues.

Cabul.

Goes thought it a fit occasion to procure the friendship of another King, his *Mogoll* Patents now wearing out. Hee lent her therefore on sale of some goods sixe hundred Crownes, refusing any

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A kind of Marble much valued in *China*

any contract of interest, which shee bountifully repayed in pieces of Marble much esteemed in *China*, the best merchandise for such as goe to *Catay*. *Leo Grimane* the Priest, wearied with the tediousnesse of the iourney, went no further, and *Demetrius* stayed in this Citie on merchandising affaires. *Goes* held on with *Isaac* the *Armenian*, in the companie of other Merchants, which gaue likelihood of better securitie. The first Citie they came at was called *Ciaracar*, in which place is great store of Iron. Here *Goes* was not a little troubled, the *Mogols* Seale in these his borders being neglected, which all this way hitherto had freed him from payment of Customes. Ten dayes after they came to a small Towne, called *Paruam*, the vtmost of the *Mogoll* confines.

Ciaracar.

Paruam the extreme border of the *Mogoll.*

After fiue dayes stay, they had twentie dayes iourney ouer high Mountaines into a Region named *Aingharan*, In fifteene dayes more they came to *Calcia*. The people of this Region hath yellow haire on head and beard like the *Low-Countrey-men*, and dwell in diuers Villages. Ten dayes after, they came to a place called *Gialalabath*, where the *Bramanes* exact Customes granted them by the King *Bruarate*. After other fifteene dayes they came to *Talban*, where Ciuill broiles detayned them a moneth; the *Calcians* rebelling and endangering the wayes. Hence they passed to *Cheman*. Vnder *Abdulahan* King of *Samarhan*, *Burgania*, and *Bacharate*, and of other neighbouring Kingdomes, is a small Towne, the Captaine whereof sent to the Merchants to containe themselues within the walls, the *Calcians* infesting all without. They answered, that they would pay their Customes, and pursue their iourney by night. But hee forbad them, saying, that the Rebels had no Horses as yet, which if they could take from the Carauan, they would proue more mischieuous: much better it were, if they would ioyne with him to repell them. Scarcely were they comne to the walls, when the rumour came of the *Calcians* comming: at which newes the Captaine and his ranne away. The Merchants erected a sudden fortification of their packes, and carried into the same great store of stones to serue their turnes if Arrowes failed. The *Calcians* perceiuing that, sent a message to the Merchants, that they should feare nothing, for they would accompanie and defend them. They durst not trust them, but resolued to flee to the next Wood, the Theeues taking out of the packes what they pleased, and then calling them forth, and permitting them with their emptied packes to enter the emptie walls. *Benedict* lost nothing but a Horse, for which also hee after receiued Cotton clothes. They liued within the walls in great feare. But at that time a great Captaine, named *Olobet Ebadascan*, sent his Brother out of the *Bucharate* Region to the Rebels, which caused them to permit the Merchants to goe freely: in all which iourney the Rere was vexed with Pilferers. Foure of them set vpon *Goes*, to escape whom hee threw amongst them his *Persian* Turbant, whereof they making a foot-ball, hee meane while set spurres to his Horse and ouertooke his companie.

Aingharan.
Calcia.
Gialalabath.
Cheman.
Samarhan or *Samarcand.*
Bogbar.

Eight dayes after with a tedious passage they came to *Badascian*, called *Tengi*, which signifieth *A troublesome way*: for there is space but for one to passe, and that on the high banke of a great Riuer. The Inhabitants with a companie of Souldiers set vpon the Merchants, and tooke from *Goes* three Horses, which he after redeemed with gifts. Here they stayed ten dayes, and thence in one day came to *Ciarciunar*, where they were fiue dayes detayned with raines in the open field, and were besides assaulted by Theeues. Ten dayes after they arriued at *Serpanil*, a place quite forsaken. They climbed into a high Hill, called *Sacrithma*, whither the strongest Horses were only able to passe, the rest going about. Two of *Goes* his Horses halted, and had much adoe to ouertake their fellowes. In twentie dayes iourney comming to the Prouince *Sarcil*, they there found many neighbouring Villages. After two dayes stay for refreshing, they in two dayes more came to the foot of a Hill, termed *Ciecialith*, which they ascended, thicke couered with Snow, wherewith many were frozen, and *Goes* was in great danger. For the Snow held them sixe dayes; after which they came to *Tangetar*, which belongs to the Kingdome of *Cascar*. There *Isaac* the *Armenian* fell from the banke of a great Riuer into the water, and was eight houres space halfe dead. In fifteene dayes more they attayned the Towne *Iaconich*, such an ill way that *Goez* lost sixe Horses with the trauell. In fiue dayes he got (hasting before the companie) to the chiefe Citie named *Hiarchan*, whence hee prouided his companions of necessaries, who soone after arriued there in Nouember, 1603.

Tengi Badascian.
Ciarciunar.
Serpanil.
Sarcil.
Snowie way.
Tangbetar.
Iatonich.
Hiarchan.

Hiarchan the Seat Royall of the Kingdome of *Cascar*, hath great resort of Merchants, and is also well stored with variety of merchandise. The Carauan of *Cabul* here ends their Voyage: and from thence to *Catay* is a new one furnished, the Captainship whereof the King selleth at a great price, and conferreth on the Captaine Regall power ouer the Merchants thorow all that way. It was a yeeres space before they could all bee ready to so long and dangerous a iourney, which required many persons. Neither is it performed euery yeere, but by them onely which know they shall be admitted into *Catay*. There is no better merchandise (as before is said) then a certaine shining Marble, which wee are wont to call *Iasper*, for want of a fitter word; which the King of *Catay* buyeth at a great price; and what hee leaueth they may sell to others at exceeding rates. Of it they make diuers ornaments for Vessels, Garments, Girdles, with leaues and flowers artificially engrauen. The *Chinois* call it *Tusce*; and of it are two kinds, one more precious

Catay-Carauan

Precious Marble.

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precious which is taken out of the Riuer *Cotan*, not farre from the Citie Royall, in manner as the Diuers fish for Pearles, and is brought out like thicke flints; the other meaner is digged out of Hils, and is sawed into broad stones aboue two Ells wide, after fitted to the Voyage. This Hill is twentie dayes Iourney from that Citie Royall, and is stiled *Cansangui Casçio*, that is, *The stonie Mountayne*. They are thence taken with incredible labour, both for the desertnesse of the place, and the inexorable hardnesse of the Marble, which they say is forced with fire made thereon to yeeld: the license also to take it, is deere sold by the King to some one Merchant, who purchaseth the Monopoly; and when they goe thither they carrie a yeares prouision for the Labourers, which in that space returne not.

Goez visited the King, whose name is *Mahamethin*, and presented him with a Watch, a Glasse and other *European* Commodities, which made him very welcome. Hee would not at first tell him of going to *Catay*, but only spake of the Kingdome of *Cialis* East-ward from thence, and procured his grant thereto, assisted by the Sonne of his Sister the Pilgrime Queene before mentioned. Sixe moneths passed, and *Demetrius* one of his old Societie which staid at *Cabul*, came thither. At that time by the Kings License one of the Merchants was stiled Emperour as in jest, to whom the other Merchants after the custome gaue Presents, which *Demetrius* refusing, was in danger to be imprisoned and beaten (for so large is his power) had not *Benedict* interceded and by a gift compounded the businesse. Theeues also brake into the House and setting a Sword to the *Armenians* brest terrified him from crying; but our Brother *Demetrius* hearing, cried out and scarred them away. *Benedict* was gone to the King of *Quotans* Mother for payment of his Debt: his Residence was ten dayes Iourney thence, so that he spent a moneth therein before his returne. In this space the *Saracens* raised a report that he was dead, slaine by their Priests for refusing their holies. Now because he dyed intestate, they sought to seize on his goods, which was very troublesome to *Isaac* and *Demetrius*, both for defence of the goods, and losse of their Friend, which redoubled their joy at his returne with plentie of that Marble, and hee in thankfulnesse gaue much Almes.

Mahamet Can King of *Casçar*. *Cialis*.

On a day as he was eating with other *Saracens*, one came in armed, and setting his Sword to his brest, charged him to inuoke * *Mahomet*. He answered, that in his Law there was no such name inuoked, and therefore refused: and by the company that mad fellow was extruded. The like zeale oft endangered him on like termes of *Mahumetan* profession. On another day he was called by the King of *Casçar* in the presence of his *Cacises*, the Priests, & the *Mullas* or learned men, and asked what Law he professed, whether that of *Moses*, of *Dauid*, or *Mahumet*, and which way he turned himselfe in praying. Hee answered, that hee professed the Law of Iesus, whom they call *Isai*, and turned any way when he prayed, beleeuing that God was euery where: about which rose amongst them great controuersie, they vsing to turne to the * West: yet they concluded that our Law also might seeme good.

* To vse (as it seemes) those words *La illah illalah, Mehumed resullalah*, the Characteristical note of *Mahumetan* profession.

* To *Mecca* ward.

Meane-whiles one *Agiasi* of that Countrey was named Captaine of the future Caruan, who inuited our Brother to his House (hauing heard well of him) to a Feast, wherein they had Musicke after their manner. At the end, hee desired his company to *Catay*, which he much desired, but had learned by experience how to deale with the *Saracens*, and would be intreated, that he might seeme to doe, rather then receiue, a Fauour. The Captaine vseth the Kings mediation, who desired him to accompany the *Caruan Bassa*, which he accepted vpon condition of his Letters Patents for all that way. His *Cabul* companions were herewith offended, as loth to lose his company, and much disswaded him; but hee made shew as though hee were loth herein to displease the King, and for his sake had promised the *Caruan Bassa*, which now hee might not reuoke. They said that these people were perfidious, and would deuoure him and his: nor was their feare causelesse, for many of the Natiues had told them, that those three *Armenians* (so they called all these three Christians) as soone as they were out of the walles would bee slaine. This terrified *Demetrius* from going further, who also disswaded *Goez* but in vaine, saying, he would not disappoint the hopes of so many, the Archbishop of *Goa*, and the Vice-roy to lose his expences, but would aduenture his life in the Designe.

Caruan Bassa. See before in *Chaggi Memet* the like Iourney and the same places.

Hee prouided ten Horses for his Carriages, and for his fellow, hauing another at home. The *Bassa* was gone to his house fiue dayes Iourney thence to make all readie, and thence sent to *Goez* to hasten.

Anno 1604. about the midst of Nouember, they came to a place called *Iolci*, where they vse to pay Customes, and their Commissions are examined. Hence they went to *Hancialix*, *Alceghet*, to *Hagabateth*, to *Egriar*, to *Mesetelec*, to *Thalec*, to *Horma*, to *Thoantac*, to *Mingieda*, to *Capetalcol Zilan*, to *Sarc Guebedal*, to *Canbasci*, to *Aconserfee*, to *Ciacor*, to *Acsu*: in this way they spent fiue and twentie dayes, the way troublesome, both with store of stones or Rockes, and with Sands. *Acsu* is a Towne of the Kingdome of *Casçar*, the Gouernour whereof was Nephew to the King, then twelue yeares old. Hee would needs see *Goez*, who went and gaue him childish Presents, Sugar and the like, and was gently entertayned of him. There being then a solemne dancing before him, he requested our Brother to dance, which to satisfie him, he did.

Voyage to *Catay* from *Hierchan*. Places in the way.

Goez danceth.

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He visited also his Mother and shewed her his Patent, which was with great reuerence admitted: to her he gaue a Chrystall glasse, a Calico cloth of *India*, and the like. The Childs Gouernour also, or Protector, which swayd the publike Affaires, sent for him. In this way one of *Goez* his Horses fell into a swift Riuer, and escaped to the other side; and came againe of himselfe, the Name of Iesus being inuoked?

Caracathai, the first place of the *Tartars* Conbuest. See before in F. *Bacon*, *Rubr.* &c.

In this way the Desert is passed called *Caracathai*, that is, *The blacke Land of the Cathayans*, in which they say the *Catayans* stayed long. In this Towne they stayed fifteene dayes for other Merchants, and then departing went to *Oitograch Gazo*, to *Casciani*, to *Dellai*, to *Saregabedall*, to *Vgan*, and after to *Cucia*, a small Towne where they stayed a whole moneth to refresh their beasts, which by the irksomnesse of the wayes, and weight of the Marble, and want of Barley were almost spent. Here the Priests demanded of *Goez*, why in their Solemne Fast (Lent) he fasted not, and almost forced him in hope of some Largesse or Fine. After they were gone hence in fiue and twentie dayes they came to the Citie *Cialis*, which was little, but well fortified. This Countrey was gouerned by a base Sonne of the King of *Cascar*, who hearing that *Goez* professed another Religion, began to terrifie him, saying, it was a bold part for a man of another profession to enter those parts: for he might lawfully take from him his life and goods. But when he read his Letters Patents he was pacified, and with a Present was made also a friend. One night disputing about their Law, with the Priests and Learned men, he sent for *Benedict* into the Palace (whereupon suspition arose of some ill intent being at so vnseasonable a time) hee went and being commanded to dispute, with force of Argumeuts silenced the Aduersaries. The Vice-roy alway protected him, approuing his Sayings, and concluding that the *Christians* were the true *Misermans*, saying, that his Progenitors had professed the same Law. After the Disputation hee made him a Banquet, and caused him to lye that night in the Palace, so that *Isaac* was weeping at his returne, and almost in despaire to see him. In this Citie they stayed three moneths. For the *Carauan Bassa* would not depart without a great company (it being so much more gaine to him) nor suffer any man to goe before. *Goez* wearied with this tedious stay and chargeable expence, with a Gift obtayned leaue of the Viceroy, the Carauan and Captaine being against it.

Cialis.

Musubmans, that is, right beleeuers.

He then intended to proceed from *Cialis*, when the Merchants of the former Carauan returned from *Catay*. These fayning an Embassage (after their wont) had pierced into the Royall Seat of *Catay*, and hauing conuersed in the same Palace of Strangers with our (Iesuites) reported strange and certaine newes of Father *Matthew* and the *Companie*, to *Goez*, who wondred that *Catay* was become *China*. These *Saracens* were the same hereafter reported * of, which liued three moneths with ours, and told him that the Fathers had presented to the King, Watches, Pictures and other *European* Presents, and were much respected in the Palace, of the greatest, and (adding some lies) said that they had often spoken with the King. They reasonable well painted their faces, but knew not their names: by reason that after the *China* manner they had taken other names. And for further Argument they shewed a Paper written in *Portugall*, which they had taken out of the dust, when the Seruant swept the Chamber, to shew in their owne Countrey. This cheared *Goez* hearing that *Catay* was *China*, and that *Pequin* the Royall Citie was *Cambalu*.

Newes of F. M. *Ricius* and the Iesuits.

* In *Pantoia* and *Recius*.

Names changed by the Iesuites.

Cambalu.

The Vice-roy gaue him his Letters for securitie, and demanding whether he would be inscribed a Christian, he answered yea; for all this way he had comne, called by the Name of *Isai*, and so would hold out to the end. An old *Saracen* Priest hearing this, cast his Cap on the ground, applauding his resolute Zeale, saying, that theirs are reported to dissemble and alter their Religion with the Region. *Goez* went on with his companion, and a few others, and in twentie dayes came to *Pucian* a Towne of the same Kingdome, where the Gouernour vsed him kindly and amply prouided him out of his owne House. Thence they proceeded to *Turphan*, and staid a whole moneth in that fortified Citie. Thence they passed to *Aramuth*, and after to *Camul*, a fortified place where they refreshed themselues another moneth, because they were well vsed in all the Kingdome of *Cialis*, which ends at this Towne. From *Camul* in nine dayes they came to the Northerne wals of *China*, to a place called *Chiaicuon*, where they staid fiue and twentie dayes for the Answere of the Vice-roy of that Prouince.

Pucian. *Turphan*. *Aramuth*. *Camul*.

The wals of *China*. *Chiaicuon*.

After this they were admitted entrance within the walles, and in one day came to *Socien* a Citie, where they heard much of *Pequin*, and other names knowne; so that now hee was out of all doubt that *Catay* and *China* differed only in name. All the way from *Cialis* to the borders of *China*, is infamous with incursions of the *Tartars*: and therefore Merchants passe these places with great feare, searching by day from the Neighbour Hils whether there bee any out-rode of *Tartars*, and if they judge the wayes secure they trauell by night with silence. In the way they found many *Saracens* miserably slaine, hauing aduentured to goe alone: although the *Tartars* seldome kill the Natiues, saying, they are their Slaues and Herdsmen, from whom they take away their flocks of Sheepe, and Herds of Bullocks. They eate no Wheate, Barley, nor Pulse, saying, it is food for beasts, not men. They feed only on flesh, not sparing Horses, Mules, Camels, and yet are said to liue one hundred yeares.

Socien in *China*.

Borderers thecuish.

Tartars customes in the borders.

The

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The *Saracen* Nations bordering on these parts of *China*, might easily by the *Chinois* bee subdued, as being not warlike men, if the *Chinois* cared to enlarge their Dominions. In this way one night *Benedict* fell from his Horse, his company going on and not missing him till they came to their Lodging, and then *Isaac* went backe to seeke him and found him by the sound of the Name Iesus, almost despairing to see his company any more.

These walls were built on the West of *China*, as it trends North-wards, about the space of two hundred * miles, where the *Tartarian* out-roads are now lesse dangerous. Against them are builded two fortified Cities with choise Garrisons. They haue a peculiar Vice-roy and other Magistrates ouer them, which are commanded only from *Pequin*. In one of these (*Canceu* in the Prouince of *Scensi*) the Vice-roy resideth with other chiefe Magistrates. The other (named *Soceu*) hath a speciall Gouernour, and is distributed into two parts; in one of which the *Chinois* (whom the *Saracens* here call *Catayans*) in the other the *Saracens*, haue their Habitation, which come from *Cascar*, and the like Westerne Kingdomes for Merchandizing Affaires. Some of them, as the *Portugals* at *Amacao*, in the Prouince of *Canton*, settle their abodes and haue wiues and children, accounted as Natiue subiects. But those *Portugals* liue according to their owne Lawes, and haue Magistrates of their owne, whereas these *Saracens* are gouerned by the *Chinois*, and euery night are shut vp by them within their owne Citie, inclosed with peculiar walls. The Law is, that he which hath stayed there nine yeares, may not returne to his Countrey. The Merchants come vsually from the West to this Citie, which with fayned Embassage, by ancient leagues of seuen or eight Kingdomes with that of *China*, haue obtayned, that euery sixth yeare seuentie two in name of Legats should pay Tribute to the King, that shining Marble, pieces of Diamonds, blue colour and other things; thence they goe to the Court at publike charge, and likewise returne. Their Tribute is rather by way of honour or homage then any way profitable; for no man payes dearer for this Marble then the King himselfe, who esteemes it a dishonour to take any thing of Strangers for nothing. And they are so entertayned at the Kings cost, that all things reckoned, they get euery day aboue their necessarie charges a Ducket a man. Hence are many ambitious of this Embassage and purchase it of the *Carauan Bassa* (who hath the nomination) at great price: at that time counterfeiting their Kings Letters, acknowledging vassallage to the King of *China*. The like Embassages the *Chinois* admit from diuers Kingdomes, from *Cauchin china*, *Siam*, *Leuchieu*, *Corea*, and some of the *Tartars* Kingdomes, not without incredible expenses of the publike treasure: of which fraud the *Chinois* are not ignorant, but flatter with their King, as if all the World paid Tribute vnto him, when as rather the *Chinois* in this manner pay Tributes to them.

* This 200. is to bee vnderstood of the Westerne part: or perhaps all but so much is naturall of rockes or hills: or *Trigautius* a *Dutchman* might meane *Dutch* miles. The Map expresseth about 1000. miles. The reports are diuers as from reports: for who could see it all? and what good would 200. miles doe, which horsemen in few dayes might passe.

Diuers Embassages counterfeited.

At the end of the yeere 1605. Our *Benedict* came to *Soceu*, growne wealthy by his long Iourney; hauing thirteene Horses, fiue hired Seruants, two Boyes which hee bought, and the most precious Marble of the rest, all valued at 2500. Duckets. Hee also and *Isaac* were well in health. In this Citie he lighted vpon other *Saracens* returned from *Pequin*, which confirmed the former Reports of the Fathers, with other things beyond all measure of Faith, that the King of *China* paid them money daily by a certaine measure and not by weight. Hee writ presently to Father *Matthew* to *Pequin*, to acquaint him with his comming, and gaue the Letters to certaine *Chinois*: but because he knew not the *China* name wherewith Ours were called, and the Region where they resided, and writ in *European* Characters, those *Chinois* could not deliuer them. The next yeare at Easter, he sent againe by a *Saracen* Fugitiue (for they may neither goe in nor out without the Magistrates leaue) and writ to them of his Voyage and state, desiring them to take some course to free him from that Prison, that he might returne by Sea into *India*, the *Portugall* way. The Father had long before learned by Letters from *India*, of this intended Iourney, and yeerely expected him, and made much enquirie of those counterfeit Embassadors, but could not till now heare of him. They were now therefore much ioyed to read his Letters, which in Nouember following came to their hands, and one was presently sent, to bring him by some meanes to *Pequin*, not one of the Societie lest one stranger should hinder another, but a Pupill which lately admitted, had not yet entred his probation, named *Iohn Fernandus* a wise young man, with a companion, a new Conuert, skilled in those parts. And if hee could not bring him thence by the Magistrates leaue or by other Arts, he should stay there with him, and write to the Company, who by their friends would procure him passage.

Reports of trauellers to bee weighed.

Nouem. 1606.

This Iourney was vnreasonable in the hardest of Winter, being almost foure moneths Iourney from *Pequin*. Yet would not Father *Matthew* deferre any longer, which if he had done, *Goez* would haue beene dead before his comming. Hee and two others of the Societie writ to him. Meane-while *Goez* suffers more wrongs of the *Saracens* in this place then hee had done in the way, and was faine to sell his Marble halfe vnder the price for prouisions, whence he made 1200. Duckets and paid his Debts, and sustained his Family a yeere. Meane-while, the Carauan came with their Captaine, and he with entertainments was againe forced to borrow, and because hee was chosen into the number of the seuentie two, he prouided him of some Marble pieces, without which had beene no going to *Pequin*. Hee hid one hundred pounds in the ground that the *Saracens* should not know thereof. *Ferdinandus* went from *Pequin* the eleuenth of December,

Carauan commeth.

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Singhan. and his Seruant ranne from him at *Singhan*, the Mother Citie of the Prouince of *Scianſi*, carrying away halfe their prouiſion. At the end of March, 1607. he yet made ſhift to get to *Socen*, and found *Goez* lying on his Death-bed, who had dreamed that one of our company would come thither the next day, and ſent *Iſaac* into the Market who brought *Ferdinandus* to him. Hauing receiued the Letters, he brak into a *Nunc dimittis*, as ſeeming to haue ended his Pilgrimage. Eleuen dayes after *Goez* dyeth, not without ſuſpition of Poyſon from the *Saracens*. They had perpetuall Spies to watch and catch what he left, which they did moſt barbarouſly execute, and amongſt the reſt his Iournall was loſt which he had written in very ſmall Letters. They ſought for it to preuent payment of Debts there entred. They would haue buried him like a *Saracen*, but *Iſaac* and *Ferdinand* excluded them and buried him, with a recitall of the *Roſarie*, in defect of other Bookes. Thus died *Benedict Goez*, a man of great parts, which had after his admiſſion done great ſeruice to the Societie (howſoeuer he was not a Prieſt) much eſteemed by the Great *Mogoll*, whom hee auerted from the Warre of *India*. He diſſwaded before his death that Ours ſhould not truſt the *Saracens*, nor aduenture this way, as vnprofitable and dangerous. And although hee dyed without Confeſſion in ſo many yeeres, yet he was cheerefull in the mercie of God, and profeſſed that his conſcience did not accuſe him of matters of any moment.

Goez dyeth.

Tartarean Tartars. By a *Tartarian* cuſtome they diuide the goods of the deceaſed amongſt them all, and therefore bound *Iſaac* threatning to kill him if he turned not *Mahumetan*; but *Ferdinand* put vp a Supplication to the Vice-roy at *Cancen*, who ſubſcribed that the Gouernour of *Socen* ſhould examine the buſineſſe. He firſt was fauourable, but corrupted by bribes threatned to whip him, and held him in Priſon three dayes. But he ſold his Garments for want of Money, and continued the Suit fiue moneths, not being able at firſt to conferre with *Iſaac* for want of Language. *Iſaac* only vttered a few *Portugall* words, and the Iudge had thought they had ſpoken in the *Canton* Tongue. At laſt, *Ferdinand* learned to ſpeake *Perſian*, and was able to conferre with him. The *Saracens* pleaded that *Ferdinand* was a *Chineſe* by his countenance, the other a *Saracen*: hee anſwered that his Mother was a *Chineſe*, whom he reſembled. But nothing moued the Iudge more then that he was an enemy to their Religion, and pulling a piece of Porke out of his ſleeue, they both did eate it; whereupon with laughter of the Aſſembly, the *Saracens* abhominated both, ſpitting at the *Armenian*, and leauing the Suit, ſaying, that the *Armenian* was deluded by the *China*-coozener. For in all the way to preuent offence, *Benedict* and *Iſaac* had abſtayned from Porke. And thus all was by the Iudges ſentence reſtored to *Ferdinand* which had beene *Benedicts*: but nothing was found, ſaue Marble pieces which had beene hidden in the ground, which was ſold, and yeelded to pay their Debts and prouiſion for their Iourney to *Pequin*, whither both of them came. They brought a faire gilded Croſſe-Picture and the Charters of three Kings, *Caſcar*, *Quotan* and *Cialis*, which are reſerued at *Pequin* for a memoriall. *Iſaac* related all this Storie to Father *Matthew* vpon credit of his memorie, and hauing ſtayed a moneth, was ſent the wonted way to *Amacao*; where being well entertayned, hee in ſayling thence to *India*, was taken by *Hollanders*, and loſt both goods and libertie. But the *Portugals* of *Malaca* redeemed him, and he held on his courſe to *India*, and hearing of his Wiues death, went not to the *Mogols* Countrey, but ſtaid at *Chaul*, and is now at the writing hereof aliue.

Iſaacs iourney.

Chaul. 1615.

CHAP. V.

A Generall Collection and Hiſtoricall repreſentation of the Ieſuites entrance into Iapon *and* China, *vntill their admiſſion in the Royall Citie of* Nanquin.

§. I.

of FRANCIS XAVIER, MELCHIOR NVNNES, VALIGNANVS, RVGGERIVS *and* PASIVS.

FOraſmuch as we haue ſailed ſo lately from the *Philippinas* to *China*, and backe-againe with our Friers, and haue giuen you a Ieſuits Land Iourney, we thought it worthy our labour alſo to launch into the deepe of their Nauigations, and to honour the Ieſuits, (to whom in the following parts of this Hiſtorie we are ſo indebted) with obſeruing their Obſeruations of *Iapon*, and the intercourſe thereof with *China*; and from it (as the greateſt and moſt glorious Eaſterne Ieſuiticall Conqueſt) to ſhip our ſelues in their Barge to *China*. How *Francis Xavier* (now Sainted at *Rome*, together with *Ignatius Loiola*, firſt Founder of that Order) laboured the Conuerſions of

Ignatius and *Francis* canonized by *Greg.* 15. *March* 12. 1622.

Gentiles

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Gentiles and *Pagans* to *Christianitie*, as in other parts of the *Indies*, so heere in *Iapan* I willingly acknowledge; yea, so farre am I from enuying either him or his Order, or any other Order stiled Religious, their Trophees of Conuersions, that I could wish the Pope seated in *Miaco*, and all the Iesuits, & Friers, yea, all his Iesuited Clergie fully possessed of the *Bonzian* Colledges & Temples in *Iapon*; whence a double good might issue; to the *Ethnikes* some light in stead of a totall darknesse, a diseased life being better then death, and to *Europe*, to be lightned of their burthen, where professing themselues Lights, they proue Lightnings, and raise so manifold combustions. And most especially could I wish this honour to my Countrey-men the *English* Iesuites, and Priests, Popish Emissaries of whatsoeuer Order, that they were there ordered, or (which fits their ambition better) ordering that Easterne World, rather then here disordered and disordering, playing the *Lords of Mis-rule* in the West. The very Name of Christ is sweet to mee, euen in *Iapan*, yea, from a Iesuites mouth, or a Iesuites Conuert; and would God they taught them Iesus more, and lesse Iesuitish fancies of exchanged worship of Creatures, howsoeuer gilded with *Christian* Names, that the *Iaponians* might learne to acknowledge Iesus and *Maria* truly, and not with Names and Images of *they know not what*, to worship *Venus* and her Sonne *Cupid*, in stead of the Blessed Virgin, and that incarnate Blessednesse her blessed Sonne, who is *God ouer all blessed for euer*.

This happened in Capt. *Saris* his ship. See *to.* 1. *l.* 4. *c.* 1. *p.* 367.

One told *Cortes* the *Mexian* Conqueror then speaking great words, that there is much difference in conquering Neighbours at home, and naked *Americans*; I adde, that a man may be Christened, and yet farre short of *Christianitie*, (euen by Iesuites * testimonies) and that somewhat more is required to a *Christian* then *Christian* Names, giuen in Baptisme to hundreds at once, as some haue done without further instruction. Deuotion is rather to be prized by weight and worth, then by tale and numbers, as happens in their Beades here, and too often in their Conuersions there: which were they indeed so much to be magnified and gloried in, would aswell preuaile in men of capacitie to ouerthrow *strong holds and high imaginations*, as here to worke on our silly women laden with sinnes, hoping for their Confession-cure; and there, with sillinesse it selfe, or such as Reason turnes *Christians* because they will not runne madde with their owne to such Monsters as their *Bonzi* teach them. Themselues confesse, that it is not much, they can preuaile with *Mahumetans* any where; or here in *China*: and Ours haue found them to say more then they had done in that little.

* See *sup. l.* 9. *c.* 12. §. 5. and the last Chapter of my Pilgrimage

2. *Cor.* 10. 4.

See Sir *T. Roe* and M. *Terry*, *sup. p.* 1482. and 586.

I should much rejoyce that their Reports were true, and that as an Orator * of theirs hath solemnized the Canonization of *Loiola*, their Patriarke, and *Xauier* the *Indian* Apostle (so hee stileth them) this Saint *Francis* had conuerted three hundred thousand Soules, of innumerable Nations; yea, all Heretikes in neere sixteene hundred yeeres, had not conuerted so many, nay, had not peruerted so many not *Christians*, to all their Heresies together, as he alone adjoyned to Christ in eleuen yeeres. I am glad to heare it, and that which hee addeth, that all Heretickes whatsoeuer had not infected so many Languages and peoples, as those of which hee had illustrated many with Christian Truth and Pietie. Doth this man consider how much of the World hath beene *Christian*, and how much after that Hereticall? how many more Nations the *Nestorian* Heresie hath infected then *Xauier* saw, leauening, in manner, all *Asia* from *Constantinople* where it began, vnto *Tartaria? Cathay*, or *China*, and the *Indies*, and hath not the *Iacobite* Heresie preuailed ouer *Africa?* and before that the *Arrian*; ouer all the World, which as Saint *Hierome* saith, groned and wondred to see it selfe growne *Arrian?* But these perhaps rather peruerted *Christians* then any way conuerted *Ethnikes*! Yet the great Nations of the *Gothes* and *Vandales* were of *Ethnikes* made *Arrians*, the great Nations of the *Lithuanians*, *Muscouites*, *Russes*, *&c.* haue not many hundred yeeres since of *Ethnikes* beene conuerted to the *Greeke* Church, which they hold not Catholike (that I mention not the *Armenians*, *Georgians*, and others) one of which numbreth many times three hundred thousand.

This Storie shewes that with *Mogols* & *Chinois* gifts are best Conuerters.

* *Adol. Schulkenius. Colon. A.* 1622. *Iun.* 26.

See before in *Polo*; *Conti*, *&c.* the truth hereof.

And that one Impietie of *Mahumet* hath more Followers many, then all whatsoeuer professions of *Christianitie* in all Languages, Nations, Rites whatsoeuer (I greeue to tell it) and that from peruerse *Ethnikes* and peruerted *Christians*. And although *Luther* and *Caluin* went not out of *Germanie* and *France* (which he obiects) yet *their sound*, the Gospell which they preached *hath gone ouer all the Earth*, (as these our Relations shew in the Voyages of *English*, *Dutch*, *French*, yea, the Apostles themselues) and they haue shaken the Towres of *Babylon* in *Europe*, where they were strongest (where Antichrist hath his Throne, a Conquest more then *Indian* or *Iaponian*) and when the Prophesie of *Babylons* vtter ruine is fulfilled, the same word shall conquer (I hope) both *Iewes* and *Gentiles*; yea, these Iesuites and their Preachings, may by Diuine Dispensation become Harbengers to the Gospell hereafter, as the *Iewish* Dispersions in the Translations of the Scripture and profession of the true God, were fore-runners of the Apostles preaching. Meane-while they find vs worke at home to *watch ouer our Flockes*, *lest such grieuous Wolues enter*, and make vs to leaue the *Pharisies* glorie of *compassing Sea and Land to winne Proselites* to these their Heires and Successors in this, as in many other things. But I will leaue them glorying of their Conuersions, grieuing that they are not herein better then their reports. I will follow them to these parts of *China*, and here for *Chinas* sake to *Iapon*, and with that Rule of *Cassius*

Apoc. 18.

Acts 10.

Cic. pro Milone.

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Caſſius (Cui bono) obſerue them, in things not gainefull to their Religion, approue and applaud their induſtrie, yea, accept and thankfully acknowledge their authoritie. In their Conuerſions to the Faith, I ſuſpend my faith in the qualitie, if I admit their quantitie. For how could one man well inſtruct ſo many in ſo little time, except hee could haue giuen the Holy Ghoſt, as the Apoſtles in their conuerſions did.

How little in compariſon was *Pauls*, from *Ieruſalem* to *Illyricum*?

Francis Xauier, in the yeere 1541. ſayled from *Lisbon*, wintred at *Moſambique*, whence hee paſſed into *India*, after that to *Malaca*, and to *Iaponia*, *Et Cunctas oras* (ſayth the former Author) *quas Oceanus ab* Indico *mari vſque ad extremos* Sinas, *id eſt totius Orbis dimidium, circumfluit, Euangelica predicatione illuſtrauit & implenit*, (*Iapon* was firſt diſcouered and knowne to the *Portugals* by *Mota*, carryed out of his courſe to *China* thither by tempeſt, 1542.) Hee dyed, *Anno* 1552. the fiue and fiftieth of his Age, of his *Indian* peregrination the eleuenth, in the Ile *Sancian*, on the Coaſt of *China*. This was the *Indian* Standrad-bearer to all of that Societie (beginning his trauell to *Lisbon* the firſt yeere of their Confirmation 1540.) and now deified or Canonized, and inuoked by Doctor *Schulchenius*, Chancellor of *Collen* his Orator, *Ignati & Franciſce veſtris ſuccurrite precibus, &c.* A Letter of his written from *Iapon*, in Nouember, 1549. thus relateth.

Letter of *Xauier*.

Wee came by Gods grace in Auguſt to Iapon, *on the Feaſt day of the Aſſumption of the Virgin* Marie, *hauing ſet foorth from* Malaca *on Midſommer day. The Maſter of the Ship was a* Chineſe, *which had vndertaken that office to the Captayne of* Malaca, *and ſayled proſperouſly till the Maſter altered his minde (as thoſe* Barbarians *are vſually inconſtant) and lingred long amongſt the Ilands in the way. This troubled vs in two reſpects principally, both for the loſſe of the ſeaſon which God offered, and which being paſt, wee were compelled to winter on the Coaſt of* China; *and againe, becauſe in the ſame Ship was carryed an* Idoll *of the Deuill, to which the Mariners in ſight and ſpight of vs, ſacrificed after the manner of their Countrey. They alſo by lots demanded anſwers thereof, touching their Voyage; which (as they ſayd and beleeued) were ſometimes good, ſometimes bad. A hundred leagues from* Malaca, *holding our courſe to* China, *wee ſtayed at an Iland, where after many Ceremonies the Deuill was conſulted, what fortune wee ſhould haue, who anſwered,* very proſperous: *Whereupon with great alacritie wee ſet ſayle: they worſhipped the Idoll placed in the poope, with Candles burning and incenſe of ſweet Wood; wee truſted in God the Creator of Heauen and Earth, and in his Sonne our Lord* Ieſus Chriſt, *deſiring to carrie his Religion into thoſe parts. When wee were vnder ſayle, they demanded of the Deuill, whether this Ship ſhould returne from* Iapon *to* Malaca: *the anſwer was made by the lot-caſters, that it ſhould goe to* Iapon, *but not returne to* Malaca; *which made them alter their mindes, thinking it better to winter in* China, *and to deferre the voyage to* Iapon *till the next yeere. You may well thinke how it grieued vs, that the Deuill muſt bee conſulted touching our courſe. After this we came to* Cauchinchina, *where two aduerſe things happened,* Emanuel Sina *our companion, by the rolling of the Ship in the troubled Sea fell into the ſinke, almoſt dead with the bruiſe and water, but in few dayes recouered: which before it was ended, the Maſters Daughter with the like rolling of the Ship fell into the Sea, and in all our ſight was drowned, and much lamentation followed. The* Barbarians *preſently ſought to pacifie the Deuill, and without reſt all the day and night, tooke paines to kill Birds to the Idoll, and to ſet diſhes (of meate before it,) and by lots conſulted to know the cauſe of that misfortune. The anſwer was, that if* Emanuel *which firſt fell in, had dyed, the Girle had not fallen into the Sea. You ſee in what danger the Deuill hereby had caſt vs, if our Lord had not reſtrayned his rage, &c.*

Deuill worſhipped by the *Chinois*.

Canton.

The tempeſt being aſſwaged, wee came in few dayes to the Port of Canton *in* China. *And there they purpoſed to Winter, notwithſtanding all our intreaties and expoſtulations: but I know not how on a ſudden they would goe to* Chincheo, *on the ſame Coaſt. And when wee were almoſt there, the Maſter was certified by ſome which ſayled by, that there was ſtore of Pirats at* Chincheo; *whereupon the winde being faire for* Iapon, *and croſſe for* Canton, *they brought vs to* Cangoxuma, *the Countrey of our friend* Paul, *whoſe friends vſed vs vnkindly. There wee ſpent fortie dayes in learning the Elements of the* Iaponian *tongue with great labour, and began to publiſh the Decalogue, and other heads of* Chriſtian *learning, which* Paul *had accurately conuerted into his owne Language; and wee purpoſed ſpeedily to Print them, whereby the knowledge of* Chriſt *is further and more eaſily founded, &c.* The occaſion of his journey thither, hee ſheweth in another Letter, that *ſome* Portugals *being lodged in a Houſe poſſeſſed by Deuils, compaſſed the ſayd houſe with Croſſes, and that there was great hope of good to bee done in thoſe parts: whereupon, notwithſtanding thoſe Seas are very tempeſtuous, and much infeſted with Pirats, hee reſolued to goe thither.*

Cangoxima in *Iapon*. *Paul* had beene in *India*, and was Baptiſed.

Seas tempeſtuous and Piraticall.

Ricius and *Trigantius*, adde that the *Iaponian* Prieſts alledged in defence of their Idolatries, the *Chinois* wiſedome againſt him, whereupon hee returned to *India*, to aduiſe with the Vice-roy to ſend an Ambaſſage into *China*, without which there was no entrance, and obtayned that *Iames Pereira* was named Legate, with whom he had before conferred about the buſineſſe at *Sancian*, where the *Portugals* at that time vſed to trade with the *Chinois*, (*Amacao* not yet eſtabliſhed) but *Aluarus Taidius* the Captayne of *Maluca* oppoſed. *Xauier* loath herein to bee croſſed, vſed the Popes Bull, which conſtituted him Apoſtolicall *Nuncio*, and grieuouſly Curſed all that ſhould hinder his proceedings in promoting Religion. And when *Aluarus* would not otherwiſe relent, hee interdicted him and his followers. Soone after *Aluarus* was poſſeſſed with a Lepro-

ſie,

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sie, and further contemning the Vice-roy, was taken and cast in Irons, and dyed miserably. *Xauier* burning with zeale of his *China* expedition, sought to get some *Chinois* by fauour or reward, to conueigh him by stealth into *China*, and to expose him some-where on the Continent, although hee knew that imprisonment attended such strangers, as came into *China* without licence. Being admonished to take leaue of the Captayne, *What*, sayd hee, *should I goe to salute an Excommunicate person? I shall neuer see him, nor hee me, in this life, nor after, but when in the Vale of* Iosaphat *I shall accuse him before the Iudge, Christ.* And praying for him, after with a countenance full of Maiestie, hee put off his shooes, and *shooke off the dust*, according to the Euangelicall precept. Thus he came to *Sancian* a Desart Iland, where the *Portugals* vsed to make Boothes of boughes or straw, (for the time of their Trading with the *Chinois*) with whom hee consulted about some way to effect his desires, though with losse of libertie or life. At last he agreeth with a *China* Merchant, for as much Pepper (giuen him of the *Portugall* Merchants in almes) as was worth aboue two hundred Duckets, to set him and his Interpreter on shoare secretly. Hee vndertooke it, but either secretly terrified by other *Portugals*, or with his owne danger, his Interpreter forsooke him: and after that, the Merchant also vanished. He stayed yet wayting for him, till a Feuer tooke him out of the world, in December, 1552. His corps was after translated to *India*.

Xauiers zeale.

Sancian thirtie leagues from the *China* shoare.

Xauiers death. See *Vita Xauerij. & F. Pinto. & Eman. Acosta Mafferius Ricius, &c.*

The *Portugals* of those times, were very desirous of Trade with the *Chinois*, who on the other side were very suspitious of them, both by that which they saw of their Ships and Ordnance, and by that which the *Moores* at *Canton* reported of these *Franks*, (so the *Mahumetans* * call *Europæans*) that they were warlike and victorious, as appeared in *Malaca* and all *India*, vnder colour of Merchandise subiected to the *Portugals*. The *Chinois* at *Canton* call them still *Falanks*: for they want the R, and pronounce not two consonants without a vowell interposed. By the same name they call also the *Portugals* Ordnance. Yet desire of gaine preuayled, that they were admitted to such a trade as ye haue heard, so as the Mart ended, they must away with their goods to *India*. That course continued diuers yeeres, till the *Chinois* growing lesse fearefull, granted them in the greater Iland a little *Peninsula* to dwell in. In that place was an Idoll, which still remayneth to bee seene, called *Ama*, whence the *Peninsula* was called *Amacao*, that is, *Amas Bay*. This Rocke indeed rather then *Peninsula*, began to bee inhabited not onely of *Portugals*, but of the confluence of all neighbouring Nations, in regard of the commerce of Commodities of *Europe*, *India*, and the *Moluccas*, brought in *Portugals* Ships, and especially loue of the Siluer Coynes, brought the *Chinois* thither to dwell. In continuance of time, a Citie began by degrees to bee built, and the *Portugals* made not onely contracts of Merchandise, but of Marriage, with the *Chinois*, and so the *Peninsula* was filled with priuate houses, and out of a barren Rocke arose a noble Mart. And as gayne brought Merchants thither, so the care to keepe and to get soules, brought thither Priests and Religious men, and the *Portugall* Kings priuiledged the place with the tytle of a Citie, and made it a Bishops See. There the *Iesuites* fixed a residence, and first erected a Church to our Ladie, and after that diuers others. For it seemed conuenient to their designes, the world of *China* lying to the North, the *Moluccas* to the South, *Iapon*, and the *Philippinas* to the East, to the West *Cochinchina*, *Camboia*, *Siam*, and others.

* Since the Expedition of the Westerne *Christians* (the chiefe of which were *Franks*) to the conquest of *Ierusalem*.

A Peninsula is compassed with water except on one part.

Beginnings of *Amacao*.

From hence, many intended the *China* imployment without successe, those fields not then white to the harueft. *Melchior Nunnes*, (*Anno* 1555.) from *Canton*, writes of his accidentall going a shoare on *China*, in his voyage to *Iapan*, occasioned by a terrible tempest whereto those Seas are much subiect. They came in Iuly to *Sancian* an Iland, thirtie leagues from *Canton*, being much indangered by the Rockes in the way, and there hee sayd Masse ouer the place where *Xauier* had beene buryed; and easily obtayned admission into *Canton*. *This is reported to bee the least of all the Mother Cities of the Prouinces, yet seeming to exceed* Lisbone, *in frequencie. The buildings are good, the walls strong: a thousand Arches with inscriptions are seene therein, which the Magistrates vsually leaue as Memorials at their departures. The people are giuen to their bellies, and to pleasure. The Gouernment is admirable. The Chiefe Iustice they call* Hexasi, *the Treasurer* Ponchasi, *the Admirall and Gouernour of Strangers,* Aitan. *The* Chaens *Ensignes, are a* Hand and an Eye; *his office is to see the Execution of the Kings Sentences, to order or deprive Magistrates. The* Tutan *is Vice-roy, conspicuous by his Cap and his Garments, wrought with a gilded Lion, which * is the Kings Armes: in State hee excelleth* European *Kings. The* Portugall *Captaynes and wee speake not to him, but aloofe on our knees. If any will speake with him, at euery Gate of his sumptuous Palace, hee must aloud vtter his businesse, before the Porter admits him. Hee hath many for his Guard. And one hundred thousand men are sayd to bee maintayned at the Kings cost, for the keeping of this Prouince. His Officers goe two and two and make way with great cryes. Their Cane-whippings are terrible, the Canes burned at the end, a cubite long, foure fingers broad, &c. The* Chinois *are wittie and indicious, in matters of the world: but haue little care of the soule, ignorant of its * immortalitie, of one God, and of eternall rewards and punishments. Their Priests haue a kinde of Myter on the head, are shauen head and beard, otherwise contemptible. I could not with great diligence finde any that could shew mee their Ceremonies, and the lawes of their Holies. The Inhabitants all haue Idols, which they incense; and diuine by lots, beating the Idols if the Lots proue vnluckie. I was twice at* Canton, *and spent two moneths*

Melchior Nunn.

Canton least Metropolitan Citie. I take but a little of his relation, because you haue so much before.

Aiton, Aitao, or *Haitao.*

* So *Pinto* also, but this is the Prouinces Armes not the Kings.

* Some Sects acknowledge more, others lesse.

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moneths there to redeeme Portugall prisoners. The Chinois kill or captiuate the Portugals, which are wracked on that Coast, which yet they cease to doe, since they pay their Customes. I went thence in Mayto Iapan.

Valignanus. *Alexander Valignanus*, was sent by the *Iesuiticall* Generall into *India* as Visitor, and hauing visited other parts, came to *Amacao*, in his way to *Iapon*, forced to stay there ten moneths with the *Iesuites*. There hee more fully informed himselfe of the state of *China*, and raised the embers of the almost extinguished zeale of that expedition. Hee is thought to bee the Author of that treatise called *Admiranda Regni Sinensis*, containing a summarie of the wonders in *China*, worthy heere to haue beene inserted, but that wee rather ayme at things seene then heard, as hauing better certaintie. *Oculatus testis unus præstat auritis decem.* Vpon the consideration of their wits, Peace, Policie, studies of Learning, hee conceiued that if any were skilfull of their Language and Letters, he might doe some good for their Conuersion. Hereupon hee resolued to imploy some that way, although many others of the companie which had experience of the *China* affayres, held it labour in vayne. Yet hee went on and because of the paucitie of ours at *Amacao*, and none so fit for that designe, hee sent into *India* to the Prouinciall, to send thither at least one Priest for that purpose. And he going to *Iapon*, left order what hee which was sent should doe.

Admiranda regni Sinensis extant with the Iesuites Epistles published by Io Hayus. Plaut.

Mich. Ruggerius. *Michael Ruggerius*, an *Italian* of the Kingdome of *Naples*, was sent, and came to *Amacao*, in Iuly, *Anno* 1579. and applyed himselfe to learne the language which the Courtiers in *China* vse, and is common thorow all *China*, (the Prouinces hauing otherwise peculiar languages) also to learne to reade and write their Characters, which are as many as words. That language was verie hard both in it selfe, and for the want of teachers. For those *Christian Chinois* which liued at *Amacao*, in habit of *Europeans*, & those which came thither in Merchandise, were almost as ignorant of the *Court tongue*, as of the *Portugall*: and though they vnderstood it, yet they could not well pronounce it. And for the Characters, they know those which belonged to their Merchandising and common vse. *Labor improbus omnia vincit.* With pictures his teacher was often forced to supply characters. And whereas the *Portugals* twice a yeere in the Mart season haue accesse to *Canton*, about Ianuarie and Iune, he went with them thither. For in time they obtayned this libertie, that not in a desart Iland, as first, nor in the *Amacao* Hauen, but in the Metropolitan Citie two dayes vp the Riuer, they might haue trading by day, but lye aboard at night, with so many eyes and watches on them, as it is manifest they are not altogether free of their former feares.

Portugall trade at Canton by day, and extrusion at night.

Ruge. first entrance. These Marts continue two moneths each of them, or longer, and haue beene the onely meane of admitting the *Iesuites* into *China*, by the industrie and pietie of other *Portugals*. *Ruggerius* therefore with his merchandise also aduentured with them, and found an impediment at first. Another *Iesuite* which before had gone thither had conuerted a youth, Disciple to a Priest, and closely conueyed him to *Amacao*. His Master made complaint and procured the Magistrate to fetch him backe by force, to the great trouble of Ours, and seeming discredit as if by ill arts they had seduced Children from their Parents, which is a thing at *Canton*, both vsuall and Capitall. *Ruggerius* enterposed himselfe with great care and discretion, and appeased the Admirall or *Hai-tao* which hath the command of Strangers, who hereby had an opinion of his vertue, and delighted to see him studious of the *China* bookes. He therefore permitted him to stand at his side when others kneeled, and freed him also from the going aboard at night, and allowed him a place in the Palace, where the Ambassadours of the King of *Siam* were vsually entertayned, bringing their present or tribute (such as you haue heard in *Goez*) to the King. There hee studied night and day the *China* bookes, and on Sundayes and Holy-dayes, the *Portugals* came thither to him to Masse and to receiue the Sacraments. This continued whiles they continued, for when the Mart ended hee was commanded to returne with them. The Father procured acquaintance also with the chiefe Captayne of the Souldiers of that Prouince (the *Chinois* call him *Zumpim*), to whom hee gaue a watch. By this meanes many of those which came to *Amacao*, began to shake off their *Ethnike* darknesse, and the deuout *Portugals* erected a House for the *Catechumeni* (new Conuerts to bee instructed in *Christian* mysteries before Baptisme) where hee instructed them, and more freely followed his *China* studies, by helpe of Interpreters. One businesse hindred another, and his Marts absence (which tooke vp neere halfe the yeere) this Catechising, and a tongue is hardly learned by studie without vse; and therefore the Visitor sent for *Matthew Ricius* out of *India*, (which had come out of *Europe* with *Ruggerius*, and now had finished his Diuinitie course at *Goa*) to bee his yoake fellow, one to whom the *China* expedition is most indebted.

Ruggerius freed by the Hai-tao.

Ambassage of Siam.

Zumpim or Chumbim.

Mat. Ricius.

Anno 1582. *Valignanus* the Visitor, carryed certayne *Iaponian* Princes sent to *Rome* to yeeld subiection to the Pope, in the name of those Kings which sent them, as you shall heare. He staying for the Monson at the Colledge of *Amacao*, tooke great paines to aduance the *China* businesse. And to that purpose hee instituted the *Fraternitie or fellowship of Iesus* in our House, with lawes fitting to New Conuerts; forbidding any *Portugals* to bee therein admitted, but onely *Chinois*, and *Iaponians*, and those which were newly conuerted of other Nations: alway to bee gouerned

Fraternitie of Iesus.

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gouerned by one of those Fathers which should bee assigned to the *China* Expedition, called, *The Father of the new Conuerts*, taking care not onely of their saluation, but their other affaires and pouerty.

The Vice-roy of *Canton* Prouince is one of the chiefe Vice-royes, because his Prouince is farre from *Pequin*, and coasting on the Sea; infested therefore with often Piracies, especially *Iaponian*. Hereupon the *Canton* Vice-roy exerciseth iurisdiction also in the adioyning Prouince *Quamsi*, if occasion require to leuie more Souldiers, although *Quamsi* hath also a Vice-roy of her owne. For this cause the *Canton* Vice-roy resideth not at *Canton*, but at *Sciauquin*, a Citie bordering on both Prouinces. At this time *Cinsui* borne in the Prouince of *Fuquien*, was Vice-roy, a couetous man, who to get money of the *Amacaons* sent thither his Writ for the Bishop and Captaine to come to his Court, vnderstanding that they commanded all there. They thought it not agreeing to the *Portugall* honour to goe, nor to their safety to neglect his summons, and therefore by *Valignanus* his aduise, *Ruggerius* was sent in the name of the Bishop, to see if hee could get a perpetuall Station in that Kingdome, and *Penella* the Auditor, in place of the Captaine. And to obtaine his fauour, that he should not disturbe their merchandising, a Present was sent him at publike charge, of such things as the *Chinois* most regard, as waued garments of silke Damaske (which the *Chinois* then knew not how to make) Crystall Glasses, and other things valued at 1000. Duckets. The Vice-roy receiued them in great pompe, more to terrifie then honour them; but at the sight of the Presents (the scope of his purpose) hee became gentle and courteous, and decreed that *they might liue in his Port in manner as hitherto they had done, obeying the Lawes of the* China *Magistrates:* which words seeme formall, the *Portugals* liuing there after their owne Lawes; and other Nations, yea the *Chinois* themselues which are *Christians* in habite and religion, being subiect to them. The other *Chinois* are subiect to common Officers sent thither from *Canton*. The Vice-roy would haue nothing, but hee would pay for it, which hee did because bribes and gifts are there seuerely punished: but priuily hee sent to them, that money was giuen them to procure him as many other like.

Vice-roy of Canton. *Quamsi.* *Sciauquin.* Bribe trickes.

Ruggerius desired that which he came for, saying, he learned the *China* Tongue and read their Bookes, which he seemed much to like, and gaue him hopes at his next returne to obtayne it. And hauing giuen them weight of Siluer; with prouision, great attendance of Magistrates and Souldiers, much Musicke of Hoybuckes and other Instruments, hee sent them pompously thorow the publike streets of the Citie to their shipping. So weighty is hope of gaine. In August had comne (as they vse) *Portugall* ships to *Amacao*, in them of our Society not a few, and amongst others, Father *Matthew Ricius*, who brought with him an artificiall Watch from the Prouinciall for the aduancing this *China* businesse. About that time the Captaine of *Amacao* hauing made readie those things which the Vice-roy prescribed, sent backe the Auditor to *Sciauquin*, but *Ruggerius* vnseasonably (or seasonably rather as the euent manifested) fell sicke; yet sent word to the Vice-roy that he could not come to him as he had promised: and withall, that he had a Clocke-watch which did without any striker sound the houres, a thing euen still of much wonder to the *Chinois*. Hearing of his sickenesse, hee seemed sorrowfull, but this Watch awaked him, and caused him to make his Secretarie presently write a Licence for the Father to come to him with that admirable worke, as soone as he should bee able. When this Charter was read at *Amacao*, it contayned more; for the Fathers were inuited by publike Authoritie to erect a publike and priuate house in that Citie, which caused great ioy. But the Visitor was afraid as yet to send *Ruggerius*, as not furnished fully for that designe; the *beginning of a thing being the greatest part*. The other *Iesuites* perswaded, and Father *Francis Pasius* bound for *Iapon*, a man well qualified for gouerning was sent, and *Ruggerius* adioyning his Colleague. *Ricius* was made Gouernour of the Colledge of the *Catechumeni*, and appointed to follow the other two, if occasion serued. And if the businesse proceeded not, *Pasius* was to proceed to *Iapon*, and the other two to attend better opportunitie in their *China* businesse.

Mat. Ricius. Clocke-watch.

Those two *Iesuites* went to *Sciauquin*, and offered their Watch with a triangle Glasse presenting variety of colours, a thing admired of the *Chinois* as a precious Iewell: both which were exceeding welcome to the Vice-roy, who assigned them a conuenient station in a Suburbian Temple, called *Thien-min-zu*, whither he often sent them diuers viands, and often admitted them in Visitation to his Palace. There they abode foure or fiue moneths, often visited in that Temple by principall men and Magistrates of the Citie, and were in hope of their perpetuall continuance, hauing obtayned licence of the Secretarie also for *Ricius* to come, who was preparing for the Voyage, when all was disturbed on a sudden, the Vice-roy being I know not for what fault, depriued of his place. He fearing least in the chiefe Citie the presence of Strangers might further hurt him, dismissed the *Iesuites* so, as hee permitted them to stay at *Canton*, commanding the Magistrate there to prouide them a house and ground. The *Chinois* call that Citie *Quam-chen* which the *Portugals* (by the name of the Prouince deluded) call *Canton*. They well knew that his commission was of no force, yet they went, and the *Haitau*, to whom the Charter was directed was absent, and no regard being had thereof, they were not permitted to ascend the bankes, and therefore with griefe returned to *Amacao*. *Pasius* presently sayled according

Iesuites first *China* station. Three cornered Glasse. *Quam-chen* the true name of *Canton*.

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cording to the Viſitors appointment to *Iapon*, and after diuers yeeres labour there, was Vnder-prouinciall of the *China* and *Iaponian* Miſſions: and when both of thoſe expeditions were by the Generals order made a Prouince, he was declared Viſitour thereof, and came to *Amacao*, to take order for *China*, where within few moneths he died.

Paſius dieth long after.

§. II.

Iaponian *Embaſſage to the Pope*; *Of* Nabunanga *and* Quabacondono *their gouernment*; Corai *inuaded, Embaſſage from* China, TAICOSAMAS *Temple, and* OGOSHOSAMAS *ſucceſſion.*

HAuing mentioned that Embaſſage of *Iaponian* Kings ſent to the Pope by procurement of the *Ieſuites*, out of their writings I haue heere added for further illuſtration, the acts of the publike Conſiſtorie in this forme of words.

Iaponian Embaſſage to the Pope. *Ed dit Hen. Cuickius.*

Pope *Gregorie* the thirteenth, ſitting in the Hall deſigned for entertaynment of Kings, and their Embaſſages on the three and twentieth of March, 1585. in the morning, in a moſt ample Seſſion of the Cardinals of the Holy *Romane* Church, and in a great aſſembly of Princes and Prelates with greateſt induſtry, and moſt frequent attendance of all Orders: *Mantius* and *Michael* (who was alſo of the Prince of *Omur*) two Legates of *Iaponian* Kings, were brought in, and one of the two *Iaponian* companions of the ſame Embaſſage, of principall Nobilitie, to wit, *Martine*, for *Iulian* the other of them was withholden by ſickneſſe.) After ſolemne adoration of the Pope, and the kiſſes of his bleſſed feet, receiued of him with great demonſtration of beneuolence and charitie, they went aſide into a place appointed them with great modeſtie. Afterwards, the Letters of the Kings which they had brought are publikely read, being tranſlated out of the *Iaponian* Tongue into the *Italian*, and thence into the *Latine*. Firſt, that

King of *Bungos* Letter.

of *Francis* King of *Bungo*, who therein profeſſeth the *Diuine bountie in ſending the* Ieſuites *foure and thirtie yeeres before into thoſe parts, whoſe ſeed had taken ſome rooting in his breaſt, which hee aſcribes to the Popes prayers and merits. And had it not beene for his age, warres, and ſickneſſe, hee would haue viſited thoſe holy places, and haue kiſſed his holy feet, and ſet them on his head, and receiued his bleſſing, his breaſt croſſed by his moſt holy hand: but ſo detayned, had thought to haue ſent his ſiſters ſonne, the Lord* Ierome, *Sonne of the King of* Fiunga *his Embaſſadour, whoſe Couſin-german* Mantius *in his abſence he now ſent; thankes him for the Relikes ſent him, &c. Ian.* 11. 1582. Inſcribed, *To the great and moſt holy Pope to be adored, and holding on Earth the place of the King of Heauen.* Subſcribed, Francis *King of* Bungo, *proſtrate at your Bleſſedneſſe moſt holy feet.* Not much vnlike was the tenour of the ſecond Letter, ſent from *Protaſius* King of *Arima*, who detayned by diuers lets, had ſent his Couſin-german in his roome, to his *Holineſſe, which with ſincere and humble minde hee adoreth.* Inſcribed, *To the great and holy Lord whom I adore, holding the roome of God.* The Prince of *Omur* ſent alſo the ſaid *Michael* his Brothers Sonne with a Letter of like import, inſcribed. *With lifted vp hands adoring I offer theſe to the moſt holy Lord the Pope, Vicar of the great God.* Subſcribed in ſubſtance as the firſt.

After this, ſilence was commanded; and in the name of the ſaid Kings and Legates, *Gaſper Gonſaluas* a *Portugall Ieſuite* made an Oration vnto the Pope, comparing and preferring this Embaſſage with that of certaine *Indians* to *Auguſtus*, and the conuerſion of *Britaine* by the firſt *Gregorie* with this of *Iapon*, and other Ilands by the Thirteenth, ſucceeding * and exceeding that, now fallen from the Pope; applying *Eſays* Prophecies of the Churches encreaſe to this *Ieſuits-call* Haruеſt, and magnifying the great glories of that Pope, founder of Seminaries, and magnified *extra anni Soliſq; vias*. *Antonio Buccapadulio* anſwered in the name of the Pope, *That* Francis *King of* Bungo, Protaſius *King of the* Arimans, *and* Bartholmew *his Vncle, Prince of* Omur, *hath ſent you their kinſmen to him from the remote* Iaponian *Ilands to the veneration of that power in preſence, which by Gods bounty he holdeth, they haue done godly and wiſely. For there is one Faith, one* Catholike *Church, one made Gouernour ouer the ſaid Church, and Paſtor of* Chriſts *Flocke, that is, of all* Catholikes *thorow the World, in the ſucceſſion of* Peter, *the* Roman *Biſhop. That they acknowledge and profeſſe this, together with the myſteries of the orthodoxe Faith, our moſt holy Lord reioyceth, and giueth immortall thankes to the Diuine bounty, and iudges this to be the moſt true ioy which proceedeth from the ſtudie of Gods glorie, and the ſaluation of Soules. Therefore moſt willingly, together with theſe his venerable Brethren, Cardinals of the* Roman *Church, hee embraceth the teſtification of their Faith, Obedience, Deuotion. He wiſheth and prayeth that by their example other Kings and Princes alſo of thoſe Ile, and of the whole World, reiecting the worſhip and errour of Idols, may know the true God, and whom he hath ſent* Ieſus Chriſt; *for this is life eternall.*

* But that *Hortus deliciarum Anglia* was more worth then both *Indies* to the Pope. See *ſup. lib.* 8. *c.* 6. *&c.*

This the moſt acceptable myſterie of Papall Faith.

This done, the Conſiſtorie was diſmiſſed. The Legates when they had attended the Pope, after the cuſtome, into the inner roomes, were firſt entertayned of the Popes brothers ſonne, the Cardinall of Saint *Sixtus*, with a Banket; after that admitted to the Popes priuate and familiar

miliar conference, they diſcourſed by Interpreters with him of many things, touching the Iourney and Religion: then went to Saint *Peters* Church, and the holy Threſholds of the Apoſtles piouſly ſaluted, at night were honourably brought to their lodging.

This was prepared and furniſhed in the *Ieſuites* Colledge by the Popes appointment at their first comming to *Rome*, the two and twentieth of March, who alſo ſent two troops of Horſe to guard them. They went from their Charet to the Temple, and whiles they praiſed God, and worſhipped at the greateſt Altar, the Students of the *German* Colledge in a double Quire ſang, *Te Deum laudamus*. The Legates next day had audience as yee haue heard; their Veſtment was parti-coloured and embroidered, a ſhort Sword on the left hand, an *Arab* Dagger on the right, the other part of their habite *Iaponian*. The pompe of all ſorts, and the Ordnance attended them to the *Vatican*, & there the *Italian* Garriſon, and *Heluetian* Guard with their Peeces and military Muſicke receiued them. Then were they lead into the Hall, and after all things there finiſhed, the Legates carried the Popes traine at his departure. And on the fiue and twentieth day, feſtiuall for the Annuntiation, the Pope going on ſolemne Proceſſion, theſe Legates rode in the laſt place. What ſhould I ſay more? (ſayth our Authour) it cannot be told, how all magnifie the mercy of God which brings farre more at this time from the Eaſt and Weſt to the Catholike Church, then the Deuill hath ſeduced in the North.

Extract. è literis Romanis.

See the laſt chap. of my *Pilg. l. 9.*

Theſe *Iaponian* Lords returned into *India*, 1586. as *Valignanus* writeth, and were much endangered by a tempeſt. Their returne into *Iapon* is ſignified by the Letters of *Michael* to the Archbiſhop of *Ebora*, teſtifying their arriuall the one and twentieth of Iuly, 1590. at *Nangaſach* with the ſaid *Valignanus*; and by the Letter of *Don Sancius*, Sonne and Succeſſour to *Bartholmew* Prince of *Omur* to Pope *Xiſtus* the fifth, with thankes for the wood of the Croſſe, and the Sword ſent his Father which ſhould be kept amongſt his principall Iewels. *Protaſius* alſo the King of *Arima* wrote to the *Great and moſt holy Pope Xiſtus* or *Sixtus* in this manner.

Popes preſents

On the ſixteenth of the ſixth Moone, which was the one and twentieth of Iuly, 1690. *heere arriued the Father Viſitour of the Societie of* Ieſus, *with* Cingiua Don Michael *my kinſman*, Don Mancius, *and other companions which I had ſent to* Rome *to put their heads vnder your Holineſſe feet. Whoſe comming did as much reioyce me, as if a thouſand Autumnes had comne to me, and ten thouſand yeeres had beene added to my life.* Don Michael *related with what honour and fauour hee was entertayned of your Holineſſe, of King* Philip, *and other* Catholike *Princes, for which I render thoſe thankes which Pen and Paper cannot expreſſe. He deliuered me Letters alſo which your Holineſſe vouchſafed mee, fauourably reckoning mee amongſt the* Chriſtian *Kings. Hee brought me alſo part of the holy Wood of the true Croſſe, a Hat, and a Sword, which your Holineſſe is wont to ſend to* Chriſtian *Kings and Princes. Which fauour and ſtudies are ſuch, and ſo eſteemed of mee, that I haue determined to conſecrate them to eternall memory, and to place them amongſt my chiefe Treaſures, and the Ornaments and Monuments of my poſteritie. And this honour conferred on mee is ſuch, that greater cannot be in this life, and it redounds vnto a future good life. I had determined (according to the order preſcribed of your H. in his Letters, and as the fauour, and ſo great benefits beſtowed on mee deſerued) to haue receiued the ſaid Preſents with all the celebritie and pompe that might be in my Kingdome: but the Father Viſitour ſhewed mee that reſpect was to be had of the tyrannie and great hatred wherewith* Quabacondono *the Lord of all* Iapon, *perſecuteth the Fathers and* Chriſtians *theſe three yeeres together; and this feaſt to be deferred till he returneth from* Meaco, *whither hee is going in Embaſſage from the Vice-roy of* India *to* Quabacondono, *&c. The ninth yeere of the* Era *called* Tenſcio, *the tenth of the eighth Moone, which is the two and twentieth of September, An.* 1590.

Papall fauours, with little coſt buying much eſteeme.

Pompe preſcribed.

At your Highneſſe feet,

Arimano, Seiurino, Daibu Don Protaſius.

This *Quabacondono* (as *L. Froes* writeth) was now growne the greateſt Monarch that euer *Iapon* had, hauing aſcended thereunto from a baſe eſtate, which was (as hee hath diuers times with his owne mouth confeſſed) to cut wood, and to carrie it to the Market to ſell for his daily food. *Nobunanga* his Predeceſſor had growne to great height, ſuch as many ages had not there ſeene. In *Frenoiama* eight hundred yeeres before, a King of *Iapon* had builded 3800. Temples, with houſes adioyned for the *Bonzis*, which employed themſelues in the ſtudie of the Lawes and Sects: for whoſe quietneſſe he remoued the Husbandmen, and builded them two ſtreets, allowing to their maintenance about the third part of the Cuſtomes (or Rents) of the *Vomen* Kingdome. Thus became it a fountaine of their ſuperſtitions. In time thoſe Temples diſperſed in ſixteene Vallies were leſſened to 800. and the *Bonzian* diſcipline, and ſtudies melted into pleaſures, hardned into Armes, and ranged into robberies, ſo that they fired *Meaco* with great ſlaughter, and oppoſed *Nobunanga*: who hauing deſtroyed the Militarie *Bonzi* (called *Icoxos*) and taken away their Caſtles, inuaded *Frenoiama*, profeſſing he feared not their Gods. On the top of a Hill was the Temple of *Quanon*, to whom prayers and pilgrimages were made for health, wealth, and long life; and yeerely ſolemnities and Playes with huge pompe and coſt were made in his honour (to which the *Gibon* feaſt at *Meaco* ſucceeded) with frequency of men, deuices

See of theſe *Iaponian* Kings and Rites my *Pilg. l. 5. c. 15.* *Nabunanga.*

Frenoiama.

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The *Bonzian Quanon* and Popish *Corpus Christi* Playes like by *Iesuites* testimonie.

deuices of work-men, and such order, that it may appeare that Satan there imitates the anniuersary solemnitie of *Corpus Christi* amongst vs. Thither the *Bonzi* had gotten, but it, and they, and their streets were destroyed, and foure hundred Temples with their furniture burned. At *Facusangin* also were a thousand houses of the *Bonzi* by themselues, besides Monasteries, which he destroyed. *Xinguea* the King of *Cainochum* had forced his Father to exile, and imprisoned his elder Brother, and then seized on the Kingdome: after which he shaued his beard and haire, and became a *Bonzo*, and would needs repaire *Frenoiama*, and stiling himselfe, *Chiefe in the house of the Kings and of Religions*, gathered an Armie. *Nabunanga* wrote to him, calling himselfe, *Tamer of Deuils, and enemie of Sects*. Hee proceeded first against the *Bonzi* with these terrours; and after would needs himselfe be worshipped, but eighteene dayes after in a conspiracy of his owne against him, he was slaine, and his dispersed. *Quabacondono* succeeded, and in greatnesse of attempts and ambition exceeded.

Shauelings.

Faxiba made *Quabacondono.*

Quabacu signifies, the Chist of treasure.

This *Quabacondono* is a title which *Faxiba* assumed, and is as much, as *Treasurer*. These titles are giuen by the *Vo*, or *Dairi*, descended of the ancient Kings, and now enioying a strange Empire, which is to giue titles of honour, (for which all great men haue their Factors with him) and is esteemed as a God, not suffered to tread on the ground (that were deposition) nor often seene, and gets much treasure out of those *Titles*, which he so often changeth, that the King of *Bungo* was by the *Iesuites* obserued foure and thirty times to haue altered his appellations. There is a high Priest, who with Papall power authorizeth Sects, confirmeth and consecrateth the *Tundi* or Bishops which are nominated by the Kings, and enioyeth Royall reuenues. The *Quingue* is the third person, and hath power ouer Iudgements and Warres. But the *Lords of Tensa*, that is, such as haue power to get into their hands *Meaco*, and the Region adioyning, are really chiefe Lords, and command the State, though in seeming ceremonie (as the *Turkes* to their *Mufti*, and more manifestly the *Soldans* of *Egypt* to their *Califas*) they yeeld a seeming subiection; the *Dairi* not daring to crosse them.

Cos. Turrianus.

The 3. chiefe men in *Iapon*. The *Vo*, High Priest and *Quingue*.

A greater then they.

Faxiba Cicugendono obtayned that title of *Quabacondono* (*Dono* is a generall title of honour) the next to the *Dairi*, and hauing subiected *Iapon*, minded to conquer *China*, by the way of *Corai*. The King of *Corai* sent his Embassadour to him with three hundred attendants in vaine, he minding to send and place in those new Conquests all the suspected Princes of *Iapan*, and to eternize his owne name, being exceeding vain-glorious. He tooke from the *Bonzi* their Lands: and after that, making ditches round about *Meaco*, hee forced them all to dwell together neere the said ditches: which reducing their discrepant Sects to an vnformed *Chaos* together, made many of them forsake their profession. Hee enioyed euery foot of Land in *Iapon*, gaue, or remoued, or depriued Kings at pleasure, tooke away all Armes from the Rustikes; forbad all contentions and fights vpon paine of death, if any guilty hereof fled, punishing the kindred, or seruants, or neighbours, crucifying them. He administred iustice very seuerely without partiality, or pardoning any man: and had almost put to death the *Meacon Bonzi* for their Concubines if the Gouernour of *Meaco* had not interposed and vndertaken their amendment. Hee neuer suffered the Souldiers to be idle, but vsed them in warres or buildings. The Vice-roy sent him an Embassage and Presents; the foure *Iaponian* Lords which had beene in Europe attending *Valignanus* the Embassadour. *Quabacondono* would needs heare these *Iaponians* play *Europaan* Musicke, which they had there learned: and made great shewes of kindnesse to them all, and sent this Letter with Presents to the Vice-roy.

Meaco the chiefe Citie of *Iapon*.

Corai.

Organtinus Brixiensis.

Sir, I haue receiued Letters which your Lordship from so remote Regions sent mee, in opening and reading whereof I seemed to see the length of the leagues by land and sea. This Kingdome of Iapon *as you wrote, contayneth aboue sixtie States or Iurisdictions, in which before haue beene great disorders and warres, no peace nor quiet. For many wicked men, Traitors to their Countrey conspired to denye obedience to their* * *King, a thing which from my youth hath vexed me. And long since I bethought mee of a course to subiect this People, and to pacifie the whole Kingdome: and layed for a foundation three vertues, to wit, Gentlenesse and affabilitie of speech in conuersing with men; Prudence in considerate iudging of things, and egregious fortitude and courage of minde: by the aide whereof I haue subdued all this Nation, and haue brought all the Kingdomes into this forme of one Empire, wicked men being extinct, and worke-men which labour in the fields promoted. And I haue so restored peace and quietnesse to these Kingdomes, and in few yeeres haue so setled and stablished the Monarchie of* Iapon, *that it is now like a great Rocke which cannot be remoued. Whence it is come to passe that in all foure parts of the Kingdome they haue a King eminent in much wisedome; and the King likewise hath all of them obedient. And in this order I haue declared and exercised the power of a good Captaine, to whom these Kingdomes are subiect; by taking away the wicked, and rooting out all Robbers by sea and land. So the people, families, and all places of the Kingdome enioy maruellous quiet. I haue also determined to inuade the Kingdome of* China, *and in few dayes I will take ship and doubt not of victorie. When I shall possesse it, your Lordship may more easily communicate with mee in all things.*

Quis tulerit Gracchos &c.

* The *Dairi*, the titular King.

China inuasion. Reckoning without his Host.

Now concerning the Fathers, * Iapon *is the Kingdome of* Chamis, *whom wee hold to be the same with* Scin, *which is the beginning of all things. This* Scin *is the substance and the very being of all things; and all things are one and the same with* Scin, *and into* Scin *are resolued. Who in* Scina *is*

Iaponian Theologie.

* The *Iesuits.*

called

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called Iutto, *and in* Teſcincu Buppo. *Further, in the obſeruation of the Lawes of this* Chamis *conſiſteth all the Politicall gouernment of* Iapon, *which being neglected, there is no difference betwixt Lords and Subiects: if it be kept, the vnion and concord is perfected which ought to bee twixt the Father and Sonne, the Husband and wife. Therefore the whole, both internall and externall gouernment of Men and Kingdomes is placed in the conſeruation of this vnion and policie. Now the Fathers formerly haue entred theſe Kingdomes to preach another Law for the ſauing of men: but becauſe wee are inſtructed and ſettled in the Lawes of* Chamis, *we deſire no other Law: for the diuerſities of Lawes and opinions are hurtfull and preiudiciall to the Kingdome. Wherefore I commanded the Fathers to depart out of* Iapon, *and haue forbidden them to preach their Law, nor will I that hereafter they preach any new Law in this Kingdome. Although theſe things be ſo, yet I greatly deſire that a ſtable communication may remayne betwixt vs: for ſo this Kingdome ſhall bee free from Theeues, by Land and Sea. And I giue leaue to all Merchants which bring merchandiſe, to ſell them all without let. I deſire your Lordſhip to approue the ſame. I receiued all the gifts which you ſent out of thoſe Southerne parts, as it is written in your Letters. I likewiſe ſend ſome others out of theſe Kingdomes, with a memoriall of the gifts, and the names of them which haue giuen. The Legate will declare the reſt, wherefore I will bee no longer. Dated 20. yeere of Tenſoij, 25. of the ſeuenth Moone.*

Chriſtian Religion alway by the Deuill and his acculed for a State-diſturber.

Ieſuites baniſhed.

In the end was the Seale and Subſcription. It was written in a leafe eight palmes long, foure broad, painted with golden Flowers, and put in a red ſilke bagge wrought with Gold and ſiluer; and that incloſed after the *Iapon* manner in a Boxe, which for the price and workmanſhip was ſo admirable, that the ſubtiltie and excellence of the worke might amaze all *Europeans*. Within it was couered and without, with Vroſci (made of Gold beaten into powder) diſtinguiſhed with Flowers of Gold and Siluer, ſo inſerted in the Vroſci that none could diſcerne the coniunction, but he which knew the making of the Boxe. It had alſo Roſes, and gold Chaines to tye the Boxe; which Boxe was put into another Bag, and that into another Boxe very artificiall. The gifts were Armours, Armes, and other things very precious.

Iaponian workmanſhip.

He aſſembled his Lords about this *China* Warre, which durſt not expreſſe any other opinion, hee hauing proteſted, that hee would not heare his Sonne diſſwade him, if he were aliue againe, and if any ſhould hinder him, it ſhould coſt him his life. Thus for ſome moneths ſpace nothing might be ſeene elſe, but prouiſion for Ships, Armes, Munitions, and neceſſaries for the Warre. Hee made a Catalogue of all his Lords, exempting none from the expedition, and ſetting euery one his number of followers. To *Auguſtine* a *Chriſtian* Lord hee gaue the fauour of firſt impreſſion into *Corai*, other Lords ſtaying ſtill at *Suſcima* eighteene leagues diſtant. *Corai* is adioyning to the Continent of *China* at one end, diuided by a great Riuer from *China*, and tributarie to the King of *China*; it is in length about an hundred leagues, and ſixtie broad: the people vnlike the *Chinois* in language and bodily ſtrength, but following their lawes, cuſtomes, and gouernement. They are better Archers then at any other weapons: and not comparable to the *Iaponians*, except in ſhipping, wherein they and the *Chinois* exceed. Yet at this time they were deſtitute of that defence, and *Auguſtine* gaue them a great ouerthrow. Before *Quabacondono* would goe, he made his Brothers Sonne by the *Dairi* to be entituled *Quabacondono*, as his Heire and Succeſſour, contenting himſelfe with the title of *Taicoſama*, that is, *Great Lord*. All the *Iaponian* Princes were commanded to be preſent at the tranſlation, to giue him obedience; to whom the *Dairi* gaue the Fortreſſe of *Meaco*, and the Palaces of *Quabacondono*, making him Lord of *Tenſa*. But his Vncle held the ſway of all in his owne hands, and after hauing a * Sonne of his own, cauſed this his Nephew with ſome others to croſſe himſelfe (that is, to cut his breaſt acroſſe, his bowels falling out, and ſome one of thoſe which died with him, cutting off his head.

Preparation for inuaſion of *Corai*.

Corai deſcribed: ſee my *China* Map.

* This is that *Fireiſama* of whom you reade in Capt. *Saris*, and Maſter *Cocke*, depriued by *Ogoſhoſama*.

Auguſtine with a Fleet of eight hundred ſayles entred *Corai*, and tooke two Fortreſſes, the *Coraians* being driuen from the walls by the *Iaponders* Gunnes, vnknowne to the other, and fiue thouſand of them ſlayne. This wanne him great credite with *Taicoſama*, who promiſed him much, yet performed little. Hee defeated alſo an Armie of twenty thouſand, and after another of foureſcore thouſand, and the King fleeing into *China* tooke the *Meaco*, or Royall Citie of *Corai*. *Taicoſama* ſent him a Horſe, and a Sword, the honour that *Nabunanga* was wont after any great Victorie to doe to him. The *Coraians* ſeeing their King with his troops in ſafety, fled with their prouiſions into Woods and Hills, and would not thence bee brought by any promiſes. The *Iaponian* poſſeſſed of the Fortreſſes wanted men to till the ground, and therefore muſt needes want neceſſaries: the wayes alſo were by the *Coraians* vpon all occaſions aſſaulted. There are two hundred thouſand *Iaponians* at this preſent in *Corai*, and *Auguſtine* is in the extreme borders adioyning to *China*, ſeparated notwithſtanding by a Riuer three leagues broad, abounding in ſhips, and the ſhores fortified with multitudes of men, ſo that the ſucceſſe is doubtfull.

1592. Wide Riuer betwixt *China* and *Corai*.

Froes in his Epiſtle, 1595. writeth that there were then an hundred and ninety *Ieſuites* in *Iapon* and *China*: that *Taicoſama* not ſucceeding in his *Coraian* expedition, returned to *Meaco*, and quarrelled the new *Quabacondono* out of his life, who with fiue others at *Taicos* command executed themſelues after the *Iaponian* manner. *Auguſtine* meane while endeauoured an Embaſſage to bee ſent from the King of *China*, who thinking himſelfe *Lord of the World*, ſent to

190. *Ieſuites*.

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Taicosama, that it was an vnmeet thing that He, whose industrie and valour had subdued three-score and sixe Kingdomes of *Iapon* to his Empire, should permit the *Dairi* a priuate man, and Subiect to the King of *Iapon* to hold his former place of dignitie. And if hee would depriue him thereof, hee promised to send him a Crowne, and the title of King, and by the same Legates to treate further about the *Iaponians* forsaking *Corai*. Two Embassadours were sent from *Pequin* to *Augustine* to *Corai*: who presently sent word to *Taico*, the Embassadours abiding with him, because of the solemne entertaynment which *Taico* intended for the renowme of his name to all posteritie. The Nobles exhaust in the former expedition were yet now enforced to new braueries and expences. Hee caused at *Ozaca* a Hall to bee erected, with a thousand *Tatami* (very elegant Mats) the timber costly, and gilding incredible. Yet by store of raynes a great part thereof fell downe, which hee intended soone to repaire, hauing an hundred thousand men at worke there both night and day in great miserie, standing with their feet in the water. If any runne away they are killed. Before this Hall hee erected a Theatre for Comedies, exceeding stately and costly with artificiall paintings of Vrusci. Hee repaired the Tower of *Ozaca* seuen stories high. The gilded Plates or Tiles, the Bridge called, *The Bridge of Paradise*, the new Citie of *Fuscimo* which he builded, and other his immane expenses (the Offerings to his Idoll of Fame,) I omit. Hee caused his little Sonne to goe with great State to *Sandai* to the *Dairi*, that is, to bow his head thrice before him downe to the Mats, who entertayned him with a solemne feast, with great Iubilee in alteration of names and titles of honour to the Nobles.

China Embassage.

Huge Palace, and preparation for entertainment of the *Chinois*.

Taico had settled peace thorow all *Iapon* from Warres, from Robbers by land, and from Rouers by sea, which before continually infested all with Piracies (one of which *Noximandono* is mentioned by the *Iesuites* in this time to haue had a great Fleet of ships, and to haue forced a great part of the Coast to yeerely tribute vnto him, to bee freed from his Robberies) onely the *Dairi* had higher title: and a Crowne and Scepter seemed wanting to his realitie of Regalitie and Souerignitie already possessed. And now whiles hee intended to exceed himselfe in his entertaynment of the Embassadours, one of them hating this long detention or imprisonment in *Corai*, fled; which newes *Augustine* sent to both Courts. From *China* the Legacy was renewed, the Delinquents kindred punished. Meane while the two and twentieth of Iuly, 1596. at *Meaco* it rayned ashes, wherewith the houses, hills, and trees were couered as with snow, and a great myst accompanied it. At the same time at *Ozaca* and *Sacaia* it rayned sands. At *Meaco* after the showre of ashes came another of haires, long and white like the hoary haires of an old womans head, but softer, and not so smelling when cast into the fire. In the Northerne Kingdomes of *Iechu*, *Iechingo*, *Scimano*, and *Nota*, the land and houses were couered with them. A Comet appeared in August: on the thirtieth whereof followed an Earthquake as a warning to a greater on the fourth of September, which threw downe *Taicos* magnificent Hall with a thousand *Tatames*, in which hee had purposed to entertayne the *China* Legates; and the Tower of seuen lofts, and another Tower, and almost all the buildings of the Fortresse, and the Store-houses, which were very large, and stored with Corne, and halfe the houses of *Ozaca*, all in halfe an houre, sixe hundred people being buried in the ruines. It made a noise like Thunder, and like the waues beating on the shoare. The Earth opened in many places. A great new Temple and a Monastery fell downe, and the same day in which the *Iesuite* had heard a *Bonzi* in the same Temple inuiting to call vpon *Amida*, and much depredicating his mercies. The next day at *Meaco* was a noise greater then of the greatest Cannons that euer were heard, dreadfull to man and beast, and wee said the Letanies on our knees, but scarsely could keepe on our knees for the Earth-quake. Others forsooke their houses, lamented their dead (fiue hundred being ouerwhelmed; and fifteene or twenty Temples) called on their *Amida*: and some ranne to *Fuscimo* (*Taicos* new Citie for him and his Nobles) whereof the best part was ruined, and much harme happened in many other places. *Taicos* Palace at *Fuscimo* fell downe, and oppressed seuenty women, himselfe escaped into the Kitchin vntouched: and the relations of that Earth-quake would yeeld a booke alone. *Taico* yet would seeme to dominere ouer Nature, and leuell a very huge Hill with the Valley, to erect new Palaces. And because hee could not entertayne at *Fuscimo* the *China* Embassadours, he receiued them at *Ozaca*. The solemne state and pompe I omit. They had audience the twentieth of October.

Noximandono a *Iaponian* Pirat.

Prodigious raines.

Earth-quakes.

* *Iaponian* policy to keepe all the Lords about the Court for securitie; seldome suffered to visite their Kingdomes.

China Presents and Letters.

The Kings Letter was written in a plate of Gold very great and ponderous, inclosed in a golden Coffer, wherein also was the Vest, and royall Crowne for *Taico*, and in another was a Crown for *Mandocorasama* his Wife with title of *Queene*. Hee sent also twenty Vests of *Quingui* with title and dignity of *China* for twenty Lords (the first of which was *Augustine*) by him named, and as many for those whom *Taico* should name. In the Epistle of the King were these words, *Futatabi cioscen vocasu cotonacare*, that is, *Thou shalt not returne againe into* Corai, *and if thou returnest, thy dignitie shall no longer aduantage thee*, words importing their vassallage to the *Chinois*. The Embassadour and *Taico* were equall in sitting on the *Tatamis*; the chiefe Lords of *Iapon* were present; and after the taste of their * *Chia*, *Taico* receiued the Epistle or golden plate, and layd it on his head, and the Vests, going in to put them on. At his returne the *Chinois* adored him,

* *chia* an herb vsed in warme water in all entertaynments in *Iapon* and *China*.

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him, and a feast followed with pompous plenty: which was continued other dayes. But when the Legates moued him to pull downe his Forts in *Corai*, and to pardon the *Coraians*, hee brake into exceeding furie, and commanded them backe to *Corai*, and extruded them in great haste out of the Countrey with inhumane vsage.

About this time *Peter Martines* first Bishop of *Iapon* came thither. *Taico* died Sept. 16. 1598. hauing taken politike order for the State, and as foolish for himselfe to be made a God, prescribing the forme of his Temple: One was crucified for speaking of his death. Word was sent by the Gouernours which *Taico* had appointed as protectors for his Sonne, to the *Iaponian* Lords in *Corai*, to returne, and so after seuen yeeres that warre had end. What euents followed after in *Iapon*, you may see in my *Pilgrimage*, and somewhat also before in Captayne *Saris*, and Master *Cocks* relations: *Taicosamas* posteritie rooted out, and *Ogasha Sama* seizing the Soueraignetie to himselfe. So much harder is it to be a Man then a God, and easier to bequeath a Temple and tytle of *Camm*, and diuine worship as to a new *Faciman* or *Mars* (all which his Executors performed and caused to be effected; his body not burned after the wont, but as he had prescribed, put in a Chest and translated to that sumptuous Temple, where he is worshipped as the principall of all the *Cami*) with an Image erected to him, (seene by Cap. *Saris*) then to bequeath long life to himselfe, accomplishment to his *Coraian* designes, or sure succession to his posteritie, in all which hee fayled. But we will with our persecuted *Iesuites* leaue *Iapon*, and ship our selues for *China*.

Bish. of *Iapon*.

Fran Possius. Alex. Valignanus.

P. Pilg. lib. 5. c. 15. §. 4.

See of his death *tom. 1. p. 407.*

Temple of *Scinfaciman.*

Capt. *Saris* told mee hee saw it.

§. III.

RVGGERIVS *enters againe into* China *with* RICIVS, *and is forced backe to* Amacao; *thence sent for againe by the Vice-roy.* Sande *and* Almeida *are sent to them, and enter the Countrey as farre as* Cequion, *and returne to* Sciauchin.

IT is a custome in *China*, that of all Charters granted by the Magistrates a copie is kept in the Registrie, and the execution, or what hath therein beene done, subscribed at the end. The succeeding Vice-roy finding the copie of that Charter granted to the *Iesuites* at their departure, without such subscription (because nothing had beene done therein) wrote to *Canton*, to the *Aitao*; he (which then was absent) to the *Anfam* or *Hiam-xan*, the Gouernour of the Citie, and he being ignorant thereof, to the Port-gouernours at *Amacao*. They went to the Bishop, and by him were sent to our Colledge where they were shewed the sealed Charter: but there being then *Melchior Carnerus* Patriarch of *Ethiopia* (which expedition was dissolued) *Capralis*, *Gomez*, *Pasius*, and other principall *Iesuites*, it was thought fit, that it should not be deliuered to the Souldiers, but carried by two *Iesuites* to the *Aitao*: and *Raggerius* with *Ricius* were therein employed, the *China* Captaines also consenting that they should goe to *Anfan*, thence by the *Ci-hien* or Gouernour, to be sent to *Canton*. This *Ci-hien* when they came thither would haue sent it and not them, which they refused, whereupon he grew angry, cast it on the ground, and commanded them to returne backe; saying, that a deposed Vice-royes grant could no way benefit them. They went to their Inne, and there consulted to goe without his leaue, deceiuing a Ship-master with sight of the said Charter, who tooke them into his ship; but terrified by others, cast them out againe with their goods. At this time came a message to the *Ci-hien* of his Fathers death, whereupon (according to the *China* Custome) he lost his office and returned home during his three yeeres mourning. They by this occasion, and a weightier cause, (money giuen to the Successour) and the Notaries subtiltie in a seeming seruice to the Common-wealth, were sent in manner as prisoners to *Canton*, as strangers found there.

Sup. l. 7. in fine.

Ci-hien a Gouernour of a *Hien* or Citie.

The *Aitao* notwithstanding gaue them kinde entertaynment. They petitioned, shewing, that *they were Religious men which had passed so many Seas allured by the fame of* China, *there to spend their dayes: and desired nothing but a small piece of ground to raise thereon a little house to the Lord of Heauen, and they would be further burthensome to none, but procure liuelihood of their owne mens benevolence.* They mentioned nothing of *Christian* Religion, lest it might cause suspicion, and bee a let to them; the *Chinois* thinking too well of themselues, that strangers should teach them any thing, which they haue not already more complete in their owne Bookes. Rebellions haue also begunne vnder colour of new Sects. The *Aitao* or high Admirall commended their desires, but said, it belonged to higher Magistrates, and could onely bee granted by the *Ciai-yuen* (the Visitour of the Prouince) or the Vice-roy. They desired that hee would at least let them stay there in the Palace of the King of *Siams* Legates, till the *Portugals* Mart came, and in meane time they would trye what they could doe with the Visitour or Vice-roy. This hee granted, but the same day repeated, professing that he feared the Visitor (if out of Mart-time he should finde strangers there) whose censure is dreadfull to euery Magistrate. He therefore commanded them presently to packe for *Amacao*. They were comne backe to *Anfan*, and found things in worse case then before. For at the gates of the Citie they found an Edict set vp by *Co* the

Iesuites supplication.

Ciai-yuen or *Chaen*, Prouinciall Visitour.

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Money brings the *Iesuites* to *China*, and procures them residence.

new Vice-roy, blaming the *China* Interpreters which had put into the heads of Stranger-priests to learne the *China* language and Characters, and to desire some place for to erect a sacred and priuate house, threatning those interpreters if they persisted. In this dispayre of proceeding, they had not beene a weeke gone, when from *Sciauquin*, the seate of the Vice-roy, one of his guard came to *Amacao* and brought the *Ci-fu*, (so they call the Gouernour of that Prouince) his Letters Patents by the Vice-royes authoritie, inuiting the Fathers to *Sciauquin*, there to receiue a piece of ground for a Church and dwelling-house. The cause hereof was an offer made by the Fathers (when they were sent away from *Sciauchin*, by the deposed Vice-roy to *Canton*) of a summe of money to any which should procure of the New Vice-roy license for their returne. One of the meanest Souldiers in name of Interpreter to the Societie had put vp a Petition to the Vice-roy, who sent it to the Gouernour of the Region called *Guam-puon*, of *Coquien* Prouince) to bee dispatched, who gaue the former Letters Patents to the Souldier, which brought them himselfe to *Macao*. They with great ioy, as seeing the Diuine hand herein, made ready for the iourney, which the former expenses and late Ship-wrackes (especially of the *Iapon* Ship in the Ile *Leuquiceo*, which alone hath most of the wealth of the Citie in it) made difficult; but *Gaspar Viegas* charitably bestowed the expense, seconded also by others.

Liuqueceo.

Viegas bountie.

Friars in *China*, see *cap.* 3.

Thus full of hope they set sayle, and in *Canton*, both now and when before they were dismissed from *Sciauquin*, they found *Spaniards*. Then, a Ship which from the *Philippinas* was bound for New *Spaine*, was wracked at the Ile *Nan-tau*, on the *Canton* coast; the men which escaped were kept in durance: And now, seuen or eight *Franciscan* Friars, which had gone from the same *Philippinas* for *Cauchinchina*, hearing the King was become a *Christian*, and in their returne were wracked on the Ile *Hainan*, and taken and spoyled, and presented to the Magistrates for Pirats, whose libertie these *Iesuites* procured, promising all recompence at *Amacao*. Hence they had set foorth in the beginning of September, 1583. and in the same moneth came to *Sciauquin*, in that Souldiers companie, by whom they were conueyed to the Gouernours Palace, and kneeling before him made request as in the Souldiers mentioned Petition had beene contayned, and were kindly answered, that they should goe about the Citie and spye out some conuenient place for their purpose, which hee doubted not to procure of the Vice-roy for them.

Anno 1583.

Sciauquin tower.

At the same time at *Sciauquin*, they were erecting by the common charge of the Eleuen Cities of that Iurisdiction, a Tower (whereof one floore was now raysed, to which they intended to adde nine others aboue it) in a pleasant place by the Riuers side, a myle and more from the Citie, the Suburbes continuing further then it. In the same place they set foorth a Temple, and therein erected a Statue to the Gouernour, whose sixe yeeres gouernment had well deserued of the learned, and of the vulgar. A piece of that field in which the *flourishing Tower* (so they called it) was building, they desired, which hee liked well, and promised to further them with the Vice-roy. The *Iesuites* at their former departure, had left an Altar with one *Cin Nico*, who had placed the same in a conuenient place, for want of Images inscribing aboue, it *Thien Chu* in Cubicall letters, that is, *To the Lord of Heauen*. Hee made also thereunto diuers Incenses, and at set times yeelded diuine honors before it; which much reioyced the Fathers, seeing that there was one found which inuoked the true God. And this man gaue them entertaynment, till they had receiued the Vice-royes answer, approuing their request; and the next day the Gouernour set foorth a plot of ground for them with straight caution to obserue the Lawes of *China*, and to admit no Strangers companions to dwell with them; which they promised. Much was the concourse and admiration of people, much the wonder at their triangle Glasse, the Image of our Ladie, a wrought Handkerchiffe, with which they presented the Gouernour; but hee returned all afterward, fearefull of Bribe-imputation. Much trouble arose about that place, and another was assigned them, where they began to build and were forced to pawne their precious triangle Glasse, to fit it for their vse; they obtayned also an ample Charter from the Vice-roy, and two Patents from the Gouernour which protected them from wrongs.

Temple and statue to Gouernours.

Ignoto Deo. Wilde Christianitie.

Iesuites build a house, at first meane, after greater.

In these beginnings they made little mention of the Gospell, but imployed their spare time in learning the Language and Characters, by a Holy life seeking to insinuate themselues into the peoples good liking. Their habite was like the modestest of the *Chinois*, a long Gowne with large sleeues: Their house had two Cells, and betwixt them a Hall with an Altar in the midst, on which they set the Image of the Blessed Virgin, carrying her Sonne. They called their God, *Thien-cui, Lord of Heauen*; for the *Chinois* want the *D.* which caused that they could not giue any name more fit: and this name continueth to this day, although they vse others also, as *Highest Ruler of all, First beginning of all*, and the like. The blessed Virgin is called the *Great Mother of God*. This Image on the Altar, all which visited them both Magistrates, Students, Priests, and common people, did religiously worship, kneeling and (after their rite) knocking lightly the ground with their fore-heads. They admired the excellencie of the Picture and colours without ceasing. But when it began to bee rumoured, that they worshipped a Woman for *God*, they tooke away that Picture and substituted the Image of *Christ*. After this, they painted the ten Commandements in the *China* language, which many approued. Some brought them Incense for holy vses, and some bestowed their Almes; others also Oyle for the Lampe which burned

D. wanting to *Chinois*.

Images worshipped.

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ned before the Altar; and the Fathers commended their Law, as agreeing to the light of Nature. The first which was Baptised, was a poore diseased man cast foorth by his parents, whom they instructed, and a little before his death baptised. The reliefe which they bestowed on him before, caused a rumour amongst the vulgar, that those Strangers knew by the mans complexion, that hee had a precious stone in his head, the cause of all that benificence. The *Chinois* much admired the Bookes, of which the Fathers had store, the artificiall binding, gilding, cost, goodlinesse of the Print, and their studiousnesse in the *China* bookes; and receiued with great applause a Booke of *Christian* learning which they printed. Yea, the Gouernour after the *China* rite would needs doe them publike honour, which is done by sending a goodly Table with Cubitall letters in praise of them, with the Magistrates name, and the date inscribed in lesse letters. Two of these with great pompe hee sent vnto them, the one to bee set ouer the entrance with inscription, *The house of the flowre of Diuine men*; the other to bee placed in the Hall, inscribed, *The holy Nation of the West*: which wanne them great reputation, this Magistrate being much reputed for learning and vertue.

First Baptisme

Fancies of the vulgar.

Tables of honour.

Our wants caused *Ruggerius* to intreat leaue to goe to *Amacao* for supply, which hee obtayned with a faire Ship and thirtie Rowers. The Gouernour requested also, that a Clocke might bee made for him. But the pouertie of the *Amacaons*, their Ship not being come from *Iapon*, and the Colledge enioying no Rents, caused him to send the workman to *Sciauquin*, to make it there; which hee tooke in good part. Now the *Chinois* are a people suspicious of Strangers, especially those ruder parts of the Prouince of *Canton*, and much muttered at the *Portugals* Commerce, saying, they made all things dearer, and the profit came but to few. They gaue an odious appellation to the *Portugals*, calling them *Deuils*. To this, Fame had added a spurre, reporting that their famous Tower was the worke of Strangers, (which had no ground but that their house was building at the same time) and the *Flourishing Tower*, was stiled the *Strangers Tower*. They therefore in *Ruggerius* absence offered great abuses by throwing stones, being angrie that they kept their house shut, which they would haue had made an Idoll Temple, alway open to all. One boy in throwing stones, was taken by the seruant and brought in, but at others request soone dismissed. Hereupon two neighbours conspired, to set a fellow on worke to accuse these strangers for seducing Children, as they had done this youth his brother, (so they agreed) and kept him three dayes, with intent to sell him for a Slaue at *Amacao*. The two neighbours offered to bee witnesses hereof. The accusation was put vp in pittifull manner, and the Gouernour much moued, the Father fetched into Court by an Officer, before hee could haue leasure to write his answer. The Interpreter had filled his sleeues with stones, which hee powred out in Court as witnesses of their abuses. The Iudge smelt the businesse, and by examination of the Tower workman which had seene it, found out the knauerie, and rewarded it with terrible whipping; and forbad all abuses to bee offered to them.

Chinois in Hospitall.

Portugals called Deuils.

Tendered a steeple.

Conspiracie.

False accuser truely rewarded.

Ricius his skill in the Mathematickes which hee had learned, being an Auditor of *Clauius* at *Rome*, was no small helpe to them. They had a Cosmographicall Map in *Europæan* Characters, hanging in their Hall, which the learned beheld with great pleasure, much desiring to see it in *China* characters, little knowing, as little hauing to doe with the rest of the world. They had Maps pretending a Description of the world, but presented onely their fifteene Prouinces, with the Sea and a few Ilands, and the names of such Kingdomes as they had heard of, all which Kingdomes scarcely equalled one Prouince of *China*. They now wondred much to see themselues straightned in an Easterne corner of the world, and *Ricius* at the Gouernours request, published it in *China* characters: and inserted, as hee saw cause, the rites of the world and the *Christian* holies. They haue a conceit, that the Heauens are round, the Earth square, and their Empire to bee seated in the midst thereof; hee therefore so projected his Description, that he presented *China* in the midst. They that before thought basely of all other men, as if else-where were no King, nor Republike, nor Bookes, began to be better conceited of *Europæans*, and to bee better prepared for the seed of the Gospell: and might hereby also lesse feare *Europæan* forces so remote from them. This worke hee often reuised and corrected, till it came at last both to the two Royall Cities, and to the Kings house. The workeman at the same time finished the Clocke, and both were together presented to the Gouernour, who at his owne cost published the Map, and soone after restored the Clocke, because hee had none which knew how to order it.

Mathematicks and Map of the world, introduction to the Gospell.

Chinois ignorant of the world.

Ricius his Map.

The world vshers the *Iesuits* Gospell.

The Ship comming from *Iapon*, *Ruggerius* well releeued returned, whereby the house was finished, their debts payed, and the building with stories, the disposition of the windowes, furniture, faire situation on the Riuer with goodly prospect, and *Europæan* rarities, brought many, euen great Magistrates, to behold it. *Ricius* proceeded to make Spheares of Brasse and Iron; hee Printed also Globes, and made Sunne-dyals, which hee gaue to the Magistrates. And by his lectures on these subiects, he got reputation of the best Astrologer in the world, they esteeming others by themselues. The Gouernour was about this time aduanced to a higher Dignitie, called *Lin-si-tau*, hauing the rule of two or three Regions and all the Townes therein not remouing from *Sciauquin*: and as the *Chinois* are superstitious obseruers of Auguries, he conceiued that he proued

Ruggers return.

Spheres and Globes.

Linsitau Ruler of two or three Diuisions or Hundreds.

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prooued the luckier man by thi, familiaritie with our men, which hee signified when they came to him, with a present to gratulate these honours.

See that *Bull. sup. l. 2. c. 1.* Gaine separates the subiects of one Crowne, without separation of state. Apply this to the quarrell twixt the *English* and *Dutch* in the *Indies*. And hereby you see the *Iesuites* instruments of secular affaires *Edw. Menese*, whose Booke you haue in the 9. booke. *tom. 1.*

In the *Philippinas* the newes of the *Iesuites* successe caused the Gouernour to send the Treasurer *Iohn Baptista Romanus* to *Amacao*, with Father *Alfonso Sancius* a *Spanish Iesuite*, with a Watch and other presents and letters to the *Iesuites*, to procure an Ambassage from the King of *Spaine* to *China*. The *Iesuites* had with petitioning brought the businesse to good forwardnesse, when they receiued contrary mandates from *Amacao*, it being likely to prooue the destruction of that Citie, if the *Spaniards* with their plentie of Siluer from *Peru* and New *Spaine*, should haue trade in *China*; neither did this belong to the *Spaniards*, but to the *Portugals*, according to the Composition betwixt the two Kings made by *Alexander* the sixth: and although they are both subiect now to one Crowne, yet their priuiledges remayne distinct without confusion. Thus both the Magistrate aduised, and their superiour the Rector prohibited them to proceed. Yet the former working was not ceased by Silence, till the *Amacaon* Magistrates laboured with diuers reasons to diuert the Ambassage. *Capralis* the Rector was desirous to see their house, and they procured the *Linsitaus* leaue, so that hee came thither, viewed all, and Baptised both the youngman before mentioned which kept the Altar, and a learned man which read the *China* Bookes to the Fathers, this called *Paul*, the other *Iohn*, the first *China* Conuerts. *Valegnanus* made Prouinciall of *India*, hearing of this successe, sent thither Father *Edward Sande*, and Father *Antonie Almeida*: and obtained of the Vice-roy *Edward Menese*, an annuall stipend for this mission. They came to *Amacao* in Iuly, 1585.

F. *Edw: Sande.*

At the same time it seasonably hapned, that *Linsitau* was commanded from the Court, to procure of the Strangers at *Amacao*, certaine goodly feathers for the King. He furnished a faire ship and sent *Ruggerius* thither, and brought with him Father *Edward Sande*, who went to salute *Linsitau*, and gaue him no meane gift of our Commodities to procure abode, whereof nothing so pleased him as a triangle Glasse. Hee giues him leaue to stay, on condition that they admit no other companion. In *Linsitaus* place had succeeded another of *Cequion* Prouince, a great friend of the Fathers, who being to goe to *Pequin* about some affayres of his Office euery third yeere, was feasted at our house (where the Magistrates were often solemnly entertayned) and then offered to carrie one of ours with him in his iourney, at least as farre as *Cequion* his owne Countrey. They willing to erect some new seate, least some disaster might in a moment strip them easily of one and all, agreed that *Ruggerius* and *Sande* should goe, and receiued licence for entring the Prouinces of *Cequian* and *Huquan*, and places adioyning. This was the Mart time whither *Ruggerius* went, and found *Almeida* come thither with the *Portugals*. Thither also a Brother of *Lusitau* was gone with much Merchandise of Silke, (the most whereof is made in the *Cequian* Prouince) which the *Portugals* bought at his price by the Fathers intreatie, who therefore tooke the Fathers, his brothers friends, to his Citie in *Cequian*, called *Sciauhin*, (a name somewhat neere the other, but in *China* a little difference prooueth great) the natiue place of both the Gouernours.

Antonie Almeida, Licenle for *Cequian.*

Strange course for names. *Iesuites* change their names.

The *Chinois* haue a custome to be called by many names, and no man calls them by their proper name, (but themselues in naming or writing themselues, or sometimes their superiours) without iniurie: they taking a greater name, which others giue them for more honour. Now the Fathers had yet assumed no other name, but their seruants called them by their proper name, a thing amongst the *Chinois* reputed barbarous. They therfore *(to become all things to all, to winne all to Christ)* then followed that fashion, and euer since at their first entrance assume a new Name. Their Iourney is thus written by *Almeida*.

Almeidas Letter to Ed. *Sande.* Rector at *Xauchin* or *Sciauchin*, contracted.

On the eleuenth of the Kalends of December, 1585. wee departed from Canton. *The third day the Ship happened to bee on fire, some imputing that vnluckinesse to vs: but without much harme it was quenched. Whiles wee sayled through the* Canton *Prouince, wee seldome came in sight and neuer went out of the Ship till wee came to* Moylimpor. *I can therefore relate nothing of that Prouince, but that there were very many Cities, and Townes very frequent, and steepe high Mountaines, betwixt which that Riuer slideth to diuers tracts of the Prouince stored with waters, Wares and Shipping. Euery where wee beheld sumptuous Edifices dedicated to the worship of Deuils, and of Ships almost infinite multitude; and of water-Fowle innumerable store, and herds of Goats feeding by the Woods, to the seuenth of the Ides of December. Then wee arriued at* Moilim *a Citie, neere which is the beginning of that Riuer, whose course being swift, wee were drawne by ropes and rowed with Oares against it. Into this Citie wee should hardly haue found admission, the passage being by a Bridge with two Iron chaynes, opened onely and shut at the will of the Gouernour. But our Conductor hauing acquaintance with the* Linsitau, *wee had present entrance, hardly able to passe for the multitude of Ships, there wayting. Wee were there well entertayned, and on Sunday and Munday sayd Masse. On Tuesday wee went to a Citie eight miles distant, there regaining the commoditie of another Riuer. All that way was paued with stones; in which we passe a Mountaine, on the top whereof was an arch with an inscription of his name, who had facilitated that way, otherwise difficult. The weather was vnseasonable, rainie and cold perhaps because the whole way in manner was Mountainous. I doe not remember that euer I saw way so frequented, not then when Merchants resort to publike Faires: for all the Merchandise from* Nanquin, *and the places adioyning are brought*

Moilim.

The *Linsitaus* brother aforesayd.

Another riuer.

Way paued and populous.

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brought hither. Also the Merchants which inhabit the remotest Cities in that way, on both sides had Partners for the conueying of their Wares, very fitly; for our Conductor had nothing to doe but to deliuer one hundred and fiftie Packes of Wares with other prouisions for the way, to his Hoast, which all bee should find in his Inne in the next Towne. These Partners also prouide Horses for the Seruants and Seats for the Masters to bee carried in by two Porters defended from the Raine by Sumbreros, *or Shadowes which they carrie in their hands. When bee had passed halfe the way, wee changed our Seats and Porters, and had others to the Inne; to these nothing is due but some small gratuitie, the Hoast beeing paid for all: and a Seat is at as easie a rate here, as a Horse in our Countrey, with great commoditie and frequencie of Innes. In the Euening we came to the Towne* Faquen, *and staid there two dayes, such concourse of Citizens comming to see vs, that we were almost ouer-whelmed, and were glad to get a ship-board on Friday. On Saturday we sailed downe the streame, fifteene dayes continuing our course, in which wee hired three Barkes, in one of which we only were carried. On both Bankes many and faire Townes walled about, present themselues to the view of Passengers, seeming as bigge as* Canton, *which made mee meditate of the facilitie of conueying the Gospell in these parts, we making all this way with as great tranquilitie of bodie and minde, that wee might in the ship pray or studie and doe other things as commodiously, as at home.*

Seats and Porters in the high-wayes.

Faquen.

Great Cities thicke.

On the sixteenth of the Kalends of Ianuary, we came to a most frequent Citie far greater then Canton, *where the* Tutan *or Vice-roy of the Prouince* Chianſi *resideth. It is high walled diuided into three parts, a Riuer flowing thorow with a Bridge of Barkes, ioyning two parts of the Citie. On this Bridge customes are paid, but our Conduct being the* Lancitan *Brother passed without search. And although we feared to be examined by the Magistrate, yet no man troubled vs, they being not so inquisitiue in other parts as in* Canton *Prouince, about strangers: yea, they entertayne them more honourably euery where then your Worship at* Xauchin. *About halfe a mile from this Bridge another Riuer ioyneth with this, which runneth by the other side of the Citie, and makes the third part of the Citie. I wished the Fathers a Colledge in this place both for the fertilitie of the soyle and holsomnesse of the Aire. Hauing prouided necessaries for the rest of our Iourney in this Citie, wee went aboard and in the space of sixe or seuen dayes going downe the streame, we beheld on both sides very goodly Woods, and many Poles of wood on the Bankes necessary for those cold Regions, and holding on our course passed by seuen Cities, or more, famous for greatnesse and Merchandise: and on Christmas Euen came to the greatest Citie of all* Chianſi, *where wee staid that night for that Solemnitie. But hee which then was borne exercised our patience with a grieuous North-wind, whereby the Riuer water (otherwise cleere) was so troubled that on Christmas day wee could not drinke it. For the Riuers course is North-ward, which therefore by a North-wind is so moued.*

Metropolitan Citie of Chianſi.

All this way is apparent in the new Map.

The next day sailing by a Citie which by the sight we iudged greater then Lisbone, *in one dayes passage further, we came to the way which leads to* Nanquin, *where diuers Riuers ioyning together make a kind of Crosse with great commoditie for Trade and passage. For a Barke well defended against wind and weather, conuenient for two Gentlemen with their Seruants and baggage, may here be hired for twentie or thirtie dayes, at an easier rate then a man shall pay for Horses from* Coimbra *to* Lisbone. *For from* Canton *to* Moilin *fifteene dayes iourney, for a ship which carried two hundred Packes of Merchandize of diuers kinds, we paid but nine* Iaes, *and seuen for those three which wee hired for twentie dayes more. After that, leauing the Northerne way which goeth to* Nanquin *or* Lanquin, *wee turned West-ward against the streame, yet with benefit of the wind fauoring vs, we went fifteene and sometimes twentie * miles a day: in which space sailing by very large fields we arriued at a Citie where faire Porcelane is made, thence carried into* India *and* Europe. *Wee passed by many Woods also and some Cities. The cold meane-while was so great, that one day all was couered with Snow. The Riuer decreased, and on the third of the Nones of Ianuarie, they vnladed the Merchandise into ten lesse Boates, and sailed two dayes, wee came to a large Citie, to which wee had entry by a Bridge borne vp with fiftie painted Barkes.*

New Riuer.

Nine Taeis.

* These miles seeme to bee intended Spanish leagues.

Cold Region.

On the Nones of Ianuary wee came to Gouli, *a Citie at the end of our Nauigation by that Riuer. Here in celebrating Masse wee were thronged by the multitude. And a Priest of the Idols inuited vs, which then performed to his Idols Ceremonies at his House, Altars there erected, & Priests inuited, & Hymnes vsed, where he and those* Bonzi *vsed vs kindly. Here wee obserued that the Deuill counterfeited the Ceremonies of the Catholike Church. We went thence by the foot way carried in portable seats as before sixe or seuen miles: and then entred the Prouince of* Ciquion, *at the Sun-set entring the Citie* Cuixion. *On the Ides of Ianuarie we againe went a ship-board holding our course by another Riuer which in that Citie first beginneth to be Nauigable, the slow streame lingring with vs three dayes, in which yet we saw eight Cities, about which we found vnmeasurable quantitie of Oranges, very high Hils abounding with Trees and vnder-woods, betwixt which that pleasant Riuer sweetly slides, receiuing from euery place new Tributes of waters that it proueth now as large as that of* Canton *Prouince. And although* China *haue name of fertilitie, yet here appeared some prints of* Iaponian *sterilitie. For in fiue dayes space we could get nothing but Rapes and Rice, and a little fish. On the eleuenth of the Kalends of February, we passed by a large Citie twice as great as* Canton, *as those which knew the Region affirmed: for we by reason of Snowes and Mists could see nothing but some high Towres. At Sunne going downe wee came to a Towne, against which a Bow-shot distant on the other side of the Riuer, wee were*

Papists and Paynims Ceremonies alike.

Ciquion.

Cuixion.

New Riuer.

Sterilitie?

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Sciaubin or Ciquion like Venice.

were forced to take a new ship, and causing our ship to bee drawne (a light hanged out at the Mast) the next morning we came to the Citie Ciquion, *the end of our iourney. In this Citie, which as Father* Rogers *(or* Ruggerius*) is wont to say, is a type and representation of* Venice, *God hath prouided vs of a good House, on one side hauing the Citie, on the other the Riuer for prospect, with conuenient Roomes and a Garden, and a fit place for a Chappell. On both sides of vs dwell Idolatrous Priests, which yet vse vs kindly, and daily come to heare our Doctrine, as doe others in great multitudes, that we cannot yet auoide their frequent concourse to heare and see vs. To the chiefe of them we shewed our Altar erected to the Immortall God, which they beheld with great reuerence, worshipping the Image of our Sauiour. And the greatest Magistrates were so affected with our* Christian *Ceremonies, that they said they would not suffer vs to depart. Some of them inuited and entertayned Father* Rogers: *one of them of farre greater ranke then the Gouernour of the Citie, who then mourned for his Mother, and inuited vs by his Steward to her Funerall Solemnitie; whom we answered that our Prayers auayled not but to the worshippers of the true God. He vsed the Father with very great respect, giuing him the higher place at table, and accompanying him at the parting to the vtmost gate of his Palace, seeming much delighted with the Mysteries of our Faith. Three others greater then the Gouernour haue comne to visit vs, and others come so frequent that it is troublesome. The Priests also giue vs good lookes, whatsoeuer they thinke. The Ædifices both publike and priuate, the streets and Lanes of the Citie are larger and fairer then in the Citie of* Canton. *The Citizens also in grauitie of manners, and ciuilitie of Habit, differ not a little from the Inhabitants of* Canton *and* Sciauchin. *There is no Citie in* Portugall, Lisbon *excepted, that is any way for greatnesse comparable. The singularities I shall write at another time.* Ciquion *the fourth of the Ides of Februarie, 1586.*

Prouincials Letter. Fortie *Chinois* compared to 40000. *Iaponian* Conuerts.

The Prouinciall of *India* writ to the Generall that at their returne to *Xauchin* they found fortie Christians added to the Church, which number in those beginnings in the ample and barbarous Kingdome of *China*, may be equalled to fortie thousand Christians in the *Iaponian* Prouinces: from *Goa* 14. Kal. Ian. 1587.

§. IIII.

False Brethren and others accusations detected, they are expelled Sciauchin: *erect a Seat at* Xaucum. *Monasterie of* Nanhoa *and other things of note in those parts. They alter their habit; Voyage to* Nanquin; *the Lake, Riuers, Idols and other Rarities.*

Ioius cals that Citie where they resided *Sciaubin*, and saith, it is a principall Citie, though not the Metropolitan of the Prouince, noble in commerce, in scituation (in the midst of a fresh water Lake) in wits and learned men. They baptized there *Linsitaus* Father and two or three Infants, which then dying they thrust into Heauen at vnwares. *Sixtus* the Pope granted a great Indulgence to the Societie, to further the *Iaponian* and *Chinese* businesse: and *Aquaviva* the Generall sent them three Watches and an artificiall Clock, which was great, yet mooued by wheeles without waights, and strucke also the quarters to the great admiration of the *Chinois*. Others sent Pictures, one the worke of *Gaspar Coelius* who first taught the *Iaponians* and *Chinois* the *European* Painting to the great good of both Churches. But the Kinsmen of *Linsitau* seeing such flocking to the Fathers grew suspicious of danger, and caused them to bee recalled, and *Linsitau* also to be estranged from them. Also one *Tansiao-hu* a great acquaintance of *Linsitau*, with purpose to get somewhat from the Fathers, questioned *Ruggerius* why hee had not seene Mount *Vu-tau* in the Prouince of *Hu-quam*, a famous resort of Pilgrimes; who answered that hee durst not without the Magistrates leaue: I will procure it, saith hee, and did so. In the way *Ruggerius* went to the Mother Citie of *Quam-si*, where hee visited one of the Royall bloud, not knowing that such haue nothing to doe with the State, and was not admitted, but bidden first to goe to the Vice-roy, to whom he went and had no injury, nor yet wonted humanitie, but was bidden to prosecute his Pilgrimage and not to stay there. *Linsitau* hearing of this, sought to shift his hands of them, and with much adoe they obtayned that two might bee permitted to stay in their house.

Coelius first teacher to paint.

Vutan a holy place haunted by Pilgrimes.

New Conuert, a false Knaue.

Another danger happened by one *Martin* a new Conuert which had made two other Conuerts beleeue that the Fathers could by a certaine herbe turne Quick-siluer into siluer, and by that meanes maintayned themselues. Now the *Chinois* being exceedingly affected to that Alchymisticall vanitie, these gaue money to buy a Wife, and other costs to that false brother who vndertooke to learne of Father *Ruggerius* and to teach the other two that Science. And hauing gotten what he could of them, he also borrowed the Triangle-Glasse of the Fathers, with which hee ranne away. The Gouernour one day desiring to see it, they told him who had stolne it, and he sent an Officer which found him out and brought him bound. Hee, to bee reuenged of the Fathers, accused one of them of Adultery; and the Husband of the pretended Adulteresse (partner in

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in the Conspiracie) put vp a Petition against *Ruggerius*, who vpon inquisition was found at the time named to haue beene in *Quam-si*, two moneths journey thence. The Accuser hoped to get some-what, being poore, to stop his mouth, which they refused vtterly, and hee for feare fled, together with his Wife. The Father was iudicially cleered, and *Martin* in his presence receiued twentie cruell stripes, and condemned to the Gallies, was sent to *Linsitau* who had first committed him to confirme the sentence; who added sixtie stripes more, and being beggered and cast in bonds he was forsaken of all his Friends, and (the Fathers meane-while releeuing him) dyed within few dayes of the wounds. He which had gotten the Glasse from *Martin*, another Conuert, came and restored it to them, lest it might breed him danger being found with him.

Martin whipped to death.

Linsitau was preferred to a higher dignitie in the Prouince of *Hu-quam*. To him the Citie had erected a Temple, and on the Altar had set his Statue; before the Altar a great Harth for burning incense: Candlestickes were also magnificently placed; and at his departure the whole Citie there visited him, and after their rite, pulled off his old Boots (Bootes are the ensignes of Magistracy) and put on new, putting the old in a Chist, and locking them vp to bee reserued for a monument of his worth. *Ruggerius* went to *Amacao*, and *Matthew* got leaue for Father *Edward* the Superiour to returne to *Sciauquin*. The new Conuerts which had lost their moneys by *Martins* death, deuised new tumults against the Fathers; the Riuer (which is a mile broad) ouerflowing, damnified the houses of the Citie, whence grew occasions of new abuses to Ours. The Visitour endeauoured to procure Legation from the Pope to *China*, and *Ruggerius* was sent to *Europe* on that businesse, which tooke little effect by the death of diuers *Popes*; hee spending the rest of his life at *Salerne* in the Kingdome of Napies.

Manner of honouring good Magistrates.

R. goeth into *Europe*.

Ricius was alone a good while, till *Almeida* came to him. His Clocke, by the Diall to the eyes, and by selfe-striking to the eares, caused no little wonder. But a new calumnie much endangered them made to the *Ciai-yuen*. For certaine old men of *Canton*, which are honoured for that in their whole liues they neuer haue accused any, nor beene accused of any, enioying therefore a yeerely feast out of the publike treasure, a peculiar Vest, and diuers other immunities, put vp a Petition, admonishing of the danger of the *Amacaons*, and especially those Spies which had builded houses of diuers stories, and euery day proceed with new arts, giuing money toward the building of *Sciauquin* Tower to get entrance into that Citie, sayling to and fro without impediment, dangerous to the State. This is that which our Bookes fore-tell, *Yee haue sowen thornes and nettles in a gentle soyle, yee haue brought in Serpents and Dragons into your houses. That of* Amacao *is like a sore on the hands or feet easily cured at leasure, but this of* Sciauquin, *an vlcer seizing vn the breast and heart timely to be remedied*, &c. The Visitour reputed a seuere man committed it to the *Haitu*, and at last it came to the Gouernour of *Sciauchin*, who then being at *Pequin* to performe the customary trienniall visitation to the King, *Phan* his colleague (our friend, then Lieutenant) assisted vs with his Counsell, and they gaue their Glasse to the new *Linsitau*, who ended the quarrell with the Visitour, as being a false calumnie.

Priuiledged old men.

Their elegant Petition is whole in *Ricius*, too long for this place.

The two Marts prouided them of exhibitions and *European* Presents from *Canton*, and their Clocke, Mathematike Instruments, Geographicall Maps, Pictures, and Bookes, with Musicall Instruments, had procured them much visitation, and much estimation of *Europe*, and some fruit thereof in Conuersions. Neither was this Station vnprofitable to *Amacao*, helping their affaires with the Magistrates, in businesses with the Vice-roy, in cases of shipwrackes, in reducing fugitiue slaues. It happened at that time the Vice-roy dying, his Successour would not through superstition enter his Palace till hee had pulled it quite downe and built it anew at the Kings charge. Meanewhile spending his time in *Canton* Prouince, he was made against vs and banished vs. But the Magistrates being our friends, and order comne then from *Pequin* to buy Scarlets of the *Portugals*, F. *Mat. Ricius* was employed, and got their good liking, but not leaue by any meanes of the Vice-roy to stay at *Sciauchin*. Yea, hee forced vpon the Gouernour the execution of his Mandate to packe them away, offering money for the house, which they refused to take, saying, a house built for Gods seruice might not be sold, and it were ill merchandise to take sixtie pieces of Gold for sixe hundred which it had cost them.

Iesuites merit their exhibition by seruice to the state.

Iesuites banished.

Iesuites house cost 600. pieces of Gold, which in *China* is a great summe.

When they came at *Canton* the Admirall was absent, and whiles they waited for him the Vice-roy sent a Barke for them to returne, and then permitted them to chuse any other place of residence. *Ricius* chose *Nanhium* in the Prouince of *Quiansi* (or *Quamsi*, or *Chiansi*) which hee refused not, but wished them first to trye at *Nanhoa*, or at *Xauceum*, commending them to the Assistant of the Gouernour thereof, then present, and gaue *Ricius* a bundle of bookes of his owne acts in token of good will, who thanked him with his fore-head to the ground, after their fashion. They departed from *Sciauchin* on the Assumption day, 1589. They came to the place called *Sanceui*, or Three-waters, where the Riuers of *Xauceum* from the North falls into a great Riuer: there they vse to change ships, to haue others fitted in other fashion to sayle against the streame. In eight dayes sayling to the North, they came to the place where the Gouernours seruant stayed for them to bring them to the Temple or Monasterie of *Nanhoa*, part of which the Vice-roy had giuen them if they liked it. This Monasterie they found in a goodly Plaine, enuironed with pleasant Hills, enriched with hand-set fruit-bearing trees, watered with a

Nanhium.
Xauceum.

1589.

Nanhoa Monasterie of 1000. Monkes.

Riuret

Riueret in the midst: the goodliest Hill, graced with a plentifull Fountaine, was the Seat of the Temple, a great pile; nigh which was the Monasterie wherein a thousand Priests (by the impious piety of the Ancestrie, Lords of that ground) had their abode.

Lusus Legend. The originall thereof was a man which liued about eight hundred yeeres since, called *Lusu*, who is reported to haue flourished in great reputation of holinesse, by reason of his austere course of life; with a chaine girded to his bare flesh, wonted to sift Rice, and to beate it lightly after their manner, as much as serued for the daily food of a thousand Monasteries. With that chaine his flesh putrified, so that wormes bred therein: of which if any happened to fall to the ground, he placed it there againe, saying, *Hast thou nothing to eate? why doest thou runne away?* There is his carkasse preserued and that famous Temple built to his worship, to which is concourse of Pilgrimes out of all the Kingdome, euery-where he and all his being much reputed. These Ministers of the Deuill are diuided into twelue Stations, each hauing his Superiours, and ouer all an Abbot. When the Father came thither sent by the Vice-roy, they supposed hee had come to be their Abbot and to reforme their abuses; for they not only had their Concubines and Bastards, but robbed by the high-wayes. Now all the Idoll Priests are as subject to the Magistrates as other men; perhaps because their Learned esteeme not Idols, nor account these their Priests. Yet with *China* dissimulation they gaue the Fathers faire entertainment with much pretended joy, and officiously offered all at their Seruice, making them also a Solemne Feast, and then shewing them the chiefe places of their Monastery. They were full of great Idols of Brasse and other Metals, and of wood gilded. In one Station were told fiue hundred. There were also many Steeples and Bels of Metall cast, one such as they had neuer seene in *Europe* to their remembrance.

Bodily exercise profiteth little, 1. *Tim.* 4. 8.

Pilgrimage.

China hypocrisie.

Monstrous Idolatry. Bels.

Lusus Shrine. The bodie also of their Saint, *Lusu*, was shewed, all shining with that their *China* bituminous Vernish (so vulgarly thought, and preserued with incredible veneration, though many deny it to be his bodie:) In the midst of the Temple is an eminent place to which they ascend by neate steps, in which hang about fifty Lampes, but not all burning except on set dayes. The *Chinois* maruelled at the Fathers doing no worship, a thing vsually performed by those *Chinois*, which otherwise repose no confidence in those Idols. They both agreed; the *Chinois* Monkes to bee rid of their feare, and the Fathers to goe to the Citie.

Folly of Selfe-pleasing. At their departure, Father *Almeida* went by water, and F. *Matthew* by Land with the Gouernours Seruant, the Abbot bearing him companie. He there told the Magistrate that he liked not of the Temple, because the men had an ill report as vnsafe Neighbours, and hee worshipped one God, and not Idols. This amazed the Gouernour, perswaded before, that there was in the World no other Law nor Characters then theirs, till Father *Matthew* pulled forth his Prayer-booke. The Abbot also testified that hee had worshipped none of the Idols, no not *Lusus* selfe. At last, the Gouernour was perswaded by him, that that of Idol-worship was a later Sect amongst them; yea, the Abbot affirmed, that they deserued no worship, but that former Magistrates had obserued that without Idols the vulgar would not keepe Religion, and therefore set vp these to be worshipped. They visited all the Citie Magistrates which vsed them with more courtesie then those of *Sciauchin*. They went also to another Temple or Monasterie called *Quambiao*, on the other Westerne side of the Riuer, and carried their goods thither till they were prouided of a House.

Apply to Images. Originall of Idols. Confesse and be hanged.

Xauceum described. *Nanhium.* The Citie *Xauceum* is seated betwixt two Nauigable Riuers which here met: the one which passeth by *Nanhium* on the East, the other running out of the Prouince of *Vquam* on the West. But the Citie wals and Houses are builded in the midst of the field, but they are forced by the straitnesse to build also on the other-side the Riuer, joyned with a Bridge on Barkes. It contayneth fiue thousand Housholds is fertile but vnwholsome, the third or fourth part of the Inhabitants being sicke of a Tertian from October to December, which takes away many, and leaues a pale Impression on the rest. Strangers also are no lesse arrested by it, when they come thither on businesse. And the Iesuites had almost lost themselues in this new purchase, where being recouered they had a Charter from the Vice-roy to build their House in ground belonging to the Monasterie. Thither the Visitor sent them *Sebastian Fernandus* and *Francis Martinez* which had beene trayned vp in the Schoole of *Amacao*, the first Probationers in *China*. They to auoid expense, built this House of one Storie after the *China* manner: and soone liked better of this then their former Residence.

Iesuits new Seat.

Chiutaiso Scholer of *Ricius.* *Chiutaiso* (the sonne of one of the second ranke of Magistrates called *Sciansciu*, a man famous, as being the first named of the three hundred Doctors made euery third yeare, and Author of Learned Workes) had spent his Patrimony after his Fathers death with Prodigalitie and experiments of Alchymie: and now was forced to shift, with his Wife and Seruants wandering thorow the Kingdome to his Fathers Friends, and becomming a Sollicitor for other men to the Magistrates of his acquaintance. Hee hauing obtayned of the Vice-roy a Roome in that Monasterie became Neighbour to the Fathers; and one day with set Pompe (after the *China* custome) and precious Gifts came to Father *Matthew*, and chose him for his Master. It was not safe for the Father to refuse (though he requited his gifts, lest he should seeme to haue beene brought thither

ther by couetouſneſſe) and firſt taught him Arithmeticke. For that which the *Chinois* haue is with a Linnen Inſtrument whereon Beads are put by wires, and ſhifted hither and thither to reckon their numbers: certayne, but ſubiect to Error, and vnprofitable to high Sciences. He read to him alſo the *Sphere of Clauius*, and the firſt Booke of *Euclides* Elements, and taught him to make Sun-dials of many ſorts, and Geometricall Rules to meaſure Altitudes. He being of ſubtile wit, committed theſe things to writing in elegant ſtile, and ſhewed them to Magiſtrates of his Acquaintance, ſo procuring great opinion and admiration to the Ieſuits. His wit and exceeding induſtry brought him to great skill, that hee made Spheres, Aſtrolabes, Quadrants, Compaſſes, Dials and other like, very artificially, and ſome of ſiluer: withall ſo ſetting forth his Maſter and the *European* Learning, that it proued of no ſmall conſequence. By his meanes the Fathers had acquaintance with *Pinpitham* a Military Commander, with the Gouernours of the Citie and diuers other Magiſtrates. *Almeida* fell ſicke and was ſent to *Macao*, to ſee if Phyſicke might recouer him, and there dyed. *China* Arithmeticke.

Ricius ſet forth a goodly Image hitherto vnſeene, on the Altar adorned with Waxe Lights, which brought ſuch concourſe to ſee it, that their enuious Neighbours ſtoned the Houſe and Seruants by night: whereat *Chiutaiſo* offended acquainted the Gouernour, which had before ſet his Decree ouer their doore prohibiting all wrongs. He called the Street Gouernours (as Conſtables with vs) and was likely there to haue ſcourged them, pretending their ignorance, and putting chaines about their neckes after the faſhion, ſent them to ſeeke out the wrong doers, and bring them to his Tribunall. They fearing to anger their Parents, durſt not name them, till he commanded to whip the one and ſend the other to Priſon, whereupon they named two, whoſe puniſhment with much intreatie of the Father was pardoned. Father *Francis de Petris*, was ſent (by the Magiſtrates Licenſe obtayned) to ſucceed in *Almeida* place. The Vice-roy was then preferred by his Friends procurement and Bribes to a higher place, but the Prouinciall *Viſitor* had ſo complained of his wrongs, that by the way hee was acquainted that hee was depriued of all Office, and fined at forty thouſand pieces of Gold to the King. Beſides, a filthy Vlcer brake out of him, and ſoone after he miſerably dyed. Thus did God puniſh his pride, which to erect a Temple to himſelfe at *Sciauchin*, had depriued the Ieſuits of their Houſe. The ſame at *Sciauchin* was that the Ieſuits were expelled for refuſing to teach the Vice-roy the Arte of Alchymie. An Image ſent from New *Spaine*. Seuere Iuſtice. *Fran. de Petris*. Vice-roy depriued.

One *Coſunhoa* a Merchant of the Citie *Taicho* in *Chianſi*, abode in *Nanhium*, and had ſome fortie perſons in his Family, a very Superſtitious Idol-worſhipper, in whoſe ſeruice hee macerated his whole life in that *China* abſtinence from Fleſh, Fiſh, Egges, and Milke, liuing only of Pulſe, Rice, Herbs, and certaine Cakes, induſtrious for his ſaluation in another life, but not ſatisfied with any of the *China* Sects. He had learned by *Chiutaiſo* of the Ieſuits, and came to *Xauceum* and acquainting Father *Ricius* with his purpoſe, he was inſtructed and baptized *Ioſeph*. He ſtayed with them a moneth, and after *Ricius* went to *Nanhium* to him, and preached and baptized ten others. Theeues by night aſſailing their Houſe, the Gouernour was made acquainted, who would haue them indited by the Fathers (which they did very ſparingly, whereas the *China* manner is to adde exceſſiuely) and he put them to torture; and forced them to confeſſe: one whoſe Hat or head couering falling off had bewrayed him, he condemned in Capital ſentence; the other to be ſent to the Gallies, or amongſt the Kings Slaues: which ſentence was to paſſe to Superiour Gouernours, and ſo to *Sciauchin*, and Father *Ricius* muſt goe thither about it, which happened well for the new Conuerts which had for the moſt part growne wild. From thence he went to *Amacao* to ſpeake with the Viſitor, and returned to *Sciauchin*, where the Parents of the theeues procured him their Aduocate which ſhould haue beene the Plaintiffe. Amongſt the *China* Magiſtrates is one which hath his name of *Pardoning puniſhments*: Hee is ſent in the Name of the *Queene Mother*, into each Prouince one. Their Office is to viſit Priſons, to exempt the ſmaller offenders and to mitigate Sentences; for which the Magiſtrates hold them in great eſteem. But hee would not ſuccour theſe men, though the Father intreated. The *Prouinciall Viſitor* only remayned, who alone doth laſt of all reuiſe the Sentences, and they deſpaired that hee would reuoke the judgement of ſeuen or eight Magiſtrates. Hereupon they conſpired fiftie of them conioyning in an impious Sacrifice in a certayne Temple to expell ours from *Xauceum*. But none of the Magiſtrates of the Citie ſubſcribing (except one, who did it, to offend the Fathers greateſt friend) they better bethought themſelues, and intreated *Ricius* to be their Interceſſor; whereby the Viſitor was perſwaded to pronounce them Diers and not Theeues, and to exchange their ſentence into twentie ſtripes apiece. For the name of Theeues would haue beene an ignominious brand to them and to their Kindred for euer. Yet would they haue renewed their accuſation to the Viſitor, but he would not heare them. About that time the *Preſident of the Court of Rites* at *Pequin*, paſſed that way towards *Hamam* his Native Countrie, who hearing of Ours (which he did not to the Viſitors) viſited them with gifts, and ſpent a whole day with them, promiſing at his returne to carry Father *Matthew* to *Pequin* with him to correct their Kalendars. *Taicho*. *China* abſtinence. *Nanhium*. Theeues. Their ſentence Queenes pardoner. Rioters. Theft ignominious. *Pequin* Preſident.

In Nouember 1594. Father *Francis de Petris* dyed, and Father *Lazarus Catanens* ſucceeded, *Ricius* bethought him of another courſe: for howſoeuer they had ſhaken off the name of *Bonzi*, yet

Bonzi infamous. Popish and Ethnike priests like in shauing and habite.

yet because they shaued their beards like the *Portugall* Priests, and cut their hayre, and liued single, had their Temple and set prayers, they could not free themselues of that infamous title which made them vnfit for greater Designes. Hee aduised the Visitor, that by this meanes they were accounted as the Idoll Priests, and that it were fitter to let their hayre and beards grow, and to weare the habite of the Learned men, each of them hauing a garment of Silke to visit the Magistrates, without which they might on equall tearmes amongst the *Chinois*, conferre with them: also that it was fit to remoue their residence from this vnwholsome ayre of *Xauceum*, or to diuide it. To all these the Visitor yeelded, vndertaking to acquaint the Generall of the Order and the Pope. For howsoeuer for vertue and learning (wanting to their *Bonzi*) the Magistrates had alway shewed countenance to Ours, yet the vulgar held them in that vulgar respect; neither might the Magistrates breake their custome, to giue them equall entertaynment. Nor did they now beare themselues for Learned men of *China*, but for *European Learned*, imitating the habite of that Countrey.

Iesuites alter their habite.

Scilan.

The next yeere, 1595. the Chiefe Iudge of the *Councell of Warre*, by the *Chinois* celled *Scilan*, which is farre aboue the dignitie of Vice-roy, (who before had after diuers Dignities betaken himselfe to a priuate life) vpon occasion of the inuasion of *Corai*, was by the King of *China* (which sent in defence thereof an Armie of eightie thousand) called backe to the Royall Citie. Hee had a Sonne of twentie yeeres old, who for griefe that he had lost the first degree of their Students, lost his wits. Hee sent a Captayne for the Fathers, thinking they could recouer his Sonne which he had with him, and gaue them such entertaynment, that the Magistrates were amazed. He caused a Charter to bee giuen to *Ricius* for going to *Naugan*, chiefe Citie in *Chiansi*, where hee hoped to doe good on his Sonne. He passed Mount *Moilin*, which lyeth betwixt the two Prouinces and the two Riuers, a dayes iourney, and the most notable thorow-fare in the whole Kingdome. For at the foot thereof to the South, the Riuer of *Nanchium* becomes nauigable, which runneth into *Canton* and the South Sea. On the other side of the Hill at the Citie *Naugan*, ariseth another great Riuer, which visiteth the Prouinces of *Chiansi* and *Nanquin*, and many Cities before hee enters the Sea Eastward. Thus what comes from forraine Kingdomes to *Canton*, is this way conueyed to the in-land Kingdomes, as also from those hither: Horses and seates, or Chayres for carriage on mens shoulders, Beasts for carriage and Porters, being almost innumerable euery day, yet all in good order. The Mountayne is common to both Prouinces, which are distinguished by a Gate erected among the stonie precipices. All the way is set with Trees, paued with stones, frequent with Hostries, as secure by night as by day, both by the guards of Souldiers, and frequencie of Trauellers: neither are their ouer-flowings by raynes. On the Hill top is a neate Temple, and therein a Garrison, both Prouinces thence offered to the view. *Naughan* signifieth the *Southerne Inne*. Hee went in one of the Presidents Ships, till hee came to the Citie *Canceu*; by the way often entring into his owne Ship and discoursing with him of *European* affayres, Sciences, and Religion. But so many visitations for Magistrates hindred all dealing with his Sonne in this iourney, so that by his Father it was deferred.

Mount *Muilim* or *Moilin*: See *sup. Ex. Almeida.*

Naughan.

Canceu.

In this Citie *Canceu*, resideth a Vice-roy greater then the Vice-roy of that Prouince, they call him the Vice-roy of foure Prouinces, *Chiansi*, *Fuchien*, *Canton* and *Vquam*: not that all those Prouinces are subiect to him, but because hee gouerneth two adioyning Regions, or lesse Prouinces out of each of them. The cause of appointing this Vice-roy extraordinarie was, the multitude of Theeues in those parts, which bordering on so many Prouinces, could not easily by ordinarie course of Iustice bee apprehended; whence two Regions out of each were committed to one, who by Militarie forces represt those insolences. And because the militarie Magistrates are subiect to that Councell of Warre at *Pequin*, the President was heere receiued with greater State: aboue three thousand men were sent to meete him a league off, with their Captaynes, Colours and Armes, many with Hand-gunnes mixed, shooting off as he passed, making a faire show on both sides the Riuer, which there is not very large. When hee was come into the Citie, the Vice-roy with other Magistrates visited him with Gifts, Prouisions, Banquets; and some companies were set to guard the Ships: which was also done euery where, such is the *China* veneration of such Magistrates by their inferiours. Heere was a Bridge of Boates, opened but once a day for Ships passage which haue payd their customes.

Great Vice-roy and Greater President.

Stately entertaynment.

Boat-bridge.

Sciepathau, that is 18. streames. It seemes so many in that space flow into it.

After they were past this Citie, another Riuer addes it selfe to this, whence they come into a place called *Sciepathau*, about thirtie miles long, in which are many Rockes dispersed, on which the impetuous force of the water causeth many ship-wrackes, goods lost, and men drowned; and requireth expert Ship-men; a strange thing to see a Riuer full of shelues and sharpe rockes, in the midst of the continent. In the entrance of this dangerous passage is an Idoll Temple, wherein the passengers deuoutly commend the safetie of their fortunes to these vanities, which *Scilan* also heere did in vaine: for although with multitude and industrie of Saylers his Ship auoyded the Rockes, yet was that broken in which his Wife and Children were carryed, though they escaped drowning, by reason of her high building, euery one getting vp into the highest decke, which lifted vp it selfe aboue those shallower waters. They cryed pittifully, and Father *Mat-*

Lying vanities

thew

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Ithew hauing then gotten a Boate for himselfe came first and receiued them, going himselfe into another lesse, which went before to conduct the way. *Scilan* sent for another Ship presently to *Cancen*. Father *Matthew* was taken into another Ship of burthen, which was in a gust ouerthrowne, *Iohn Barradas* his boy was drowned, and hee hardly recouered: the Commodities by dyuing were gotten againe, though much hurt by the water. They came to a noble and populous Citie called *Chiengan*, where the winde by night was so violent, that it dispersed all the Fleet, which hardly escaped wracke. *Chiengan.*

Scilan terrified with this disastrous passage by water, purposed to goe by land to *Pequin*, which is done at the Kings cost; in certayn places there being Horses, Lighters, Porters, prouisions ready prouided. Now thinking to send backe *Ricius* to *Xaucium*, least some might accuse him in a time of warre for bringing Strangers to the Court; hee shewed some the wonders of his triangle Glasse, which hee was willing to giue the President if hee knew he should hold on with him in the Iourney. They acquainted their Lord, and hee gaue him license to goe to *Nanquin*, and to enter those two Prouinces of *Cequion* or *Cechien*, and *Nanchin* or *Nanquin*. Hee was carryed thither with two of *Scilans* seruants, still hauing Souldiers from all places to guard him, they thinking that some of his Sonnes were there carryed. When hee came to that Mother Citie (for before hee seldome went foorth, to preuent all lets) which is in twenty nine degrees, to the Northermost part of the Prouince, hee made shew of himselfe as one of *Scilans* houshold seruants: and not knowing whither to goe to deliuer his Letters, hee first went into a Temple of note, which beares name of the *Iron Pillar*. For they fable that one *Huiunsin*, had some hundreds of yeeres agoe, brought perfect Siluer out of Quick-siluer, and had deliuered this Citie from a huge Dragon, whom hee ouer-whelmed in the ground, and tyed to that Iron Pillar, and then flew with his whole house, Mice and all, into Heauen. The building of this Temple is worthy the view, against which are perpetuall Faires, in which nothing is lacking to bee sold. The Priests are those which they call *Thausu*, which let their hayre and beards grow. When hee entred that Temple, much concourse of people came about him to see a Stranger, a strange sight there, yea, reputed holy, for they had thought that the fame of that Idoll, had brought him thither from farre Countries. But when hee did no worship thereto, hee was admonished to doe that which the greatest Magistrates refused not; then threatned, after they would force him, till one of the Ship sayd, hee worshipped no Idols. But seeing the multitude still flocking about him, he returned to the Ship, and signified that hee came with the President, whom euery man knew. The seruants visited their Masters friends, and receiued gifts of some, especially of the Vice-royes Physician. Kings Posts. The Glasse seemed a great Iewell, giuen to *Scilan*. *Nancian* Metropolis of *Chiansi*. This seemes to agree with *Pintos Muchiparom. sup. pag.* 274.

Scarcely had they sayled out of the chiefe Citie, when they meete with a Lake admirable for the greatnesse and other things: on all the bankes as farre as a man can see, are innumerable Townes, Castles, Villages, great Houses; thence they may passe into *Fuchien*, and thence to the Sea Eastward. Amongst other Townes there is one Citie called *Nancan*, at the foot of a Hill called *Liu*, in which Hill are diuers Anchorites, each in his owne Cell, macerating himselfe with afflicting his bodie. Those Houses are sayd to bee as many, as are dayes in the yeere: and they tell as a miracle, that the Sunne shining cleere round about, that Hill is alway couered with Clouds and mysts; so that that Hill (so neere) cannot bee seene out of the Lake. The course of the Riuer is to *Nanquin*, but in that breadth the streame hath small force, and easily may with the winde bee sayled any way. After you are out of the Lake, a great Riuer out of *Vquam* Prouince, runneth thither and therein loseth his name and waters. For the greatnesse, it is thence-forward called *Tamsu*, which signifieth, the *Son of the Sea*, being in many places two or three myles broad, dangerous also for tempests like his Father, and they say the waters are so whirled therein, that swimming can little profit those which fall thereinto. The *Chinois* sayle it with great feare, and are there often wracked. Great Ships sayle therein, and happely our Ships (not the greatest of all) and our Galleyes might sayle hitherto from the Sea. Many other Riuers pay their tributes to it. They sayle it not by night, but betake themselues to some Port, which they may readily doe also in a storme. To this Lake the Spring-tydes at Change and Full come, at other times not obseruable: at *Nanquin* euery day, but it is fresh water. When hee was come to *Nanquin* the Presidents seruants left him. Admirable Lake: see the new Map. Mount *Liu*: this perhaps is that *Calemplui in Pinto* 262. or some like place Riuer *Tamsu* or *Seas Sonne*, beyond the Lake.

§. V.

Nanquin *described*; RICIVS *expelled thence, hee setleth at* Nancian, *thence goeth to* Nanquin *againe, and to* Pequin; *description of it, the way thither, the Kings Palace, and of* Suceu, *and* Hamceu.

Nanquin. (which *Polo* calls *Quinsay*) described. It was then greater, as being the Royall residence, which remoued and warres together haue diminished it: perhaps also that Lake decaying and drying vp; or not rebuilt after the *Tartars* expelled.

Nanquin or *Nanchin* by the *Portugals* is called *Lanchin*: for they heard of it by the Inhabitants of the Prouince *Fuchian* or *Fuquian*, which vse *L* for *N*. It is called also *Intienfu*, because the Gouernour of the Region there resideth. This is that Citie, which in the *Chinois* opinion excelleth all Cities of the world, both in greatnesse and goodlinesse: neither may many be compared to it. For it is full of very great Palaces, Temples, Towers, Bridges, which all yet are exceeded by those of the same kinde in *Europe*. It excelleth also in temperature of the ayre, fertilenesse of the soyle, goodnesse of wits, gentlenesse of manners, elegance of speech, multitude of inhabitants of euery ranke, of People, and Learned, and Magistrates: these also holding equall ranke with those of *Pequin*, in number and dignitie, howbeit by the absence of the King, that equalitie is made vn-equall. And so in all the Kiugdome of *China*, and the bordering Kingdomes, it is commonly (all things considered) iudged the first or chiefe Citie. It is compassed with three Walls; the first, that of the Kings Palace exceeding stately. That is also compassed with a three-fold wall, in manner of a Tower, with ditches filled with water. It hath foure or fiue *Italian* myles in circuit. And I dare boldly say, that no King any where hath a more excellent Palace (not if you weigh particulars together, but) comparing all things. The second wall encompasseth the Palace, and the principall part of the Citie, opened with twelue Gates, which are fortified with Iron plates, and Ordnance planted ouer against them within the Citie. This second Wall comprehendeth eighteene *Italian* myles compasse. The third Wall and vttermost is not euery where continued, but where need is, Art hath added supplyment to Natures fortification.

Second Wall twelue Gates. Third Wall.

Citie wall two dayes iourney on horsebacke.

The circuit thereof can hardly bee knowne. The Inhabitants say, that two Horse-men in a whole dayes riding, hauing gone out of the same Gate, met together at night: whence the prodigious quantitie may bee obserued, especially the forme of the Citie being Circular, and therefore most capable. Although within the walls are great spaces of Mountaynes, Lakes, Groues, Gardens, yet the greatest part is very frequently inhabited. The garrison Souldiers (which one would not beleeue, had not eye-witnesses confirmed it) which keepe the Citie alone, are fortie thousand. The Pole is eleuated 32. degrees, and so it is seated in manner in the midst of the Kingdome, from North to South. The Riuer runneth by it at the West, exceedingly both enriching and beautifying it. Nor doth it onely passe by, but is in many places brought into the Citie by Channels (whereby greater vessels may enter the Citie) being enlarged by Art. In times past it was called the chiefe Citie of the Kingdome, and may seeme to haue beene anciently more glorious.

Garrison 40000. In 32. or 32. degrees, 15. min.

Large Suburbs

Ricius went a-land in the Suburbe, which is without the three Walls, and is so large and frequently inhabited, that it may seeme another great Citie. There a Physician of the Vice-roy of *Schiauchin* knew him, and hee visited the Vice-royes sonne, and by his meanes grew acquainted with others. When he went into the Citie, hee vsed to bee carryed in a close Chayre, to preuent noueltie, and for more authoritie, and because the length of the way to friends houses often required it. There hee thinking to fixe a residence, learned of one *Sciutagin* a Magistrate of his former acquaintance, to whom hee had before giuen a Globe and an Houre-glasse, receiuing promises of much kindnesse. To him he went full of hope and not emptie handed: but hee being both miserably couetous, and ambitiously hunting after new places, was offended with his presence (hee pretending that he came to see him) sent for his Hoast, and threatned him terribly, causing him to ship away his new Ghest; hauing also agreed with the Notarie of his Court to giue euidence against him, as a troublesome and dangerous man formerly expelled from *Sciauchin*. Thus against the streame both of his affection and the Riuer, is *Ricius* forced (loath to displease Magistrates) to returne to *Chiansi* Prouince. In the way full of thoughts, hee had a vision (as the Storie sayth) in which God appeared to him, and promised to bee propitious in both the Cities Royall to him.

Miserable Churle.

Nancian.

In *Nancian* the chiefe Citie of *Chiansi* hee abode. This is as great in circuit, but not in Merchandise as *Canton*, and though none of those portentuous great Cities, yet is it famous for the number of Learned men, which thence are aduanced to diuers parts: the people are thriftie and contented with little, and many of them obserue that first aforesayd. Of the *Learned men* there is also a *Societie*, in which on set dayes the more learned doe Lecture or discourse touching vertues in very modest manner. The Physician aforesayd, famous for his Art and well respected by the

Fast from flesh, fish, egges, and milke.

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the Vice-roy, was visited by him. Hee now vsed his Silken vest and Cap vsed by the Learned, somewhat like but higher, then that which Priests in *Spaine* weare, (for he had learned to keepe state and not to deiect himselfe too much) and carryed two seruants with him in long garments made of Callico, and his gestatorie Chayre: without which pompe a man cannot bee taken for a Learned man, the poorest Students vsing them, and otherwise contemned. The Physician entertayned him kindly, and after inuited him to a Feast, where were many Students, and some of the Royall bloud (of which that Citie hath very great store) which were glad of his acquaintance; and when he had once mentioned his staying there, the Physician was so eager in desire thereof, that he feyned that the President *Scilan* had written to him, to procure him residence there, because in the former abode he had not his health. The *Chinois* esteeme such lyes to bee wisedome. Hee soone got credit amongst them by Mathematicall lectures and instruments, and by his artificiall memorie especially. For the *Chinois* aboue all others commit whole bookes to memorie with vnwearyed paynes, and in the first yeeres of their studies doe nothing else. He repeated the most confused and independant Characters in order, yea, backwards as well as forward. Many desired to learne it, and some hee entertayned. Physicians being of no great authoritie, he sought to insinuate into fauour of the Magistrates; but a certayne Student had counselled him to neglect their license, and thereupon enquirie being made by the Vice-roy, this his friend and landlord very friend-like, would needs throw him suddenly out of doores, and hee was forced by force to defend himselfe. But the Vice-roy hauing receiued a Libell from him, testifying who he was, greatly reioyced (hauing heard of him) and when hee came to his Court, arose from the Tribunall to meete him, would not suffer him to kneele, and gaue him good vsage and magnificent Titles, inuiting him also to reside there. Whose affections were after kindled into a greater flame by his Physicians, magnifying his Mathematickes, Memoratiue, Bookes, three square Glasse and other nouelties. The Vice-roy would haue him make him a Dyall, and teach his Sonnes, but for that admirable Glasse, hee would by no kinde force accept the gift.

Many of the Royall bloud at Nanchan.

China lying is prudence.

Ricius his artificiall memorie

Fortune friend

And whereas time out of minde many of the Royall bloud are there, two of them hauing the tytle of Kings, *Chiengan*, and *Longan*, sent their principall Seruants or Courtiers, to inuite Father *Matthew* to the Palace, which is fitting to Royall Maiestie, both for Greatnesse, magnificence of Building, pleasure of Gardens, and other furniture of houshold and attendance. *Chiengan* first inuited and entertayned him, attyred with a Royall vesture and Diadem. Father *Matthew* gaue him a Dyall with the Signes of the Zodiacke, and a Globe with *China* characters, and other *European* commodities; which hee recompenced with Silkes, weight of Siluer, and diuers viands. Nothing gaue him such content as two Bookes of *Iapon* paper, smooth and hard bound in *European* manner: one containing Maps and other Mathematicall representations, with an explication in their Language; the other was a tractate of *Friendship*, wherein Dialogue-wise (as *Cicero* in his *Lelius*) hee bringeth in the King, questioning what the men of *Europe* thought of Friendship, and set downe the sentences of Philosophers, Doctors, and other Authors; a worke to this day read there with great applause and admiration, Printed in diuers Prouinces. *Chiengan* continued his friendship and left it as a legacie to his Sonne, who vsed when the Father visited him, to pay the Porters, and to giue money to his seruants, a token with them of great welcome. The Societie also of Learned men grew acquainted with him, and the chiefe of them, hearing him complayne of multitude of visitors, wished him to command his Seruants to say hee was not at home: which officious lye he affirming to bee by our Law vnlawfull, bred in him and the rest much wonder.

Chiengan and Longan, Kings titular.

Ricius his China Booke of friendship.

Token of welcome.

In the meane while at *Xauceo* they sustayned abuses, and *Sebastian Fernandus* was vsed ignominiously by the calumnies of their quarrelsome neighbours, and sentence of a partiall Iudge, which caused two Seruants to bee whipped vnheard, and *Fernandus* to stand as in a Pillorie, with his head in a board an ell and halfe square, therein a hole fitted for the necke, to bee opened and shut; so that a man cannot put his hand to his mouth: and this forsooth *for beating the Bachellors*. This was written as the cause of his punishment. Hee afterwards sought the *Iesuites* fauour, ashamed of his fact, inuited them, and set vp an Edict for their safetie. *Fernandus* was sent hereupon to *Ricius*, and *Catanerus* continued alone without any Father, till the yeere 1597. and fell sicke: then going to *Amacao* (Father *Iohn Aroccia* was sent in his place) hee returned with Father *Nicholas Longobard a Sicilian*. Father *Matthew* was appointed superiour of the *China* mission by the Visitor *Valignanus*, without subiection to the Rector of *Amacao*. To him precious watches were sent, and Images with other things, which might further their *China* proceedings, the *Portugals* of *Amacao* continuing their liberalitie herein.

Cauils.

Pillorie boord.

Aroccia and Longobardus.

Father *Matthew* minding to trie all meanes to peerce to the Court, assayed *Chiengan* in vaine, who feared to raise any suspicion of himselfe. Hearing therefore that *Guan* (which had as you heard) visited the house of *Xauceo*, in his way to *Hainan*, was thence called by the King to *Nanquin* to bee *President of the first Councell*, called *Li Pu*, that is, the *Councell of Magistrates*: in his way at *Nancian* they visited him with a present, (in which nothing so pleased him as the trigone Glasse) and tooke opportunitie to signifie to him, their desire of presenting the King with some *European* rarities. Hee approued thereof and sayd, they should not onely goe with him to

The Counsell Li Pu so called of creating Magistrates.

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Nanquin, but to *Pequin* also; whither within one moneth of his comming hee was to goe. *Ricius* with *Cataneus* attend him (leauing two of the company at *Nancian*) with two brethren of the company, *Seb. Fernandus*, and *Emanuel Pererius*, of *China* parentage in *Amacao*: who of their God-fathers take vsually both Christian name and Sir-name, vsing also their *China* names in dealing with *Chinois*. They set foorth from *Nancian* on Midsummer day, 1598. and when they were come to *Nanquin* they found all full of feare, by reason of the *Iaponian* warre in *Corai*, so that none durst giue vs entertaynment, grieuous Proclamations hauing lately forbidden to receiue men any way suspicious, by occasion of *Iaponian* Spyes taken. Euen the President himselfe, feared to bee author in so troublesome time of bringing Strangers: and *Ricius* when he visited him, vsed his Gestatorie seate. They gaue eight pieces of Gold to a cunning Clerke to write their Petition (so deare doe Learned men there prize their labour) which when they gaue the Chancellour (which sends Petitions from *Nanquin* to the King) hee would not meddle with it, but put it off to the President, that hee should carrie them with him to *Pequin*. He being to bee there to gratulate the King at his Birth day, in name of the sixe Tribunals or Counsels; sent his goods by water and the *Iesuites* with them, but went himselfe by land.

Custome of Conuerts names in Baptisme. *Anno* 1598.

Writing well in *China* brings credit and gaine.

When this President came to *Nanquin*, other Magistrates visited him with presents after the manner, and one the Vice-roy of that Prouince with a Map of *Ricius* his inuention, concealing the name of the Author in a new impression; which hee shewed to *Ricius*, who soone knew and challenged his owne. This the President intimated, that the Author was going with him to *Pequin*. Hee presently sends the Captayne of the Souldiers, to desire the President that he might haue sight of a man whom hee so much admired; sending withall a Chayre, and Porters with Horses also. For the Vice-roy of *Nanquin* resideth not in *Nanquin*, because in that High Court are higher Magistrates, which would seeme to eclipse his Greatnesse. So *Cataneus* went with the Ship, *Ricius* to the Vice-roy, whom hee saluted with *Europaan* gifts. He stayed with him ten dayes, so great desire he had to conferre with him. And when hee shewed him the Image of *Christ*, he would not take view of it there, but would first ascend to a neate Chappell which he had on the top of his House, therein after the rites of their Learned, to worship *Heauen*; with three doores to it, from the South, East, and West: about it round was a Gallerie distinguished and cancelled. There he caused an Altar to bee erected, and thereon Wax-lights and Incense to be fired; and then the Image being set thereon, hee came in his most sumptuous attire and did worship foure times, after their accustomed rites: after which hee would not stand before it but besides it, to take view, which hee did a good space. After him, his familie did likewise: and euery day they reiterated the same, one also being appointed to keepe perpetuall Odours burning before it. Hee brought other Magistrates also to see the same: and when he might not detayne the Father longer, he sent him away with great weight of Siluer, which came fitting to their necessitie. Hee gaue aduise also touching their designe, and told them of that frustrate successe which followed. He went with him to the Riuer, and sent one with him till he had ouertaken his companion. The *Chinois* call that Riuer *Iansu-chian*, *Chian* signifying the greatest Riuer; other Riuers they call *Cho*.

Vice-roy of *Nanquin*, a louer of Geographie.

Honour to an Image.

Chappell.

Chian or *Quian* See *Polo sup.* 90

That Riuer of *Nanquin* which I called (*Yamsu* or) *Iansu*, the *sonne of the Sea*, goeth Northward to *Nanquin*, and then returning somewhat Southward, runneth into the Sea with great force; fortie myles from which it passeth by *Nanquin*. And that from hence to *Pequin* there might bee passage by Riuers, the Kings of *China* haue deriued a large Channell from this to another Riuer, called the *Yellow Riuer*, such being the colour of that troubled water. This is the other famous Riuer of that Kingdome, in greatnesse and note, which ariseth without the Kingdome to the West, out of the Hill *Cunlun*, conjectured * to bee the same whence *Ganges* ariseth, or one neere to it. Where it first breakes foorth, it maketh a Lake which they call *of the Constellations*: thence it pierceth into the borders of *China* in *Scensi*, the most Westerly Prouince, and goeth out againe out of the Northerne walls into the *Tartars* Countries: after which it returneth to the South, and that Prouince whence it had come, and washeth another Prouince named *Scianfi*, and another named *Honan*: then turneth into the East and entreth the Easterne Ocean, not farre from the *Sonne of the Sea*. This Riuer against their lawes for Strangers, entreth *China* from Barbarous Regions, and as in reuenge of their malice to Strangers, often ouer-floweth great part of the Kingdome, and shifteth his Channell being full of Sands which it mooueth. Certayne Officers or Magistrates designed doe sacrifice thereto, or to the Spirit of it (for they set Spirits ouer diuers things) with many rites: and they fayne that it cleeres the troubled waters, but once in one thousand yeeres, whence it is prouerbiall of a sild-seene thing, *When the yellow Riuer shall bee cleered*. They that sayle therein, must therefore keepe the water many dayes till it setleth, the third part prouing myre and sand. Before the ingresse and egresse of this Riuer, are Channels which giue passage to Ships that carry prouision to *Pequin*. Those Ships are sayd to bee ten thousand, sent onely out of fiue Prouinces, *Chianfi*, *Cechian*, *Nanchin*, *Uquam*, and *Sciantum*. For these Prouinces pay their yeerly tribute in Rice and Corne, the other ten in Siluer. Besides these, there passe innumerable Ships of Magistrates and of priuate Merchants: but priuate men are forbidden to goe out of the *Hiansu* into those lesse Riuers (those onely passe which dwell

Riuer of *Nanquin*: one cut from it for *Pequin*.

Yellow Riuer see the Map.

*Such coniectures as this and those in *Pinto* of this Lake seeme ill grounded.

Lake of *Constellations*.

Magistrates sacrifice to the Riuer.

10000. Ships of the Kings for fiue Prouinces

dwell within ſuch Riuers to the North) leſt the multitude of Ships ſhould hinder the paſſage, or bee able to doe harme to *Pequin*. Yet is there ſuch ſtore of Ships notwithſtanding, that they are forced to ſtay ſometimes diuers dayes, one hindring another, eſpecially at ſome ſeaſons when water is ſcarce, for remedie whereof, they haue lockes and flood-gates, which opened make way from one to another of them, with great labour and tedious lingring. The croſſeneſſe of windes and labours of drawing with ropes, I need not mention. Some ſhips are ouerwhelmed at the opening of thoſe lockes. They haue woodden Engines on the bankes to draw the ſhips of Magiſtrates, at the Kings coſt, againſt the ſtreame all the way. And in fitting this Riuer to Nauigation, a million is ſpent yeerely; the feare of the Sea and Pyrats, haue made them take this courſe rather then that by Sea.

Cranes to draw ſhips. Tempeſtuous ſeas and Pyrats on that coaſt. See *Pinto*.

In all this way, many Cities moſt worthy note appeare, of the Prouinces *Nanquin*, *Sciantum*, *Pequin*, and beſides the Cities there are ſo many Townes, Villages, Houſes on the bankes, that all the way may be ſayd to bee inhabited; ſo that the Saylers no where want to furniſh themſelues with Corne, Rice, Fiſh, Fleſh, Fruits, Hearbs, Wine and the like, at a very cheape rate. By the ſame Riuer, Wood, Timber, Boards, Pillars (for the *Chinois* make reckoning onely of thoſe of wood) are carryed for the Kings workes: eſpecially, then when the Kings Palace had beene on fire, which conſumed two parts of three thereof. In all the Iourney, ours found great rankes of Timber-trees tyed together, and of other wood, which many thouſands of men drew with huge toyle, and ſcarcely could get forwards fiue or ſixe myles in a day, and from the Prouince *Suſcuen*, which is furtheſt from the Court, ſuch Timber-trees were in going vp, two or ſometimes three yeers ſpace: whence euery pillar made of them prodigiouſly aroſe each to three thouſand pieces of Gold: and of thoſe Timber-rankes they encountred one, ſeeming longer then the reſt, which was eſteemed to reach two myles in length. The Bricks alſo (which the *Chinois* preferre before Stone) for the Kings Palace, were carryed this way fifteen hundred myles, and many Ships had no other vſe, ſo many as might ſeeme ſufficient, not for a Palace but a great Citie. Out of the Southerne Prouinces, are yearely ſent thoſe things which in the more barren Prouinces of *Pequin* are wanting; as Fruits, Fiſh, Rice, Silkes, Cloathes and other things: and a day is ſet them, at which if they bee not there, they incurre grieuous penalties. Of the Ships called *Horſes*, the Kings Eunuches haue command. By this Riuer they ſayle almoſt onely when the Riuers ſwell ouer their bankes, peraduenture by the melting of the Snowes from the Hills whence they ſpring. By the heate in that Iourney of a moneth, and ſometimes two moneths, the viands which they carrie, are often corrupted before they come to *Pequin*, for which cauſe they coole them with Ice, and in all thoſe wayes much Ice is preſerued for that purpoſe, and diſtributed to the paſſengers, and ſo all things are carryed freſh to the Court.

Timbers for the Kings buildings. Two thirds of the Kings houſe burnt by Lightning.

Bricks preferred to ſtone.

Swifter ſhips called *Horſes*.

Heat and cold.

The Eunuches of thoſe Ships, ſell emptie roomes to the Paſſengers for their gayne: for the *Chinois* thinke it a glory to ſend that which goeth to the King in many ſhips, & not to giue them their full lading, which is alſo profitable for that ſterilitie of *Pequin*, Merchants by theſe conuenient fraights making nothing to want there where nothing growes. Ours hyred a roome in like manner for their eaſe. By reaſon of the great heat they all fell ſicke, yet by Gods helpe recouered. When they were to paſſe out of the Riuer, in the Prouince of *Sciantum*, they met with a hand-made Riuer, which runnes out neere *Pequin*, to the Tower *Tienſin*. Another Riuer from *Pequin* or rather from *Tartaria*, meetes it, and runnes together with it into the Sea, or into that Bay, betwixt *Corai* and *China*, after they haue runne together one day. In this Tower there was a new Vice-roy extraordinary, by reaſon of that inuaſion of *Corai* from *Iapon*. Hee prouided a huge Fleet for defence of *Corai*, by which meanes that whole Riuer was full of Ships of warre and militarie tumult. Ours went thorow the thickeſt of them without let, and at length came to the Port or Banke rather of *Pequin*, which banke is a dayes iourney from the walls of *Pequin*. And although by Art they haue made a huge Channell to the walls, yet leſt it ſhould bee filled with multitude of Ships, they ſuffer none but the Kings buſtliens to goe that way, the others being carryed by Carts, Beaſts, and Porters. They came to *Pequin* on a feſtiuall day, the Eeuen of the Virgins Natiuitie.

Hand-made Riuer. *Tienſin*.

They come to *Pequin*.

The chiefe Mart Townes in this way were *Iaincheu* in *Nanquin* Prouince, in thirtie two degrees thirtie minutes. *Hoaingan* in thirtie foure not all ſo much; *Sieuen* in thirtie foure degrees thirtie minutes. In *Sciantum* Prouince *Zinim* in thirtie fiue degrees fortie minutes. *Lincin* in thirtie ſeuen degrees fortie minutes. In *Pequin* Prouince *Tiencin* in thirtie nine degrees thirtie minutes. *Pequin* in fortie large. They are deceiued which eleuate it to fiftie. Now from *Canion* (which is two dayes from *Amacao*) are of *China* furlongs (fiue of which make a mile, and fifteene a league) by Riuer to *Nanhium*, one thouſand one hundred and ſeuentie. Thence to *Nancian* eleuen hundred and twentie. From that to *Nanquin*, one thouſand foure hundred and fortie. And thence to *Pequin* three thouſand three hundred thirtie fiue, in all ſeuen thouſand ſixtie fiue: which makes of miles, one thouſand foure hundred and thirteene.

Iaincheu. Hoaingan. Sieuen. Zinim. Licin.

Length of the way.

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Pequin described, compared with *Nanquin.*

Pequin is situated in the Northerne border about one hundred miles from the wall against the *Tartars*. *Nanquin* exceeds it in greatnesse, composition of the Streets, hugenesse of Buildings, and Munitions: but *Pequin* exceedeth it in multitude of Inhabitants, and of Magistrates. To the South it is compassed with two walls high and strong, so broad that twelue Horses may easily runne abrest oin the breadth without hindering one the other. They are made of Brickes,

The walls.

saue that on the foot it stands all on huge stones, the midle of the wall is filled with Earth: the height farre exceeds those in *Europe*. To the North is but one wall. On these walls by night

Watch and Ward.

is kept as vigilant watch as if it were time of warre: in the day Eunuches guard the gates, or rather exact Tributes, which is not done in other Cities.

Palace.

The Kings Palace riseth within the inner Southerne wall, neere the City gates and extends to the Northerne walls, seeming to take vp the whole Citie: the rest of the Citie running forth on both sides: It is some-what narrower then the Palace of *Nanquin*, but more goodly and glorious;

Streets.

that seeming by the Kings absence, as a carkasse without soule. Few of the Streets are paued with Bricke or Stone, so that in Winter dirt, and dust in Summer, are very offensiue: and because it raineth there seldome, the ground is all crumbled into dust, and if any wind blow, it enters euery Roome. To preuent which they haue brought in a custome, that no man of whatsoeuer ranke goeth on foot or rideth without a Veile or Bonnet hanging to his brest, of that subtiltie that he may see, and yet the dust not annoy him: which also hath another commoditie that he may goe any whither vnseene, so freed from innumerable tedious salutations, and also he spares attendance and cost. For to ride is not magnificent enough with the *Chinois*, and to bee carried in their Seats is costly, with Attendants especially; and in that time of Warre it fitted with ours to passe vnknowne, being Strangers.

All goe and ride veiled.

Commoditie of Mules and Mulletters.

Muletters stood at the Palace, and City gates, and in euery Street to let Mules, themselues also attending the Hirers whether they would in the City; which leading the beasts by the bridle, in that frequencie made way, being also skilfull of the wayes, knowing most of the great mens Houses: all at a reasonable rate. There is a Booke also which truly relateth all the Streets,

Booke of *Pequin*.

Lanes, Regions of the City: Porters also with Seats to carrie Men, and Horses are euery-where found, but dearer then at *Nanquin*, or other places.

See *Polo sup.* 88.

All things are to bee had in abundaace, but brought thither and therefore dearer. Wood is scarce, but supplied with Mine-coles (we call them *Sea-cole*) necessary to that Region, cold beyond what the Climate vsually exacteth: their Beds are so made with Brick-workes, that they by a new kind of Stoues admit the heate of those Coles: a thing vsuall in all those Northerne Regions. These Northerne *Chinois* are some-what more dull, but better Souldiers then the other. Here they learned that this Kingdome is *Cataio*, and the King of *China* the great *Can*, and *Pequin Cambalu*.

China, Cathay. See *Pantoia.*

For the nine Kingdomes (of *Mangi*) are those Southerly Prouinces which are vnder the great Riuer *Ianszchian*, and sixe vpon it make vp the fifteene, so great that some one of them is as great as all *Italy*. *Anno* 1608. whiles we write, it is fortie yeares since two *Turkes* or *Moores* out of *Arabia* brought to *China* a Lion (a beast seldome here seene) by Land, which had an Office giuen by the King to them and theirs, to keepe the Lion, and that they should carry no Tales thence. They in conference called this Kingdome great *Catay*, and this City *Cambalu* the like we heard of others which had come from *Persia*. The *Chinois* also haue heard of that name, and still call the *Tartars Lu*, and the North parts *Pa* and *Pe*: to which *Can* the *Tartarian* Title added easily makes *Canpalu* or *Cambalu* with others; for the *Chinois* seldome vse B. and *Marco Polo* comming in with the *Tartars* called it by their name. And at this time without the walls of *China* is found no *Catay*. The *Portugals* called it *China*, borrowing the name as may be supposed from the *Siamites*, and hence Cosmographers made them two Kingdomes. But *Goez* his Iourney by Land to *Catay* hath taken away all scruple.

Cambalu the great *Tartar* of the North.

Goez sup. cap. 4.

To returne to ours now come to *Pequin*, the President gaue them entertainment, and procured an Eunuch to vndertake the businesse for the Presents, which were a Clocke, two Pictures, two Trigone-glasses and a Bell: all pleased the Eunuch, but his minde ranne more on making Siluer of Quick-siluer, which he had heard they could doe, and which would bee more gratefull to the King. And when he saw that would not be vndertaken, neither would he vndertake to acquaint the King, in this time of *Corayan* Warres; and ours also were taken for *Iaponians*, or neere vnto them, they not knowing how by true names to distinguish Nations. The President also began to be fearefull and purposed to carry them backe with him to *Nanquin*. Yet they staid a moneth after him (he being at a certaine day by Law to depart) and, when they had tryed all wayes in vaine, none daring to acknowledge Strangers, they returned to *Nanquin*. They had a Bill of Exchange from *Amacao* to take vp money at *Pequin*, but the Merchant had plaid the Merchant and *Chinese* too, none such there to be found. They hired a ship at an easie rate for their returne (because they goe empty) but not easie in this respect that the Owners pouertie made the Iourney tedious for what of helpes. This benefit they made of this Iourney to learne the Language better, making a Dictionary, obseruing their Accents with Points deuised; (that speech consisting wholly of Monosyllables, the want of skill in those Accents had caused that they neither

Alchymie and base conetise.

Coozening Merchant.

China Language and Accents.

did

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did, nor were vnderstood) *Cataneus* skill in Musicke helping to distinguish those sounds. What course *Ricius* and he instituted, that the Company still obserue in their Writing.

All the Riuers in *China* vse to be frozen in the beginning of Winter, that ships cannot passe by water, and Carts by Land are safer. They agreed that Father *Matthew* should goe by Land with two Seruants, to try if he could settle at *Nanquin*, the rest and the burthens to stay till the Riuer were thawed. He purposed also to goe to *Sucen* whither *Chiutaisu* had often inuited him, being his Countrey. Passing thorow *Sciantum*, he visited *Siuceu* and *Tamceu* famous Marts, and passing the Riuer *Tamceu*, at *Chinchiamfu*, the chiefe City of that Prouince hee entred into a hand made Riuer, by which is sailed to *Sucen* and to the chiefe Citie of *Cechian Hamceu*. This Riuer being Southerly and neere frozen ouer, is so narrow that multitudes of shippes cloy it so sometimes that they cannot passe forward or backward. He was forced therefore to go by another way, which is a Coach or Wagon of one wheele, so builded that one sitting in the midst, and two on the sides, the Coach-man behind with woodden Leauers or Barres driues it forwards both surely and swiftly; that in short time he came to *Suceu*.

Riuers frozen. *Ric.* goeth by Land.

Siuceu and *Tamceu*.

Coach of one wheele.

This Noble Mart is one of them whereof is the Prouerbe, *That which is in Heauen the Seat of the Blessed, that in Earth is named* Suceu, *and* Hamceu.: in splendour, wealth, frequencie remarkable. It is built in a calme fresh-water Riuer, and quite thorow one may goe, as in *Venice*, by Land or Water, but herein it excelleth *Venice* that the water is fresh. The streets and buildings stand vpon piles of Timber, the Wares from *Amacao* and other parts are most sold here. It hath one gate to the Land, the other are water-wayes. The Bridges are innumerable, & Magnificent, Ancient, but of one Arch in those narrow Chanels. Butter and White-meates are plentie, Rice, and the best Wine, which thence is carryed to *Pequin* and other parts. It is scarsly two dayes from the Sea. It is well fortified, the chiefe City of the Region, which hath eight Cities. One of the Princes held this, when the *Tartars* were expelled, against this Royall Race; whereupon it still payeth a great Tribute, to wit, the halfe of all things growing, (so that some two whole Prouinces pay lesse then this one Region to the King, against whom it had stood out) it is still also awed with a frequent Garrison. *Chiutaiso* was then absent at *Tanian* a Neighbour City, who receiued him with great humanitie. He abode in a Monasterie, and resigned his bed to his Master, who tired by trauell fell sicke, and was likely there to haue dyed. Recouered by his care, he gaue him a Triangle Glasse, which he put in a Siluer case with Gold Chaines at the ends, and adorned it further with a Writing that it was a *fragment of that matter whereof the Heauens consist*. One was said to offer him fiue hundred pieces of Gold soone after for it, which till Father *Matthew* had presented his to the King hee would not sell: after that hee set a higher price and sold it.

Suceu described. Another *Venice*.

Huge Tribute.

Tanian.

Glasse glazed.

At the beginning of the *China* yeare, all are busied in sending Presents to their friends, feasts and salutations. They went to *Cinchian* to the publike Solemnitie where *Chiutaiso* was well knowne, and by his speech Father *Matthew* and from thence they went to *Nanquin*, in February, 1599. Before wee come thither wee will looke backe to our *Canton* Iesuits.

New yeares day.

§. VI.

Letters from Father LONGOBARD *and* TAISO. RICIVS *his entertaynment at* Nanquin *and Residence there. The* Chinois *vnlearned Learning.*

FAther *Nicolas Longobard* wrote vnto *Claudius Aquaviva* the Iesuiticall Generall, the eighteenth of October, 1598. that in the Kingdome of *China* there were then seuen Iesuits distributed into two Residences and one Mission: at *Nancian*, Father *Iohn Soerius* and *Iohannes à Roccia*; himselfe and *Francis Martines* a *Chinese* at *Sciaucum* in *Canton* Prouince, *Ricci* and *Cataneus*, and *Sebastian Fernandez* a *Chinese*, were then gone to *Pequin*: that *China* condition and conditions agreed so well with him, that hee seemed to bee in the midst of *Italy*: that much respect had accrewed to them in conceit of the *Chinois* together, with that Habit of their Learned, which they had taken, the *Bonzi* and their Habit esteemed base alike. He also much commends *Thaiso* or *Taiso*, (*Chiutaiso* before mentioned) who much euery-where commended the Iesuits and their Learning, as much exceeding what euer had beene taught in *China*. And truly, saith he, the *Chinois* Learning exceedeth not the Science of the *Romanes* in the time of *Cicero*.

Letter of F. *Nic. Lombard*.

China Learning.

This comparison with that time of the *Romanes* seemeth perhaps not the best, that being the best of Heathen *Rome*; *Varro*, and *Cicero*, and *Virgil*, as the *Romane Trium-viri* for Learning; besides, *Salust. Cæsar*, &c.

They are much exercised in a kind of writing and speaking briefe and pithie Sentences: their Bookes expresse well *Ethickes* and *Politickes*, but are rude in Naturall Philosophie. When I had

lately

litely runne thorow two of their Bookes, which they eſteeme as their Metaphyſikes, or firſt Philoſophie, one of their learned men gratulated my proficience; when as I found therein no more difficulty then in *Tully*, or *Titus Liuius*. They ſay, none but the *Chinois* can vnderſtand them, Father *Ricci* vſeth to adde none better then the *Europeans*. A Letter of *Taiſo* to *Ricci* hee addeth thus inſcribed. Thaiſo * *younger Brother which ſtand at the * ſide to learne, doe ſubmit my head to the ground, and exhibite honour and reuerence to the elder Brother, Maſter and Father* Matthew Ricci, *a famous Peere, and Maſter of the moſt choiſe flowers of the great Law, and caſt downe my ſelfe at the feet of his Seat and Chaire.* The Letter followeth.

* *Thaiſos* Letter. To their ſuperiours and equals they write not in the firſt perſon, but the name for the pronoune (I).

* This (*as to ſit at the feet*, with the *Iewes*) ſignifieth to be a mans ſcholer: taken from their ſitting at the ſide in Lectures.

After our departing (it being foure yeeres ſince ſight of each other) there hath not beene a day in which I haue not ſet before mine eyes the excellent vertue of your Worſhip. I gaue two yeeres ſince to Sciancliin, *my Countreyman, a Merchant, Letters to your Worſhip, thereby to learne where and what it did. I know not whether they haue attayned that, to come to your magnificent hands, &c. When I went from your Worſhip I ſaid it muſt goe into the North parts, if it would behold the ſplendour and magnificence of this Kingdome, that my Countrey had nothing ſingular, that* Nanquin *Court was troubleſome, and mixed of all ſorts: that* Chianſi *Province was fit onely for dwelling, becauſe there were learned men in it of excellent vertue, and of a true and ſolid ſpirit to receiue the Law* ——— *This yeere gathering together thoſe things which your Worſhip taught mee, I made a Booke, and exhibited it to the Society of learned men, of which there was none which did not admire and ſubſcribe, ſaying, your Worſhip was* Scingan, *that is, a Saint of theſe times. Thoſe things which I haue added haply may be erroneous, and I feare leſt they contradict its founder and higher learning: and therefore haue ſent my ſeruant to bring it to your Worſhip to reade, which I moſt humbly entreat, and to correct, to approue the trueth, to blot out the falſe, to illuſtrate the obſcure, writing all in another Booke, and ſending it by the ſame ſeruant in few dayes, becauſe I would preſently commit it to the Preſſe, that your Worſhips learning might be knowne thorow the World. In theſe places are of greateſt reckoning the Bookes of* Hothu, Coſcui, Pequa, Queuſcieu, Thaiquitu, *and other like, which haue written of a Point, Line, Extremitie, and Thickneſſe. All theſe learned make of a Line a Circle: but according to your Worſhips teaching, of a Line is made the termination of a Circle, and a Circle conſiſts therein. From which principles the concluſions brought of* Thaiquu, *that is, of God, doe farre exceed the Commentaries of all our learned men. And they are enough to illuſtrate a thouſand obſcurities of antiquitie, which hitherto haue not beene pierced. This one thing afflicts mee, that my writing and ſtile is meane and abiect, and moſt vnfit to illuſtrate and enlarge the moſt excellent conceits of its mind. Meane while I much long, and as it were on tiptoes looke about euery where, if haply I may ſee your face. From* Succo *the two and twentieth of the fourth Moone, and the foure and twentieth of the Raigne of* Vanlia. Subſcribed; Thaiſo *younger Brother againe bends his head to the ground, &c.*

Succo. North of *China* the beſt.

Scingan is the greateſt title of honour amongſt the *Chinois*, intimating a holy birth, greateſt learning that he may be Maſter of all, as was their *Confucius*: ſuch an one they think comes euery 500. yeere, and now *Ricius*.

Lombard proceedeth in his Letter, and ſheweth the commodiouſneſſe of one King which ruleth all, of one *Mandarine* Tongue, of the common induſtrie and cheapneſſe of prouiſions (not as in the pouertie of *Iapon*, where the worke-mens maintenance muſt come from other parts) all fitting to bring in the Goſpell. There are, ſayth he, almoſt infinite houſes of *Bonzi* maintayned by the King, beſides gifts which they receiue of others which yet repoſe no great confidence in Idols: what would theſe doe if they beleeued to receiue a hundred for one, and eternall life? Their compoſition of bodie, complexion, condition, rites; no vſe of weapons, not ſo much as a Knife carried (but by Souldiers in Garriſon, not in the way or at home) their habite long, and anciently vſed, with their hands alway hidden in their long ſleeues, except in vſe of their fanne, which all, euen the meaneſt carrie with them; their quarrels, if any happen in the vulgar, ended in a few boxes or brawles; their ſeemely behauiour equall to the *European*; yea, in ſome things to the Religious there; their ſtudiouſneſſe of learning the onely foundation of dignitie and greatneſſe, as many *Athens* there as great Cities, each hauing a Schoole or Vniuerſitie without mixture of other Regions) their politike and morall Rules and Lawes; all theſe might be furtherances to the Goſpell. Their tenacitie alſo of their owne cuſtomes and jelouſie of Strangers, might better ſecure them from Hereſies. Hee commends alſo their workes of Piety, and Charity, Almes, Hoſpitals for poore, voluntary chaſtiſements of the bodie to ſubdue the affections, as faſtings (in which they abſtaine from Fleſh, Fiſh, Milke, and Egges, but eate other things as oft and as much as they will) liberties and gifts by Magiſtrates to Widowes which containe themſelues from ſecond marriages; triall of a mans ſelfe in all his actions commended in their Bookes, eſpecially of thoſe things which other men cannot know; and hereupon the liking of a ſolitary and contemplatiue life in the Countrey, and reſtoring themſelues to the firſt ſtate, as they ſay, wherein the Heauen created them; for which purpoſe are congregations of learned men, together in Villages addicted to contemplation, and fleeing publike Offices (as the ancient Fathers had their conferences in woody and mountainous places) in which alſo their women are as forward as the men, many of them liuing in Nunneries, gouerned by an Abbeſſe; and all *China* women liue ſo encloſed, as if their owne houſes were Cloiſters: Theſe he commends in them, as alſo that of all vertues they giue the firſt place to Obedience to Parents as in which conſiſts a mans perfection. And that no man may be ignorant of his duty, if they cannot reade (of which there are but few) they haue a ſhort Summe (or Catechiſme) for

China Monaſteries.

Vniuerſities in our ſence with Profeſſors and publik Schools are not in *China*: but for taking degrees as in our Vniuerſities, a mans priuate ſtudies, and the Cities publike examinations haue ſome reſemblance. Many things in which the *Ieſuites* and *Chinois* concurre.

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for publishing whereof there is a man appointed at publike charge, euery full and change, to publish the same in euery street of the City, so that on the same day & houre, a little before Sunrising the same doctrine is propounded in all the Cities of *China*, and thorow all their streets. This is fixe Articles or Principles, which are, *First, Obey Father and Mother: Secondly, reuerence Betters and Elders: Thirdly, make peace among Neighbors: Fourthly, teach Children and Nephewes: Fifthly, let euery man well discharge his office: Sixthly, commmit no offence*, that is, not to kill, steale, fornication, &c. which in manner comprehend the second Table of the Decalogue. As for the first Table, the *Chinois*, especially the learned are Atheists, little regarding Idols, whereof their Houses and Temples are full; little minding the rewards or punishments of the life to come, or the soules immortalitie, which yet are easily found in their bookes touching the punishments at least of *Holy Pao* (so they call God) in Hell. Of rewards of blessednesse there is not such euidence, as *Thaiso* affirmed. And although many difficulties happened to ours in the *Bonzian* habite, yet is it now farre otherwise. As for *Canton* Prouince, the *Mandarines* which come this way, aske vs why we stay amongst these *Mangines*, that is, Rusticks and Barbarians: We must, say they, leaue the Barke and pierce to the pith and marrow of the Kingdome, if we would see the *China* splendor and politie. He writes for Labourers, Bookes, Images, and Pictures, for consolation of new Conuerts: the Ethnicks worship that of the Virgin, and call her *Scin mu nian nian*, that is, holy Mother, and Queene of Queenes: and ends with imploring the patronage and intercession of all the heauenly Quire, specially of the blessed Virgin, the Apostles, the Angels guardians of *China*; to obtaine of the holy Trinitie happy successe to their endeuours, &c. But wee will returne to our best acquainted in *China*, *Ricius*, whom we left newly arriued at *Nanquin*.

A fornight Sabbath.

Sixe precepts of *China*.

Cantonians Mangines.

Blessed Virgin honoured.

The case was now altered at *Nanquin*, they went on foot without impediment to their lodging, which was in a huge Monastery, called *Cinghensu*, in which is great resort of guests which there hire lodgings, being built in the centre of the Citie. The *Iaponians* were now beaten from *Corai* and *Quabacondono* was dead, which had so terrified that vnwarlike Nation. He heard that they had heard of his going to *Pequin*, and that the *Corai* warre was the frustrating of his designes in that vnseasonable time. The President was verie glad of his comming, and exhorted him to buy a house there, and sends two of his followers to looke out for one. Scarsly had he and *Chintaiso* gotten home to their lodging, when the President followeth to visit them, which hee did with the solemnest Rites. And when they were set in the Hall, the Abbot came to offer them the wonted potion, kneeling to all three (to the President hee was bound as supreme gouernour of Temples) and the President inuited the Father to spend two or three daies in his house, to see the Fire-workes, which that full Moone, the first of the yeere would bee to bee seene, which strange deuices of lights that and the following nights; which he did and beheld that which without wonder cannot be beholden, the *Nanquiners* herein exceeding as may be thought the whole world.

Nanquin. Cingensu a great Abbie.

The President supreme gouernour of Temples.

Full Moone fire-workes.

When it was reported that the President had visited him, all the Maiestie of Magistrates did the like, yea some whom he had not visited. The President of the Court of *Criminall Causes*, and the President of the *Treasury* (which is the second Tribunall) came with rites & gifts, as also did others; yea hee which a little after was the *High Colao* at *Pequin*, which all vrged him to buy a house; and he now went thorow all Streets and Palaces without gainesaying (which he knew from a vision hee before had had thereof) and procured a house which the President helped to furnish. So much admiration and respect had the opinion of *European* science acquired to him, these being to the *China* wits baits for the Gospels fishing. Now first did they heare that the Earth was round (for they conceited the Heauen round and the Earth square) that the Centre drew all heauie things to it, that the Vniuerse was inhabited round, that there were *Antipodes*, that the Earths interposition caused the Moones eclipse (some saying that the Moon opposite to the Sunne was dazled or amazed; others that there was a hole in the Sunne, against which the Moone opposed lost her light) that the Sunne was greater then the Earth; and that the Starres also, this was out of measure paradoxicall: the like was the soliditie of the Orbes, and their number; the fixed posture of the Starres, the Planets wandrings, the eleuation and depression of the Pole according to the various Climates; and likewise the inequalitie of the daies, without the Tropikes Geographicall Maps *in plano*, and Globes, Meridians, Parallels, Degrees, the Line, Tropikes, Poles, Zones, Spheres, Sun-dialls, they had not at all vnderstood, with other points of *European* learning. A Doctor of theirs confessed himselfe ashamed; *For*, said hee, *you may thinke of me as wee doe of the* Tartars *and barbarous out-lawes; for you begin where wee end* (which hee spake of the studie of eloquence, which takes vp our childhood, their whole life.) They numbred fiue Elements, *Metall, Wood, Fire, Water, Earth*, one of which they said was procreated of the other: the Aire they did not acknowledge for one, because they see it not, placing a *vacuum* or emptinesse where wee place the aire: as incredible it was that the fierie Element was the highest, and that Comets and Exhalations were there with fired. Father *Matthew* writ a booke of the Elements in their language much applauded, and often by them reprinted. Diuers became his Schollars; one sent from his Master in *Hanlin* Colledge in *Pequin*

Mathematikes baits to the Gospell.

China learning how vnlearned

Hanlin Colledge in *Pequin*

Pequin

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Pequin (the chiefe place for *China* learning, to be admitted into, which is a great dignitie.) Hee
Wit of a *Chinese*. was very wittie, and without any Master attained the first booke of *Euclide*, and exacted of
Father *Matthew* Geometricall demonstrations. And when hee added some things of Christianitie, you need not, saith he, confute that Idolatrous Sect, it is enough to teach the Mathema-
Bonzis dotages. tikes. For these *Bonzi* would also be Philosophers and Mathematicians. They said the Sunne
hid himselfe by night behinde a Hill called *Siumi*, rooted in the Sea foure and twentie miles
Eclipses. deepe. And for the eclipses, they said that the God *Holochan* caused that of the Sun couering
it with his right hand, and that of the Moone with his left.

Not at *Pequin* alone, but at *Nanquin* also is a Colledge of *China* Mathematicians of better
Colledge of Astrologers. building then Astrologicall Science. They do nothing but bring their Almanacks to the rules of the ancients, when they mis-reckoned, they ascribed it to irregularitie of nature, not theirs, deuising some prodigious euent to follow. These at first were afraide that Father *Matthew* would haue deprined them of their dignitie; and freed of that feare, they visited him friendly, and he them, where hee saw a strange sight. There is an high Mountaine, on the top whereof is an open Plaine or Floore fit to contemplate the Starres. In this open space one euery night is appointed to watch, and obserue if any Comets or other alterations be in the skie, thereof to
Mathematicall huge Instruments. giue the King notice, and what it portends. In this place, of cast mettall are Mathematicall Instruments, admirable for their greatnesse and neatnesse, the like whereof wee haue not seene in *Europe*. They haue continued there in all chance and change of weather neere two hundred and
A Globe. fiftie yeeres without damage. Of them were foure greater, the one a huge Globe distinguished by degrees with Meridians and Parallels, as great as three men can fadome: it stood on a huge Cube of brasse likewise, vpon his Axel-tree: in the Cube was a little doore, sufficient for it to passe when need was. On the vtter superficies was nothing grauen, neither Stars, nor Regions, whereby it appeares that it was either vnfinished, or purposely so left that it might serue both
A Sphere. for a Celestiall and a Terrestriall Globe. The second was a huge Sphere, the Diameter whereof was a fadome; with Horizon and Poles, and in stead of Circles, certaine double chaines, the space betwixt them representing the Circles in our Spheres: all these were diuided into three hundred and sixtie degrees, and a few minutes. In the middest was a Globe of the Earth, but a certaine pipe hollowed like the barrell of a Peece, which might bee turned any way, and set in
A Diall. any degree and eleuation for triall of the Starres very artificially. The third was a Diall two fadoms high in a huge & long Marble set to the North, with a channell about the table to hold water, whereby to trie if it stood plaine or no: the stile placed perpendicular, both it and the stone distributed into degrees: it seemes, for exact triall of the shadowes of Solstices and Equi-
Astrolabes. noctialls. The fourth and greatest was an engine or instrument of three or foure huge Astrolabes set one by another, each containing a Geometricall pace in a Diameter, with their Fiduciall line, or *Halhilada*, and *Dioptra*: one of them represented the *æquator* inclined to the South, another (which made a crosse with the former) to the North; another stood erected to the South, perhaps for knowledge of the Verticall Circle, but turned about to shew any Verticall: all had the degrees marked with iron knots standing forth, that they might bee knowne by feeling in
The *Chinois* number 24. constellations of the Zodiake. the night. This Worke of *Astrolabes* was set in a plaine floore of Marble also, with channels about. In euery of these Instruments was expressed in *China* Characters what euery thing signified; the foure and twentie Constellations of the Zodiake, answering in the number doubled to our twelue Signes. There was in them this one errour, that they were set in the fixe and thirtieth degree of the Pole eleuated, whereas *Nanquin* stands without all doubt in two and thirtie
The like Instruments at *Pequin*. and a quarter of a degree. They seeme to haue beene made to be placed somewhere else, and placed here by some vnskilfull Mathematician. Afterwards Father *Matthew* saw the like, or the same Instruments rather at *Pequin*, cast with the same hand, at that time when the * *Tartars* ruled ouer the *Chinois*, by some expert of our sciences.

* This time agreeth with the time of *Tamerlane*; which giueth authority to *Albacens* story of him: besides the *Chinois* call the last *Tartar* which ruled them *Temor*.

The greatest Magistrate desired Father *Matthew* to reuise the Vniuersall Map, which he had made in *Canton* Prouince, and make larger Commentaries, and hee would print it at publike cost, which he did, and with an elegant Proeme commended the Author of the worke. This was published and carried into all parts, and in other places reprinted. The Vice-Roy of *Cuicen* Prouince printed it with another methode, making to euery Kingdome a proper Commentarie in a booke, adorning the Author also with his praises. Besides, the Presidents of the fixe Tribunalls (equall except for the Kings presence, in the gouernement of their Prouince, to these of *Pequin*) hee had three other friends, yet vnmentioned. There is a certaine hereditarie dignitie derlued to the eldest sonnes, from those Captaines which expelled the *Tartars*: they are called *Quocum*; their posteritie are honoured by the King, most of all the eldest, which in processe of time haue growne into a numerous Family; and although they beare no publike office, except some militarie commands, yet haue they great dignitie and wealth: and these onely doe truely resemble the Nobilitie of *Europe*. One head of this Family is at *Nanquin*, liuing in great pompe, with Palace, Furniture, Gardens, all like a King. He one day inuited Fa-
Cuicen. *Quocum*, the Nobilitie of *China*.
Artificial rock. ther *Matthew*, and entertained him in the best Garden in the Citie: in which, besides other pleasing rarities, he saw an artificiall Mount or Rocke of diuers vnpolished Marbles, hollowed into

into Caues; it contained Chambers, Halls, Staires, Fiſh-ponds, Trees, and other things, Art wantoniſing with Nature to engender pleaſure; eſpecially in time of heate to coole themſelues in their ſtudies or feaſts with this Caue-retiring; which although it comprehended no great ſpace of ground, yet would it aske the ſpace of two or three houres time to viſit all the parts, the egreſſe being by another gate. This Nobleman was yong, and deſired to ſee ſome things of *Europe*.

Another which became familiar with Father *Matthew*, was the Commander of all the *Nanquin* Souldiers, which had alſo another great Office, called *Heu*, who often viſited him, and became his great friend, whoſe friendſhip gaue vs ſecurity, to whom the watch and ward, and ſecurity of the Citie belongeth. Beſides, I will name the chiefe Eunuch, which hath great authority ouer the *Nanquin* Eunuchs, whereof are numbred ſome thouſands, who is Ruler ouer the Kings Palace, and hath command of all the Citie gates, and ouer the military Muſters together with the former Captaine, with other parts of authority, and expreſſeth the ſame with great pompe. He was almoſt decrepit, and after the Eunuchs faſhion there, not ſo gentle; and when *Ricius* came to him, his Courtiers commanded him to giue him a title which anſwereth to *Highneſſe* with vs. I explane it thus; when they ſpeake to the King, they wiſh to him *ten thouſand thouſand yeeres of life* in theſe three ſyllables, *Van van ſiu*, which is all one with the title of *Maieſtie*: to others in the Palace, the Queenes, or Children of the King, they with inferiour title pray, *ten thouſand yeeres*. Now the Eunuchs are ſo arrogant that they expect this *thouſand yeeres wiſh*, and to bee ſaluted on the knee. Father *Matthew* could not doe this ſafely, leſt hee ſhould doe more to him then to the chiefe Magiſtrates; but hee had learned not to neglect in *China* their rites; and he being deafe, one that hollowed in his eare made vp what the Father wanted. Hee gaue him a great gift, which he refuſed, and denyed him the trigone Glaſſe: yet this cauſed the other Eunuchs to honour him.

Captaine of the Citie Garriſon.

Chiefe Eunuch.

Thouſands of Eunuchs at *Nanquin*.

Van, van, ſiu, as to the *Babylonian* Monarchs, *liue for euer. Dan. 5. 10.*

At that time liued in *Nanquin* one which had obtayned the firſt place in the declaration of Doctors (which *is a very* great dignity) who liued herein this Countrey priuate, but in great eſteeme of all. Hee had degenerated to become a Preacher of the three *China* Sects, and profeſſed great knowledge of them. Hee had at his houſe a famous Votarie, or *Bonzi*-Monke, who renouncing the publike Offices which he had borne, had ſhaued his head, and (which is not vſuall in *China*) of a *Learned Man*, had become a Miniſter of the Idols. And becauſe hee was both learned in the *China* Sciences, and growne ſeuenty yeeres old, he had acquired much fame and many Diſciples, profeſſors of that new Sect which he deuiſed. Theſe viſited Father *Matthew*, to the wonder of all; that Literate-apoſtata confeſſed the truth of our Law, and preſented the Father with a Fanne with two elegant Epigrams therein. Two other viſited him, one of which counterfeited himſelfe to haue liued three hundred yeeres, whom the *China* Grandes much followed, as doting on the ſtudie of long life, the precepts whereof he read to his Scholers. Hee alſo boaſted of Geomancy. The other was a Phyſician, and companion to the other, each blazing the others Science: and whiles both preferred the Father, ſome ſuſpected that hee had liued ſome Ages (which they vſe to affirme of Strangers differing in countenance from them) and would not let it be knowne.

A principall Doctor, a Preacher.

A *Mandarine* becomes a *Bonzi*.

Epigrams.

The *Chinois* haue one day ſolemne to *Confutius* the Prince of the *Learned*, in which they make a kind of Sacrifice to him, not as to their God, but their Maſter. They call it a Sacrifice, but in larger extent of the word. Muſike was prepared againſt that day, at the triall whereof Father *Ricius* was preſent. The Prieſts of the *Learned*, called *Tanſu*, ordered the Muſike; and in the Kings Hall (or Temple rather) dedicated to the *Lord of Heauen*, this triall was made. The Prieſts came forth in precious veſtures, as if they would ſacrifice, who after their wonted rites to the Preſident, fell to their Muſike: in which were ſmall braſſe Bells, Baſons, other as it were Tabors, others of ſtone, ſtringed Inſtruments, Pipes, Organs blowed with the mouth, not with Bellowes; others reſembled Beaſts out of the hollow bellie yeelding a ſound: all theſe ſounded together with ſuch diſcording diſcord as you may imagine; the *Chinois* themſelues confeſſing the concord and harmoniacall conſent to bee loſt, onely the Inſtruments remayning from their Anceſtors.

Confutius his holiday.

Muſike of *China*.

That Temple was great and magnificent, built neere the Citie in a Pine-groue, compaſſed with walls twelue miles about. The wall of the Temple was of bricke, the other parts of timber: it is diuided into fiue Iles; the Pillars were round of huge timbers as great as two men could fathome, the heigth proportionable to that thickneſſe; the roofe is excellently carued, and all gilded: and although it be two hundred yeeres ſince it was built, and the King reſides not at *Nanquin*, nor ſacrificeth there, yet is it little decayed from the firſt ſplendour. In the midſt of the Temple is a more eminent place of moſt precious marble, in which is a double Throne, both of marble; the one for the King when he ſitteth to ſacrifice, the other is left for him to ſit by, to whom the ſacrifice is made. The Cloiſters without are beautified with moſt elegant windings, and leſt the Birds ſhould defile all, the windowes are all netted with Iron wyers (which is vſuall thorow all the Palace:) all the gates of the Temple are couered with Braſſe plates gilded, and wrought with neat Viſages of the ſame metall. Without the Temple were many Altars of red marble, which repreſented the Sunne, Moone, Starres, and Hills of *China*, Lakes

Temple royall, and magnificence thereof.

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Lakes and Seas, intimating that that God which is there worshipped made the rest, which are placed without, lest they might be worshipped for Deities. It is prohibited by grieuous penalties, to cut the trees of that Groue, or any bough thereof, whence they are great and old. In the circuit of the Temple are many Cells, which are said to haue beene Baths for the Kings to wash in when they were to sacrifice.

Iesuits habit.

The Father vsed the Habit of the *Learned* (as is said) of those especially which professe themselues Preachers of the Law; the Habit modest, and the Cap not vnlike ours in Crosse fashion also. He confuted both the Sects of Idolaters, and commended that of the *Learned*, praysing *Confutius*, which was rather silent, then would deuise any thing touching the next life, and taught good Rules for the Life, Family, and Republike. A great man flourished at *Nanquin* then (which had some thousands of Disciples) in opinion of Vertue and Learning, and had set dayes in which to heare and to be heard euery moneth. *Chiutaiso* brought the Father, and this Father together, and in some reasoning *Ricius* wrung from him that some corruptions were in the Idoll Sects, which he followed not, holding that only (he sayd) which was good. It being a fashion that *Learned* men met in their Societies to conferre of Morall Vertues, in one of those meetings this man learnedly confuted *Confutius*, which another Magistrate tooke haynously, and cryed out, it was intolerable that the Sect of Idols brought out of other Countreyes should bee preferred before *Confutius*, whom the Learned *Ricius* also admireth, refelling the Idol-follies. He answered, he had spoken with the man, but he was not yet well acquainted with *China* businesse, and he would instruct him better. Soone after he inuited him to a Feast (for the *Chinois* vsually in such meetings determine Controuersies) and there hee met *Sanhoi* a famous Idol-Priest, a Learned Philosopher, Orator, Poet, and well skilled in others Sects also. When they were set, this Priest and the Father together, the Priest began shewing his desire to conferre of Religion. *Ricius* first asked what he thought of the first beginning of Heauen and Earth, and the Creatour of things whom we call the *Lord of Heauen*. I deny not, sayd he, that there is such an one, but he hath no Majesty nor Deity, but I am equall to him, and so are all others. Canst thou (saith *Ricius*) make those things which he hath done? he granted. Make then such a Chafing-dish (one stood before him) this, sayd the other, was an vnworthy demand. Thou (sayth he) art an Astronomer, and makest new Sunnes in thy minde when thou reasonest thereof. That, sayth *Ricius*, is but an Image or likenesse which the minde from things seene conceiueth, as in reflexion of a Glasse whereon the Sunne shineth, yet doth not the Glasse create a Sunne. The Hoast for feare of further quarrell parted them. At Dinner the *Chinois* disputed of a Question of *humane nature*, how it came bad (they want Logicke and cannot well distinguish betwixt morall and naturall good, and neuer heard of originall sinne) they discoursed thereof a whole houre: after which *Ricius* repeating what had beene sayd, entred into dispute with *Sanhoi*, who laughed at his and their Reasons and answered all with a Tale of I know not what *Flood*, according to his Sect; but he straitned him with Arguments, so that he and this Disputation grew famous. They conceiue that God and the Creatures are all of one substance, and that God is as a great Soule of the Vniuerse; which opinion from the Idol-sects hath infected the *Learned*. *Ricius* writ a summary of that point, which gaue men good satisfaction, and his Law seemed not so barbarous as they imagined.

Societies of *Learned*.

Conference or disputation twixt an Idol-Priest and *Ricius*.

Oppression. Mines of Gold and Siluer stopped by ancient Kings & forbidden to be opened to preuent robberies.

The Kings Treasure was exhaust by the *Corayan* Warre, whereupon contrary to the Lawes he caused the ancient Mines which were sayd to be stopped, to bee sought, and opened, and imposed new Tributes, that in all Prouinces, Merchandizes should pay two of a hundreth: which had beene tolerable if gathered by Magistrates; but his Eunuches, sent to euery Prouince, without shame or mercie exacted on the people, and raysed a worse combustion then that of *Coray*. So many Impostors, Counterfeits, Theeues were euery-where: if a man dwelt in a good House, they would digge it vp to search for a Myne, to force composition from the owner. Some whole Cities and Prouinces compounded with these Caterpillers to free themselues from their vexations; the money so gotten they gaue the King as taken out of their Mynes. This caused Dearth, and in some, Commotion. The Magistrates petitioned the King against these abuses, but sweetnesse of gaine had not only stopped that eare, but procured grieuous penalties to those which withstood his Catch-poll-Eunuches, which by those punishments grew more insolent. Ours which wintered at *Lincin*, happily escaped these Harpy-clutches, who with their Presents arriuing at *Nanquin* rejoyced to see a Residence so prepared there. These Presents intended for the King, bred such an amazement in the beholders that others were ready to offer force to see them. They still minding to present the King, (the weather now more cleare and peaceable) *Cataneus* went to *Amacao*; where was much rejoycing for these hopes, but soone quenched with sorrow for losse of their ship which tradeth to *Iapon*, men and goods lost, on which ship all their Commerce dependeth. They found themselues therefore vnable to maintayne three Residences: the Iesuites Rector scraped all hee could for that purpose, and added a Watch and Image of the blessed Virgin, and Trigone Glasses, Houre-glasses and other Rarities to their Presents.

Didacus or *Iacobus Pantoia*.

Father *Diego Pantoia* a *Spanish* Priest also accompanyed *Cataneus* to *Nanquin*, and thence went

went with *Ricius* to *Pequin*, with *Sebaſtian* and *Emanuell*. Father *Iohn* was called from *Nancian* to reſide with *Cataneus* at *Nanquin*. They went with an Eunuch then going to *Pequin* with ſix ſhips, who ſhewed them much kindneſſe. In *Zinin* a City of the Prouince of *Sciantum* is a Vice-roy which is as High Admirall ouer all the ſhips, whether they carry prouiſion or other things, which gaue kind entertaynment to *Ricius*, telling him at parting, *Sithai* (that was *Ricius* his *China* name) I alſo deſire to goe to Paradiſe, intimating that all his Heauen was not in earthly honours, but that he minded alſo what the other preached. Preſently with great pompe and ſtate hee followed him to his ſhip and there viſited him with vſuall Rites of Vrbanity and a Preſent, and wondred much at the ſight of thoſe Preſents they carryed for the King. He ſent an Officer alſo to make him a readier way. One *Licius* had made way to this Vice-royes friendſhip, who ſoone after killed himſelfe, hearing that vpon ſome complaint of his Books, the King had commanded him to bee impriſoned and his Books to bee burned; preuenting ſo the ſtudy of his Aduerſaries to put him to ſome ſhamefull death.

Zinin.

High Admirall.

Licius killeth himſelfe.

Amongſt thoſe Eunuches which the King had ſent to oppreſſe the people, was one *Mathan*, which dwelt at *Lincin*, whoſe exactions had rayſed the people and Souldiers into mutiny, which burnt his Palace and killed his Seruants, himſelfe eſcaping diſguiſed, but the Captiue and Slaue of Couetouſneſſe no leſſe then before. Our Eunuch addreſſed himſelfe to him, but could not till the third time be admitted, becauſe his Gifts were not anſwerable to the others appetite. Hee to make way for himſelfe betrayed Ours to this Harpy, they not knowing it, ſaying, that in one of his ſhips were ſtrangers with precious Gifts for the King, which he ſhewed cloſely to his Officers: with theſe he might get the Kings fauour. The Gouernour which in that and the Neighbour Cities had great command was his great friend, of whom *Ricius* asked counſell: he told him that now the Eunuches reigned, and they almoſt only were the Kings Counſellors, nor could the greateſt Magiſtrates withſtand their iniuries. Yet the countenance of this Magiſtrate was a great helpe to him, this being the man whom of all the Gouernours he moſt feared; a man ſo well deſeruing that his Citizens erected to him a Temple, Image, and Inſcription; who now alſo both countenanced *Ricius* what he might, and gaue him the beſt aduice how to carry himſelfe to this Eunuch, and perhaps but for him they had loſt all and themſelues to. This Capon had erected Palaces and Temples, and had built a huge ſhip in which the King himſelfe might haue ſayled; ſo many were the Cels, Chambers, Hals, and other commodious Buildings thereof; the Windowes, Galleries of vndecaying wood carryed with many Meanders, * all ſhining with Verniſh and glittering with Gold. In this ſhip was hee carryed to ours, where *Ricius* met him. He viewed and liked all, and downe on his knees to the Virgins Picture, promiſed to procure her a place in the Palace. *Ricius* modeſtly refuſing his ſeruice for them to the King, ſaying, many Magiſtrates of beſt ranke had vndertaken that kindneſſe: he ſmiled, ſaying, none of them could doe ſo much as he with the King: the King anſweres my Petitions the ſame day, to them or late, or nothing. The Eunuch which brought ours was ſent away, and all the Preſents put a-board his ſhip. Hee carryed the Ieſuites with him to the Towre of *Thienſin*, whither hee went to ſend thence the ſix moneths Tribute to the King: he feaſted them, Comedies, Rope-runners, Tumblers, Vaulters, and Mimicke Ape-men attending the cheare with ſuch diſports as they had neuer ſeene in *Europe*. One caſt three great Kniues into the Ayre one after another, and catched them againe in their ſheathes: another lay on the ground, rayſing his feete ouer his ſhoulders, with which hee toſſed vp and tumbled too and fro an Earthen Pitcher in ſuch ſort, as hardly could bee done with the hands; the like hee did with a Drumme on a Table. A Comedie was acted only with geſtures, of diſguiſed Gyants in glorious habits; one from the Theatre pronouncing all their parts. A Boy danced admirably, and then as it were falling, layd his hands on the ground, and another Boy of Clay came forth, which vſing his hands for feete, imitated all the prankes of the other, and fell to wreſtle with the liuing Boy, as if both had beene aliue.

Mathan a great and baſe Eunuch.

Treacherie.

Great and glorious ſhip.

* Turnings.

Thienſin.

China Players and Feat-workers.

We will leaue you Spectators here, and now bring you forth another Actor, which hauing in little while trauelled much, and learned more of his Fellowes: ſuddenly ſent into Europe *theſe Relations not vnworthy your view: which I haue therefore examined with the Originall* Spaniſh, *and the* Latine *Tranſlation, and cut off ſome ſuperfluities to giue you more full content and to preuent Repetitions; the rather becauſe hee deſcendeth to many particularities which* Ricius *looking higher and knowing more, hath omitted.*

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CHAP. VI.

* This Booke I haue both in *Spanish* printed 1606. in *Valencia*: and in *Latine* at *Ment* 1607.

A Letter of Father DIEGO DE PANTOIA, * *one of the Company of* IESVS, *to Father* LVYS DE GVZMAN, *Prouinciall in the Prouince of* Toledo; *written in* Paquin, *which is the Court of the King of* China, *the ninth of March, the yeere* 1602.

§. IIII.

Difficulties of entring China, *their dwelling at* Nanquin, *going from thence to* Paquin, *with Presents for the King, troubles in the way by an Eunuch.*

RIght Reuerend Father in Christ, the peace of Christ bee with you. I thinke I doe not satisfie the dutie which I owe vnto your Worship, for the loue which you haue alway shewed vnto mee, and the Obligation wherein I am bound to so many most dearely beloued Fathers and Brethren of this Prouince, if being as I am in this great Kingdome of *China*, procuring the good of these Pagans, (whereunto it pleased our Lord to choose mee) I should not giue you some briefe Relation of the things that concerne this our new Mission, and of some things also concerning the greatnesse of this Kindome, the Customes, Gouernment and Policy thereof.

Colledge of Iesuits.

Being come, as heretofore I wrote to your Worship, to *Macao* a City of the *Portugals*, adioyning to the firme Land of *China*, where there is a Colledge of our Company: and there attending till the Persecution, Tumults, and Warres of *Iapon*, would permit ten or twelue Fathers of vs to passe thither, which stayed expecting fit oportunitie: when we were readie to depart, within few monethes, it pleased our God to change my Lot, and Enterprize which I had before myne eyes, and to send mee to enter into *China*, whereinto I entred in the end of the yeare of our Lord 1599. There were in this Mission at this time, only fiue Fathers diuided into three Houses. For though it be twentie yeeres since they first began to enter, yet the entrance of Strangers is so hard and so straitly forbidden, and their state and perseuerance is so difficult, that in all this time there neuer passed aboue fiue or sixe Fathers, and those which succeeded since, though by little and little, did discouer the Countrey; But their entrance was by stealth and secretly. Considering that all passages were shut vp, and that in all *China* there was no man that could or durst presume to giue licence to preach the Gospell; we alwayes sought to get some accesse vnto the King, either by way of Embassage, or by way of Present, and Gifts, and to seeke to obtayne this in part, or in the whole, to this end and purpose.

Entrance into *China* difficult.

Meanes sought to enter *China*.

Embassage. Present.

The Fathers alwayes sought to obtayne some Ambassage of the Pope, or of the Catholike King. But perceiuing they could not obtayne this, they procured it by way of giuing a Present, not so much of precious things, for they had none of that kind, as of strange things neuer seene before in *China*. And hauing procured this for many yeares space, without hauing any meanes to obtayne it; the Diuine Prouidence ordayned one in the yeare of our Lord 1590. which was this: The Fathers being in *Xaucheo*, (a Residencie of the Prouince of *Canton*) there passed that way a great *Mandarin*, called by the King, to giue him an Office in the Court, which among vs is like vnto a President of one of the chiefest Councels, which had known the Fathers long time; and now seeing themselues with him, and signifying vnto him the desire which they had to goe to *Paquin*, to giue a Present to the King, and that if hee would doe them the courtesie to carrie them along with him vnder his shadow and protection, they would alwayes remayne thankefull, and exceedingly bound to serue him. After this and other motiues which they presented vnto him, did that follow which wrought most effect, which was a good Present, with hope of other things afterward, whereupon he shewed himselfe very tractable to grant their request, and to take them with him to *Paquin*.

Being glad of this resolution, they prepared themselues for the Voyage, and tooke the things which they desired to giue the King, which hereafter I will mention. It pleased God to bring them to *Paquin*, in the company of so great a *Mandarin*, without the hinderance of any bodie. Being come to *Paquin* they began secretly to negotiate their businesse: becausse they durst not, neither was the *Mandarin* that brought them willing that they should shew themselues abroad. But though they attempted all possible meanes, neither with gifts, nor any thing else, there was not any man that would meddle with this businesse, becausse it was a matter that concerned Strangers, considering what might hereof happen vnto them. After they had spent certayne

moneths,

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moneths, and saw they profited nothing, and fearing some innouation, they determined to returne to their Residencies from whence they came.

Hauing returned three hundred leagues, they came to the great Citie of *Nanquin*, which was the ancient Seat and Court of the Kings of *China*: and now (though the King reside not there) yet is it the most noble, great, strong, and beautifull of all this whole Kingdome, and retayneth her being the Royall Court, with all the same Offices which the Citie hath where the King resideth. They desired greatly to get an entrance into this City, because, as I haue said, it is a famous place, and hath such store of graue persons in it, thereby to make themselues knowne, and here to procure with more facilitie an entrance or accesse vnto the King. But it seemed a thing impossible, because it is a City straitly guarded, especially for Strangers, for whose guard and Watch it hath ordinarily aboue one hundred thousand Souldiers. And if they went about to get licence, it seemed impossible to obtayne the same of so many great *Mandarins*, as gouerned the same. But our Lord (to whom euery thing is alike possible) vouchsafed to comfort the Fathers for their trauell and small fruit which they had reaped of their journey to *Paquin*: and by the counsell of some friends which they had there, and with the protection of the *Mandarin* had carryed them to *Paquin*, which at that season came vnto this City, they dwelt in *Nanquin*, without the contradiction of any *Mandarin*, although all of them knew thereof: howbeit, as a very great man said, which afterward became our great friend, hee was readie to send to apprehend the Fathers, vntill hee vnderstood that they were peaceable people, which had long time abode in *China*.

100000. Garrison Souldiers in *Nanquin*. *Ricius* saith 40000. perhaps the other 60000. are for the Countrey adioyning, or for the Nauie and Sea-guard: or *Ricius* might speake of the ordinary at other peaceable times, *Pantoja* of this troublesome time while the *Iaponian* warre continued.

After they were purposed to remayne there, there was another difficulty to get leaue to dwell and haue an House within the wals. But the Diuine Prouidence gaue them a very sweet and easie meane for all this, as here I will declare. The *Mandarins* liue in this City in houses which are not their owne, but belonging to the Offices which they beare: and when one hath ended his Office, hee that succeedeth him, succeedeth him in his Houses, which are all builded at the Kings cost. At this time a great *Mandarin* had builded one of these, wherein by his Office hee was to dwell: But when he had finished it, it pleased God, that he enjoyed it not: and hee sent many Deuils to enter into it, as they did in deed, which with fearefull shapes did terrifie those which dwelt in it, especially by night: and this continued so long a time, that all men left it, and none would dwell in it. As Father *Matthew Riccio* (who was the party which negotiated this businesse, as the Procurator of all this Mission) went about to seeke to buy an House, by way of iest they asked him, whether he would buy an house full of Deuils? The Father answered, that hee tooke it not for a iest, but that if the house liked him, hee would not vary for that; for he serued a God whom the Deuils feared and dreaded, and that trusting in his helpe he was nothing at all afraid of them, but that they did rather much feare him, because he was the Seruant of such a Lord. They went to see the House, which presently liked him: and as they sold it good cheape because of the bad report that it had, in two words they agreed together; and the *Mandarin* that sold it was so glad, that he gaue vs Patents to possesse it perpetually in *China*; a thing which in no place could be obtayned of any other *Mandarin*. Forth-with they went to it, and at their comming in they blessed it according to the Rite of the Holy Mother Church; and by the grace of God there was neuer dreame of any euill thing that troubled the same. All men looked what would become of this, and what successe they should haue with the Deuils. And when they saw the great quietnesse, without any shew of Spirits, they were greatly astonied, saying, that without doubt this was a great God, and that hee sought to dwell in that House, and that therefore he had commanded the Deuils to dwell there, and not to suffer others to enter therein; and that when he came they went their way.

Mandarins houses are publike. House possessed.

Iesuits Patent for *China* habitation.

Fame of Iesuits sanctitie.

To this so good beginning the progresse from thence forward was answerable: for the graue *Mandarins* vnderstanding, together with the fame that they were Learned men, that they had many Bookes, that they were men of a good life, and that they had some things of their Countrey, which were neuer seene in *China* (as certayne Clocks with Wheeles, and Images in Oyle, and other pretie things) all of them setting feare apart, and other respects, came to visit the Fathers in great estate, because they were the greatest *Mandarines* of all *China*, but with much humanitie, respect and courtesie, with Presents of things to eate, and Banquets as they vse with their equals. They were so well pleased with all that they saw and heard, that all of them became their great Friends and Patrones: and gaue so good report of them, that all men sought to doe the like: and for continuance of their amity they came oftentimes to visit them, and oftentimes inuited them to their Palaces: and with this fame and honour of the graueſt sort of people, all the rest of the inferiour and baser sort vsed them with much reuerence, no man daring to doe, or say vnto them any discourteous thing.

Fame of their Learning.

Watches admired.

Their credit & good vsage.

This was the state of things when it pleased God to choose me for this Mission, and when I entred into it we had three Residences, one in the Prouince of *Canton*, another in the Prouince of *Quianci*, which is somewhat more within the Land, another in the Citie of *Nanquin*, which is in the midst of the Kingdome, and three hundred leagues from *Macao*. I entred secretly, as all the rest did (I say without particular Licence of any *Mandarin*.) But my secrecie continued

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Three Iesuits.

but a while, as hereafter I will declare. I came at the first, without staying in any other House, to *Nanquin*, where three Fathers of vs were foure moneths; Father *Matthew Riccio* our Superiour, Father *Lazarus Catanio*, and my selfe, and a Brother a *Chinois*, one of the two which are receiued into this Mission, and euery thing goeth well. But as in matter of strangers the *Chinois* are exceeding scrupulous, more then your Worship can beleeue, so there were many which spake of our abiding in *Nanquin*, considering that now wee had three Houses in *China*. Wee beganne with much more earnestnesse to procure another better foundation, and to returne to *Paquin* more openly, and seeke accesse vnto the King. And because in *Nanquin* there bee *Mandarines* to whom this belongeth, and some of them were our Friends, wee beganne to speake of this point.

Leaue for *Paquin* granted.

But it was not needfull to spend many words; for straight way we met with a *Mandarin*, to whom by right this matter appertayned, who frankly and freely offered vs Patents, Dispatches, and whatsoeuer was needfull to accomplish this businesse.

The Riuer of *Nanquin* ouerfrozen all the Winter.

The promises of this *Mandarin* were not vaine: for when the time came that the Riuer was vnfrozen, (which all the Winter is frozen ouer) and Barkes began to goe for *Paquin*, he performed his word faithfully, giuing vs Patents and Passe-ports needfull for the money; and besides, hee sent vs a Barke of the Kings to carry our Present and our owne things. Beeing glad of these good newes and dispatch, we consulted how we should deale in certayne things which offered themselues in this businesse, and who should goe: There was no question but Father *Matthew Riccio* should be one, but who should be his companion: for whom they choose me, and the Brother. We set our things in order, particularly those which were of the Kings Present; *Which were two Clockes with Wheeles, one great one of Iron, in a very great Case made faire with a thousand ingraued workes, full of gilded Dragons, which are the Armes and Ensignes of this King, as the Eagle is the Emperours: another little Clocke very faire, aboue an handfull high, all of golden Metall, of the best Worke which is made in our Countrey, which our Father Generall had sent vs for this purpose; which was set in a gilded Case, as the other was: and in both of them in stead of our Letters were grauen the Letters of* China, *and an hand that came forth did point at them. Besides these there were three Images in Oyle, two great ones of an Ell high, and one little one. The greatest was the figures and portrature of* Our Lady of the Poplar, *of Saint* Lucar: *The second was of our* Lady *with the Babe* Iesus, *and Saint* Iohn: *the third, was a Picture of* Christ, *which was the least; all of them were of excellent Worke. Besides this, there were certayne Looking-glasses; two Triangle-glasses (which though among vs they be of no account, yet are they esteemed here among them) adorned with Chaines of Siluer, and set in an excellent Case of* Iapon, *which was of twentie times more value then the Glasses, to them that know what Glasses are. A Booke of* The Theatre of the World, *and a Breuiarie exceeding fairely bound, with an inscription, That that was the* Doctrine of the True God, *whose Images they did present him withall. A very faire* Monocord, because it is an Instrument whereat the *Chinois* doe wonder much, and other pretie things of lesse importance.

The particulars of the Kings Present.

Gilded Dragons or Serpents (so *Cruz* calls them) the Kings Armes. *Pinto* saith a Lion, perhaps his coniecture for the frequencie mentioned also by *Polo, sup. p. 89. &c.* or perhaps this might then be, and Serpents since, the Royall Ensigne. Besides a Lion is the Armes of *Canton* Prouince, and perhaps of some others which might be mistaken for the Kings Armes.

All which things beeing set in order, and imbarqued, we tooke our leaue of the Christians of *Nanquin*, (which at our departure came to our House with a Banquet with great joy) and of the *Mandarins* our friends, which with great sorrow, and shewes of loue tooke their leaues of vs, and sent vs Presents for our Iourney, and many Letters of fauour to the great *Mandarins* of *Paquin*.

They began their iourney from *Nanquin* 1600. the 20. of May, *stilo nouo.*

We departed with this good dispatch from *Nanquin* in the yeare 1600. the twentieth day of May. And knowing not how the King, and the *Mandarins* of *Paquin*, and those of the Kings Court, would take this our Iourney, because wee were Strangers, wee sought to prepare our selues for that which might fall out: in great hope that we should find ayde eyther in all or in part to obtayne our desire, which we had for the establishment of our Company in this Kingdome, and to procure the opening of an entrance thereunto for the preaching of the holy Gospell.

300. leagues as it were one pathway of shipping.

We began to sayle vp a very great Riuer, whereof hereafter I will speake somewhat; and when we had sayled certayne leagues, wee entred into another small Riuer made by hand aboue two hundred leagues, only to carry in Barges the Tribute which the Prouinces of the parts of *Nanquin* pay vnto the King, and other things which these Countries yeeld (which are the best, and most plentifull of all things which are in *China*) because it seemeth impossible to carry it by Land with Millions of people, being in Rice, Wheate, Siluer, and a thousand other things very great: And the Vessels which are employed about this businesse are so many, that without doubt it is no *Hyperbole* to say that from *Nanquin* to *Paquin*, which is three hundred leagues, all the Summer time it seemeth to be a path way of the Kings Barges. We were all aswell *Mandarins* as particular men very well intreated all the way, whither many *Mandarins* came out of the Villages and Cities, desiring to see the Present which wee carried, and our selues; bringing vs many Presents for our Iourney. Hauing trauelled two hundred and thirty leagues in forty dayes, wee came to a very famous place and Mart Towne in *China*, which is in the Prouince of *Xantun*, which is next vnto the Territories of *Paquin*, called *Lincin*. Where, because of the great Trafficke of Vessels and Merchants, which goe and come from the Court, who

Lincin.

pay

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pay to the King a very great tribute, he hath placed one of his chiefeſt Eunuchs, which ſerueth to gather vp his Cuſtomes: which liued there in great eſtate, and much attendaneé. Whenſoeuer he goeth abroad he is alwaies carried in a Chaire, vpon eight mens ſhoulders, which is a very great honour in *China*, with great ſtore of Horſemen before and behind, with certaine Baſons of Copper, which make a great ſound when they bee playd vpon, to ſignifie to the people that he commeth that way, that all may goe out of the way; as the cuſtome is with all the great *Mandarines* in the Cities of their iuriſdiction. Which Eunuch vnderſtanding of vs, and of the things which wee brought for the King, and of many other things which they put in his head that wee brought, to wit, precious ſtones, and others of that kind: hee ſent vs word, that hee knew what we had brought for the King, and that he deſired much to ſee it, and that the ſame day or the next he would come, praying vs that we would make it ready.

Mathan the Kings Eunuch, his pompe.

He came at the appointed time, and hauing ſeene the things which wee brought for the King, and making account of them to be precious, and that the King would greatly delight in them, he ſought meanes to cauſe them to be preſented to the King by all meanes, as things that he had dealt with vs to bring, to pleaſe him, and thereby to obtayne ſome ſute for himſelfe: and beſides this, with deſire and hope that wee would giue him ſome precious ſtones (whereof the *Chinois* are very greedy) he determined wholly to meddle in this buſineſſe. Hee ſent vs a Preſent of things to eate, and a very courteous meſſage, that wee ſhould paſſe in one of his Barges, that ſhortly he would ſend vs to *Paquin*, with Souldiers of his houſe, a Petition made with his owne hand to the king; that we ſhould conſult together, and bethinke our ſelues what we deſired to obtayne of the King, whether it were to bee *Mandarines*, or to haue lands or houſes, or all together, becauſe there ſhould be no difficulty in any thing. The meſſage came with all this courteſie. And we made anſwer with the like, returning him a Preſent for his anſwer with generall words. For though hee came with ſo great offers, yet wee knew that theſe Eunuchs, for the moſt part, are baſe and couetous people.

Eunuchs baſe minded.

It happened at this time that the chiefeſt *Mandarine* of this Citie, which was our great friend was come from *Nanquin*, from whence they had fetched him for that Office. Wee determined that Father *Matthew Riccio* ſhould viſite him with a ſmall Preſent, according to the vſe of the Countrey, to relate vnto him this buſineſſe, and to aske his counſell what wee were beſt to doe. Hee receiued the Father with much courteſie and loue, and kept him two dayes in his houſe: which, after he had heard the whole matter, anſwered, that he was very ſorrie that we had met with this Eunuch, becauſe we could looke for no goodneſſe of his baſeneſſe, couetouſneſſe, and bad meanes of proceeding; and that he could performe nothing that he had promiſed, and that his intent was nothing but couetouſneſſe; that hee would aduiſe vs to take as little as we could of him: but for all this, that wee ſhould not refuſe that which hee offered, but rather to make a vertue of neceſſitie, and to thanke him with a very good continuance for that which hee promiſed, becauſe we were in his power, and he might and would hinder our paſſage, if wee did not ſo, and take away our Preſent from vs, and giue it himſelfe with his owne hand to the King, without making any account of vs, without controlment of any man, becauſe he was not ſubiect to any *Mandarine*.

Not ſubiect to ordinary Magiſtrates.

This ſeemed vnto vs to be very ſound counſell, and a forcible enducement to follow it. So we followed the ſame, and applied our ſelues vnto him in euery thing, anſwering the Eunuch according to his deſire, and paſſed in a Barke of his. He deſired much forthwith to carrie the Kings Preſent to his houſe, ſaying, that he would trimme them to giue them to the King, and this we courteouſly denyed him, ſaying, that we durſt not depart with them till we had deliuered them to the King, neither that it ſeemed reaſonable, that when wee did giue them, another ſhould trimme them; eſpecially, that theſe pieces were not ſuch as had need of more trimming, ſince in themſelues they were ſo precious: with which anſwer hee ſeemed to remayne ſatisfied. At the firſt he made vs great banquets, ſport, and cheere: but as in very deed his purpoſe was nothing but to doe himſelfe good, and to looke for his owne profit, and not for ours, hee beganne quickly to diſcouer himſelfe: for hee ſtayed certaine dayes, looking that wee ſhould giue him ſome precious ſtones, which ſome body had told him that we had brought with vs to pleaſe him, for ſome things that they looked for at his hands: and when he ſaw the dayes were paſſed, within which he thought we would haue giuen him them, he began to be out of hope, and to grow cold in our entertaynment: yet for all this, he came to viſite vs with great pompe at our embarking: and after fifteene dayes he diſpatched vs for our iourney to *Paquin* with men of his owne houſe, and with a Petition to the King, ſignifying vnto him how hee had met vs on, the way, and what our intent was, and what things we brought.

Conceit of gemmes.

He diſmiſſeth them.

Wee were very honourably entertayned in his iourney, and in all the Townes and Cities of his Iuriſdiction whereby we paſſed, he commanded them to giue vs without delay refreſhing of Fleſh-meate, Fiſh, much Fruit, and Wine. Wee trauelled eight dayes, and came to the laſt place of his Iuriſdiction: which is three dayes iourney from the Court of the King. We ſtayed there with company that did waite vpon vs, watching day and night about the Barke with their Centinels and Bells, as they are wont to doe with the great *Mandarines*, and eſpecially becauſe

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there were there things belonging to the King, and the reſt of the ſeruants of the Eunuch went to *Paquin*, to deliuer the Petition to the King, and to know his pleaſure. They deliuered the Petition, and we looked for an anſwer thereof within three or foure dayes, as he had told vs. But God had diſpoſed otherwiſe for the exerciſe of our patience and hope in him: and that was, that the King made no anſwer as we looked for: whereupon he was ſomewhat aſhamed of the great brags that he had made to vs without performance of any thing: and hee and wee were all in ſuſpenſe, when we ſaw the King returned no anſwer, which is wont to bee a token that he liketh not the Petition that is made vnto him.

Silence of deniall.

Fifteene dayes after wee arriued in this place, the Eunuch came thither; to ſend from thence to the King a third part of the tribute which he had gathered. He came accompanied with great ſtore of Veſſels, and that wherein he was, was ſuch, as aſſuredly your Worſhip hath not ſeene the like in all your life. The forme is very much different from ours: for it is like vnto an high Houſe, wholly diuided into chambers and halls very high, full of carued workes round about, with hangings of Silke, of many figures, and round about full of galleries to walke vp and downe without being driuen to enter in. And on the outſide it was all couered ouer with a kind of Oyle like Varniſh, which runneth out of certaine trees, which they make with tempering of all ſorts of colours, (whereof in *Iapon* and here there is great abundance) and the *Portugals* call it *Charan*; it is a very faire, ſhining, and durable thing: and the things that are coloured with it, doe ſhine like Glaſſes, if it be of the fineſt: and beſides, though it be not coſtly, yet it is as faire and fairer, becauſe it is more naturall, and very neate and fine, wherewith they paint diuers figures, trees, and flowers; and if it be of the right, it doth not decay, and loſeth no whit of his luſtre. Herewith was the Barge trimmed without, with diuers figures painted on the hull of the Barge: from the hull vpward the windowes and the walls of the Halls and Chambers was full of carued workes, knots, and carued flowers, ſome gilded, others of diuers colours, agreeable to their natures, which made a very pleaſant ſhew: within it was of the ſame worke with more excellency, and the moſt part was gilded, and the floore of boords was painted with very ſhining Charan or Oyle. It was as long as a good Gallie, little more or leſſe, and ſomewhat broader, but farre higher, and in ſuch ſort, that when wind fayleth they vſe very great Oares after the manner of *China*, which ſerue, and are managed as Fiſhes vſe their tayle to ſwimme. And becauſe they bee of this faſhion they vſe them with much facilitie in euery Veſſell how high ſoeuer it be. This was the faſhion of the Veſſell wherein the Eunuch came with much Muſike of Trumpets, Drummes, and Fifes, and other Inſtruments which I omit for breuities ſake.

Eunuchs pompous Barge.

Glorious Varniſh.

Abundance of all colours in *Iapon* and *China*.

Painted Figures.

Very great Oares and the excellent vſe of them.

Muſike.

When he was come to this place, ſeeing the King ſent no anſwere to his firſt petition, he ſent another to put him in remembrance, and to ſolicite an anſwere to the firſt: wherein hee anſwered nothing to this point, although he anſwered to other things. And though it bee true, that ſometimes the King maketh no anſwer, through forgetfulneſſe and confuſion, becauſe the petitions be infinite which are daily giuen him from all the Kingdome: yet moſt ordinarily when he giueth no anſwer it ſerueth for an anſwer, either that hee will not doe, or liketh not of that ſuit that is made vnto him. And therefore becauſe there came no anſwer, the Eunuch was much grieued that he had meddled in this matter, out of which he could not withdraw his hand becauſe he had giuen a Petition to the King, vntill he had ſeene ſome anſwer of his, fearing ſome damage, or diſpleaſure of the King, that hereof might enſue: and hereupon hee beganne to eſtrange himſelfe from vs, and ſought not to ſee vs, nor to haue to doe with vs, and ſent ſixe men alwaies to ſtay in our Barge, vnder colour to ſerue vs, but in very truth to watch vs day and night.

Manner of petitioning the King.

Eunuch eſtranged.

In this ſuſpence wee continued three moneths in the extreme heate in a Barge, not knowing what would become of vs. At the end thereof newes was brought vs, that the King had ſent to the Eunuch, that he ſhould ſee what things they were (for vntill then he had not written to him but in generall) and ſignifie it vnto him, and if he thought them worthie, he ſhould ſend him a Petition touching that matter. Wee were ſomwhat more ioyfull with this meſſage, which was ſo indeed. And Father *Matthew Riccio* went to the Eunuchs lodging to receiue the Kings anſwer, with ſuch ceremonies and reuerences as they are wont to receiue the meſſages that come from the King. And to put this commandement in execution, he came to our Barge accompanied with many inferiour *Mandarines*, as witneſſes, and in the Kings name hee tooke all theſe things into his hands: which he ſent vnto his houſe. There he fell to reaſon with vs, perſwading vs that wee ſhonld conceale none of the precious things that wee had brought (whereof his minde did ſo greatly runne) becauſe the King would be greatly diſpleaſed, if hee knew that wee had any good things and would not giue them him. Wee told him plainely the truth, putting him in plaine words out of that imagination which we knew he had conceiued. And after many compliments on both parts he returned to his lodging.

They ſtayed three months.

He wrote to the King what things they were which we had brought, looking that he would ſtraight haue ſent for them. But it fell out as it did at the firſt, that he returned no anſwer, and the cauſe thereof ſeemed to be, that they were things that he made none account of. Wee were now the ſecond time in like caſe as wee were at the firſt, not being able to goe backe nor forward:

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ward: for they would not suffer vs to goe to *Paquin*, nor to returne backe. The Eunuch being readie to returne to the Citie of *Lincin*, where we first met him, hauing need of the Barge wherein wee were, commanded vs to bee remoued vnto an house in the Citie, there to stay vntill some message came from the King, either good or bad. We remoued with great pleasure, for the desire that we had to say Masse, whereof wee were depriued many moneths. After we were come on shoare, we set vp our Altar whereon we said Masse euery day, preparing our selues for that which might betide vs. *Lincin.* This was the thirteenth of October.

This Eunuch could not bee diſswaded from that which couetousnesse had perswaded him, to wit, that we had brought some precious thing with vs. And seeing it seemed vnto him that he could not get vs by another way, to giue that which hee desired, and wee had not; hee became shamelesse, and two dayes before his departure, he came with a great companie to our house, as though it had beene to visite vs in friendship, we thinking nothing of any such thing: and when he was come in he began to speake vnto vs, and put vs in great feare, asking vs, how wee durst come so farre into the Kingdome without leaue of the King? and that other Eunuchs had aduertised him from the Court, that wee had many other things, and that wee would not shew them, nor giue them to the King. While he was thus talking and dealing, hee commanded his men to seize vpon all our stuffe, which we had in foure or fiue Hampers, and to lay them all out vpon a banke, which with great celeritie aboue an hundred Officers which came with him performed, and in two words, they vndid and opened all, and with his owne hands he opened as many papers as he found, to seeke that which he desired: and seeing he could finde nothing that hee looked for, he tooke that which hee found, which was an Image of our Ladie, being one of the two small ones which wee had reserued, that which hee left was better without comparison, and very excellent, on which also hee had cast his eye: hee tooke also certaine Glasses, and other small things, of small importance, because there were no better: but that which grieued vs much was, that he tooke from vs a Crosse of very good and great Reliques, and a Case of Reliques likewise, and the Chalice wherein we said Masse, which because it was of Siluer and gilt (which that yeere they had sent vs of Almes from *Maaco*) did please him; and when we prayed him not to touch it, because it was a thing consecrated to God, which the Kings of our Countrey durst not presume to touch, hee made a iest of it; and the more it was told him that hee should not touch it, hee handled it the more with scorne, saying, that though wee told him he might not touch it, yet we saw he held it in his hands without any difficulty or danger. Couetousnesse iniurious. Images. A Crosse and Reliques. A Chalice.

By the intercession of a *Mandarine* that fauoured vs, he gaue vs the Chalice againe; but wee could neuer get the Reliques againe out of his fingers, as wee desired, for of all things else hee would depart with none.

As he and those that ayded him so willingly were searching with much curiositie, and euery one catched what he could, because all things lay tumbled on the ground: at last they met with a Case wherein was a carued Crucifixe, which was mine. He began to looke vpon our Lord *Iesus Christ* being bloudy and wounded, being a very faire and pleasant sight to our eyes and heart, but very strange, foule and offensiue to his sight. He vsed certaine gestures not saying any word, vntill he was astonished, and turned his head, and asked what it was? Wee told him, that that was the true God which made Heauen and Earth, whom all the World ought to worship, who died for our sinnes, and to giue vs life, and afterward rose againe by his owne power, and ascended into Heauen. He would not heare many reasons; for it seemed vnto him that we were deceiued in worshipping a God that in his eyes was dead: againe, he looked wistly vpon it; and the finall conclusion that hee made was, that that which hee suspected was true, that wee were very lewde fellowes, because wee had the shape of a man misused with so great inhumanitie, nayled on a Crosse, and all besprinkled with blood, as that was, and that it was nothing else but some witchcraft to kill the King; And though in this second point hee was deceiued; yet in the first he had great reason, though hee knew not wherefore, since our sinnes and euill deeds made *Christ* to be vsed on that sort. A Crucifixe. Suspicion.

That which the Eunuch said in our house, he vttered also abroad: in so much that certaine graue *Mandarines* which fauoured vs, retired themselues from vs, and sent vs word, that from henceforth wee should leaue that crucifixed man, and that seeing now wee remayned in *China*, we should wholly conforme our selues vnto them, for as long as we kept it they durst not speake in fauour of vs, because the report went that it was a deuice to kill the King. But our *China* Boy which was a *Christian* before he brought vs the message, answered before the *Mandarine*, saying, That this was the true God: wherefore not onely wee, but himselfe that was a *Chinois* would rather die then denye him one jot: whereat the *Mandarine* was amazed, seeing him speake resolutely of dying; a thing so much abhorred of the *Chinois*, euen to speake of it: and so he sent vs a moderate message, bidding vs to hide that Figure, that no bodie should see it, for the report that went of it. The Eunuch gaue out many threatnings against vs, saying, that whether the King receiued the Present, or not, the least displeasure that hee would doe vs was, to thrust vs out of the Kingdome, as wicked fellowes, writing a Petition to the King against vs. Besides this we remayned thrust into an exceeding bad and naughty house in the greatest force Dying dreadfull.

of

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The force of Winter.

This was till the beginning of Ianuarie, 1601.

of the Winter, alwaies with many Souldiers within and without doores, the gates being shut with hanging Lockes, without suffering our Boy to goe forth to buy any thing, without two Souldiers to goe with him. In which kinde of liuing (though still with some remission of the rigour that we were kept in at the first) wee continued aboue two moneths and an halfe without any kinde of comfort or rest at any time of the day to say Masse.

At the end of which time, the Eunuch returned to the same place. Wee verily thought that our comming out of that place should not be such as it was, at the least we thought we should be thrust into a perpetuall Trunke or Prison, or in some worse place, as the fame went, and the good will which the Eunuch shewed vs.

§. II.

The King sends for them, is delighted with their Clockes and Pictures; they are shut vp, after take a house, are admired for learning; Christianitie of China.

The King sends for them

AS the cause of our trouble was the Kings not dispatching of our businesse, and our conceiuing that hee misliked of our comming, so all was ended by his remembring by chance to aske where the strangers were, which certaine moneths past they had told him had brought him certaine Images, and certaine small Bells which strike of themselues (for so they call Clocks) and wherefore they brought him not those things, and that they should fetch them quickly; and he gaue the charge of dispatching our businesse to a great *Mandarin* of *Paquin*, to whom it belongeth to deale with Strangers.

Their iourney

They came to *Paqnin*, in 4. dayes trauell.

These newes were brought to the Eunuch and vs, who for the executing of the Kings commandement (whose Letter they obey without reply) sent vs word that wee must goe to *Paquin*, because the King sent for vs, and sent vs eft-soones all the Pieces which hee had in his possession, and the most part of those things which he had taken from vs, that wee our selues should put them in order, that they should receiue no hurt by the way, and gaue vs many men to carrie all our stuffe on their shoulders, and Horses for all our companie, and a *Mandarin* to accompanie vs. Wee were lodged all the way in the Palaces of the *Mandarins* very honourably. Hauing trauelled foure dayes, we came to the walls of *Paquin*, and they lodged vs in an house without the walls. And because the King had referred the businesse to the *Mandarin*, which I spoke of, the Eunuch feared that hee should lose the thankes, which he thought to receiue of the King for that present, if another *Mandarin* should meddle with it. That day hee caused all things to be made readie of the Petition and remembrance, which therewithall he was to giue vnto the King, and earely in the morning with other things and much Siluer of the reuenues which he presented, being all guarded with many Horse-men and Foot-men, hee carryed it to the Kings Palaces.

The present is deliuered to the King.

Clockes and Pictures admired.

Who hauing the memoriall deliuered vnto him, commanded his men to receiue all things. They receiued the same: and when hee had seene all those strange things, the like whereof, or of so great excellencie, he had neuer seene before; they say that he rejoyced greatly, considering and viewing all things a very long while, with great shew of admiration, especially of the Pictures and Clockes. Hee commanded them to bring vs to his Palaces, and to enquire of vs what kinde of thing those Clockes were, and what thing was needfull, for to haue them to goe well. Wee answered to the point. And from the place where we were on horseback, by poste on two Horses which we mounted, and with the like speed we came to the Court. At the same of our comming, and for to see vs an infinite multitude of people assembled, (because Strangers are no ordinarie thing in *China*:) and when wee came to the Court, those which had the charge of vs, were enforced to make roome with staues. When we were come to a certayne place, a great Eunuch accompanied with aboue two hundred small ones, came downe to demand of vs what the King commanded him, and to see how wee did handle those Clockes: They saw how we vsed them; but wee answered to the question, that it was needfull to appoint some bodie of good capacitie to learne, which in two or three dayes would learne how to vse them.

They are sent for to the Court.

Eunuches are taught to vse the Clockes.

When they had returned the answer, the King appointed foure Eunuches of his principall Mathematicians, to learne it, and command them to receiue vs in the meane while in his house within his owne Palace. They receiued vs with much respect and good entertaynment. A great multitude of Eunuches came to see vs, and euery one to enquire what came in his minde. But the King, which all those dayes was occupied in rejoycing for those new things, commanded the Images to bee placed in a principall Hall, whether, as the Eunuches told vs, the chiefe Queene went to doe them reuerence: and they told vs of the King, that hee durst not keepe them neere him, being afrayd, because they seemed vnto him to bee aliue. Often times he sent Eunuches vnto vs, to enquire diuers things concerning our Countrey, whether it had any King, what manner of Apparell he wore, and what kinde of Hat? (for in *China* they make great difference of

The Pictures.

The King of *China* his questions.

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the apparell of the King, from the foot to the head, and of other men) and if wee had any Picture of him that we ſhould ſhew it. We had a picture wherein was the Pope with his triple Crowne, and the Emperour, and the King with their Enſignes, kneeling before the name of God, and we gaue them it for a ſhow, declaring that thoſe were three kinde of Kings, and that all of them did worſhip the true God, which made Heauen and Earth, whoſe Image we had giuen him. They carryed it vnto him, and becauſe it ſeemed to bee ſmall, he commanded them to draw another greater, in colours by it. Three kindes of Kings.

Afterward hee ſent another to demand queſtions of the things of our Countrey, particularly of the Kings Houſes. Wee had a Map of the *Eſcuriall*, newly cut in Copper, and a picture of the Place of Saint *Marke* in *Venice*, both which wee gaue them. Though we ſuſpect that they deliuered but the ſecond, ſaying, that they durſt not giue the other, becauſe ſtraight in haſte hee would command them to paint them great, and there was none that durſt take it vpon him, though wee know not whither they deliuered it afterward. Hee willed them further to enquire; after what manner wee buryed our Kings: becauſe in the matter of Burials and Sepulchers, the *Chinois* are great South-ſayers, and put a great part of their felicitie in a good manner and place of their Burials. At that time wee receiued a Map of the Death of his Majeſtie, (who liueth with God in glorie) and of the manner of his Funerall, and ſo we anſwered him, as it was in the Map, to wit, that they made him a Coffin within of Lead (which continueth long) and without of excellent Wood, and put theſe coffins in a Sepulcher of ſtone, and for this purpoſe, there was a Church builded of purpoſe. They enquired many things of vs of this kinde theſe few dayes, where vnto wee anſwered, aduancing the things that belonged to the ſeruice of our Lord God, as much as we might, and concerned our *Europe*, as farre as the truth would permit vs, becauſe that we deemed it to bee conuenient for the ſeruice of our Lord. They told the King ſo many things, that it ſeemed hee greatly deſired to ſee vs: But on the other part, he thought it would bee too great a courteſie, and much beyond his cuſtome, who neuer ſuffereth himſelfe to be ſeene of his owne people, but of his Eunuchs, and Wiues that ſerue him, and ſomtime very ſeldome of ſome one of the greateſt *Mandarins*: yet, though he would not ſuffer himſelfe altogether to bee ouercome of this temptation, yet he ſuffered himſelfe in part, and hee ſent to take our Pictures: which two Painters did, each of them by themſelues as well as they could. Yet in truth I neither knew my ſelfe nor my companion in that picture, but as it was they carryed it away. It was not after ſuch figure and manner, as your Worſhip hath knowne mee, but with a Beard an handfull long, and a garment of a Learned honourable *Chinois*, though downe to the foote, and very modeſt: but from the head to the foot farre differing from our faſhion. The E*ſcuriall* Saint *Markes*. Sepulchers. Death of King *Philip* the 2. The King neuer ſuffereth himſelfe to be ſeene of the common people. Bad Picture-drawers.

After the Eunuches had beene inſtructed three dayes, the King in haſte ſent for the Clockes, which they carryed, and ſet in order before him; whereat hee tooke ſuch pleaſure, that he increaſed their Dignitie, aduancing thoſe foure which had learned this skill, to a greater place of their Order. The King asked them many queſtions of vs, what wee did eate, and how much, and many other trifles. Whereunto the Eunuches anſwered (as they told vs afterward) as wee could deſire. Eunuches preferred.

They gaue vs all the welcomes of humanitie which the King did ſhew vs, appointing vs all to bee *Mandarins* (which is the reward and felicitie of the *Chinois*) which wee alwayes refuſed, ſaying, that we came not for that purpoſe, but onely to dilate the Law of God, neither could wee take that office vpon vs: But we were ſo neere to bee made *Mandarins*, that they told vs the King would beſtow Dignitie vpon vs, that wee were enforced to beſeech the Eunuches, that when occaſion was offered, that his Majeſtie did aske them any thing, they would tell him plainely that we ſought no kinde of Dignitie, nor could become *Mandarins*: who told him ſo much; whereby our Lord God deliuered vs out of much trouble, which wee ſhould haue endured in refuſing the ſame, if the King had beſtowed it vpon vs. Wee continued in theſe demands, queſtions and anſwers, goings and commings to the Kings Court: for now we had liued a whole moneth abroad: in which time euery day I at leaſt was there, when wee could not goe both, becauſe Father *Matthew Riccio* was occupied with other Gheſts and viſitations. They enquired and asked vs, what we would demand of the King? Wee told them, that we ſought no profit at all; but if the King would giue vs vnder his hand, ſome certayne place and a Houſe to dwell in, we would bee very glad; becauſe wee had none other intent, but to ſtay in ſome certayne place, and to ſeeke to dilate the Law of God. For though it bee true, that our purpoſe did ſtretch it ſelfe further (as I haue ſayd in the beginnning) yet wee found things in ſo different a diſpoſition from that which we imagined, that it ſeemed an exceeding great errour, to make any motion to giue an entrance for more companie and Fathers: for it was certayne that we ſhould doe no good, nor ſhould finde any, which by any meanes durſt preſume to mooue it to the King, and aſſuredly ſhould loſe all that we had done, and at laſt ſhould caſt our ſelues wholly out of the Kingdome: and therefore it was not conuenient that we ſhould bee knowne, that we had any companions. And many of our friends gaue vs counſell, that wee ſhould not ſeeme to ſeeke to dwell heere; for in that very point, they would haue vs in ſuſpition. Yet neuertheleſſe, we went as farre as we could, and as we thought might bee brought to paſſe, which *Ieſuites* offered to be *Mandarins*. A Moneth.

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was, that we might haue the Kings licenſe, that no *Mandarin* might (if hee would) caſt vs out.

Mandarin offended.

The *Mandarin*, to whom the King at the firſt had referred our buſineſſe, ſeeing the Eunuch had wholly medled in the ſame without him, being much offended therewith, did frowne altogether vpon vs, and made a warrant out, to take vs whereſoeuer they found vs, vttering certayne grieuous words againſt vs, becauſe that being Strangers, and remayning in the Court, wee preſented not our ſelues vnto him, to whom of right belonged all the buſineſſe of Strangers. They were at the lodging where wee lay, and they ſhut vp our Boyes; for they neuer durſt offer any diſcourteſie to Father *Matthew Riccio*, (which at that time was there.) At that time I was at the Kings Court, whither they ſought to ſend me word to ſpeake with the Eunuches, and that they, if they could, ſhould aduertiſe the King thereof, that they had apprehended vs. But they hindred with exceeding great care and diligence the going foorth of any bodie, and they ſtayed for me till I came home, (which came home thinking no harme at all) and when I was come in, they ſhut the doore without.

They are ſhut vp ſome three moneths.

Wee rode the next day very honourably on Horſebacke to the audience of the *Mandarin*, and ſignified vnto him, that in that we did not preſent our ſelues, was not our fault; hee vſed vs well, and honourably; but they put vs in an houſe with a Guard, where wee continued ſome three moneths, yet ſo that certayne *Mandarins* came to ſee vs. This *Mandarin* gaue the King a remembrance that hee held vs there: *But that as our purpoſe was good to ſerue him with that preſent, it was reaſon to giue vs ſome reward, ſetting downe that it would doe well to giue vs the Enſignes of the* Mandarins, *and to pay vs for that which wee had giuen him Royally; but that it was fit to ſend vs away ſpeedily into our Countrey, or to* Canton *(where vntill then wee had dwelt:) for it ſeemed not well, that Strangers ſhould dwell and that in the Kings Court, entring into the Palace of the King euerie day, being a thing ſo vnuſuall.* And in very deed hee had reaſon: for to ſuffer vs to enter into the Palace, or to ſtay and lye there, they did vs ſuch a fauour, that of long time the King of *China* hath neuer done to any Stranger. Wee feared ſome trouble by this Petition. But our Lord which had giuen vs this bitter morſell, afterwards made it ſweet to vs againe, becauſe the King made none account of it. And albeit diuers times afterward, the ſaid *Mandarin* deliuered foure Petitions concerning this point, hee made as ſmall account of the laſt as of the firſt. And diuers times the Eunuches told vs, that the Kings meaning was of all likelihood, that wee ſhould ſtay heere, *For feare leſt wee ſhould returne into our Countrey, to giue newes and knowledge of his Kingdome*; as they delt with a *Turke*, which hath beene heere aboue fortie yeeres. True it is, that hee anſwered a little, in performing nothing that was in the Petition: But wee tooke it for good ſatisfaction, that hee did not yeeld to that, that we might not loſe the other thing, which was the principall.

Mandarins Petition.

A *Turke* kept there.

When three moneths almoſt were ſpent, ſeeing the buſineſſe would bee prolonged if wee attended the Kings anſwer, and being ſhut vp we could doe nothing, nor negotiate any thing that we intended, nor deale in Gods matters, as we deſired; wee ſought to get out of this place, and to get a licenſe to take a Houſe, and there to ſtay wayting till the King would giue ſome order; and wee handled the matter ſo well, by meanes of certaine *Mandarins* which fauoured vs, and principally by the grace of our Lord, that wee obtained our whole deſire: And we tooke an houſe in the chiefe ſituation of this Citie: all that which they gaue vs at the Kings coſt in that place, which was ſufficient for our ſuſtentation, after wee were gotten out they gaue vs the ſame allowance in like manner.

They hyer an Houſe.

Many *Mandarins* of this Court, heard great fame of vs and of our things: and vnderſtanding that we were come out of that place, began to come in great numbers and concourſe with much honour and reſpect, courteſie and preſents to viſite vs, and to enquire diuers things which they deſired to know. For the fame that went of vs, that wee knew all Countries, and the things and cuſtomes of the World, and the materiall and ſpirituall things of Heauen, was great: and therefore euery one came to enquire that which hee deſired. And though our knowledge be but little, in compariſon of the knowledge which is in our Countrey: yet being compared with theirs of *China*, which knoweth nothing of the world, ſaue their owne Kingdome, which by a common name thy call, *The World*: of God, and of the things of Heauen nothing, and of other things little, it was ſomewhat, and was ſufficient to ſend them home amazed, and alwayes with a deſire to returne.

Viſited by *Mandarins*.

China ignorance of the world.

Vſe of Maps.

They ſaw a very faire and great Map of the world which wee brought with vs, and we ſhewed them how bigge the world was, which they thought to bee ſo little, that they imagined that there was not ſo much more in all the ſame, as their Kingdome: And they looked one vpon another, and ſayd, wee are not ſo great as we imagined, ſeeing heere they ſhew vs, that our Kingdome, compared with the world, is like a grayne of Rice, in compariſon of a great heape. They alſo thought, that there was no other Writing, nor no other Bookes in the world but theirs: and when they ſaw ours, which at the leaſt they ſaw in outward appearance, to bee much better then their owne, they were aſtonied, and put out of their errour, doing vs alwayes more and more honour: and chiefly they were aſtonied, when wee ſhewed vnto them certayne things in the Mathematickes which they knew not, giuing Clockes to certayne perſons, which for this

Ill Coſmographie.

Ignorance mother of arrogance.

Mathematicks

end

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end we made of purpose: and by these and other meanes, and principally by discoursing with them of Morall vertues, (whereof they write, speake, and haue many Bookes) and of Gods matters, there ranne so great a fame, that the greatest *Mandarins* of all this Kingdome (which are the greatest persons next the King) sought to conuerse with vs, and to seeke our friendship: and so many sent vs presents, and others came to visite vs, with great numbers of people: others with much courtesie inuited vs to their houses: so that in foure moneths space, wee had gotten the greatest *Mandarins* of *Pequin* to be our friends, and readie to fauour vs in all things: And he which at this time particularly doth fauour and honour vs, is the *President of that Audience*, which hath the charge of vs, and at the first approoued vs: so that wee remayne Inhabitors of this Citie, with all libertie that wee can desire, to deale with all such as are willing to heare the things that belong to our holy Law, and their saluation. And by this good successe, our Lord hath made vs forget all that is past. And though it bee true, that hitherto wee haue gotten no dispatch, nor resolution of the King, yet wee content our selues in that hee letteth vs stay heere, although he neuer grant vs more. For albeit by this our Iourney, we haue not obtayned all that wee desired, yet we hope that this our firme abode heere, shall tend greatly to the seruice of our Lord, and the good of this Mission.

Ethikes.

Foure months

They bee commonly of good vnderstandings, so that easily they fall into reason, and are capable: they haue not in the gouernment of this Kingdome, any thing that forbiddeth them to follow what Law they list, nor any Law nor Obligation, which is contrarie to our holy Law. They haue none which effectually and with authoritie doth exhort them vnto other Lawes, and with-draw them from the truth. For the *Bonzi* (which are dedicated for this purpose to Idols) are in the common conceit of all men, the most base, contemptible, and worst people in all *China*, whose least care is, to exhort them to any thing more then to giue them somewhat: and thus they doe not onely not exhort them to follow Idols, but also with their bad manner of liuing, perswade them (as wee haue often heard of men of good iudgement) that it is not good to serue them, since their Ministers bee such. And so in this matter of worshipping of Idols, though there be many that worship them, and haue many of them, and vse their Ministers for their Funerals, and other things, yet with very small affection, and deuotion thereunto, we easily make them say that they are naught, and that it is not fit to worship them.

Hopes of Christianitie.

The baseneſſe of the *Bonzi*.

Yet, though these things and others which I omit, doe helpe them with ease to follow the Law of God, the counterpois is great, and commonly it weigheth downe the ballance on that side. For first because the matter of *Strangers* is so odious in *China*, and the dealing with them so suspicious, one sort because they disdayne it, as the Princes, who albeit they now conceiue better of vs, yet to learne of Strangers, and to receiue a Law which is not of their owne meanes, they hardly perswade themselues: others for feare, as the base people.

The second difficultie, and perhaps the greatest, is a naturall obliuion, that all this Nation hath of another life, and of immortalitie, and of saluation or condemnation of the Soule: and not onely an obliuion, but also an auersion from all these things, wherein wee haue likewise found them to differ from all other Nations. And it is a thing to be noted, that since it is a thing so naturall to Man to reuerence some God, either false or true, and to feare or loue him, and to conceiue or imagine what shall follow after this life: Those *Chinois*, (which on the other side are of so good capacities in humane things, and so wittie therein) bee as though they were depriued thereof; for they are almost all *Atheists*, not knowing nor worshipping neither false nor true God, nor neuer thinking what shall follow after this life: And those which a man would thinke are most bound hereunto, which are the Learned men, are they, which haue least knowledge hereof: yea, rather one of the chiefest things that they commend, is, not to beleeue any thing that concerneth another life, Hell, nor Paradise, which they wholly place in this life. The Bookes which they studie from their Child-hood, doe them much hurt, which are of certayne Philosophers aboue two thousand yeeres old, whom they esteeme little lesse, then if they were their God, to whom euery yeere they offer Sacrifices: of whom they hold so great an opinion, that they thinke not that any thing more may bee knowne, then They knew. And oftentimes they haue asked vs, whether wee had not these Bookes in our Countrey? What other Bookes might we haue, that might compare with them? And as these Philosophers, as Gentiles, spake nothing of the other life, but onely of good Gouernment, and Morall vertues, they thought they might attayne so farre, without beleeuing that there could bee another life. By reason hereof, and of the common vices which *Paganisme* draweth with it, which in this Countrey increase exceedingly, by reason of the fatnesse, abundance, and fruitfullnesse thereof, they feele great difficulties to vndergoe the yoke of *Christ*, (though it be so sweet) so contrarie to their appetite, which taketh from them the libertie which they haue, in keeping as many Wiues as they are able, and in a thousand other things.

Indeuotion.

Almost *Atheists*

Bookes of Philosophers, about 2000. yeeres old.

Sacrifices to Philosophers.

These later yeeres in the residencies of *Canton*, *Nanquin*, and heere in *Paquin*, were made some true *Christians*, which ouercame all these difficulties, and goe on forward with great integritie, constancie and feruour. In the Prouince of *Canton*, in a residencie which wee haue in *Xaucheo*, a principall Citie, haue beene Baptised within this two yeeres, about three hundred persons, which

Some *Christians* made there.

according

according to the Letters which euen now wee receiued, doe all continue with great example and zeale. And the *Mandarins* and grauer ſort of people, mooued by the good example which they giue, doe fauour them much : and eſpecially, our Lord hath ſhewed many tokens of his fauour, in hauing ſhewed great plagues vpon ſuch men, as perſecuted them for becomming *Chriſtians*.

Cloſenſſe of Women.

And aboue all, God hath ſhewed his ayde vpon the Women : who, beſides the men, are very hard to bee wonne to receiue our holy Law, which is, the great priuateneſſe which they vſe, becauſe it is not lawfull to ſee them, no not for their kinsfolkes. But as I ſay, herein the grace of our Lord God ſhewed it ſelfe very mightie, ſeeing it ouercame this difficultie, and ſo many of them were Baptiſed, after they had beene very well Catechiſed by the Fathers. On Sundayes and Holy-dayes, becauſe they cannot come to Maſſe with the Men, yet at leaſt in this beginning, they meete in places appointed for that purpoſe, and there they Pray, and reaſon, and intreat of Diuine matters. The men for the exhortations that they make vnto them, haue dayes appointed of themſelues, and with their owne conſent, to conferre and repeate that which they haue told them : which going home they repeate to their Wiues and Daughters.

Some relations of Conuerſions are heere for breuitie omitted.

Euery day ſome bee Conuerted in *Nanquin* : graue and learned men doe enter. Heere in *Paquin* while wee haue beene heere, we haue Baptiſed ſome, and ſome great *Mandarins* come to heare. If our Lord doe helpe them, and ſhed his bloud vpon theſe *Chinois*, (as hee hath done in *Iapon*, and in other places) there will bee ſetled one of the moſt famous and learned foundations of *Chriſtianitie*, that is in all the world. For the greatneſſe of this Kingdome, their Lawes and Gouernment conformable to reaſon, their being ſo ſtudious as they are, and giuen to Learning, and to know ſo much as they know of Morall vertues, and their good capacities gentle, docile, and ingenious, and the great peace and quietneſſe which they enioy, without hauing any bodie to trouble them with warre, promiſe much and giue great hope, that the vantage which they haue ouer other Nations lately diſcouered, in the gifts of Nature (being aſſiſted by the grace of God) will helpe them in Gods matters.

And I aſſure your Worſhip, that if the doore were opened to Preach freely and to Baptiſe, I ſay not that the Fathers and Brethren of our Companie which might bee ſpared, but without any amplification at all, halfe the Religious men of all *Europe*, were needfull to attend ſo many Cities, Townes and places ; and ſo infinite numbers of people as there are : albeit when *Chriſtianitie* is once begun indeed, there is ſuch abundance of graue people and of much eſtimation, that many of them might bee made Prieſts, Preachers, and Biſhops, without feeling any want of thoſe of *Europe* : ſince as now they bee *Gentiles*, and their hope goeth no further then to this life, there be many very great *Mandarins*, whoſe chiefe delight is to diſcourſe of things concerning Vertue, and oftentimes they meete together as it were in Fraternities to treate thereof; And the grauer ſort doe make Orations, and Conferences together, perſwading one another, and deliuering the meanes to gouerne well, and to follow vertue. And without doubt, the more wee ſee of this, and the more zeale in theſe *Chriſtians*, ſo much the more our heart is readie to burſt to ſee them ſo deſtitute, and to haue ſo few meanes to obtayne neceſſarie remedie and helpe.

Multitude of people.

Deſire of Learning and Morall vertue.

Marke this zeale.

§. III.

The deſcription of the Kingdome of China : *of* Catay *and* Musk ; *the diuiſion into Prouinces ; Cities and Townes deſcribed, Riuers, Shipping, Commodities, Diet, and feeding.*

NOw by the helpe of our Lord I will ſay ſomewhat that I remember, touching the Cuſtomes, Policie, and Gouernment of this Kingdome, but not in ſuch order as were requiſite, becauſe I haue no leaſure, and therefore I will onely write as things come vnto my minde, though things bee not lincked well together, becauſe I cannot firſt write one Copie, and afterward diſpoſe it in order, with ſuch diſtinction as were needfull ; reſeruing that (as I ſayd in the beginning) vntill our Lord grant me a better opportunitie.

China foure ſquare. The Deſcription.

This great Kingdome of *China*, is almoſt foure ſquare, as the *Chinois* themſelues deſcribe the ſame : it runneth North and South from the Prouince of *Canton*, which is the moſt Southerly part of it, beginning ſeuenteene or eighteene degrees vnder the burnt Zone, vnto fotrie two degrees, which is the moſt Northerly part of it : it contayneth from *Canton* by water, aboue ſixe hundred leagues : but in a right line it is foure hundred and fiftie, on the Eaſt it confineth with *Corea*, which ioyneth with the ſame, and with *Iapon*, and with the Ocean Sea, by which they come from *Peru*, and *Nueua Eſpana*, to *Manilla* : On the Weſt with certayne ſmall Kingdomes, which lye betweene *Bengala*, the Lands of *Mogor* and *Perſian* ; On the South, with the Iles called *Philippinas*, and the *Malucas*, and others, and more South-weſterly, it hath *Sion*, *Pegu*, and other Kingdomes. On the North part, it hath thoſe people which in our Countries wee commonly

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commonly call *Tartars*, with whom they haue alwayes had Warre, and once they wanne all the Kingdome from the *Chinois*.

For the Readers better satisfaction I haue here presented him Hondius *his Map of* China, *not to shew it, but the erroneous conceits which all* European *Geographers haue had of it: A more complete Map of* China *I shall present after, as by comparison will appeare.*

HONDIVS *his Map of* China.

This Kingdome ſtandeth in an excellent climate and ſituation; for beſides the things which it hath in it ſelfe, it ſtandeth very neere vnto *India*, and other Kingdomes, from whence commeth with great facilitie that which it deſireth and wanteth. And before I paſſe any further, becauſe I haue ſpoken of the ſituation and heigth of *China*, I will note for their ſakes which would bee glad to learne, and alſo it may ſerue to mend two notable errours, which our newest Maps haue. The one is, That they make *China* a third part bigger then it is, placing this Citie of *Paquin* in fifty degrees, being in very deed but in forty onely, as we ſaw, which twice tooke the heigth thereof with a very good Aſtrolabe: And the limits and end of this Kingdome, which are three dayes iourney or leſſe diſtant from this City of *Paquin*, are at the moſt but two degrees more: And ſo thoſe great walls ſo famous in our *Europe* are in two and fotty degrees; and this is the greateſt heigth of the Kingdome of *China*.

Two notable errours of our newest Maps. *Paquin* in 40. degrees.

The Kingdom of *China* goeth not paſt 42. degrees Northward.

The ſecond errour is, that our Maps make a Kingdome aboue *China*, which they call *Catayo*, whereas indeed it is none other but this ſelfe ſame Kingdome of *China*: and the Citie of *Cambalu*, which they put for the head thereof, is this Citie of *Paquin* wherein wee are. Wee finde this here to be true very plainely by occaſion of certaine newes which lately were ſpred ouer diuers parts by the way of *Mogor*, which gaue out many things, and great matters of *Catayo*, which ſeemed to be ſo peculiar and proper to this Kingdome of *China*, that they made vs doubt

China and *Catayo* are all one.

Cambalu and *Paquin* are all one.

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that it was not a seuerall Kingdome. After wee were come to this Citie of *Paquin* wee met with two Cafilas or Carauans, one of *Moores* of certaine small Kingdomes bordering vpon *China*, another of *Turkes* with their Turbants of the Countries of *Mogor*, and of the great *Ismael Sophi*, (for with this very name they call him) and of other parts, which had knowledge by fame of *Spaine, Italie, Venice, India*, and *Portugall*.

Very Merchants.

These *Turkes* and *Moores* are wont to come hither euery fiue yeeres by Land, in the name of their King, to acknowledge and pay Tribute to the King of *China*: for which purpose they counterfeit certaine Letters, wherewith they easily deceiue the *Chinois*, which thinke and hold that all the Kings of the World doe acknowledge obedience vnto theirs. But the trueth is, that they come to vse their trafficke and merchandise, and therefore the *Chinois* admit them willingly: howbeit many now doe know, that their paying of Tribute is a fayned thing: In which their trafficke they speed very well. For the King doth maintayne them very plentifully from the time that they come into his Kingdome, vntill their departure; and they tooke all their Chists of them, whereof this yeere they brought a thousand. The King tooke of them at an easie price a great part of the merchandise which they brought; and afterward hee gaue them rewards. The thing of greatest bulke of merchandise are a kinde of stones, which themselues call Iasper stones; which is white, yet somewhat duskish, so that it enclineth to grey (which seemeth to bee that Iasper which so often times in the holy Scriptures is called Precious stone.) It commeth in pieces vnhewen, but whole like peeble stones; which stone for many ornaments the *Chinois* esteeme much; especially the King: and they buy euery pound of the best at eightie Duckets: and of that which is worse, at fiftie or sixtie Duckets, whereby they gaine greatly. I haue seene these stones of other colours in our Countrey, but not of this which the *Chinois* esteeme.

It is so in *Moscouie.*

Iasper stone a great merchandise.

When these men come to this Citie of *Paquin*, they put them into a great house, which there is for this purpose; (wherein wee were two moneths) and suffer them not to come forth. Wee asked these men certaine questions: and one was this of *Catayo*, enquiring of them, How they called this Kingdome of *China* in their Countrey? They answered, *Catayo*, and that in all the Countries of *Mogor, Persia*, and other parts, it had none other name, and that they knew none other Kingdome that was called so. Wee asked them how they called this Citie of *Paquin*? They said *Cambalu*, which, as I haue said, is that which our men set downe for the head Citie of *Catayo*. Whereby it appeareth, that there can no doubt bee made, but that wee are heere resident in the Countrey which must bee *Catayo*, if there were no fault in the Maps; and wee know that there is no such Countrey, nor Cities, but a few contemptible *Moores* and *Gentiles*.

Wee vnderstood also of their x Ciuet or Muske, whereof they brought some, which is, as it y were the maw (or stomacke) of a Beast somewhat bigger then a Cat, which they kill to cut away this maw. They breed wilde in the field, and in a Countrey very neere to *China*, though not of this Kingdome. I had read when I departed out of *Spaine*, a Booke which is printed of the things of *China*, which writeth of this Ciuet, and of other things, which I haue seene with mine eyes: it reporteth many errours by halfe informations, which hee which wrote it should haue beene better informed in, although in many things hee tell the trueth. They brought also great store of very good Rhubarbe, which heere wee bought of them of the choice, at ten Marauedis the pound: it is a wilde root like vnto Nauewes, whereof, they say, the fields are full. These men say, That there is a Sea of sand (which our Maps doe place in *Arabia*) neere vnto *China*, which diuideth it from *Mogor*, and other Kingdomes. And this should seeme to bee the cause, why these Kings, which heare great fame of this Kingdome, of the greatnesse thereof, and of the weakenesse of the people, doe not seeke to inuade the same, being not very farre off; because it would bee very difficult to passe ouer the same sandie Sea, with a great Armie.

x *Almizcle Span.* the *Latin* hath Muske.
y *Como buche Span. Latin Stomachum.*
Rhubarb. See before in *Chag. Memet. p.* 164
A Sea of sand.

Diuision.

The *Chinois* diuide this Kingdome into thirteene Prouinces, and two Courts, which are, as it were, two Prouinces. Euery one of them haue their Metropolitane Citie; and euery Citie her diuision of so many Townes. It is knowne very particularly by *Chinish* Bookes which are written of this argument, how many Cities, Townes, and places there are in all the Kingdome, how many houses euery one hath, and commonly what numbers of people, what euery Countrey seuerally yeeldeth, and how much Tribute it payeth to the King, and many other things: but I doe not set it downe here: because I could not get those Bookes these few dayes past, to take a view thereof: At some other time, God granting mee life, I will doe it more at large. Onely I say in generall, that all the way which wee trauelled, wee met with so many Cities, Townes, and Villages, that to beleeue their greatnesse, it was necessarie to see them. For your Worship will hardly beleeue, that wee spent two or three houres in sayling still by the walls of one Citie. After which there still followed many Townes and Villages, one within sight of another. And after this manner all this way continueth, euen to *Paquin*. Yea, the Villages are very great, and full of people, and of much trafficke. For though wee giue them this name (which among vs signifieth some small matter) The *Chinois* doe not distinguish them

Chorographicall Bookes.

China populous

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them by great or ſmall, and ſo their Villages are bigger then others which wee call Townes. Villages as great as Townes.

All the Cities and Townes are very well enclоſed with high walls. And becauſe, as I ſaid, I deferre this vntill another time, I will only ſpeake of *Nanquin*, whereof I had ſome ſight. Walls.

This Citie ſtandeth in two and thirtie degrees and an halfe, eight or ten leagues from the Sea, vnto which it hath a mouth, and a mightie Riuer. It hath three walls of Bricke very high and faire, with very great and beautifull gates, which they ſhut vp very timely before night. This Citie, of old time, two hundred yeeres paſt, was the habitation of the Kings of *China*; and ſo it continueth in very good condition: The ſtreets are very broad, and all paued with very great ſquare ſtones, or ſet with brickes. It hath exceeding long ſtreets of two leagues, and two leagues and an halfe, and in the middeſt of the Citie are the Kings Palaces, which are very great. *Nanquin* in 32. degrees and an halfe. Three walls. Streets long. Palaces.

The *Chinois* declare the circuit of this Citie, that two Horſemen going in the morning both out of the ſame gate, and one going on the one ſide, and the other on the other, going all the day they meet at night in the gate oppoſite to that which they went out at. The very truth is, that it is at leaſt eleuen or twelue leagues in circuit, and ſeemeth to haue aboue two hundred thouſand houſes of people. It ſeemed to all of vs that were there, that *Nanquin* and this Citie of *Paquin*, each of them haue as many people or more, then foure of the moſt famous and populous Cities of all our *Europe*, as *Rome*, *Liſbon*, and others of the greater ſort. For whereas theſe two whereof I ſpeake are in themſelues ſo great Cities, not one nor two ſtreets, but the greater part of the Citie euery day doth ſwarme with people. Circuit. 200000. houſes

There are about this Citie many others within one or two dayes iourney, and very famous for greatneſſe and trafficke; among which there are two, one named *Hancheo*, the other *Sucheo*; and this is very great and like to *Venice*, whoſe ſtreets are halfe water and halfe land. The *Chineis* call theſe Cities * *Paradiſe*, to expreſſe the goodneſſe, abundance, and cheapneſſe of all things that are in this Kingdome, and come from other places. And *Sucheo* is ſo full of people, merchandiſe, and trafficke, that a Booke which is printed (wherein all things are ſet downe which the Prouinces and Cities pay to the King) ſaith, that this only payeth one yeere with another in Siluer, Gold, Rice, and Silke, and other things, wherewith it doth greatly abound, twelue millions: ſo that there be whole Prouinces that amount not to ſo much by a great deale: which though it ſeeme an incredible thing, yet they write it for a certaintie: and hee which knoweth what theſe Cities are, will beleeue it. *Hancheo* and *Sucheo*. *Quinſay, Ciuitas cæli.* Reuenue.

Yet for all this, theſe Cities haue no notable things, neither ſumptuous Temples nor buildings, which are wont to be thoſe things which doe beautifie a Citie: for the houſes are not beautifull outwardly; nor they vſe no great Porches, as they doe in our Countrey. And he that hath ſeene the things of our Countrey, and is skilfull in architecture, ſhal find it here very little. For the houſes are low, and without galleries, lofts, windowes, or ſight into the ſtreet; yet they haue faire yards, and are very neate within, and painted with diuers colours, with that *Charan*, or liquid Gumme, whereof I made mention before. And that which I ſpeake of *Nanquin* touching the abundance of people, trafficke, and manner of houſes, is after the ſame manner in the other Cities which we ſaw. For the *Chinois* are ſo like, and ſo vniforme in all naturall and artificiall things, that he that hath ſeene one of the principall Cities, findeth no new thing to bee ſeene in the others. And albeit that other Cities are not comparable to theſe in bigneſſe, yet in multitude of people proportionally there is little difference. Building not beautifull, compared with *European*. Vniformitie in *China* Cities,

This Kingdome is commonly very fertile of all things that are neceſſarie for the vſe of man: and a great cauſe of the fertilitie and abundance thereof proceedeth of the great number of exceeding great Riuers which it hath; which beſides the profit that the Riuers yeeld by the fiſhing, and beſides the profit in watering of the grounds, wherein they ſtand the *Chinois* in great ſtead, they are occaſion of great trafficke and communication of one Prouince with another with great eaſe by water, which is an enriching to them that vſe it, and of great plentie in euery Citie of all things that are in the Kingdome. From our departure from *Macao*, till within a little of *Paquin*, which is, as I ſaid, ſixe hundred leagues, wee trauelled not paſt one day by Land (becauſe wee would not fetch too great a compaſſe about by water) wee trauelled a great part of this way vnto *Nanquin* by the greateſt Riuer that euer I ſaw in my life: which in ſome parts is aboue three leagues broad, and very deepe: which the *Chinois*, for the greatneſſe thereof doe call, *The little Sea*; and that with good reaſon. For though it were an hundred leagues from the Sea where I entred into it; yet there is great abundance of fiſh of thoſe kindes which breed in the Sea; as Porpoſies, fiſhes with ſharpe beakes, and others which I haue ſeene. Fertilitie. Commodious Riuers. In 600. leagues but one day by land. This is more exactly meaſured by *Ricius*, a more exact and mature obſeruer of all things. *ſup.* §. 5. *cap* 5. Mighty Riuer, perhaps *Quian* mentioned by *Polo*.

I ſaw in this Riuer neere the bankes thereof men fiſh with certaine Fowles as bigge as ſmall Geeſe, like vnto Rauens, with a long beake, and bending downeward like a crooked hooke, which the *Chinois* teach to fiſh: They haue a very long necke, which they binde in ſuch ſort that the fiſhes cannot goe downe into their ſtomacke, but they fill their throat with them, if they be ſmall fiſhes, and when they come out of the water, they make them caſt them out: and if the fiſh bee great, hee fighteth with him, and beateth him with pecking, aſſaulting him with Fiſhing with a kinde of Rauens or Cormorants.

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with his bill, vntill hee driue him vp that the Fisher may see him; which commeth quickly with a small Net like a Wheele vpon a staffe, and hee taketh him vnder the water. And after this sort wee saw this Fowle take Fishes sometimes of a pound, and a pound and halfe weight; and they say they take bigger. And because this fishing is so gainfull and so certaine, they pay a certaine Tribute to the King for euery one of these Rauens (or Cormorants.)

Muddy Riuer. Wee met with another Riuer as great as this, which seemed to bee rather of mudde then water, because the water was alwaies mingled with earth, which whence it should come for so many yeeres, I wot not. They cannot drinke the water without they clarifie it, which they doe with Alume. Besides these two Riuers all the rest is made by hand for vessels to passe to *Paquin*.

Alume vsed in clarifying of water.

Shipping. The Vessels which we saw in all the Cities which we passed, is one of the greatest things that belong to this Kingdome. For in euery Citie there are two sorts of them, one sort of vessels for burden, and another sort for houses. Some of them are very faire, and as fit to dwell in as houses themselues: and many of them also serue for houses for poore people, wherein they haue their whole houshold, and bring vp Hens and Hogs, and gayne their liuing in them. I remember that the same morning that wee entred into *Nanquin* there went 500. Vessels or more before our Barke, to enter at the same houre, with their sayles vp most pleasantly to behold; many of them being laden with diuers things, all for the prouision of that great Citie: and on this manner they continued all day long in going and comming.

Ship-houses.

Multitude of ships.

The Barges of the *Mandarines* (which are all made at the Kings cost) are the most costly, and are most for the sight, and very great. They would much reioyce in our *Europe* to see them: because it seemeth that there is nothing comparable to these in beauty. Most commonly these haue Trumpets, and Drummes, which they play vpon when they passe by the Citie, and when they meet with others, that all may giue them place. They are commonly as long as Gallies, and as broad or more, but very high, so that to get vp into one of them is aboue a fathome high from the water, and therefore they carrie a great burthen.

The excellent beauty of the *Mandarines* Barges.

Tributes in money and in kinde. And because I spake before of those which carrie the Kings Tribute, I will here speake more particularly. Many Prouinces from whence they cannot carrie Rice and other like things with ease to *Paquin*, because they are farre off, pay their Tribute in Siluer: but those Prouinces from whence they may passe by water, pay a great part in Rice. For which occasion all the Cities haue great and strong Vessels made of purpose for this seruice. And when the time of their departure is come, euery Cafila or Companie departeth from their Citie with a *Mandarine* that hath the charge of them.

10000. Vessels at *Nanquin* for Tribute of Victuals, and 1000. for other Tributes: and others many for workes.

And they say that those Vessels which goe from this part of *Nanquin*, in all amount to ten thousand, though they goe not all euery yeere: yet they haue alwaies more for yeeres of greater plenty; and because many cannot returne in time, to goe backe againe the next yeere. I know not certainly how many they be; but this onely I know, that all this way from *Nanquin* to *Paquin*, seemed to be a path-way of these Vessels, whereby wee passed: for they went all along, and because they went so deeply loden, oftentimes they wanted water. To helpe this want of water (for because it is no naturall Riuer it neuer ouerfloweth) it hath floud-gates like Sluces, wherewith it keepeth in all the current three or foure or sixe houres: then opening the same, many doe passe with great ease, and they may goe very well vntill they come to such another place.

Path-way of ships.

Sluces or locks.

Besides these Vessels of victuals, they carrie to the King euery yeere many others, which bring him particular things, and dainties, whereof this Countrey of *Nanquin* yeeldeth great store, and also for the seruice of the Kings house. Some Cafilas or Carauans of these are of pieces of Silke for the Kings house, which may be some dozen of Vessels; others carrie many things to eate: and with one of these Cafilas we passed. They were nine great and faire Vessels, which carried pieces of Silke, and other things which they are wont to burne in the Sacrifices which they make vnto the dead, and before their Idols. They say, that these Vessels for particular things are a thousand: and as soone as they come within the Kings house, the Eunuches take the charge of them. From *Nanquin* vnto the middest of the Kings Palaces, Vessels may passe by this Riuer: to come to the place which they goe vnto, they passe thorow the middest of the Palaces. In all these Riuers, when they want winde, the Mariners draw the Barkes with great facilitie, and sixe or seuen are sufficient easily and merrily to draw one of these Vessels laden.

Silkes and perfumes.

Vessels for workes. Wee met likewise vpon this way a very great number of Vessels which came from farre, laden with Brickes for the Kings workes, and greater store this yeere to build a great piece of an house which fire from Heauen had burned: for this purpose they carried great store of timber for beames, and boords, and other lesser timber which are carried from the parts of *Nanquin* vnto *Paquin*, some an hundred and two hundred paces long, and one log fastened vpon another, so that these rafts grow high and great: they carrie vpon them frames of dwelling houses ready made, wherewith there goeth an inferiour *Mandarine*, which hath the care of it, and sometimes the Mariners goe with all their houshold, and breed of Hogs, Hens and Duckes: for sometimes they

they stay aboue a Summer in going to *Paquin*. These seuen or eight yeeres this prouision of timber, Brickes, and lime, and other things hath continued.

The fertilitie of this Kingdome is great, of all things that seeme to be needfull for the vse of mans life. And if there bee any other Nation which liueth commodiously without needing trafficke with forraine Kingdomes, they are the *Chinois*. And though it bee true that some things come vnto them from forraine Countries, yet are they not the necessary things for the life, and which all men vse. The most that commeth out of forraine parts, and they desire, is Siluer: And that which all men carrie from thence is very much, and very good merchandise: as Silke, Gold, Muske, Porcelanes, pieces of wrought Silke, raw Silke, cloth of Cotton wooll, all kinde of worke in Copper, Iron, and Latten, Quicksiluer, Sugar, Honey, Waxe, Cinnamon, workes made of fine wood, and gilded, as Bedsteads, Ink-horns, Cabinets, and an infinite number of other things, whereof there is so great abundance, that although they send out many ships laden for *Iapon*, *India*, *Manila*, and other parts: yet without doubt they might prouide ten times more: and if more would come to buy, they would alwaies haue the more to sell. All things are very cheape, without all comparison cheaper then in our Countrey. A pound of Sugar is worth eight or ten Marauedis, and sometimes sixe: and if they buy any quantitie at once, an hundred pounds weight are worth nine or ten Rials of Plate: And here at the Court (where all things are dearest) a pound is worth twenty, or foure and twenty Marauedis. There is great store of Waxe and that very good, which wee buy heere in *Paquin* for the seruice of our Altar, a pound for a Riall and a Quartill: and the pounds here are greater then ours; for euery one of them weigh sixteene Duckets of Siluer weight. Honey likewise is very good cheape. Of Copper and Latten there is exceeding great abundance: and Latten made and wrought into any worke that a man would haue, with the fashion and all is worth a Riall and a Quartill the pound. Needles an hundred a quarto, and if they buy many together, better cheape. And I haue set downe for example these small things to know the particular price, and of other things (though they bee not so cheape) after the same proportion. Howbeit those which come from forraine Countries to trafficke with them, had need to be very heedfull: for the *Chinois* lose not opportunities to raise the price of them, when they may.

Siluer in greatest request in *China*.

The great store of merchandise in *China*.

Cheapnesse.

A caution for strange Merchants.

The abundance of things for food is likewise great, to wit, of Oxen, Weathers, Sheepe, Goats, and more then of all others of Hogs, because they are the common food that they liue of, Deere, Hares, which they catch with Hawkes, whereof here and in other parts there are many. And when they are dearest here, one of them is worth foure or sixe Quartos: they be as great as they bee in our Countrey, and they are found at all times. Hens, Geese, Duckes, and sundry sorts of wilde Fowles, and all other flesh is exceeding good cheape. Wee came to a very great Citie, where Beefe, Mutton, Hennes, all was of one price a pound, which was foure Marauedis. And in *Nanquin* (though the Court be there) a pound of Hens flesh was sold for three halfpence, Fishes after the same manner, or better cheape, because it stands vpon the Riuer. And I saw a Fish of ten pound weight sold for a Riall of Plate, and we bought great Trouts at three Marauedis a pound weight. Egges ten, twelue, sixteene, eighteene for one Conduren, which in our Countrey is a penie halfpenie farthing. Fruits are of the like cheapnesse. In our iourney, which was when Abricockes beganne to bee ripe, which are here very good, they gaue vs two hundred for ten Marauedis. They are very much giuen to eate fresh Herbs and Salads, and Pulse. At euery banquet and good feast, there is alwaies Flesh or Fish. There are many Nuts, Chestnuts, Filberds, and Pine-nuts though but few, Figs, though not of our kinde, and yet as good or better, and many. And although they haue all these things, yet euery Prouince and Countrey doth not yeeld them all: but that which one wanteth another supplyeth.

Victuall store and cheape.

Sixe pence.

One halfpeny.

Herbs.

Their common food in stead of Bread is Rice sodden only in water, whereof wee all did feed, although at the first wee had much adoe with it. Commonly they haue euery yeere two Haruests, and in some places three. And the Land hath great Plaines with Riuers to water the grounds: for the fields of Rice doe much desire to be couered with water.

Two and three Haruests in one yeere.

From our entrance into *Canton* vnto this Citie of *Paquin*, wee met with few Hills, and especially from *Nanquin* hither very few. Wee passed by a Plaine aboue an hundred leagues, farther then wee could kenne. I saw likewise much Wheat, whereof they make rolls without leauen, sodden in the reeke or vapour of seething water, and so without crust, good for old folkes that want their teeth. Although that it bee true that the fruitfulnesse of this Countrey is very great, yet without doubt other things, saue Rice would not be sufficient, if the *Chinois* were as great feeders as our people, and did not feed so sparingly as they doe. They all eate commonly thrice a day; once, betimes in the morning; the second time, at two in the afternoone; the third time, very moderatly at night. And besides, the rich *Mandarines*, few others which are of good abilitie, doe commonly eate either Flesh or Fish, but Pulse, Salads, and Herbs which cost almost nothing, and their chiefest food is Rice, or Millet, and hereof they fill their bellies.

Plaine Countrey.

Plaine of 100. leagues.

Spare feeding.

Herb-eaters.

They haue many Horses, Mares, and Mules, whose flesh they eate, though I haue not heard report that the greater sort doe feed vpon them. They haue much Wine of diuers sorts; all

Horses eaten.

Wines diuers.

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made of Rice: but herein they may not compare with the Wine of our Countrey: Whatſoeuer they drinke, be it Wine or Water they drinke it alwaies hot. They are neate in feeding, for they touch none of their meate with their hands, therefore they vſe neither Table Napkins, nor Table-clothes. All their meat is ſerued to the Table finely minced. They vſe to feed with two ſmall ſtickes of Iuorie, Ebonie Wood, or ſuch like, wherewith they take vp all their meate verie hanſomely. And herein, I confeſſe, they haue a great aduantage of vs; becauſe this manner of feeding is very commodious, and ſuch as euerie man that hath triall thereof will much delight in it: and therefore our *Fathers* and *Brethren* in *Iapon* and *Macao* vſe it. Their alwaies drinking their drinke hot, and eating little fruit (for they are not ſo greedie of it as our men are) doth keepe them from many infirmities and ſickneſſes, and therefore they liue healthfully. They haue no Oliues, yet haue they abundance of Oile. The beſt is of a kind of Herbe, which they call in *Spaine, Alegria*, which ſignifieth Ioy or Mirth. I ſay not that it is as good as ours, but I ſay, I find no fault in it, nor I doe not deſire it, nor much leſſe the *Chinois*, which can eate nor ſmell no kind of Oile, becauſe the ſmell thereof pleaſeth them not, as ſometimes wee prooued by a little of ours which we had: and they call their ſtinking Oile odoriferous, ſo great a force there is in cuſtome. As the *Chinois* are diuerſe in diuers Prouinces, ſo are their Fruits: and thoſe which grow in the Prouince of *Canton*, are not in all theſe colder Prouinces. There are the beſt ſweete Oranges which hitherto we haue knowne, which are eaten with the skinne.

Neatneſſe.

Ieſuites.

Benefit of hot drinke.

Oile made of an herbe.

Cold Prouinces.

§. IIII.

Their Moneyes, Apparell, Perſons, Trades, Wealth, Learning, Marriages, Superſtitions, Rites, and Opinions.

Timber plenty

THere is in this Kingdome great ſtore of Timber; for proofe whereof wee need no more but to ſee the multitude of Barges laden therewith ſo good cheape as it is. And therefore I thinke a man may build a ſhip with all things neceſſary thereunto, three parts of foure better cheape then in our Countrey. They vſe not Gold, though there be much to be bought, but all is Siluer, which they doe not coyne in Money, but caſt it in Barres, and when they would buy any thing, they cut it and weigh it in certayne fine Weights like the *Romane* Weights in our Countrey: and therefore euery body that will buy or ſell, carryeth one of thoſe Weights with them. Great ſtore of Siluer commeth out of forreine Countreyes. But the chiefe Maſſe of it is out of the Mynes of the Kingdome it ſelfe, as alſo the Gold. When they buy or ſell, they try the Siluer of how many *Kilates* it is: and one is worth more, another leſſe, according to the goodneſſe thereof. It was very neceſſary for the *Chinois* to weigh and try their Siluer, and not to coyne it into money: for otherwiſe there would haue beene a thouſand deceits, wherein the *Chinois* are very cunning. They vſe Braſſe Money, wherein alſo they try that which is true or falſe: for in all ſorts there is deceit and mixture. They haue the beſt Porcelane that hitherto hath beene found, which is exceeding good cheape, and in ſuch plentie, that beſides all the Kingdome of *China* doth furniſh it ſelfe thereof, they ſend forth as many ſhips ladings as they will.

Much Gold to be bought in *China*.

Braſſe money vſed in *China*.

For their Apparell, though they haue great abundance and cheapneſſe, yet in goodneſſe they may not compare with our Countrey. There is much Silke and that very good, but they know not how to dreſſe it. They make good Damaskes, razed Veluets, Taffataes, and other ſorts: but the colours, though at the firſt ſight they ſeeme reaſonable, are quickly loſt and fade away. The ordinary apparell of the common people is of blacke cloth made of Cotton, or of certayne ſhags of Silke, which are very great, farre greater then a flocke, which only ſerue for this purpoſe, and are very warme. Perſons of Honour weare commonly an outward Garment of Silke which they vſe in Viſitations, and other like Actions: And there are many which alwayes goe abroad apparelled in Silke, but not in ſuch great number as that Booke ſetteth downe, whereof I made mention before. All men, euen to the very Souldiers, weare their apparell long downe to the inſtep of the foot, with very broad ſleeues, open before, and faſtened to the ſides beneath the arme. They be ſo well contented and pleaſed with their manner of apparell, that they think there is none in the World comparable to theirs. And in very truth they bee graue and modeſt, and eſpecially thoſe of the *Mandarins*, which differeth from all others, ſauing the *Bonzi*, which ſhaue their Beards and Heads. All the men and women let their Hayre grow long, and the men truſſe it vp, and wind it on a knot on the top of their crowne. They weare certayne Nets on their heads like Coyfes, made very cunningly of Horſe-hayre: and in the Summer time many weare Caps and Hats of the ſame. There are many ſorts of Caps or Hats (for I know not what their ſeuerall names are) according to the ſtate of euery one. The baſeſt ſort which the common people vſe ordinarily is round. Their ſhooes, are of the ſame ſtuffe that their Garments are of,

of, very commonly of Silke made with many faire borders and knots. It is a discourtesie for a man to be seene (especially before any man of Worship) without a Cap on his head. They greatly esteeme for the most part things of our Countrey; and they are very deare. And some pieces of Silke which the *Portugall* Merchants brings, especially Veluets of three Piles, are far more dearer then their owne. All woollen cloth is much esteemed and very deare, likewise Chamblets, and fine Linnen-cloth, which they bring from *India* are very deare. Looking-glasses, and all things made of Glasse, and many other things, which in our Countrey are very good cheape, are here deare, and in great estimation.

The *Chineses* haue commonly little Beards, small Eyes, and Noses, and all of them haue black Eyes, so that they much maruelled at the colour of mine, which are * of Gray or Iron colour (which they neuer saw) and they find many secrets in them, and very commonly they say, that these eyes of mine know where stones and precious things are, with a thousand other Mysteries, so that they thinke they haue Letters in them. To paint an euil-fauoured man, they paint him in short apparell, with a great Beard, Eyes, and Nose. They are commonly all white, yet not so white as those of *Europe*: and therefore to them we seeme very white. The Learned men are very graue, of very good capacitie, and appeare outwardly very modest and graue.

* *Sacos lat. ferruginei.*

There are Arificers of all Arts that are in our Countrey, and very many with the selfe-same manner forme of Instruments. Euery man is free to follow what Trade he will, without being bound to follow his Fathers Trades, as diuers times I haue heard it spoken when I was in *Europe*: and those which will may study, forsake, or change that course of life. They worke very good cheape: but in cunning and excellencie ours most commonly excell them much; though in some things they be very skilfull. Trades.

The seruice of young men and maydes is easie and good cheape, because there is great store of people, so that a yeares wages is not aboue two Duckets, and meate and drinke, without apparell. As there are many poore people that haue many Sonnes and Daughters, it is a very ordinary thing to sell them, and this the cheapest thing in *China*. For a youth of twelue or fifteene yeares without any naturall blemish will cost not past twelue or fifteene Rials of Plate, and in time of Dearth much lesse, and it is a common thing to buy them for seruice; though they vse them well, and marry them at their time. Seruants cheape. Sale of children vile.

Although the abundance and riches of this Kingdome be very great, as the people also is: yet there is no body that is very rich, neyther in any state of people may they compare in this point with our Countrey. You shall not find in *China*, which is able to spend twenty thousand Duckets of Rent, how neere of Kinne soeuer he be to the King, and very few, and those easie to bee numbred that can spend ten thousand Duckets, and the ordinary is no more which they possesse then that which their Lands and Offices yeeld them, which is not great. But though it bee true that those of our Countrey possesse much more Siluer, considering the cheapnesse of things in their Countrey, all commeth to one account. None very rich. Yet as rich as ours very rich.

There are very few of the poore people idle, because all of them commonly take paines, and earne their liuing. Though the multitude of the Nation be so many, and the Kingdome so great, yet the surnames of all the Kingdome are not aboue three hundred, and all of one syllable. Few idle. Surnames.

There are some, though very few, which may be called Knights, which for seruice to the Kings in some necessities haue giuen them Offices in succession: but the common vse is not to haue any Nobilitie by Descent in *China*; neyther can any man say, I am of a better House then you. But the honour and Nobilitie dependeth wholly vpon Learning, and to obtayne degrees and Offices of *Mandarins*. And therefore an House which now is in Office, and his Father bee one, if he haue a Sonne a Doctor, which is made a *Mandarin*, he is honourable, and the honour continueth as long as the Learned men and *Mandarins* doe liue. There is no man, neyther Kinsman nor not Kinsman of the King which hath euer a Village of his owne that payeth him Tribute: but all men pay it to the King; and hee giueth stipends and wages to the *Mandarins*, so that they receiue nothing of particular men by right, though they extort much continually by oppression. Knights. Nobilitie only in Learning. No Lord but the King. Extortion.

Commonly the *Chinois* doe marry from fifteene to eighteene and twentie yeares, and all of them doe marrie one Wife that is chiefe; and this is their lawfull Marriage. On the day of their Marriage, when the Bride doth passe to the House of her Husband, shee carrieth openly before her through the streets all the things which she bringeth with her, and all her house-hold stuffe: But besides her they may marrie (I say they may keepe and doe keepe as many as they are able) as many Wiues as they will, which for the most part they buy: and afterward when they will, sell them away againe. They may not only not marrie with any Kinswomen of their Wiues, but with none of that surname, though they haue no shew of Alliance. The sonnes of the Concubines doe likewise inherit, and there is little or no difference in their state and honour, to be the Sonne of the lawfull Wife or of the other, neyther make they any question of it. Marriage. Polygamie. Inheritance.

The thing wherein the *Chinois* are most obseruant, Ceremonious and Superstitious, is in their Burials, Funerals, and Mournings: for herein they shew their obedience and loue to their Parents, whereof their bookes are full. It is a very ordinary thing to haue great respect to their Father Funerals and mournings.

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ther and Mother, and the diſobedient are grieuouſly puniſhed. Many graue men and *Mandarins* begge leaue of the King to leaue their Offices which they haue, and to goe home to keepe their Father and Mother company, yeelding for a reaſon that they be old, and that they would goe to ſerue them. And it is a Petition in the ſight of all men ſo iuſt, that they grant it very vſually. When the Father or the Mother dieth, all the Sonnes and Daughters (from the King to the meaneſt Peaſant) doe mourne for three yeares. The mourning colour, which among vs is blacke Bayes, among them is white Linnen, whereof they make all their apparell euen to the Cap. The firſt monethes they weare a very rough Sack-cloth, girded with a Coard, like the bare-footed Friers. And though he be neuer ſo great a *Mandarin*, without any exception (ſaue only the *Mandarins* of the Warre) aſſoone as hee heareth newes of the death of any of his Parents, he is to leaue his Office and Dignitie, and all other Employment whatſoeuer of Gouernment and Examinations of obtayning his degree, and is to goe home for three yeares to burie his Father or Mother (and to mourne and bewaile them. The graue men which haue an houſe for this purpoſe, doe not ſtraitway burie their dead, but keepe them two or three yeares in the houſe, in a Chamber which they keepe for this Office, and it is not the worſt in the houſe: and very vſually or euery day they go thither to make them a thouſand Ceremonies and Reuerences, and to burne Incenſe, and other ſweet ſauours, and to ſet ouer the place where they be laid, meate to eate; and at ſeuerall times, many of thoſe *Bonzi* doe meet, and with great Ceremonies begin their Seruice and Prayers, and their Sonnes, Kinſefolkes and Wiues make lamentation. The *Mandarins* do not only leaue their Offices, and change their Weeds, but alſo all the things which they did vſe. Many ſit not in Chaires, but vpon low Stooles: they viſit, or ſuffer themſelues to be ſeene very ſeldome: they change euen the very Paper wherein they write, wherein they haue a piece of another colour, in token of mourning: when they name themſelues in their Letters, they vſe not the name which they did at other times, but others proper to the partie, as when he nameth himſelfe, hee calleth himſelfe *diſobedient*, ſignifying, that by his diſobedience to his Parents he did not preſerue them aliue.

Three yeares mourning in white Linnen.

Keeping the dead at home.

Other Funerall Rites.

They vſe no kind of Muſikce, and many change their ordinarie Diet into courſer food. Vpon the Funerall day they prouide great company: many Kinſfolkes and Friends meete together, all clad in white, with many *Bonzi*, (according to euery mans abilitie) which ſing with dolefull Inſtruments. And by their apparell which they weare, and their time in ſinging, hee that knew them not, would take them for Clerkes reueſted, ſinging plaine Song; for they much reſemble them. They make many Beeres with men of Paper or of white Silke, many Banners and other Enſignes. The place whither the Corps goeth is adorned with many figures: the Corps is put into a very great Coffin. This Nation holdeth a great part of their felicitie, for them and their Succeſſours to conſiſt in theſe things of their Funerals, eſpecially in two, the Coffin or Chiſt wherein the Corps is to be layed, and the place of their buriall. The ſtuffe to make the Coffin of, wherein themſelues are to bee buried, and the making of the Coffin, they leaue not to others to doe after their deathes, neither then may the body looke for much coſt to make one of theſe Coffins, neither in this (as a thing of great importance) will they truſt, no not their owne Sons: but they themſelues at leiſure ſeeke ſome kind of Wood that is leaſt corruptible, and Plankes which are commonly foure, ſixe, or eight fingers thicke: which becauſe they bee ſo thicke, and the Chiſts or Coffins very cloſely ſhut they can keepe their Corps in their Houſes without any euill ſmell. Some ſpend in making their Coffin ſeuenty, eighty, and an hundred Duckets. They hold it for a felicity to be able to get one of theſe that is good; on the contrary for a great diſgrace, not to haue a Coffin to burie himſelfe in, and they are very few which faile in that one point.

Funerall day.

Funerall Figures.

Coffin.

The Sepulchre and *place thereof* is the thing for chooſing whereof they vſe great Sorcerie or caſting of Lots, and doe it with great heedfulneſſe, and with the helpe of ſome that are skilfull in this Art. For they hold opinion, that in making a good choice of the place dependeth a great part of their owne good fortune and of their Poſteritie. And oftentimes they are a yeare in reſoluing whether it ſhall looke toward the North, or to any other part. And therefore the greateſt and moſt contentious Sutes which are in *China*, are about places of Burials. Theſe places of Burials are alwayes without the wals in the fields, or Mountaynes wherein they build Vaults very well made and ſtrong of Bricke, ſtone, or other matter, wherein they lay the Coffin, and then cloſe it vp very ſurely: And afterward now and then they come thither to performe certain Ceremonies, & to bring things to eat. They hold it very vnluckie to burie a dead man in the Citie: and if they know it, though he were the greateſt man that is in *China*, they will not ſuffer him to bewaile his dead Friends much, eſpecially thoſe which are women. There are many which beleeue the paſſing of the ſoules from one bodie into another: and therefore after the death of their Father and Mother, they will neuer kill any liuing beaſt, yeelding for a reaſon why they will not doe ſo, leſt ſome of them ſhould bee their Mother or Father, or ſome other perſon. And likewiſe many of them faſt, becauſe, that whereas ſome of them bee poore; they deſire afterward to be borne againe in a rich and honourable Family.

Buriall place.

Vnluckie to burie in the Citie.

Tranſition of ſoules.

Metempſuchicall Superſtition.

Although it bee true that the moſt part of them beleeue not in Idols, and it offendeth them not

not to speake euill of them, yet commonly all of them at a certaine time of the yeare doe them some reuerence, because it is the custome, though in no sort they worship them as Gods: and those which put most confidence in them, burne Paper, Incense, and sweet smels vnto them, and kill beasts before them. Their Bookes of these Idols speake of Hell, and in many places, or in a manner in all the Cities there is set vp a portraiture of Hell made with bodily shapes, and many Deuils, as vglie as wee paint them. It is very well set foorth, but badly beleeued: for it serueth only there for a bugbeare. And if any beleeue that which the Idols say of Hell, that it is a place of torments, they say, that after so many yeeres be passed, all men come out againe, and are transformed into some beast. Those which beleeue in the Idols, come before them to cast lots to know what things shall come to passe: howbeit I haue not heard in all *China*, that there was any answer of a Diuell in an Idoll, as is in other parts, in regard of the small beliefe that they haue in them, and the lewdnesse of the *Bonzi* that serue them. Their houses wherein they set them, whereof as yet I neuer saw any good one, are commonly verie filthy and stinking.

Idolatrie.

Of Hell. See in *Pinto.*

Lots.

Wicked *Bonzi.*

And besides this consulting of Idols, the *Chinois* are much giuen to Diuinations to know things to come, and whether they shall haue good or bad fortune; whether they shall haue that which they desire or no: and there bee an infinite number of these South-sayers, and all of them prattlers, mumblers, and cooseners, whereby they deceiue many. And though the *Chinois* be of good vnderstanding, and know that these fellowes know nothing, and euery foot doe take them in lyes: yet for all this, there are verie few that when any occasion is offered, doe not consult with them. And though they seeme to bee but few, yet some of them are in league with the Deuill, as oftentimes wee gather by certaine things.

Diuiners and diuinations.

Many of these graue men of *China*, haue commonly two follies, wherein they doe erre more then in other things. The first is, that they perswade themselues that they can much *prolong their Liues*; and for this purpose they vse a thousand inuentions, and take many medicines, which indeed rather doe shorten their dayes. There are many Masters and Bookes of this follie, which vsuallie are graue and rich men. There are many that make themselues very old folks, whom the people follow like Saints to learne some rule of life of them, wherein they put all their felicitie. Many doe not beleeue that we are so old, as we say we be, and that we doe dissemble: but that in deed we bee an hundred yeeres old, and that we know this rule to liue for euer, and that we doe not Marrie because wee would liue long. The other follie is, that they perswade themselues that they are able, and goe about to make Siluer, whereof likewise there are many Bookes. They vse for this purpose many Hearbs, and Quick-siluer, wherein they spend that little Siluer which they haue, and remaine beggers, but not perswaded but that it is fecible, but that it was not their good lucke, and good fortune: and to obtaine this, many of them fast many yeeres.

Studies to prolong life.

Bookes of Alchimie.

§. V.

Their bad Souldierie and Artillerie; Degrees, Priuiledges, Honours and promotions of Learning. Their Authors and Bookes, and Printing. The Mandarins *commended.*

THere are many Souldiers in many Prouinces of this Kingdome: and though they haue had Peace these many yeeres, yet they still entertaine them: but because they bee louers of peace and quietnesse, the most contemptible state, except the state of the *Bonzi*, is the Souldier. And indeed it is a most base people, which hath no valour nor worthinesse, much lesse any fortitude in them. Many of them are Porters, which beare on their shoulders, the Chaires wherein the *Mandarins* and honourable persons are carried. And at the time of Musters, which are made from time to time, they repaire thither, to obtaine wages, and thus they haue no worth, nor jot of honour in them. The punishment wherewith their Captaines punish them, is the same wherewith they punish all other people: they whip them as wee doe Children in Schooles. According to the worthinesse and valour of the Souldiers, the beautie of their Armour, offensiue and defensiue is answerable, which is fitter to bee laughed at, then to be reported. They haue no Harquebusses that are worth any thing: and all those which I saw (and I saw many Souldiers with them) had their barrels but a spanne long: so that it seemeth that they beare it and the rest of their Armour for fashions sake. And I maruell not: for by reason of the exceeding great Peace which they haue so long enioyed, they haue none occasion to become valiant: but they are able men when occasion serueth, and it seemeth they will easilie become valiant.

Souldiers many and few.

Baseneſſe. Armour and Armes.

The barrels of their Pieces but a span long

The causes of bad Souldiers, dis-respect, disuse, and their choise from the tongue.

The *Mandarins* of Souldiers, is also a thing of small estimation, and they are nothing comparable with those which they call the *Mandarins* of Learning, which are those, which take Degrees. The *Mandarins* or Captaines of Souldiers, obtaine not the same for Heroicall arts or prowesse, but they make a Discourse or an Oration, vpon some matter concerning warre, and they make

Exerciſes Militarie.

No Ordnance

make choiſe of certaine of thoſe which had done it beſt. Likewiſe they ſhoote two or three Arrowes, to ſee if they bee skilfull in ſhooting. They haue no vſe of great Ordnance. Albeit I ſaw in the Gates of ſome Cities, certaine ſmall ſhort Pieces, as broad at the mouth as at the nether end, which I know not whether they ſhot off ſometimes or no: I ſaw about ſixe or eight of them vpon the Walls. The defence of their Walls is their height, without any other Artillerie. The greateſt force and number of Souldiers, reſideth in the confines of the *Tartars*.

Tartarian conqueſt.

It is foure hundred yeeres ſince a King of the *Tartars* wonne all *China*, (whereof *Paulus Venetus* writeth, which was in that Countrey) and they did alſo poſſeſſe it two hundred yeeres: at the end whereof, a *Bonzo* a very prudent and valiant man rebelled, and caſt the *Tartar* out, and remayned King, whoſe iſſue continueth vntill this day. They alwayes keepe great Watch and ward vpon this frontier. Many youthes of theſe *Tartars* remayned in *China*, and namely in theſe parts of *Paquin*, there are many which keepe and maintayne their Law of *Mahomet*, and haue *Mezquitas* or *Turkiſh* Temples, and are much different in ſhapes and countenances from the *Chinois*. Except the Souldiers, there is none that keepe Weapons in their houſes: not becauſe it is forbidden, but becauſe there is no need of them: but rather the Learned and graue people, count it a diſhoneſt thing to keepe Armour: there is no vſe of them but in the time of warre. For you ſhall neuer ſee them fight with weapons one with another as wee doe. But their fighting is to buffet one another, to pull them by the hayre of the head, and to draw them by the coller, and in two words to become friends againe. Our men make no great matter of giuing buffets and ſuch like, for they kill one another.

Feare of *Tartars*.

Mahometans.

No weapons in houſes.

Not bloudie.

Studious.

Many Characters.

Monoſyllable language.

Penſil-writing.

Rhetorike ſole Art.

Here followed of their Degrees which is more exact in *Trigantius*, and therefore here omitted.

Glory of Doctors.

The *Chinois* are greatly giuen to Learning and ſtudie; for all their honour and riches dependeth thereupon. They haue aboue fortie thouſand ſundry Letters: though many of them bee made one of another. They haue no A, B, C, nor any thing like thereunto, as among vs. But to ſignifie euerie thing they haue one Letter, and all diuerſe. Their words are of one ſyllable, and no more, though their Letters bee ſo many. Thoſe which are commonly vſed euery day, are eight or ten thouſand. They begin to learne to write and reade commonly, when they be ſeuen yeeres old: they write with Penſils. They haue many little Bookes which encourage Children to ſtudie, exhorting them to take paines, with the reward that they ſhall grow to bee *Mandarines*. They know not, nor ſtudie any Science, neither Mathematickes, nor Philoſophie, nor any ſuch thing, but onely Rhetoricke: for all the ſubſtance of their knowledge and fame of Learned men, conſiſteth in nothing elſe, but to know how to make a very elegant Diſcourſe and Oration vpon a theame, like as in our *Europe* the Oratours vſed anciently. And as the *Chinois* haue good wits, and by hope of reward are verie appliable hereunto, they doe it with great excellencie, and occupie themſelues with nothing elſe, and haue no other knowledge to diſtract them from it.

Euery Doctor (after hee hath obtained his degree) ſetteth vp in his Countrey before the doores of his Houſe a Title of verie great letters, which ſaith: *This is the Houſe of a Doctor*: which all men haue in regard. And before the doore, they ſet vp many high Poles like maſts, which euerie *Mandarin* of that Citie where hee dwelleth ſendeth him, with a Banner hanged vp, and alwaies they remaine there. They make a verie excellent Arch triumphall, to him that hath the firſt degree, at the gate of his Houſe.

They Print yeerely great ſtore of bookes in *China*.

Eaſie Printing.

Printing white

The *Chinois* eſteeme more then we doe, the skill to bee able to write well, and Print euerie yeere a great number of Bookes, whereof there is no examination nor choiſe, and euerie man Printeth what hee liſt, good or bad, and ſo they make a booke of nothing. The beſt which come foorth are of no Science: for as I haue ſaid, they know none: but they are onely of Morall ſentences, to the aduancement of good Cuſtomes and Gouernment. Their manner of Printing is not like ours: for they joyne not their Letters, but for euerie leafe they make a table which hath letters on both ſides, it would ſeeme to bee very hard, but with the cuſtome which they haue gotten, they doe it with great eaſe, ſpeed and cheapeneſſe. I will ſend you ſome Booke well printed, that your Worſhip may ſee it. They alſo print Letters in white, I ſay white letters, and the ground blacke. And though in the former they come not neare vs, yet in this they goe far beyond vs. They vſually print theſe letters in Stones, and the letters ſtand not in the Stone vpward to touch the Paper directly, but in the paper and the ſtone they ſtand all one way: and this is the order whereby they doe this: They wet the Paper, and laying it vpon the toppe of the Stone, they gently beate it with ſome verie gentle thing, wherby the Paper which lyeth vpon the Stone ſinketh into the hollowneſſe of the Letter, and reſteth lower then the other, then with a kind of Inke which they haue for this purpoſe, they finely lay it ouer, whereby the Letters remaine white, becauſe they bee deeper, and the reſt remaineth blacke. I ſend you with this Letter certaine papers thereof, that your Worſhip may reioyce in beholding the excellencie wherewith it is done. One of our Bookes of equall volume with one of theirs, containeth much more: for our letter is leſſer then theirs. Though in *China* it be harder to learne to reade and write, then in our Country, yet there be few but know ordinarie Letters to deale betweene man and man.

Moſt can write and reade.

Poetrie.

Likewiſe they make great account of Poetrie, and alſo the grauer ſort giue themſelues much vnto it. It is verie ordinarie with them to ſend vs ſome Poeſie in praiſe of vs, when wee enter into

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into friendſhip with any. Alſo they make much account of Paintings, and playing vpon Inſtruments. And albeit they know but little in the firſt, becauſe they haue no Art, nor paint the things with ſhadowes, and know not how to paint in Oile: yet in the ſecond they are verie readie on their Inſtruments, and play grauely and leaſurely. I heard certaine ſorts of Muſicke, eſpecially in the Palace of the King: to welcome me, the Eunuches his Muſicians played vnto me awhile, and they pleaſed me: although in this, little it ſeemeth vnto me they may compare with our Countrey, yet it is certaine, that they thinke they doe farre excell vs. They haue not aboue one kinde of Inſtrument, which the grauer ſort vſe and make much account of, which is like vnto our Harpe, although the faſhion and manner of playing vpon it, differeth from ours, and from all our other Inſtruments. Painting and Muſicke.

As in *China* there is no ſort of people more honourable then the Learned men, and Doctors: ſo there is no people of better condition, and of more Honourable and more Noble manner of proceeding. And albeit before they were Doctors and *Mandarins*, they were verie poore and baſe people, and many of their Fathers officers of vile Offices, (as it is verie ordinarie) neuertheleſſe, after they haue obtayned the Degrees, they put vpon themſelues a more honourable ſpirit. And therefore albeit in *China*, wee indured much trouble at the baſe peoples hand, yet the *Mandarins* did alwaies vſe vs honourably and with much reſpect: eſpecially now, for which cauſe now no man dare trouble vs. And if there bee any, which in title are like our Lords, Knights, and Courtiers, they are theſe. There are among them, men of much excellencie and ſinceritie in their Office, which doe ſeeke the common good: And without doubt they make vs wonder, that ſeeing they bee but *Gentiles*, which doe nothing for the zeale of Gods honour, nor for his ſake, they be of ſuch ſinceritie, which they ſhewed of late more then at other times, in hauing to doe with this wicked, vicious, and couetous King, which they now haue: who though hee be ſo abſolute a Lord, that with the ſame libertie, and in a manner with the ſame facilitie, hee doth what he liſt with the greateſt *Mandarins* of his Kingdome, as well as with the baſeſt people thereof. Yet for all this, of late yeeres there were many, who with great libertie and courage reprehended his faults by writing (which is the manner of ſpeakiug moſt publikely with him) that all men might read it. And though they might feare ſome grieuous puniſhment (beſides the loſing of their Offices, for that was certayn) neuertheleſſe, there were many men of courage which wrote vnto him: among whom there was one very renowned: The letter which he wrote to the King, began thus. *That although hee were aſſured, that he were to be hanged, and that the Fire were kindled to burne him, yet hee would reprehend his vices and lewdneſſes, and the euill example that hee gaue to all his Kingdome:* And ſo hee did, and ſpake verie freely, and put him in great feare. And it ſeemeth that for his ſinceritie and courage, the King had ſome regard of him, and though hee puniſhed him, yet it was verie moderately. Noble Spirit of the *Mandarins*. Sinceritie of ſome. The preſent Kings diſpoſition. Heroike zeale.

There fell out another accident in this kinde within theſe few yeeres, which becauſe it is notable I will heere ſet it downe. This King hath many women beſides his lawfull wife, which among themſelues keepe the order of firſt and ſecond. Hee hath no Sonnes by his lawfull Wife, but he hath one which is the eldeſt of the third or fourth, and others youger of the ſecond. The Eldeſt by the cuſtome or lawes of the Kingdome, is the lawfull inſteritour, although he bee of the fourth wife: but hee bare more affection to the other and to her Sonne, and deſired, by her perſwaſion, to aduance him to bee Prince, and would not haue aduanced the lawfull Heire. The time being paſſed to performe the ſame, many *Mandarins* loſt their Offices, for reprehending him of this diſorder, and for ſeeking to make him aduance the Eldeſt. But the principall *Mandarins* of the Court perceiuing that hee proceeded on, and would not doe that which they requeſted, and which was reaſon, conſulted together, and publiſhed a Proclamation, which commanded all the *Mandarins* which are in the Court (which are aboue ſome thouſands) that vnder paine of loſing their Office, they ſhould all meete at ſuch a day, and ſuch an houre, in ſuch a place of the Kings Palaces. When they were all aſſembled at the day appointed, with their Enſignes of *Mandarins*, they put vp a Petition vnto the King, ſaying, That *ſince ſo often they had adviſed him of a thing ſo Iuſt, and that hee made none account of them, not ſeeking to aduance the true Prince, that hee ſhould ſeeke thoſe that would ſerue him, that all of them would there giue ouer their Enſignes of* Mandarins, *and would no longer ſerue.* It ſeemeth the King was afraid of ſo great a reſolution of the chiefeſt men of his Kingdome: And ſo hee commanded an Eunuch to goe foorth vnto them, and anſwer them, that they ſhould reſume their Offices in Gods name, and that hee would fulfill their requeſt. Finally, they did effect ſo much, that they cauſed him to doe that which was reaſon; and ſo this yeere 1602. hee aduanced the true Prince, of whom hereafter I will ſpeake ſomewhat. Kings Wiues and Children. Queſtion of the Succeſſor. Thouſands of Court *Mandarins*. The Prince Proclaimed.

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§. VI.

Of the Gouernment of China: *Of the* Mandarins; *the* China *Complements and manifold nicities.*

NOw I haue touched the state of the *Mandarins*, it offereth it selfe to speake of the manner of Gouernment in particular; But I confesse vnto your Worship, that the multitude of Offices which they haue is so great a frame, that I was not able to vnderstand it, to reduce it into order. Onely I will say in generall, that they haue many good things belonging vnto Gouernment, but not the execution: finally, it is a Gouernment of *Gentiles*, with a thousand faults. There are no great store of Lawes, but commonly they decide Controuersies of their owne heads, and make Lawes in their Iurisdiction after their pleasure, euery one diuerse. And heere your Worship may imagine, that the Gouernment in the practise cannot bee very iust, since euery one that can tell how to make a good theame or exercise, are not sufficient to bee Law-makers: And it is very ordinarie among them to direct all things to their owne profit, whereby of necessitie, they commit many absurdities and wrongs, and take all that they can get: Bribes are vsuall, and men vse these more then any thing else: And though one of them know this fault in another, they all dissemble as being in the same fault, that others may winke at them. And though they seeke to hide it one from another, yet it is like the secret of *Anchuelus*.

Gouernment good if well executed.

Lawes lawlesse

Bribes.

Dance in a Net naked.

The *Mandarins* are many in all Cities, but very extraordinarie in the Courts of *Nanquin*, and *Paquin*. For in this Citie of *Paquin*, besides the *Mandarins* of Armes, whereof no great account is made, and are more in number then the rest; and besides those which alwayes repaire thither, vpon the businesses of all the Prouinces: Those that properly belong to this Citie and Court, are aboue two thousand and fiue hundred: who all, or the most part heare Causes ordinarily twice a day; so that wee cannot imagine what businesses occupie so many *Mandarins*, nor what is the Iurisdiction of euerie one. The most principall which are in all the Kingdome and heere, are sixe, Prefidents of sixe Councels, being the chiefest of the Kingdome. There is one, which is the greatest, to whom belongeth the gouernment of all the *Mandarins* of the Kingdome, to aduance them to higher Offices that doe deserue it, and as much as they deserue, to chastise and to degrade those which badly performe their Office: which because it is a place so great and honourable, the *Chinois* call him, *The Mandarin of Heauen*: who proposeth all these things to the King, as to promote, to aduance, to disgrade the *Mandarins*, and the King confirmeth them: So that all the *Mandarins* how small soeuer they bee, that are in all the Kingdome, are appointed by the King. The second hath the charge of all things belonging vnto Ceremonies, as well humane of Courtesies, and ceremonies in all royall Acts, as in making the King, the Prince, and in marrying of them, &c. And all that which belongeth to the worship of the Sacrifices of the Dead, and others which the Kings offer to Heauen and Earth. There is another chiefe of the Councell of Warre: another of the Kings Treasure, which taketh the account of the Kings rents: another Councell is of the Workes, as of the Kings houses, prouision for all things necessarie, for the Walls of the Cities, &c. There is another of Chastisement, whereunto causes criminall and sentences of Death doe belong. Aboue these (sixe) there is onely one Degree, which are absolutely the greatest, before whom whatsouer the King doth in any thing is consulted of. Although it bee true, that these be rich and opulent in the conceit of the *Chinois*, yet none of them in any thing may compare with any of the meanest Lord of title, of our Countrey. The wages which they haue of the King is small: the attendance which they haue, is of base people, and of small countenance, yet they are much respected and obeyed: And the common people kneeleth vnto them, as to the *Mandarins*. The common chastisement which all the *Mandarins* doe giue, is to whip them with peeces of Canes, of foure or sixe fingers broad and thicke, wherewith oftentimes they dye, when it is layd on soundly. Whipping is as common as it is to whip Children in the Schoole: And sometimes for nothing they giue a dozen stripes, as well to the Plaintiffe as to the Defendant, and therewith they end the Suites, and they stay to giue none other sentence, but say: *Giue him twentie stripes.*

Court *Mandarins.*

Chiefe *Mandarin*, or of Heauen. See of these after in the discourse of *Riccius* and *Trigantius*.

The second.

The third, &c.

Counsell of State, or the *Colai.*

Their wealth and wages meane.

Whipping.

Vsually when the *Mandarins* of any State goe through the streets, men goe before them crying, or making a noise with Instruments, for the people to giue place. And in particular Cities, when a great *Mandarin* passeth through the streets, all men hide themselues and goe into houses, and the Handicrafts-men cease from their worke, and that in such sort, that I saw once in a Citie in a street of great trafficke, a *Mandarin* appeare, and in a moment euery bodie got away, euen the very Dogges, with exceeding great silence: so greatly they bee reuerenced of all men. And many carrie Chaines trayling them before them, and other Instruments. But in the Courts (though the *Mandarins* bee greater) the people runne not away, they doe no more but giue way that thy may passe. In the Courts many *Mandarins*, though they be great, ride on Horsebacke, and others in Chaires: but besides them, all goe in Chaires carried on mens shoulders, which according to their Offices are two, or foure, or eight.

State and pompe.

Euery

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Euery Prouince hath a Visitor, which publikely visiteth the same euery yeere, and taketh information of the *Mandarines*. There are secret and priuie Visitors. Sometime one is sent: But it is no vsuall thing, and as I haue heard, it is long since it was left off. I speake this, because I alwaies heard when I was in *Spaine*, that the *Chinois* vsed this manner of Visitation. Visitors.

The Visitor onely may giue sentence of death. They be not cruell in punishments by death. Onely the King vseth some cruell execution: and namely this King that now raigneth, which is a very wicked man. One of them is that which lately hee caused here to bee executed vpon eight men, by the great frosts of Winter, for no great offence for so cruell a punishment, and as they say, falsely imputed; And this it was: Hee caused their neckes to be put through a thicke plancke, which taketh a great part of the head, and they set the plankes to stand vpon Formes, so that the man standeth vpon his feet day and night in the middest of the street, with men to watch him. Hee condemned them to this punishment for three moneths: but they died before fifteene dayes, with their legs all rotted, and burst with standing alwaies on foot: I my selfe saw them stand on this fashion, which pitied me extremely. I neuer saw nor heard of any other cruell punishments; though, as I haue said, often times the *Mandarines* kill them with whipping, which is a very cruell thing. Punishment by death rare. The great frosts of Winter in *Paquin*.

The *Chinois* are very curious in writing of newes, which vsually they set out in Print, and in a very short space disperse them through all the Prouinces. There are alwaies Bookes wherein all the *Mandarines* of the Kingdome are written, as well their names as their Countries: And because they be changed euery foot from one place to another, they blot out and put in the names as soone as they know them, with great facilitie. Bookes of newes.

One thing among the rest is (wherein they bee very dutifull and prolixe) in their manifold courtesies, which are of many sorts, according to the estate of him with whom they haue to doe. The vsuall fashion is when they visite one another, the stranger is set on the most honourable hand (which in some places is the right hand, and in *the Northerne Prouinces* the left) and putting one hand in the sleeue of the contrarie arme, which is very long and wide, they lift vp their hands so fastned together, *then* bending their *(head and)* body downe to the ground, *saying*, Zin zin, *which is of no signification but an interiection of vrbanitie, their bowing veneration they call*, Zo ye: *they change places to repay courtesies.* After this the Guest sitteth downe in * the Chaire of the Master of the house, and the Master of the house another besides that which the Guest hath, and each of them setteth them in their due place, which is the strangers Chaire in the highest place, distant from the wall, and the Chaire of the Master of the house is set in the midst of the lowest place, one ouer against another. After this (when they haue ended their salutations) they straightway cause a drinke to be brought, which they call *Cha*, which is water boyled with a certaine herbe, which they much esteeme, for this is a want of ciuilitie and courtesie: and at the least they must drinke of it twice or thrice. He bringeth forth some Fruit or Sweet-meat, and a Spoone to take it vp. If the Guest stay any time, straight without faile they will bring out some thing to eate, but with some preparation, answerable to the occasion and person: whereon they eate very little, vnlesse it be at the ordinary houres of feeding, and then they eate somwhat more. Complements of courtesie and entertainment. That which is in a little letter is added out of *Trigautius*. * When they salute in the street, they turne to the North, side to side: at home to the head of the house, which is against the doore, Northward also their Temples and Halls for entertaynment being made with the doore to the South. *Cha* or *Chia* a drinke made with a certaine herbe.

When they visite one another (vnlesse they be very great friends and familiars) a Boy goeth alway before, which carrieth a Libell or Booke of visitation, which they call *Paytre*, which is as much as, *A Paper of visitation:* And this name neuer faileth, for alwaies they vse it: wherein *his name with modest epithets (as many perhaps as Visitors)* are written, according as the quality is of them that visite, and those that are visited; so is the manner most different whereafter they write the same: to wit, with more humility, either as our better, or as an equall, or as an inferiour, as a scholer, or as a master: for as the relations are many and particular, so the fashions and manners which they vse are diuers. Of these things, and of all that hereafter I shall say touching this point, I will send you the examples in their owne papers of visitations, which great *Mandarins*, and ordinary men brought vnto vs, setting down in our tongue vpon euery letter the declaration thereof. And I doubt not but your Worship, our most deare Fathers, and Brethren, and as many others as shall see the same will reioyce thereat. And when that Paper is brought, they carrie newes into the house to him that is visited, which prepareth himselfe to receiue his Guest, which commeth within a while after. When they be not people which they see euery day, they vse not ordinary apparell in their visitations, but they haue garments proper for this purpose, of a farre different fashion. And if by chance one come so apparelled, and another be not, he sayth, that he durst not salute him, nor receiue him before he had put on his apparell, so he getteth him away in great haste to put on his apparell, and then they begin to performe their complements. Paytre or visiting paper. These Libels consist of 12. pages of white paper a palme and halfe long, &c. see *Kic. pag.66.* Salutation or visitation-garments.

When the Guest departeth, hee alwaies goeth before, and at their going out of the doores they vse salutations, and offers of courtesie; according to the qualitie of the Guest, and the Master of the house, so he bringeth him more or lesse way, or vnto the street: or if he goe so farre, he stayeth till he take his Chaire, or his Horse, and then lifting vp their armes and sleeues vnto their heads they take their leaues and depart one from the other. When they are departed, the Visitor and hee that is visited, each of them send a Boy to giue one another thankes, one for his visitation, the other for his good entertaynment and friendly vsage. If hee that is visited be not Taking leaue.

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at home, they leaue the *Paytre* at his house, which is a token that hee came to visite him. Hee that is visited is bound to requite his visitation presently, or the next day, if he bee a man of Worship, or if they bee equals, within three or foure dayes: which payment is performed after the selfe same manner: and if hee finde him not at home, it sufficeth to leaue the *Paytre* there. If hee that requiteth the visitation bee a farre greater person then the first which visited him, (as if he be some great *Mandarin*) hee which first visited him, returneth the next day in person with a paper, wherein hee giueth him thankes that he came to his house: and if they see one another, he giueth him thankes by word of mouth. When the man which visiteth is of great Worship hee sendeth word a good space before with a *Paytre*: and the Master of the house commeth forth to receiue him, and to bring him into the house. All their Houses and Lodgings, haue alwayes an head and more honourable place (which is the highest part) where alwayes they place the Guest. Likewise in their writing they vse a great difference, according to the estates, Dignitie and Age: and in their Letter, the greater the *Mandarin* is, they vse the greater Letter: those that are equall, or inferiour vse a very small letter: likewise they obserue the same order in speaking to euery one according to his qualitie. When they meet in the streets, the ordinary courtesie, is, to put their hands into their sleeues, & closing them together to hold them vp, & to vse a common speech, which they haue for this purpose. When a couple enter into new acquaintance, they doe yet more, and that is, they kneele downe, and touch the ground with their head so often, and with so great ceremonies, that I dare not speake of them, lest I should neuer make an end.

Head place of the house.

Great Letters for great persons.

First acquaintance.

When they send Presents, they write downe all things which they send in a paper, as they doe their speeches, with words of Honour: whereof I send likewise examples to see, of very graue persons which sent vs Presents. And whether the partie receiue the Present or not, or only a part, he alwayes sendeth backe another paper with certaine red lines (as herewith is to bee seene) with a Letter which sayth: *I thanke you much*: And when he receiueth the Present, hee alwayes giueth some money to the youths that bring it: and hereby he remayneth bound to answer him, with another Present as great at the least: And herein they be very precise, especially persons that are not of the greatest account. A thing which I finde very strange, and which doth put vs to much trouble, to be driuen equally to answer those Presents which the greater *Mandarins* doe send vs, for they alwayes desire some thing of our Countrey, and here we are very poore.

Sending Presents.

They send vs somtimes from *Macao* some Clockes of sand, or Houre-glasses, some Kniues, some cases of tooles for Surgeans, and other things: for they much esteeme all things that come from our parts: and with these things, which in our Countries are little or nothing worth, heere wee procure friends, which stand vs in exceeding great stead to conferre with them of our holy Faith, and of the saluation of our Soules.

Banquetting.

Besides their Presents and visitations, they haue Gossippings and Banquets, whereunto very vsually they inuite one another. When these be very solemne, they set euery Guest two tables for himselfe, one of Flesh and Fish, &c. another of Fruits and sweet Meats. When they be not so solemne, one table for euery man, or two at euery Table: they prouide for these Guests great diuersitie of meates well dressed and seasoned, which they bring soft and fayre one after another, that they may be hot. When they inuite one to a Banquet, they send sixe or seuen dayes before a paper, wherein they inuite him against such a day. If hee cannot come, he sendeth another paper, wherein he saith, *I excuse my selfe*: If he excuse not himselfe, he is resolued to come. This paper is sent with many words of courtesie, & with much honour. On the day appointed in the morning, hee sendeth another to inuite him againe for the selfe same day: and at the appointed houre, hee sendeth another to pray him to come: and then hee goeth: If any of these messages should fayle hee would not goe. When he is gone to the Banquet, they vse many other ceremonies: But the most adoe is, about their places, so that it is long before you can place them, and allot out the roomes how they shall sit, because they euer seeke, or at least make shew that they seeke to giue the chiefest roome to others. They feed not as men vse to doe in our Countrey: neither seemeth it that the Feast is made to feed, but onely they taste of some small thing for fashion sake; and they drinke very sippingly in small Cups of Porcelane, each of which will contayne fiue or sixe Thimbels-full of Wine; and heerein and in deuising, they spend fiue or sixe houres at a Banquet, and goe home an hungred. And thus it happeneth vnto vs; although wee seeke to excuse our selues from them as much as we can, because wee lose much time, vnlesse it bee some great *Mandarin*, who we feare would take it euill, if wee should deny his request. When the Banquet is ended, the next day euery one of the Guests sends his Boy with a paper, wherein hee thanketh his Hoast for his good cheare.

Inuitations.

Feasts to taste and bride it.

Heere your Worship may see, wherein the *Chinois* spend the one halfe of their life. For the greatest businesse they haue, and that wasteth most of their time, is in Visitations, Banquets, and sending of Presents. And the time wherein they most of all vse the same, is their New-yeere, which lasteth fifteene dayes: their Birth day, which all of them keepe with great solemnitie: or when they goe foorth, or come home on a Iourney. And to end the whole yeere, I send you some Papers of visitation of all these things (whereof they haue sent many vnto vs) that your Worship may see (though you vnderstand not the outward Letter) the manner and fashion of this

Chinois Complemental and almost all complement. New-yeere.

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this people, how farre different Salutations, manners and faſhions, we ſend you from the plaineneſſe of our *Europe*, and eſpecially of our Companie, But for the preſent, wee all thinke it neceſſarie to eate after this faſhion, and to vſe their cuſtomes, to obtayne more free acceſſe vnto them, and to winne them to *Chriſt*.

There is a *Turke* heere, a dweller in this Citie, which aboue fortie yeeres agoe, brought one or two Lions to the Father of this King: who, partly becauſe hee knoweth no Learning nor Sciences, and partly becauſe hee ſought not to apply himſelfe to the habite, cuſtomes, and manner of *China*, there is none that will deale with him, nor come neere his houſe: And through the grace which God hath giuen vs, and becauſe they ſee vs apply our ſelues to their Apparell, Faſhion, and Courteſies, all the graueſt *Mandarins* come home to our houſe to viſite vs, and doe vs the fauour, to hold vs publikely for their Friends: which they vſe not to doe, to their owne Countrey-men, of our qualitie and condition: prayſed bee our Lord alwayes, *Amen*. A *Turke* diſreſpected.

I will not omit to declare the great pleaſure, wherewith theſe learned *Chineis* heare the great conſent of the things and ceremonies, of our holy Faith in *Europe*, and that wee haue Biſhops, and, as we call them heere, *Mandarins*, and ſuperiours in Spirituall things: and aboue all, they reioyce exceedingly to heare of our Pope, that being ſo great a perſonage they preferre a Learned and Holy man by way of Election, and not by Succeſſion; and likewiſe the obedience and ſubjection which other Kings doe yeeld vnto him; and that there haue beene many (as wee told them) who being choſen Popes, refuſe it in good earneſt, and by no meanes will accept the ſame: and that we haue all things which concerne the Law of God and good manners, ſet downe in writing, with all other Bookes concerning him, or his Miniſters. The Hierarchy applauded by *Chineis*.

And although that which I haue ſpoken hitherto of our high Prieſt, is a thing very apparent and true, and wee deliuered it for ſuch, and they ſo vnderſtand it: yet oftentimes they haue giuen vs occaſions of laughter. The firſt was, That when wee told them, that ſome refuſed ſo great an Office: ſtraight-way they aske, where you ſay that they refuſe it, is it not euident that their excuſe will not bee accepted? As who ſhould ſay, if they would accept of it, who is there that would make an excuſe? And thus they ſay, becauſe they doe ſo themſelues: for when great Offices are beſtowed vpon them, eftſoone they offer vp a Petition, making a thouſand excuſes to the King not to receiue them: and they deſire nothing leſſe, neither can any thing happen ſo grieuous vnto them, as to accept their excuſe. But vſually they be not admitted: though ſometimes they bee, to their great griefe of heart, as I my ſelfe haue ſeene: But to excuſe themſelues, or to refuſe with ſome danger, is the vſe ſo common, that they will not fayle to doe ſo: for if they ſhould not doe ſo, it were more certayne that they ſhould goe without the Office. The ſecond thing that made vs more to laugh, is, that many of them tell vs, that if wee would returne into our Conntrey, without doubt they would make vs Popes: The reaſon (though not openly) which they yeeld, is, that wee haue a great aduantage aboue other men of our Countrey, to wit, that wee haue ſeene, and ſtudied, and vnderſtand their Bookes; becauſe that they onely, in their opinion, can make a man perfect, and generally ſeene in all things. Such is the high conceit and reputation which they hold of their Bookes. Ridiculous nicetie.

§. VII.

Of their Women: Of the Tartars *Conqueſt, Acts and Expulſion. The greatneſſe of the King, and neighbouring States. Of the Queenes Eunuches.*

I Will conclude this Letter with two points: the one concerning the Women, whereof I haue little to ſay: and the laſt is of the King, and of his Palaces and Seruices. Palace.

Euery man (as I ſaid before) may keepe as many Wiues as hee will, and ſo they doe: which is the cauſe of many tumults, quarrels, and diſorders in their houſes among their wiues, and among the Sonnes of diuers Mothers: and therefore when wee tell them, that in our Countrey no man marryeth but one Wife, they neuer are ſatisfied in praiſing it in words, though neuertheleſſe they doe not follow it, nor put it in practiſe. And the diſcontentment which the Women haue among themſelues, and with their Husbands for this occaſion, is like to prooue a great encouragement vnto them, to make them deſirous to receiue our holy Faith, and to perſwade their Husbands to embrace the ſame, ſeeing that it doth not permit any more but one lawfull Wife onely. Polygamie ſitigious.

Of their other Conuerſation, Cuſtomes, and other things, wee know nothing, neither is any thing to bee learned: for they keepe houſe all their life time, and goe out of doores exceeding ſeldome to viſite either their Mother or Siſters, or neareſt kinſwomen, for they goe not to any elſe, no not in thought: And therefore as they haue no conuerſation, (but alwayes to keepe home) I can ſpeake nothing of their behauiour. Their Apparell ſeemeth vnto mee honeſt and comely: (for ſometimes I haue ſeene the Wiues of Officers, and of the poore people, for many of them doe goe abroad,) In ſome parts of the Countrey wee haue met many women vpon the high way, in ſhort garments, like to the men of our Countrey, without any difference, ſaue on Cloſeneſſe of Women. Apparell.

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their heads, and their feete : for all the reſt is all one kinde of Apparell ; but theſe are the common people onely : One of the greateſt ornaments that the Women haue, is, to haue verie little feete, and they are ſo little, that they goe verie badly, and alway they ſeeme to goe as though they would fall. I could not know the cauſe, nor the *Chinois* themſelues know not the originall occaſion, why this is counted for a beautie : albeit ſome ſay, it began not for a comelineſſe, but onely with a purpoſe to cut off all occaſion from them of going abroad.

Small feet.

Hiſtories of their Kings.

Knowledge of the Flood.

The *Chinois* haue beene very carefull in their Hiſtories, and therefore they haue hiſtories of their Kings of aboue foure thouſand yeeres. And if credit bee to be giuen to that which their Bookes report, touching thoſe times, and is gathered by diuers of their Hiſtories ; There are many more yeeres from the Flood to our dayes (whereof they alſo haue ſome knowledge in their Bookes) then the moſt followed and allowed Calculation among vs, which treate of that matter, doe allow of : for they ſay, it is ſixe thouſand yeeres at the leaſt. They ſay that they haue continued Hiſtories. But I leaue this, becauſe I haue not well conferred the truth and foundation of the *Chiniſh* hiſtories. At the leaſt it is certaine, that they haue knowledge of their matters, and certaine Kings within a little after the Flood, whenſoeuer it was. They had many ancient Kings, which were verie good men, which it may bee were ſaued in the law of Nature, becauſe the heroicall workes of Vertue, which they report of them were great, and there is no record that they worſhipped Idols, but ſome, that they worſhipped the Lord of Heauen and Earth. There were ſome that ſought not to leaue their lawfull Sonnes to bee their Heires, becauſe they thought them not fit for Gouernment, but chooſe the wiſeſt and beſt man, that they could finde, and left the Kingdome vnto him.

Moralitie made a King, and Nature made a *Mandarine* contrary to innumerable Scripture, &c.

This Kingdome in old time was diuided into many ſmall Kingdomes, vntill by little and little it was vnited. It is ſome foure hundred yeeres (as I ſaid before) ſince a *Tartar* King poſſeſſed it wholly, and two hundred, ſince a *Bonzo* or Religious man of *China* recouered it. This *Mahumetan Tartar* King, left ſome tokens of himſelfe in things that he did. Hee left in *Nanquin*, certaine Mathematicall inſtruments of Copper, the like whereof for goodneſſe peraduenture are not in all *Europe*, at leaſt not better.

Mathematicall Inſtruments.

The *China* vindex.

The *Chineſe Bonzo* which expelled him out of the Kingdome, was a very valiant and wiſe man, and there bee many Hiſtories of his wiſedome, and ſentencious ſayings, and iudgement in hard matters : and the manner and forme of Gouernment, which hee ordayned in this Kingdome, which continueth inuiolable, doth greatly declare the ſame. Hee made new Offices and gaue new Names to all of them : An vſuall thing when one houſe beginneth to Raigne, to change all, euen the name of the King, as alſo of all Offices, and alſo of many Cities. I omit the diuiſion of the Gouernment into ſo many heads, and ſo good diſtribution, that it ſeemeth (and ſo the *Chinois* ſay) it is like to continue thouſands of yeeres, ſo that no man of the ſame Kingdome is able, nor hath any power to make any Rebellion of importance. For thoſe which in former time reuolted, were the Vice-royes of the Prouinces, and other great *Mandarins*, in whoſe power were the Gouernment, the Souldiers, and the treaſure. But hee diuided it in ſuch ſort, that thoſe which had power ouer the Souldiers, ſhould haue no money at all, neither ſhould the pay of the Souldiers depend vpon them : and thoſe which keepe the Treaſure muſt haue no ſuperintendencie and dominion ouer the Souldiers. Others which were mightie and rich, hee impoueriſhed and diuided their Authoritie and Reuenues among many ; and ſo there is no man that can call himſelfe Great. I remember that I had read in a Booke, ſet out in the *Spaniſh* tongue, of the great power of certayne Captaynes, and becauſe the King did not truſt them, hee ſent one of his houſe to will them to come vnto him.

New Lords, new Lawes.

Rebellion preuented by the policie.

All which relation, with many other things which hee reporteth of the prouidence of the King, how hee diuideth his Authoritie among diuers Princes, is not ſo in truth, neither in truth, neither is there any apparence thereof, neither haue the Captaynes much authoritie, neither are they very rich : for though they haue many people, yet the gouernment of them is diuided into diuers heads, ſo that they can hardly aſſemble to raiſe any Rebellion, eſpecially, becauſe they remaine alwayes in the Kingdome, and neere about the King.

Reuenue.

The Reuenue of this King, without doubt, is exceeding great, and vntill wee haue gotten it out of their Bookes (wherein euery thing is ſet downe very particularly) I will not preſume to publiſh the ſame, not as though I knew not that it is ſo, ſince *whileſt a man knoweth more of this Kingdome, he doubteth leſſe :* Yet becauſe I feare for all this that it will bee hard to make one beleeue the ſame, which knoweth it not of a certainty; making the Accounts not very large, his Reuenues are one yeare with another an hundred Millions in Siluer, Gold, Rice, and an infinite number of other things : although the greateſt part is Siluer. And he that conſidereth the greatneſſe of the Kingdome, and that euery man payeth Tribute to the King of their Perſons, Lands, Trees, and other things (without carrying any Tribute out of the ſame) that which I ſpeake wil not ſeeme exceſſiue. But as his Reuenue is very great, ſo his Expenſes are many. For thoſe which in this Kingdome doe liue at the Kings charge are many, to wit, all the *Mandarins* to whom the King giueth Wages, all the Souldiers, all the Kinſfolkes of the King, his Eunuches, and an infinite number of people, whereby his charges are exceeding great; although alwayes there remayneth

100. Millions. others ſay, 150.

Expences.

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mayneth a good deale for him to lay vp: and there is no doubt but hee hath it in store in exceeding great quantitie.

Many small Kingdomes round about acknowledge the King of *China*, and pay him Tribute, as *Corea*, and others, whose names I know not, on this Northerne part: and on the side of *Malaca* and *Macao*, many others. And sometimes on these Northerne parts they trouble him somewhat, in robbing and killing of people. It may be that your Worship, or some bodie else may demand, why the King of *China* being so great, subdueth not these small Kingdomes that lye about him to deliuer himselfe of trouble? I answere, that he wanteth no abilitie: but I will say one sure thing, a Paradoxe to the people of our *Europe*, which is, That neither the *Chinois*, nor their King doe seeke, nor dreame of dilating their Empire more then it is. And this their resolution is such, that although they would giue them all these Kingdomes, they would not take them, & much lesse if they were farther off. For they hold it for one of the greatest miseries (especially the *Mandarins* & graue sort of people) to go out of their Kingdome to any other part.

Neighbour Kingdomes. *Corea* or *Corai.*

A Paradoxe.

Contentednes.

There is one of the best Examples hereof that may be giuen: which fell out of late, and that was, that as by the danger which might grow to his Kingdome, if the people of *Iapon* should winne the Kingdome of *Corea*, which is joyned to *China* by the mayne Land, as they began to doe; the *Chinois* ayded the *Coreans* with many men: and the people of *Iapon* by the death of their King called *Quabacondono*, did wholly abandon it. The Kingdome remayned in the power of the *Chinois*, and so continued two or three yeares. After which they wholly gaue it ouer, without any other greater respect, then that there were none that were willing to goe thither to gouerne it, nor that the King had any need to annexe it vnto his Estate. And without doubt, it seemeth that he would doe the like with any other, although they would put it into his hands. And touching those Kingdomes which pay him Tribute, there is no great account made, whether they come or no: and their continuall comming, is more for the profit of those which come, then that the King doth desire it. And therefore the *Philippine* Ilands which in former times paid Tribute to the Kings of *China*, were made none account of when they ceased to pay it.

Corea ioyned to the Continent of *China.*

This King hath one lawfull Wife (as other men haue) in choice whereof they haue regard to nothing else but to her good qualities and externall beautie, for there is no Nobilitie to be sought for. Besides her hee hath a great number of Concubines chosen after the same manner, whose Sonnes (if the lawfull Wiues Children faile) inherit the Kingdome, which commonly falleth out, and such is he which now is King, and he which is to succeed him. When any of these women be once entred into the Kings Palace to bee his Wife, there is no name which may bee compared vnto her in being kept close; for they may not only not goe abroad, no nor bee seene of their Father, Mother, or Brethren. They haue little or none authoritie, but such as they obtaine of the King. Also the seruice of the King, of the Queene, and of his Concubines, is all by Eunuches, a seruice doubtlesse vnworthy of a King. All these Eunuches (without any exception) are of the most base people which are in all the Kingdome, whose Fathers (because they cannot keepe them when they were young) doe make them Eunuches, in hope that one day they shall get into the Court to serue the King: the manner is farre different from some which are in *Europe*: for these bee like those which the *Turkes* vse. Because their Fathers doe this for pouertie, it followeth that they haue no excellencie, for they haue no meanes to learne it, and they are little or nothing Learned.

Queenes closeneſſe.

Eunuches.

The yard and all cut away.

They elect and choose these Eunuches from time to time to supply such as die, and this first yeare that I was here, they chose aboue three thousand, for which purpose there assembled aboue twentie thousand (as they say) out of which number they made their choice. The Electors were a verie great *Mandarin* (to whom, as I said before, the Kings priuate businesse belongs) and another Eunuch of the eldest and most priuate. The Examination and Election consisteth in two things, which are a good Countenance and a good Tongue: for proofe whereof, they make them pronounce two words, wherein those that haue not a readie Tongue doe stumble. When they are chosen, and gone to the Court, they diuide them in diuers Offices: yet at their first comming, they are appointed to waite vpon the old Eunuches as Boyes, which make good triall of their patience, and obedience: and he that after certaine yeares sheweth himselfe towardly, they begin to employ in greater matters.

Their numbers and choice.

Seruice.

Of these Eunuches, the King hath his Musicians and Mathematicians, who, to bee briefe, I say, haue no sound vnderstanding in these things at all, but only for complement or superficially; yet some of them are bound to watch all night, and to looke whether any Comet doe appeare, or any such like thing in the Skie, to enforme the King thereof: and to performe other like Offices. They are vsually verie couetous, and as they are base, if they rise to bee priuate with the King, some of them be proud and vncourteous. They serue the King as slaues, obeying his will which way soeuer he inclineth. The King chastiseth them verie sharply for euery light offence: especially the King that now is, which is a very wicked man. He hath caused many to be whipped to death, for some small matter wherein they haue offended him. Yet there are some of them good and discreet, which the King vseth for dispatching of his businesse, and other matters

Ignorance.

Couetousnesse

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of weight. Though the ordinarie wages which they haue of the King bee ſmall, yet it ſerueth them well to liue of, and therefore they goe verie well apparelled in many Robes of Silke verie finely wrought of diuers colours, and the manner of their Cap and Apparell differeth from all other peoples. There are of them in number, as they ſay, aboue ſixteene thouſand of them in the Kings palaces. Hereby your Worſhip may ſee what Examples and Education the King of *China* obſerueth, which ſpendeth all his time with theſe and with women.

The common people neuer ſee nor ſpeake with the King.

Although it be the cuſtome of theſe Kings, to ſhew themſelues from time to time to certaine of the greateſt *Mandarins*: yet they neuer ſuffer the reſt of the people to ſee them, nor to ſpeake with them; and when he ſpeaketh with any bodie, they enter not into the place where hee is; but the King commeth forth to a certaine place. If there be any Nation among whom the Law of Nations hath no place in many things it is this: for as they haue no commerce with other Nations, ſo they haue not the Law which is common to all men. And therefore they admit no Ambaſſadour in *China*, vnleſſe it be by the way of giuing ſome Preſent, the King not acknowledging any; neither doe they thinke that there is any in the World, which is able to deale with their King by way of an Embaſſadour. And if they bring any Meſſage (as the *Iapons* brought within theſe few yeares, who came to intreate of certaine agreements, by no meanes they are admitted to the ſight of the King; neither doth he giue them audience: but ſome *Mandarin* doth accompany them: and the entertaynment which they giue them, and honour which they ſhew to all ſtrangers which come vnto them is verie ſmall. But as for the moſt part they haue no great conceit of ſtrangers, ſo their entertaynment is like to their conceit. Whoſoeuer he be that commeth into their Countrey, they ſhut him vp in a verie homely houſe, not ſuffering him to goe abroad.

Law of Nations contemned.

Emb-aſſages.

Royall Palace.

The Kings Palaces are verie great; and albeit in the excellencie of Architecture they bee not comparable to thoſe of our *Europe*, yet they much exceed in the hugeneſſe of Building. They haue three wals foure ſquare, the circuit of the firſt may be as bigge as the wall of a good Citie. Betweene the firſt and the ſecond wall, there is a wall which enuironeth the greateſt part of the Houſe, and here are many Houſes of the Eunuches of the loweſt ſort, which exerciſe Mechanicall Arts, or the like, as Porters, &c.

Betweene the ſecond and the third wall there are many pieces of the Kings Houſe, which is not joyned altogether, but in diuers parts there be diuers Roomes, built for diuers purpoſes, one anſwering to another. Theſe parcels of Buildings which are here (which are euerie one as long as the Careere of an Horſe, and very high) haue no vnder Roome, but a great Building raiſed vp with foundations of great Brickes, as broad and long as all the Building, wherein there are Gates of Marble ſtone very wel wrought to paſſe from one place to another. This houſe or Foundation is about eight fathomes high little more or leſſe. Aboue theſe are guilded Galleries, Tarraſſes, Hals, and Chambers, which on the out-ſide ſhew verie gallant (which is as much as can be ſeene; for no man can get in to ſee them.) The greateſt part of them is of Timber, with many gilded Embоſſements, and many other pleaſant Pictures. The Roofes are verie well made. The Tiles are of a farre better faſhion, in mine opinion, then ours, and ſo euen ioyned together that that they ſeeme to be all one piece: they are all anneled with yellow, which is the Kings Colour. To conclude, I ſay, that it ſeemed vnto me in multitude of Houſes and greatneſſe a ſtately thing. Alſo betweene theſe wals the Riuer runneth which I ſpake of: and to paſſe from one to another there are many faire Bridges of Marble made of very great ſtones: betweene theſe wals was one of the two fourth parts of the Houſe, on which the fire from Heauen fell downe within theſe few yeares, and conſumed it: and with the blowes of the ſtones which fell downe many verie great Houſes were broken downe to the ground (as ſometimes I beheld my ſelfe) and they remayned with many ſignes of fire on them. They ſay, that when this fire fell from Heauen, the King commanded his Sonne to kneele downe, and beſeech *The Heauen to be mercifull vnto him, for he himſelfe was too wicked, and that the Heauen would not heare him.* Within theſe wals are many Lodgings of the graueſt Eunuches, who like Fellowes of Colledges liue many in one Houſe, euerie one hauing his priuate Chamber. Heere betweene theſe wals are Mounts and Groues and other recreations whither the King repaireth to recreate himſelfe. And the ſpace of theſe wals is very great, for when I went to the Palace to teach the Eunuches which were in that place to trimme the Clocke, I paſſed before I came to their Lodging eight great Palaces, and on the other ſide there were many more. The Lodgings of the Eunuches vſually are low and bad, for the Kings Seruants, yet very neceſſarie.

Yellow is the Kings Colour.

Riuer and Bridges.

Fire from Heauen.

No peace to the wicked.

Mounts and Groues.

Third partition.

Next after this followeth the third wal, where the King dwelleth, with his Wiues and Children, and thoſe which where his neereſt ſeruants, whereinto no man entreth but they. And therfore albeit I haue heard that it is a very beautiful thing & very muchworth the ſeeing, as in very deed it ſheweth to be: yet I cannot giue any Relation of any thing concerning the ſame in particular. Only this I ſay, that when I was in the Houſe of the Eunuches that were the Mathematicians, I went ſometimes vp into a Towre, from whence I might ſee the tops of the Houſes, the Groues, and Orchards, and me thought that I neuer in my life ſaw ſo great a frame of Building, although I haue ſeene many in mine owne Countrie. And therefore there are alwaies a great

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a great number of Officers of all Offices, some making new Buildings, and others repayring the old. The King neuer goeth abroad, especially this King, and his Ancestors some one time and no more, vnto a Temple which they haue builded to *The Heauen, and the Earth*, where euerie yeare they offer Sacrifice. And therefore I know not with what pompe hee goeth abroad: But like as in his seruice he hath no men of qualitie, it cannot bee such as our Kings vse in their going to Church:

King a home Prisoner.

Temple of Heauen and Earth.

There is a barbarous custome among the Kings, that when the Prince is aduanced to the Kingdome, within a short time after, all the rest of the old Kings Sonnes are to depart out of the House to certaine places appointed for them, which vnto the third Generation are serued like Kings, but they neuer come more in the presence of their Father, Mother, nor elder Brother: and therefore there is great lamentations of their Mothers at their departure. The Posteritie of these doe alwaies remayne as Kinsmen, and with the name of the Kings Kinsmen. To all these (which are very many) the King giueth sufficient mayntenance, which is no great matter. They neuer beare Office; and deale with other people, and marrie with them, without doing themselues much good or none at all in being the Kings Kinsmen, nor purchase any speciall authoritie thereby. Other Kinsfolkes of the King, married with the Sisters, Daughters, or Cousins of the King, or Queene, although they haue sufficient to liue vpon, yet haue they exceeding small authoritie, and haughtinesse. And herein, nor in any thing may they compare with the *Mandarins*.

Barbarous vsage of the Kings Children.

Here came to visit vs one married with the Sister of this King that is now, in a Chaire with three or foure Boyes to wait on him. Another came oftentimes married with the Sister of the Wife of the Prince that is to inherit, on Horse-backe with one Boy only attending on him; and hee entreth into the Examinations that hee may proceed Doctor and become a *Mandarin*: So litle is the benefit that groweth vnto them by the Consanguinity or Affinity of the King which are joyned vnto him thereby.

Here the time faileth me, though neither matter, nor desire to giue contentment to your Worship, and the rest of my most deare Fathers and Brethren, neither doth nor shall euer faile me. And therefore if I shall vnderstand, that they take this in good worth, I will giue Relation of that which shall fall out here by the helpe and grace of our Lord, to whom I humbly beseech all of them to commend mee.

Kings Affinitie and Consanguinitie, litle worth.

I send here withall two Maps of this Kingdome of *China*, which came to my hand after I had written this Letter, and Relation. I sought to translate all that which is contayned in the *China* Letters; which is all the Rent which euery one of these Prouinces payeth to the King of *China*; and to make a description of all the Houses which euerie Prouince hath, and how many *people*, and many things else: But your Worship may beleeue that by no meanes I had leysure: and therefore I send you only the figure, and another yeare (if it please our Lord God) I will send you the same with the declaration thereof.

Maps of *China*.

All the rundles and squares which are therein are Cities, or Fortresses of many Inhabitants, both of them walled about. There is no Towne here set downe that it is not walled: the others are many more.

The Riuers are well distinguished. The great lines are the limits of the Prouinces: the other small lines, and of little circuit are the Iuridictions of some one principall Citie.

We print here another Map of all the World of our manner with *Chinish* Letters, which because wee want time to declare the Letters, I send not till the next yeare, which then we will send if our Lord grant vs life.

I send you many other Papers, that your Worships may see the fashion of the Letters of these people of *China*, and what Characters wee committed to memorie. From *Paquin*, beeing the Court and Royall Citie of the King of *China*, the ninth of March, 1602.

CHAP.

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CHAP. VII.

A Diſcourſe of the Kingdome of China, *taken out of* RICIVS *and* TRIGAVTIVS, *contayning the Countrey, People, Gouernment, Religion, Rites, Sects, Characters, Studies, Arts, Acts; and a Map of* China *added, drawne out of one there made with Annotations for the vnderſtanding thereof.*

§. I.

Of the Name, Scite, and Greatneſſe; the Tributaries, Commoditie, Arts, Printing, Seales, Inke, Pencill-pennes and Fannes.

Here in the author begins l. 1 cap. 2. the firſt being a place: The diuers names of this Kingdome.

THis vtmoſt Empire in the Eaſt, hath beene made knowne to *Europe* by diuers appellations, as that of *Ptolemey*, *Sina*; that later of *Marcus Paulus* the *Venetian*, *Cathay*; and that moſt vſuall receiued from the *Portugals*, which call it *China*. I doubt not alſo that this is the Region of the *Hippophagi*, or *Horſ-eaters*, a meat there as common as Beefe here: as alſo that this is the Region *Serica* or *Silken*; foraſmuch as there is no Kingdome of the Eaſt where Silke is found in that quantitie: and the *Portugals* ſhip it thence for *Iapon*, and all *India*; the *Spaniards* alſo of the *Philippina* Ilands, fraight their ſhips therewith for all the *American* World. Moreouer, I find in the *China* Chronicles that this Silke-worke was there two thouſand ſix hundred thirtie ſix yeares before the Birth of Chriſt: whence it paſſed to the reſt of *Aſia*, to our *Europe* and to *Africa*. But in this varietie nothing ſeemes ſo ſtrange to me, as that all theſe names are ſo ſtrange to them, not knowne or once heard of, although the change of names be not ſtrange to that Countrey. For as often as the Empire paſſeth from one Family to another, according to the viciſſitude of humane Affaires: He which attayneth the Throne, impoſeth a name at his pleaſure. So hath it beene ſometimes called *Than* (which ſignifieth *exceedingly large*) another while *Yu*, that is, *Reſt*; after that ſucceſſiuely *Hia*, or *Great*; *Sciam*, *Adorned*; *Cheu*, *Perfect*; *Han*, *The Milkie way in Heauen*, *&c.* And ſince this Family, called *Ciu*, which now holdeth the Souereigntie, hath reigned, it is called *Min*, which intimateth *Splendour*, and by vſuall addition of one ſyllable *Ta-min*, that is, the Kingdome of *Great Splendour*, Brightneſſe or Glory. Yet doe few of their Neighbour Nations obſerue theſe changes of Names, whereby each of them almoſt, ſtile it by ſeuerall appellations. Thoſe of *Cocin*, *Cauchin-china*, and the *Siamites* call it *Cin*; the *Iapanders*, *Than*; the *Tartars*, *Han*; the Weſterne *Saracens*, *Catay*. Alſo amongſt the *Chinois* themſelues, beſides that arbitrary name ſo impoſed by their Kings, it hath ſome common to all Ages. Such are *Cumquo*, that is, the Kingdome; and *Chiumhoa*, which ſignifieth a Garden, a name ariſing from their Geography, beleeuing indeed the roundneſſe of the Heauen, but a ſquareneſſe of the Earth, and their Kingdome in the midſt thereof, a conceit growne out of conceit now, by better inſtruction of the Ieſuits.

The *China* cuſtome of changing names & yet this name *China*, *Sina*, or *Cathay*, vnknowne to them.

Conceit of the Earths forme.

Their King is called *Lord of the World*, and they ſuppoſed accordingly that their Kingdome contayned the principall part thereof; not deeming the Neighbour Kingdomes worthy to bee called *Kingdomes*, which yet before their Commerce with *Europeans* were all they knew. And not vnworthily is the name *Great* prefixed to their Kingdomes appellation, beeing the greateſt Kingdome in the World, which at this day carrieth One Name, or hath done in former times. For Southward it beginneth in the nineteenth degree, at the Ile which they call *Hainam*, that is, the *South-Sea*, and runneth into the North to the two & fortieth, euen to thoſe wals which diuide the *Chinois* from the *Tartars*. The longitude beginneth from the one hundred and twelfth (reckoning from the *Canaries*) in the Prouince *Yunan*, and extends Eaſt-ward to the Sea in one hundred thirtie two. Theſe Dimenſions wee haue obſerued in diuers places of the Kingdome where we haue paſſed, by Aſtrolabes and other Mathematicall Inſtruments; adding alſo the obſeruation of Eclipſes in their Almanacks, where the Moones Change and Full are iuſtly deſcribed, and ſpecially by authoritie of Coſmographicall Plaines. Yet if others which ſhall come after vs ſhall more exactly obſerue the longitude (which I dare ſay will be no great matter) I ſhall not vnwillingly yeeld. Hence may be obſerued that this ample Kingdome is for the moſt part within the temperate Zone; neither doth it extend ſo farre North-ward as ſome Maps haue deſcribed by many degrees. And leſt any ſhould thinke that ſome great parts of ſo large a Dominion

The Kings Title.

Largeneſſe of the Kingdome of *China*.

The temperate Climate.

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nion be desert, I will here translate out of a *China* booke entituled, *The Description of that Kingdome*, there printed, 1579. that which followeth.

In the Kingdome (of China*) there are two Prouinces Royall,* Nanquin *the Southerne Court, and* Pequin *the Northerne, and thirteene others. In these fifteene Prouinces (you might call them Kingdomes) by another diuision are numbred one hundred fiftie eight Regions or lesse Prouinces, called by them* Fu; *the most of which haue twelue or fifteene Cities of reasonable quantitie, besides Villages, Hamlets, Castles and Townes. In these Prouinces are two hundred fortie seuen greater Cities, called* Cheu *(howbeit sometimes distinguished from other Cities rather in dignitie then largenesse) of vulgar Cities, which they call* Hien, 1152. *Of men growne to ripe age, which pay tribute or poll money to the King, were then fiftie and eight millions, fiue hundred fiftie thousand,* 801. *In all which the female sexe is not reckoned: and of the Masculine are omitted, Boyes, Youths, Eunuchs, Souldiers, the Royall kindred, Magistrates, Students, and very many others. And of the Souldiers, although there be a Supine peace (except some* Tartarian *assault sometimes) there are maintained in the Kings pay, and in perpetuall Armes, aboue ten* * *hundred thousand. For the three Northern Prouinces are almost halfe in pay. In that booke are numbred Kingdomes adioyning to that of* China *and tributarie; to the East three, to the West fiftie three, to the South fiftie fiue, to the North three. Yet I obserue that nothing so many doe in these dayes pay tribute, and those which doe, carry more from* China, *then they bring thither: and therefore the* Chinois *care not much whether they continue loyall or no.*

*Some say many more see the Map and notes.

To the worth of this Kingdome, may bee added, the fortification by Nature or Art round about it. To the South and East, the Sea washeth it, and so many Ilands guard it, that hardly can a Fleet of Ships approach the Continent. To the North, steepe *præcipices* are ioyned together, with a continued Tract of 405. leagues, and exclude the *Tartars* assaults. To the North-west is a sandy desart of many dayes iourney, which prohibite passage of an Armie, or minace their burialls. The South-west hath great Mountaines and little Kingdomes to preuent feare on that side.

Chap. 3.

From this largenesse of Territories proceeds such diuersified varietie of things growing in that Kingdome, some in the torrid, others in the colder or in the temperate *Zones:* whatsoeuer is required to the necessitie or delicacie of food or raiment being there naturall; nothing being here in *Europe* but either is there, or a better supply: Wheat, Barley, Panike, and other Corne; Rice, Pulse (in some Prouinces two or three haruests yeerely) fruits and Apples of the best (Nuts and Almonds excepted) Figs and others vnknowne in our world, as the *Licyas* and the *Longanas* in *Canton* Prouince onely; the *Sucusina* or *China* Figge, or Apple so called, because they may dry it as they do Figs, & liker to a Peach red, without hoarinesse or stone: in Oranges, Citrons, Limons they exceed all places. So doe they in goodnesse and varietie of Gardens, Herbs, as being there much vsed, some for religion, others for pouertie eating nothing else. Flowers haue there taken vp their bowers, admirably varied, more respected for sight then sent; the Art of distilling sweet-waters being there vnheard of. In the foure Southerne Prouinces grow *Betre* or *Betele* leafe, and the tree *Arequa* or *Arequeira*, so much vsed in *India*, and chewed all day long for their stomacke and teeth. *Sesame* Oile is both odoriferous and plentifull. Wine is not there so good as in *Europe* (the Grape being neither pleasant nor frequent) made of Rice and other things.

The commodities of *China*.

Fruits of all sorts.

Hogs-flesh is common food: they haue Buffalls, Muttons, Goats-flesh; Hennes, Duckes, Geese, innumerable: Horses also, Asses, Mules, and Dogs-flesh are food, and shamble commodities. In some places superstition abstaineth from Beefe and Buffalls, Venison, especially red Deere, Hare, and diuers domestick creatures are common; all cheape. Their Horses and Beasts of labour are not so goodly as in *Europe*, but more in number, and therefore in cheapnesse. The whole Kingdome is very commodious for passage by Riuers both naturall and hand-made: whence the number and kindes of shipping is incredible; insomuch that a moderne Writer hath auerred, that there are as many which keepe on the waters as on the land; an Hyperbole, yet not so exceeding the truth to such as saile these Riuers, as may bee seene to others. I am of opinion, that there are as many Ships in this Kingdome, as are in all the world beside in fresh-waters: for their Sea-shipping is fewer and not comparable with ours. But to returne to their Horses, the *Chinois* know not how to manage and breake them but by gelding; so that their Horses for seruice are innumerable, but so vnseruiceable, that they will not indure the neighing of the *Tartarian* Horse without flight. They shooe them not with Iron, so that in rockie and hard wayes they faile.

Fleſh for food.

Passages by water.

Store of shipping and water dwellers.

Horses.

Besides the Seas plentie of Fish and Riuers, they are stored also in Lakes, seeming for their depths and largenesse petie Seas. They haue more store of Fish-ponds also, then in these parts, whence the Market is daily furnished. Their Woods haue no Lions, but store of Tigers, Beares, Woolues, Foxes. Elephants there are not, but for pompe some kept at the Court in *Pequin*, brought from other places. Flaxe they haue not, but are supplied with abundance of Cotton, the seed whereof was brought thither foure hundred yeeres since, and hath so liked the soyle, that the whole world, as may seeme thence might haue sufficient. Of Silke-workes wee say no more. Of Hempe, and of some other Herbs, they make many clothes, especially for Summer

Fiſh.

Wilde beaſts.

Cotton.

Sale of cloth.

vſe

vſe. They milke not their Sheepe; they ſheare them, yet make no cloth of the Wooll (notwithſtanding, woollen-clothes brought thither by Merchants is well ſold) but light Summer clothes for blankets and other ſleight vſes. The North parts, though neerer the Sunne then ſome Regions in *Europe*, are colder, the great riuers and lakes frozen ouer, of which we can giue no reaſon, but the neighbouring Mountaines of *Tartaria*: againſt which they are furniſhed with choice Furres.

Metalls. All ſorts of metalls are there found. They make beſides Braſſe and Copper, another ſhining like Siluer, as cheape as the yellow Braſſe. Of molten Iron they make Kettles, Caldrons, Bells, Mortars, Ordnance, and other things. Their Gold is cheaper then with vs. Siluer they vſe for money, diſtinguiſhed not by ſtampe but weight, in all bargaining vſing the ballance, which is made the more incommodious for the differing goodneſſe of the Siluer, and frequent allay and fraud. In ſome places are Braſſe farthings. Plate and Gold veſſells are vſed by the greater, but nothing ſo much as in theſe parts. The women ſpend much Gold and Siluer in their head-tires.

Porcellane. The vulgar vſe earthen diſhes, called, I now not why, *porcellane*; the beſt whereof is made in the *Kiamſin* Prouince of a yellow earth. It endureth without riuing hot meates, yea as woodden

Glaſſe. diſhes here with a wyre, they ſowe the rifts and make them hold liquor. They make Glaſſe, but therein are ſhort of the *Europeans*.

Buildings. Their houſes are of Timber commonly, euen the Kings Palaces, the walls which ſerue for partitions of roomes being ſometimes of Bricke, but the roofe ſuſtained by Timbers: which together with their ſhipping argues their plentie of trees. Oakes are rare, but ſupplied with a hard

Hard Timber and Reeds. and euerlaſting wood with them vſed for coffins, in which their curioſitie will ſometimes ſpend a thouſand Duckets. There is alſo ſtore of a kinde of reed, which the *Portugalls* call *Bambu*, of almoſt Iron hardneſſe, the roundneſſe ſcarcely compaſſed with both hands, and ſerues for ſmaller poſts; the leſſer of them for Launces and other vſes. For fire they vſe Wood, Coles, Reeds,

Sea-cole. Straw, and a bituminous ſubſtance called *Mui* (a kinde of Mine-cole or Sea-cole) which is moſt and beſt in the North, digged out of the earth.

Rhubarb, *China*, Muske. Of medicinable herbs they haue diuers, ſpecially Rhubarbe, ſold for tenne halfe pence the pound: *China* Wood, or holy Wood growing in deſarts naturally, and thence taken for no other price but the labour: Muske; Salt both made of Sea-waters, and of others eaſily in the Continent; Sugar more common there then Hony, though both plentifull: Waxe both of Bees, and

Salt, Sugar, Home-waxe. another white and burning better made by certaine wormes, which therefore are nouriſhed in

Paper. trees; another alſo made of a certaine fruit: Their paper is not ſo during as ours, nor can endure the preſſe on both ſides.

I omit their parti-coloured Marbles, their gems, colours for paintings, odoriferous Woods,

Their drinke *Cha*, *Chia*, or *Cia*. &c. I cannot paſſe by ſome rarities; as their ſhrub whence they make their drinke *Cia*. They gather the leaues in the Spring, and dry them in the ſhadow, and keepe it for daily decoction, vſing it at meates, and as often as any gueſt comes to their houſe, yea twice or thrice, if hee make any tarrying. They ſup it hot, bitteriſh to the palate, but wholeſome: not of ancient vſe, for they haue no ancient Character in their bookes for it. The *Iapanders* pay deare for it, ten or twelue Duckets a pound for the beſt, and vſe it otherwiſe, putting the pouider of the leafe to hot water, as much as two or three ſpoonefulls: the *Chinois* put the leaues themſelues into the hot water, which they drinke, leauing the leaues behinde. They haue alſo a bituminous ſub-

Sandaracha, a rich Varniſh. ſtance like milke, ſtrained out of the barke of a tree, of pitchy cleauing, whence they make *Sandaracha*, a varniſh for their houſes and houſhold, ſhips, and other things: yeelding a ſmooth touch to the hand and glaſſie ſplendour to the eye with long continuance. Thus can they more then counterfeit the colours of any wood, and hereby are prouided againſt prouiſions of Napery, this ſeruing for Table linnen; they recouering any greaſie contagion with a little rinſing of water. They haue an Oyle alſo preſſed from an apple not vnlike it in vſe, but not ſo reſplendent.

Spices. They haue Cinamon and Ginger growing, Pepper and other Spices are brought from other parts. They haue ſtore of Gun-powder, not ſo much for Artillerie (which they can vſe but meanely) as for Fire-works in pompous ſpectacles, thereby repreſenting, Trees, Fruits, Battels, and other things with great Art and coſt. We ſaw at *Nanquin*, in the firſt moneth of the yeere, as much this way ſpent as would haue ſerued a continued fight two yeeres.

Chap. 4. Of their Arts in *China*. This is not to be vnderſtood of Temples, &c. as may appeare by *Nanquin* Temple, &c. For Mechanicall Arts, they are not comparable to our mens Architecture, whether yee regard the beautie or continuance of their buildings, they not ſo much as conceiuing or crediting the ſtately magnificence or long durance of ſome in theſe parts. They either make no foundation, or verie ſleight, and thinke a mans age to be age enough for a houſe, and that ſcarcely without reparations: their houſes being alſo of Timber, and where the walls are Stone, they haue Timbers to beare vp the roofe, that the wall may eaſily be repaired or renewed without meddling with the ſupporters.

Printing. Antiquitie and manner of it. Printing is ancienter there then here; ſome thinke before the Incarnation, and moſt certaine aboue fiue hundred yeeres old: much differing from ours becauſe of the multitude of their Characters. They graue or cut theſe Characters in a table of Peare-tree, Apple-tree or *Zizyphus*. In this

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this Table they lightly glue on a whole leafe written, and then cunningly shaue the drie paper, that they make very little transparence; after which they cut the wood, that onely the prints or lineaments of the Characters are eminent: which done, with great facilitie and celeritie they print off leaues at pleasure, one Printer often 1500. in one day; so ready also in cutting, that to mee Ours seeme to spend as much time in *composing and correcting*. This course is more accommodated to their great Characters then to ours, whose little letters are not easily cut in woodden Tables. They haue this commoditie also, that keeping these Tables by them, they may with little labour adde or take away words or sentences: and need not at once print off any more Copies then present vse or sale requireth. Wee doe this with Bookes of our Religion or *European* Sciences, printing them at home by our *China* seruants. They haue another way of printing Characters or Pictures printed before in Marble or Wood, laying on a leafe of Paper moist, and on that a woollen Cloth, whereon they beate with a Hammer till the Paper insinuates it selfe into the voide spaces and lineaments of the Characters or Picture: after which they lightly colour that leafe with Inke or other colour, those delineations onely remayning white, and retayning the Prototype-figure. But this is for grosser Pourtraitures. Another way.

They are much addicted to pictures, but nothing so cunning in painting, founding, grauing, as *Europeans*. They make magnificent Arches with figures of men and beasts, and adorne their Temples with Idols and Bells, but their Genius otherwise generous and ingenious enough, for want of commerce with other Nations, is herein rudely artificiall. Shadowes and Oyle in picturing are to them vnknowne, and their Pictures therefore haue no more life of Art then Nature. In Statues, themselues seeme Statues for all rules of Symmetry any further then by the eye, and yet will be doing in huge (indeed) Monsters of this kinde, in Earth, Brasse, and Marble. Painting, grauing, founding.

Their Bells haue all woodden Hammers, which yeeld a woodden sound, not comparable to ours, nor seeming capable of those of Iron. Bells.

They haue variety and plenty of Musicall Instruments, yet want Organs and all that haue Keyes. Their Strings are made of raw Silke, and know not that any can be made of Guts. Musicall Instruments.

The Symmetrie of their Instruments is answerable to ours. All their Musike is simple and single-toned, vtterly ignorant of consort in discord-concord: yet much applaud they themselues in their owne Harmonie, howsoeuer dissonant to our eares. But this pride seemes to grow (as vsually it doth) from ignorance, and it is likely they would preferre ours if they knew it.

They haue scarcely any Instruments for measuring of (that which measures all things) Time; such as they haue, measure by water or fire, but very imperfectly, as is also their Sun-diall, which they know not to fit to differing places. Want of Hour-glasses, Glocks, and Dials.

They are much addicted to Comedies, and therein exceed ours; some practising the same in principall Townes, others trauelling thorow the Kingdome (or roguing, if you will) being the dregs of the Kingdome, buying Boyes whom they frame to this faigning facultie. Their Commedies are commonly antient, whether Histories or deuices, and few new written. Comedies.

They are vsed in publike and in priuate Solemnities; as also in Feasts, whereto being called, they offer to the Inuiter a Booke, in which to take his choise, the Guests looking, eating, drinking together; and sometimes after ten houres feasting, they will spend as much succeeding time in a succession of Interludes one after another. Their pronunciation is with singing accent, and not with the vulgar tone. Seales.

Seales are of great vse with them, not onely for Letters, but for their Poems also, Pictures, Bookes, and many other things. These contayne the name, sur-name, dignitie, and degree: neither content they themselues with one, but haue many, inscribing sometimes the beginning and end of their workes; not imprinting them in Waxe, or such like substance, but onely colour them red. The chiefe men haue on the Table a Boxe full of Seales, which containe their diuers names (for euery *Chinese* hath many names) and those of Wood, Marble, Iuorie, Brasse, Crystall, Corall, and better stones. There are many workemen of that *Seale-occupation*, their Characters differing from the vulgar, and sauouring of Antiquitie and Learning. Various substance esteemed liberall.

There is another Art not vnlike, of making Inke for all writing, made into little Cakes or Balls of the smoke of Oyle. For their estimation of exact writing makes the making of Inke also to be holden an Art not illiberall. Inke-making.

They vse it on a Marble smooth stone; with a few drops of water rubbing those Balls, and colouring the stone, thence taking it with a Pensill of Hares haires wherewith they write. Pensils in stead of Pens.

Fannes also are in much vse by both Sexes for the causing of winde to coole them in Summer. No man may goe abroad without a Fanne, although the weather be cold, and the winde already bee importunate: the vse being rather for ornament then necessitie. Fannes.

They are made of Reeds, Wood, Iuorie, Ebonie, together with Paper or Silke, and a certaine odoriferous Straw, in round, ouall, or square forme. The chiefe men vse them of Paper gilded with plaits to be let in or out, and therein inscribe some pithie sentence or Poeme. These are the most common gifts or presents (as Gloues in *Europe*) and we haue a Chist full of them sent vs by our friends. In other things the *Chinois* are liker ours, vsing Tables, Stooles, and Beds (which the adioyning Nations doe not, but sit on Carpets on the floore) to eate or sleepe.

§. II.

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§. II.

Of their Characters and writing downward: their ſtudies, Ethikes, Aſtrologie, Phyſike, Authentike Authors, Degrees how taken both Philoſophicall and Militarie.

Cap.5. Monoſyllable Language, as alſo our proper *Engliſh* is almoſt wholly.

NOw, for their more liberall Arts, and Literate-degrees, this Kingdome differs from all others: in which their Learned beare principall ſway. The *China* words are Monoſyllables, not one otherwiſe, howſoeuer two or three *Vowels* ſometimes are conioyned into one *Diphthong*, to ſpeake after our manner; for they haue not *Conſonants* nor *Vowels*, but diuers Characters for ſo many things, and as many of them, as there are Words, ſo that a Word, Syllable, Letter, are the ſame; and when we ioyne diuers Syllables to make one Word, it is after our faſhion, becauſe they ſignifie the ſame thing; with them each Syllable is a ſeuerall word. And although the number of things and Characters ſeeme the ſame, yet doe they ſo compound them together, that they exceed not ſeuenty or eighty thouſand: and hee which knoweth ten thouſand of them, hath the moſt neceſſary: to know all is in manner for any one man impoſſible. Of theſe Characters the ſound is often the ſame, the figure and ſignification differing: ſo that no Language is ſo equiuocall; nor can any Speech bee written from the Speakers mouth by the Hearer, nor can a Booke bee read to the Hearers vnderſtanding, except they haue the Booke before them, by their eyes to diſtinguiſh the equiuocations which their eares cannot. Yea, in ſpeaking accuratly, the Hearer often vnderſtands not without repetition and writing either with Inke, or water on the Table, or forming the Characters in the aire; and this moſt happens in the moſt elegant and polite diſcourſes (the ſtile of Bookes and Inkhorne-dialect of their learned, wholly differing from the vulgar Idiome.) This equiuocation and paucity of ſounds is in ſome ſort eaſed by *Accents*, which are fiue, and not eaſie to diſtinguiſh; by which of one Syllable (as wee account it) they make it with differing tones fiue fold in differing ſignification: and there is no Word which is not pronounced with one of theſe Accents. Hence is the Language ſo difficult as none elſe in the World for Strangers to learne to ſpeake and vnderſtand; which importunate labour of ours hath yet attayned. The reaſon I conceiue to be that they alway haue laboured to adorne their writing more then their ſpeech, their eloquence ſtill conſiſting in writing and not in pronunciation, as *Iſocrates* is commended amongſt the *Greekes*.

70000. Characters.

Equiuocations

Fiue Accents.

Hardneſſe of *China* Speech.

Eloquentia ſine eloquio.

This multitude of Characters, as it is burthenſome to the memory, ſo it hath this commodity, the commerce with diuers Nations of different Linguages by community of writing; *Iapon, Corai, Cauchinchina*, the *Leuhiees*, vnderſtanding and reading the Characters, each into his owne Language, which the other vnderſtand nothing at all. Each Prouince alſo hath its owne, and all haue one common Tongue beſides, which they call *Quonhoa*, or the Court Language (the Magiſtrates being all forrainers, and none bearing Office in his Countrey Prouince) vſed in their Courts, and by the Learned: this onely did ours learne, nor is the other vſed by the ciuiller or learneder in conference, except priuatly by Countrey-men: yea, children and women learne this Court-ſpeech. I heare that the *Iaponians* haue an Alphabet alſo of Letters after our faſhion, beſides theſe Characters; but in *China* they haue none, ſo that from their Cradle to the extremeſt age they are learning their Characters, as many as profeſſe Learning: which howſoeuer it takes vp time from better Sciences, it doth it alſo from idle youthfull vanities. Hence alſo riſeth a kinde of writing with them, in few Characters expreſſing that which would coſt vs long diſcourſes. Their courſe of writing is from the right hand, the line downward, ours contrary from the left and ſide-wayes.

Many Nations and Languages haue the ſame Characters.

Court Language.

Their writing.

Of all the nobleſt Sciences they are beſt skilled in morall Philoſophie (naturall, they haue rather obſcured) and being ignorant of Logicke, they deliuer thoſe Ethicke precepts in confuſed ſentences and diſcourſes without order by meere naturall wit. Their greateſt Philoſopher is called *Confutius*, whom I finde to haue beene borne 551. yeeres before the comming of *Chriſt*, and to haue liued aboue 70. yeeres, by example as well as precept exciting to vertue, accounted a very holy man. And if wee marke his ſayings and doings, wee muſt confeſſe few of our Ethnike Philoſophers before him, and many behinde. But with the *Chinois*, his word is authoritie, and no ſpeech of his is called in queſtion; the *Learned*, yea the Kings alſo, euer ſince worſhipping him, not as a God, but as a Man; and his poſteritie are much eſteemed, the head of that familie inheriting by grant of Kings a title of great honour, with immunities and reuenues anſwerable.

Morall Philoſophie.

Confutius. His heroike honours.

They haue ſome knowledge alſo of Aſtrologie, and the Mathematikes: In Arithmetike and Geometry antiently more excellent, but in learning and teaching confuſed. They reckon foure hundred Starres more then our Aſtrologers haue mentioned, numbring certaine ſmaller which doe not alway appeare. Of the heauenly *Apparances* they haue no rules: they are much buſied about foretelling Eclipſes, and the courſes of Planets, but therein very erroneous; and all their

Mathematikes.

Phœnomena.

skill

skill of Starres is in manner that which wee call Iudiciall Astrology, imagining these things below to depend on the Starres. Somewhat they haue receiued of the Westerne *Saracens*, but they confirme nothing by Demonstration, only haue left to them *Tables*, by which they reckon the Eclipses and Motions: Colledges.

The first of this Royall Family forbad any to learne this Iudiciall Astrologie, but those which by Hereditary right are thereto designed, to preuent Innouations. But he which now reigneth mayntayneth diuers Mathematicians, both Eunuches within the Palace, and Magistrates without, of which there are in *Pequin* two Tribunals, one of *Chinois*, which follow their owne Authors, another of *Saracens* which reforme the same by their Rules, and by conference together. Both haue in a small Hill a Plaine for Contemplation where are the huge Mathematicall Instruments of Brasse before mentioned: One of the Colledge nightly watcheth thereon as is before obserued. That of *Nanquin* exceeds this of *Pequin*, as being then the Seat Royall. When the *Pequin* Astrologers foretell Eclipses, the Magistrates and Idoll Ministers are commanded to assemble in their Officiary Habits to helpe the labouring Planets, which they think they do with beating brazen Bels, and often kneelings, all the time that they thinke the Eclipse lasteth, lest they should then bee deuoured (as I haue heard) by I know not what *Serpent*. Eclipses.

Their Physicke Rules differ much from ours; they examine the Pulse alike. They succeed well in their Prescriptions, which vsually are Simples, Herbs, Rootes, and the like. They haue for it no publike Schoole, but each learnes it of his owne Master, yet in the two Royall Cities Degrees of this Art are giuen after Examination, but cursorily and without any respect acquired by his Degree, because all may practise which will. Neyther doth any study Mathematickes or Physicke, which is in any hope of the Ethike glory, but such as want of wit or meanes hath deterred from studies more sublime. Contrariwise, that Ethike Science is the Ladder of *China* felicity. *Confutius* brought into order the Bookes of foure former Philosophers, and wrote a fift himselfe, which fiue Bookes hee called *Doctrines:* in which are contayned Morall and Politike Rules, Examples of the Ancients, Rites and Sacrifices, diuers Poems also and the like. Besides these fiue Volumes, out of *Confutius* and his Disciples are brought into one Volume, diuers Precepts without order, Similes, Sentences Ethike, Oeconomike, Politike: this Booke for the foure parts is called the *Foure Bookes*. These nine are the ancientest *China* Bookes, whence the others most what are taken, and contayne most of their Characters. And the ancient Kings enacted that they which professe Learning, should take the foundations of their Learning from those Bookes, not only to learne the proper sense of the Text, but to bee able on the sudden to write fitly of any sentence, for which cause that *Tetrabiblion* is learned without Booke. Neyther is there any *Vniuersitie* or publike Schoole (as some of ours haue affirmed, the Masters or Professors whereof haue vndertaken to read and expound those Bookes; but euery one gets a Master at home at his owne choice and cost (of which there is a huge multitude.) In this Science are three Degrees bestowed on them which offer themselues to be examined and are iudged meete. That Examination is almost wholly in Writing. The first Degree is conferred in euery City in that place which is called the Schoole, by some learned man designed to that Office by the King, who is by that place called *Tihio*; the Degree is termed *Sieucai*. A threefold Examination is premised. First, at his comming to any City of his Prouince, all that stand for that degree in that City, and the confining limits thereof resort thither and are examined by those Masters which are set ouer the Bachelours till they haue attayned further Degree, mayntayned by the Kings stipend. In this Examination euery one is admitted, perhaps foure or 5000. assembled to that purpose. The second is by the foure Gouernours of the City (for none are admitted to Gouernment but the *Learned*) which present out of all that number 200. of the better Writers to the *Tihio*, and he in a third Examination chuseth 20. or 30. of the best, which he entituleth *Bachelors:* their Ensignes are a *long Gowne, a Cap, and Boots*, which none else may weare, & in all places they are much respected as in a ranke aboue the vulgar Citizens, and enjoy also diuers Priuiledges, being in manner subject only to the Masters aforesaid and the *Tihio*, other Magistrates scarsly medling with them. This *Tihio* not only hath authority ouer these new created Bachelors, but euer those which were made before to re-examine them: and these according to their writing hee diuideth into fiue rankes; the first he rewardeth with some publike Office in the City, the second with some inferiour honour, the third he neyther rewards nor punisheth, the fourth he causeth to be publikely whipped, the last he degradeth and maketh againe Plebeians. The second Degree is called *Kiugin*, and may be compared with our *Licentiates*, and is conferred but once in three yeares, and that in the Metropolitane City about the eight Moone with greater Majesty. And the degree is not conferred to all, but to a certayne number of the worthiest, according to the dignity of each Prouince: *Pequin* and *Nanquin* haue each 150. *Cequian*, *Quamsi*, and *Fuquian* 95. others fewer. Only Bachelors, but not all, are admitted to this Examination, the *Tihio* sending out of each City or Schoole 30. or at most 40. of the best, which number yet ariseth in some Prouince to 4000. of those Examinates or Probationers for this second degree. A little before the eighth Moon (which often fals in September, the *Pequin* Magistrates present to the King 200. of the most esteemed Philosophers in the Kingdome, who thence pricketh or nameth thirty, for each Prouince two, to take

No Vniuersity. Degrees. *Tihio* the Proposer. *Sieucai* a Bachelors degree, or as Master of Art with vs. Ornaments. Their Priuiledges. The second degree, *Kiugin*, as Licentiates or Bachelors in Diuinitie, if we compare them with ours. Examiners.

Confutius his fiue Bookes. *Tetrabiblion*.

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take charge of the Examination of theſe Candidates. One of theſe two muſt bee of the *Hanlin Colledge*, the Collegians whereof are moſt famous thorow the Kingdome. The King doth not name them till that nicke of time when they muſt preſently packe to their Prouince, diligently guarded alſo that they ſpeake with none of that Prouince till the *Act* or *Commencement* be paſt. In the ſame Prouince alſo are choſen the beſt Philoſophers to aſſiſt theſe two Examiners. In euery *Mother City* is a huge Palace built for this purpoſe, compaſſed with high wals, with many ſtations for the Examiners ſeparate from noyſe; and foure thouſand Cels or Studies beſides in the midſt of the Palace, wherein is a ſtoole and table for one man, that none may ſee or confer with any other.

Palace of examination.

When the Examiners ſent by the King, and thoſe of the Prouince are come thither, they are preſently ſhut vp in their ſtations before they can ſpeake with other men, or with each other, during all the Examination time. Night and day, meane-whiles the Magiſtrates and Souldiers guard the Palace from Colloquies. Three dayes (the ſame thorow the Kingdome) the ninth, twelfth and fifteenth of the eighth Moone, from morning to night are appointed for their writing, the doores being ſhut. A light refection prouided the day before is giuen to the Writers at publike coſt. When the Bachelors come to the Palace, they are thorowly ſearched whether they haue any Booke or Writing with them, and are admitted only with the Penſils which they vſe in writing, their Plate, Paper and Inke; theſe alſo and their Garments ſearched to preuent all fraud, which found cauſeth the twofold puniſhment both of loſſe and ſence. When they are admitted, the doores ſhut and ſealed, the two Royall Examiners out of the *Tetrabiblium* propound three Sentences for ſo many Theames to euery of them; and foure out of the fiue Bookes of *Doctrines* for ſo many other Theames. Theſe ſeuen Writings muſt bee made for elegance of words and weight of Sentences according to the Precepts of *China* Rhetoricke; neyther muſt any Writing contayne aboue 500. Characters. Two dayes being paſſed for the Examinationn of theſe; the next day out of the Chronicles, or other three Caſes of Politie are propounded, wherein each which three Theames or Writing expreſſe their minde, or Libel-wiſe admoniſh the King what were fitteſt to be done. The third day three Law Caſes, ſuch as happen in the Magiſtrates, Offices are propounded, for each thereof to expreſſe his Sentence. Theſe in great ſilence, each in his appointed Cell, hauing written their Theames, ſubſcribed with their owne, their Fathers, Grand-fathers and great Grand-fathers names, and ſealed ſo that none but men appointed may reade them, offer them to certayne Officers, which before the Examiners ſee them; cauſe them to bee tranſcribed by certayne thereto appointed: which Copies to be diſtinguiſhed from the Originals are written in Red Inke, without the Authors names (the Originals laid vp ſafely) that none might by the hand or name know the Authour. In this Examination the Aſſiſtants firſt reiect the worſt & preſent vnto the two Examiners twice ſo many as are to be choſen Licentiates; as if one hundred and fifty are to bee choſen, three hundred are tendered to paſſe their laſt ſcrutinie: who firſt lay by the beſt, ſo many as are to bee elected (and thence take the firſt, ſecond, and third, and ſet them accurately in order, and then conferre them with the Originals, thence taking the names which they cauſe to bee written in great Cubitall Letters, in a huge Table, which they expoſe about the end of the eighth Moone in great concourſe of Magiſtrates, and applauſe of the new Elects Friends and Kindred. The Priuiledges and Ornaments of this Degree are more then of the former, and if they intend to proceed no further, they are hereby capable of very good Magiſtracies. After the Act, the Kings Examiners publiſh a Booke of their proceedings, the names of the Graduates and their principall Writings, eſpecially his which is as the *Elder Brother* (they call him *Quiayuen*) and whoſe Theames were beſt liked. The Bachelors of other Prouinces may not here be admitted; ſome only except of the Kings Schoole in *Pequin* and *Nanquin*.

Dayes of Examination.

Theames giuen.

Seuen writings

Care to auoid corruption.

Creation and Priuiledges.

The third Degree is like our Doctorſhip, called *Cin-ſu*, which is conferred euery third yeare alſo, but onely at *Pequin*, and alway is the next yeare after that Commencement of Licentiates. Only three hundred choſen ou of the whole Kingdome obtayne it, although the Licentiates of euery Prouince are admitted to the Examination.

Third degree as of Doctors called *Cinſu*.

This Act is in the ſecond Moone on the ſame dayes that the former and in like forme, ſauing that the diligence is greater, as for a greater degree, and the *Colai*, the chiefe Magiſtrates of the Kingdome are Examiners. The Doctors being pronounced in the ſame Palace, where the Licentiates vſe to bee; all of them in the Kings Palace, before the chiefe Magiſtrates of the Court (yea anciently the King was wont to bee preſent) make a Theame, according to the iudgement whereof, the order of the Magiſtracies which they are to beare, is declared, being diſtributed in three Rankes.

Colai.

Hee that in Examination of Doctors had the firſt place, hath in this ſecond Examination the third place without queſtion: but hee which hath the firſt or ſecond enioyeth a great dignitie during his life, beſides the greateſt Offices in the Common-wealth; and might (compared with ours) bee as a Duke or Marqueſſe, if it were Hereditary. Theſe Doctours preſently haue their peculiar *Veſt*, *Cap*, *Bootes*, and other Enſignes of Magiſtrates, and are preferred to the beſt Offices, ſuch as the Licentiates may not attayne, and are as the prime men of the Kingdome.

First and ſecond place glorious.

Thoſe

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Thoſe Licentiates which are rejected from the Doctorſhip, if they meane to proceed no further, are preferred to Magiſtracie; but if they liſt ſtill to ſtand for that degree they betake themſelues home to their Bookes afreſh, till the third-yeare-examination returnes, ſo that ſome ſtand ten times, continuing ſo long priuate to become more publike. A Booke is alſo publiſhed of them and of their ſucceſſe. Another is yearely ſet forth contayning the Names, Countrey, Parents, Offices of all the Doctors; and where they gouerne; whereby a man may know how any hath riſen or deſcended all his life, as is there vſuall after their merits. It is remarkable alſo how the Licentiates and Doctors of the ſame yeare reſpect one the other as Brethren euer after, and loue the Friends alſo of their Colleagues, and honour their Examiners as Fathers. Ambition will be higheſt or nothing.

They vſe to grant at the ſame times and places the ſame Titles (in the Moone following) to Military Profeſſors, but with leſſe pompe, becauſe Souldierie is of no ſuch reckoning with them, and few ſtand for them. This Military tryall is three-fold, in the firſt they ſhoot nine Arrowes on Horſe-backe running; in the ſecond they ſhoot as many at the ſame marke ſtanding: and hee which hath hit the Marke with foure on Horke-backe and two Arrowes on foot, is admitted to the third tryall wherein they haue ſome Theame of Military matters propounded, and the Iudges examining this Triple tryall out of the whole number pronounce about fifty Licentiates in euery Prouince. And when the Doctorall Act is at *Pequin*, one hundred of the choice of theſe after a Triple Examination are made Military Doctors. Theſe Doctors are more eaſily admitted to Military Prefectures (but ſcarcely without Bribes) then the Licentiates. Both the Philoſophicall and Military, ouer their doores, ſet vp in great Letters this their new attayned dignity. All the Examiners, whether of Mathematicall, or Military, or Philoſophicall degrees, are of thoſe Philoſophers, without aſſiſtance of any Captaine, Mathematician, or Phyſician, as if thereby they were inabled to all things. Military degrees. Threefold tryall.

§. III.

Of the Tartarian *Conqueſt*; *Of* HVMVV *the Eſtabliſher of the preſent Gouernment. The Reuenues. Magiſtrates in the Courts Royall, Prouinces, Cities, Orders, Exaltations, Viſitations, Depriuations.*

THe Gouernment of *China* is Monarchicall. In times paſt, there haue beene *Lords of Title*, as are Dukes, Marqueſſes, and Earles in *Europe*, but taken away eighteene hundred yeares ſince. It was neuer ſubdued by any Forreiners before the *Tartarian* Conqueſt. The Ieſuites thinke that that Conquerour was *Tamberlane*: for the *Chinois* call him *Tiemor*, and ſay that he had before ſubdued *Perſia* and *Tartaria*. Hee (whoſoeuer hee was) conquered all the *Chinois* and left them to his Poſterity till the yeare 1368. At that time the *Tartarians* growing weaker, diuers Captaynes aroſe in diuers parts of the Kingdome which ſhooke off that yoke. Amongſt them all the moſt famous was of the Family *Ciu*, whom afterwards the *Chinois* called *Humvu*, a famous Captayne, or rather *a Floud of Armes*. He of a common Souldier grew to ſuch greatneſſe, that hee firſt expelled the *Tartars*, and then repelled the Rebels thorow all the Kingdome, and poſſeſſed that Souereigntie which ſtill continueth in his Line. For the Crowne there goeth by Inheritance: only two or three of the Ancient Kings haue commended it to others, their owne Sonnes ſeeming vnworthy; and the people haue by Rebellion ſometimes rayſed a new Family, diuers yet loſing their liues rather then acknowledging that Faction, this being Prouerbiall in their Philoſophie, *An honeſt Woman hath but one Huſband, and a faithfull Seruant but one Lord.*

There are no ancient Lawes, but the firſt Founder of any Royall family makes new Lawes, which his Poſteritie are not eaſily permitted to tranſgreſſe. So the preſent Lawes of *China* are no ancienter then *Humvu*, who either made new, or confirmed the old. Out of ignorance of other parts of the world, they thinke their King *Lord of the World*, and call him *Thiencu, the Sonne of Heauen*, or (which is all one in their Theologie) *of God*. His vſuall title yet is *Hoamſi*, that is, *ſupreame Monarch*: whereas they ſtile other Kings *Guam*, an inferiour title. To preuent Rebellions and Factions. *Humvu* ordayned that none of the Royall bloud ſhould intermeddle with Gouernment. Thoſe Captaynes which had ayded him in expulſion of the *Tartars*, hee gaue militarie Commands with reuenues and titles, to deſcend to their Heires. The Royall race hee gaue the titles of *Guam*, as pettie Kings, with large reuenues to bee yeerely payed out of the Exchequer, and commanded all Magiſtrates to reuerence them. Their Poſteritie hee honoured with inferiour Honours and reuenues, ſo much leſſe as further from the originall, and after certaine generations to haue no more then might well maintayne them without labour. The like in Marriages and Titles were prouided for the Royall Daughters. Thoſe aſſiſting Captaynes he honoured with a plate of Iron like a Charger, in which are engrauen thoſe their exploits for deliue-

Chap. 5. *Polo* hath related the Conqueſt of *Mangi* by *Cublai Can*, whoſe ſucceſſor (and perfecter haply of that Conqueſt) was *Temur* or *Tamor*, *ſup.* 83. & 126. about 100. yeares before *Tamerlane*, yet it ſeemes they were not fully ſubiect (for *Mandeuile* ſeruid in the warr of *Ecbiant Can* againſt *Mangi*. *ſup.* 135.) till *Tamerlane*; of whom, ſee *ſup.* 154. But to aſcribe it to *Tamerlane*, and to end the *Tartars* Reigne at 1368. argues ſmall skill in Hiſtory of the *Tartars*, *Tamerlane* then being but young, if ſo ſoone borne. The time (how euer) is here miſ-reckoned.

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liuerance of the Kingdome; which being shewne to the King, is priuiledged with pardon of any penaltie, though mortall, three times, except for Treason which forfeiteth presently all Priuiledges. Euery time it obtaynes any pardon, it is engrauen in the Plate. The Sonnes in Law, and Fathers in Law of the King, and some which haue extraordinarily merited of the State, enjoy like Honours and Reuenues with the same diminution of time, as before.

Magistrates.

He also ordained that all Magistracie and Gouernment should belong to those Licentiates and Doctors, whereto neyther the fauour of the King or other Magistrates are necessary, but their owne merits, except where corruption frustrates Law. All Magistrates are called *Quonfu*, and for honours sake they are stiled *Lau ye* or *Lau sie*, that is, *Lord*, or *Father*. The *Portugals* call them *Mandarins*. These haue some representation of *Aristocratie*, in that Gouernment: for though they doe nothing but first petitioning the King, hee also determines nothing without their sollicitation. And if a priuate man petitions (which is seldome, because Officers are appointed to examine Petitions before the King sees them) the King, if hee will grant it, sends it to the Tribunall proper for that businesse, to aduise him what is fit to bee done. I haue found for certaine, that the King cannot giue Money or Magistracie to any, except hee bee solicited by some Magistrate: I meane this of publike Reuenues; which doubtlesse doe exceed one hundred and fiftie Millions yearely, & are not brought into the Palace Treasurie, nor may the King spend them at his pleasure: but all whether Money or Rice and other things in kinde, are layed vp in the publike Treasuries and Store-houses, in all the Kingdome. Thence the expenses of the King his Wiues, Children, Eunuches, Family, and of all his Kindred are in Royall sort disbursed, but according to the ancient Lawes, neither more nor lesse. Thence the Stipends of Magistrates and Souldiers and all Officers thorow the Kingdome are paid: the publike Buildings, the Kings Palace, Cities, Walls, Towres, Fortresses and all prouision of War are thence sustayned, which cause new Tributes sometimes to be imposed, this huge Reuenue notwithstanding.

Quonfu and *Lau Ye* or *Lau Sie*.

Mandarin a *Portugal* name.

Kings Reuenues 150. Millions.

How dispensed

Of Magistrates are two sorts, one of the Court which rule there, and thence rule the Kingdome; and other Prouinciall, which gouerne particular Cities or Prouinces. Of both sorts are fiue or six Bookes to be sold euery where, printed twice each moneth at *Pequin*, as by their course of printing (you haue seene) is easie; contayning nothing else but the name, Countrey, and degree of the Magistrates; and therefore printed so often because of the exaltings, shiftings, setting lower, death of Parents (which suspends three yeares to mourning in priuate) their owne deaths or depriuations.

Bookes of Officers.

Of the Court Tribunals are reckoned sixe; the first, *Li pu* (*Pu* is asmuch as *Tribunall* or *Court*, and *Li*, as *Magistrates*) to which it belongeth to name the chiefe Magistrates of the Kingdome, bringing vp from the lower to the higher according to the Lawes prescribed, or if they deserue it, abasing or quite depriuing them. For those Licentiates and Doctors continually ascend, except their owne faults deject them, wherein a depriuation makes for euer vncapable. The second is called *Ho-pu*, that is, the Exchequer Court, or that of the Treasury; which exacts and disburseth the Kings Reuenues. The third is the *Li-pu*, or Court of Rites, which ordereth the publike Sacrifices, Temples, Priests, Kings, Marriages, Schooles, Examinations, Festiuall Dayes, common Gratulations to the King, Titles giuen to the wel-deseruing, Physicians, Colledges of Mathematicians, entertayning and sending Embassages, with their Rites, Presents, Letters; the King holding it abasing to his Majesty to write to any. The fourth, is the *Pimpu*, or Military Court, which rewards the meriting, and takes from the sluggish Souldier; ordereth their Musters and giues Military degrees. The fifth is *Cumpu*, which hath care of the publike Buildings, Palaces for the King or his Kindred, and the Magistrates; Shippes for publike burthens or Armadas, Bridges, Walls of Cities and all like prouisions. The sixth Court is *Himpu*, which inquireth into Criminall Causes and sentenceth them; also all the publike Prisons are subject hereto.

1. *Li pu*, or Court of Magistrates.

2. *Ho-pu*.

3. *Li-pu*.

4. *Pimpu*.

5. *Cumpu*.

6. *Himpu*.

All the affaires of the Kingdom depend on these Courts, which therefore haue Magistrates and Notaries in euery City and Prouince, to admonish them faithfully of all things, the multitude and order facilitating this so weighty a Designe. For first, in euery Court is a Lord Chiefe Iustice or *President* called *Ciam Cuu*, who hath two Assistants, one sitting at his right hand, the other at his left, called *Cilam*: their dignity in the Royall Cities is accounted principall. After these euery Tribunall hath diuers Offices, each of which hath diuers Colleagues, besides Notaries, Courtiers, Apparitors, and other Seruants. Besides these Tribunals there is another the greatest in the Court and Kingdome; they call them *Colaos*, which are three or foure, sometimes sixe which haue no peculiar businesses, but take care of the whole Re-publike, and are the Kings Priuy-Counsell in all Affaires. These are daily admitted into the Kings Palace, and there abide whole dayes, and answere as they see cause to the Petitions which are put vp to the King (who was wont to define matters with these *Colai* in publike) and shewing their answere to the King, hee alters or approoueth the same, and sets his hand thereto for the execution.

The President or *Ciam Ciu*. *Cilam*.

Colai, or Counsell of State.

Besides these Orders of Magistrates and others not mentioned (as like to our owne) there are two sorts not vsuall with vs; the one *Choli*, the other called *Zauli*. In each of these Orders are aboue sixty choice Philosophers, men approued for their wisdome and courage before experienced.

Choli and *Zauli* Magistrates extraordinary.

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ced. These two Ranks are vsed by the King in *Court* or *Prouince businesses* of greater weight, with great and Royall power, which causeth to them great respect and veneration. These by Libell admonish the King if any thing be done contrary to the Lawes in any parts of the Kingdome, not sparing any of the Magistrates, nor the Kings Houle, nor the King himselfe; to the wonder of other Nations. And although the King sometimes bee touched to the quicke, and toucheth them to the quicke againe, yet cease they not still to rip the sore till it be cured. Other Magistrates may doe it, yea any priuate man, but these mens Libels or Petitions are of most worth, as proceeding from their peculiar Office. The Copies of them and of the Kings answers are printed by many, so that the Court and State Affaires flye thorow the Kingdome, and are by some written in Bookes, and those of most moment transcribed into the Annals of the Kingdome. Of late when the King would for loue of a second Sonne haue excluded the eldest, so many by Libels reprehended the King, that he in anger deprined or abaled one hundred of the Magistrates. They yet ceased not but one day went together into the Kings Palace, and offered vp their Magistracies if he persisted to breake the Law. Lately also when the chiefe of the *Colao* did not obserue the Law, in two moneths space about one hundred Libels were put vp, notwithstanding they knew him a great Fauourite; and hee dyed within a while after, as was thought, of griefe. See *Fanxid.*

There are also besides Magistrates, not a few Colledges instituted for diuers purposes, but the most eminent is that called *Han lin Yuen*, into which none are chosen but choice Doctors after due Examinations. They which liue in that Royall Colledge, meddle not with Gouernment, yet are of higher dignitie then the Gouernours. Their Office is to order the Kings Writing, to make Annals of the Kingdome, to write Lawes and Statutes. Of these are chosen the Masters of the Kings and Princes. They wholly addict themselues to their studies, and in the Colledge haue their degrees of honours, which they attayne by writing. Thence they are preferred to great dignities but not out of the Court. Neither is any chosen to bee a *Colao*, but out of this Colledge. They gaine much also by Writings for their Friends, Epitaphs, Inscriptions and the like; which all seeke to haue of them, their name giuing credit and reputation of Elegance. These are the chiefe for Examinations of Licentiates and Doctors, who hold them for Masters and send them Presents. Colledges. *Han lin Yuen.*

All these *Pequin* Magistrates are found also at *Nanquin*, but obscured by the Kings absence. *Hum vu* had fixed his Seat at *Nanquin*, but after his death *Yun lo* one of his Nephewes, who in the Northerne Prouinces defended with an Armie those Borders against the *Tartars*, perceiuing *Hum-vus* Sonne but weake, thought to depriue him of the Kingdome, which hee effected by helpe of the Northerne Prouinces, and with force, fraud and largesse obtayned his Vncles Throne. And because he was strongest in the North parts, and most feard was from the *Tartars* there, he there fixed his Residence, where the *Tartar* Kings had wonted to abide and called that Citie *Pequin*, that is, *the Northerne Court*, as *Nanquin* signifieth *the Southerne*, leauing to this the former Offices and Immunities. Cause of the remouing the Seat Royall from *Nanquin* to *Pequin*.

The Gouernment of the other thirteene Prouinces depends on two Magistrates, the one *Pucinsu*, the other *Naganzasu*: the former judging Ciuill Causes, the later Criminall; both residing with great Pompe in the Mother Citie of the Prouince. In both Courts are diuers Colleagues and they also chiefe Magistrates called *Tauli*, which gouerning other Cities often reside in them. The Prouinces are all distributed into diuers *Regions*, which they call *Fu*, each of which hath a peculiar Gouernour called *Cifu*. These Regions are subdiuided into *Ceu*, and *Hien*, that is the greater or more eminent Townes, and those which are more vulgar, which are not lesse then our Cities, if you except our greatest. These haue their speciall Gouernours called *Ciceu* and *Cihien*. The Gouernours of Cities and Regions haue their foure Assistants and Colleagues as Auditors, and Iudges to helpe them. As for the opinion of some that thinke those only to bee Cities, which are called *Fu*, and *Ceu*, and *Hien* to bee Townes, it is an errour: for the City wherein the Gouernour of the *Region* resides, is also called *Hien*, and hath its peculiar Gouernour called *Cihien*, and *Assistants*; and the *Cifu* hath no more power there then in other places of his Iurisdiction; which is the first Appeale to him as Superiour from the *Cihien* or *Ciceu*. The second Appeale is to the *Pucunfu* and *Naganzosu* and their Colleagues in the Metropolitane Cities, which Cities likewise haue their *Cihien* and *Cifu*, aswell as the Subordinate; all in incredible Symmetrie. Prouinciall Gouernment. *Pucin-su. Naganzasu. Tauli.* Diuision of Prouinces. Regions or Shires. *Ceu* and *Hien*. Title *fu* mistaken. *Cifu*, *Cihien* and *Ciceu*. Appeales.

And because the whole Prouinciall Gouernment hath reference to *Pequin*, therefore in euery Prouince besides these, are other two superiour to them sent from the Royall Citie, the one fixing his Residence in the Prouince, called *Tutum*, which may bee compared to our *Vice-roy*, hauing command ouer other Magistrates, and in Martiall affaires: the other is yeerely sent from the Court, and is called *Cia-yuen*, as a Commissioner or *Visitor*, which reuiewes all the Causes of the Prouince, the Cities also and Castles, inquireth of the Magistrates, and punisheth some of the meaner sort, acquainting the King touching the rest, how euery one demeaneth himselfe; and he onely executeth Capitall puuishments. Besides these, are many others in Cities, Townes and Villages: and beside them, many which haue command of Souldiers, especially in the Con- *Tutam.* *Cia-yuen* or *Chaen.*

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Militarie commands.

Magistrates fees.

Robes and Ornaments.

fines and on the Coasts in supinest Peace, watching and warding in Ports, Walls, Bridges, Castles, as in the hottest Warres, with Musters and Martiall exercises. All the Magistrates of the Kingdome, are reduced to nine Orders, whether you respect the Philosophicall or Militarie Senate: to all which out of the Treasury is proportionably distributed monethly pay, Money or Rice; yet little answerable to that their Magnificence (the highest Order not hauing one thousand Duckets yeerely) and equall to all of the same ranke, the supreame in matters of Warre hauing as much as the supreame in the literate Order, if you looke to that which the Law alloweth. But much more accrueth extraordinarie then this fee or stipend, besides what any mans industrie, couetise, fortune, bribing addeth, by which they oft attayne to great wealth.

All the Magistrates vse the same Caps, both Mercuriall and Martiall, of blacke Cloath with two Eares or wings, of Quall figure, which may easily fall off, which being a disgrace, causeth the more modestie and steadinesse in carriage of their heads. They all weare like *Vest*, and like blacke leather *Bootes* of peculiar fashion; also a *Girdle* wider then the body, about foure fingers broad, adorned with circular and square figures: On the breast and backe, they weare two *square Cloathes* Embroidered: in which and the Girdles is great varietie, according to their diuers Degrees; by which the skilfull know their ranke and place. The cloathes intimate it by the figures of Flowers, Fowles, Beasts; the girdles by the matter, of Wood, Horne, Sweet wood, Gold or Siluer; and the best of all of that *Iasper* before mentioned, called *Tsee*, brought from *Cascar*. Their shadowes or *Sumbreros*, by their Colours and numbers intimate like difference. They haue other *Ornaments*, *Banners*, *Chaynes*, *Censors*, *Guards* with Cryes to make way, that in most frequent streetes no man appeareth, more or lesse, according to the Magistrates Dignitie.

See in *Goes*. *Cap.* 4. *Vmbelle.*

Contentednes

Philosophers Empire.

Beautie of Order.

No Office aboue 3. yeeres. Appearing at *Pequin*.

Seuere Iustice 4000. Iudges iudged.

The *Chinois* hauing plentie of all things, care not for subduing the neighbour-Nations, better keeping their owne, lesse caring for others Countries, then our *Europeans*: their Chronicles of foure thousand yeeres not mentioning any care of enlarging their Empire. And if any *China* impressions or foot-prints bee, it is from men voluntarily going to other Countries, not from the Kings ambition sending them. It is also remarkeable that Philosopers beare all the sway, the Souldiers and Captaynes being subject to them, and sometimes beaten of them as Schoole-boyes by their Master: euen in Militarie matters, the King more vsing the aduise of Philosophers then Captaynes; whereupon euery haughtie spirit rather affects meane places in the *Literate* Order, then great in the *Martiall*. Yea these Literate are more magnanimous, and more contemne their liues in zeale of the publike then the Souldierie. No lesse admirable is the Symmetrie and Order of Magistrates in their subordinate Orders, in Obedience, Reuerence, Visitations and Presents; the Inferiour giuing honourable Titles to the Superiour and kneeling to them. None beares any Office aboue three yeeres, except the King confirme it. And the chiefe Magistrates of Prouinces, Cities and Regions, euery third yeere must appeare at *Pequin*, and doe their Rites to the King, at which time seuere inquirie is made of the Magistrates, and they thereupon rewarded or punished. I haue also obserued, that the King dares not alter any of those things, which in this publike Disquisition are ordered by the Iudges. *Anno* 1607. we reade foure thousand Magistrates condemned, that being the Search-yeere, and a Booke published thereof.

1. Couetous.

2. Cruell.

3. Remisse.

4. Rash.

5. Vngouerned

These Condemned are of fiue sorts; First, Couetous which haue taken Bribes to peruert Iustice, or haue vsurped the publike or priuate mens fortunes: these are wholly depriued of all Offices for euer. The second are the Cruell, which haue too seuerely punished, which are also depriued of their Places and Enfignes: The third are the Old and sickly, and the Remisse and negligent; these are depriued, but permitted the Immunities and Enfignes. The fourth sort, are the rash, headdie, and vnaduised, which are put in lower Offices, or sent to more easie places of Gouernment. The last are such, as haue not gouerned themselues or theirs, worthy of that place of Gouernment; these are wholly depriued. The like Inquisition is made euery fifth yeere of the Court Magistrates, and the same time also, of Militarie Commanders.

Care to preuent rebellions, factions, and bribes.

None may beare Office in his natiue Prouince, except Militarie. The Sonnes also or Domestike seruants of Magistrates, may not goe out of the house lest they should bee Factors for bribes: but all seruices without doores is done by Officers, designed to his place: and when hee goeth out of his House hee sealeth the doores, whether priuate or publike, that none of his Seruants may goe out vnwitting to him.

Strangers.

They permit no Stranger to liue with them that mindes to returne to his Countrey, or is knowne to haue Commerce with forraigne Nations: and no Stranger although of a friendly Nation and Tributarie, may haue accesse to the inward parts of the Kingdome; a thing whereof I haue seene no Law, but Custome: neither haue I euer seene any of *Coraas* in *China*, except some Slaues which a Captayne brought thence, although a tributarie Nation which vseth in manner the *China* Lawes. And if a Stranger steale into the Countrey, they punish him not with Death nor Slauerie, but permit him not to returne. They most seuerely punish those, which without the Kings leaue haue commerce with Strangers: and hardly can any bee perswaded to be sent abroad with Mandates; and such are rewarded with some Dignitie at their returne, None beare Weapon in Cities, not the Souldiers or Captaynes, but in their Traynings; nor haue any men

weapons

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weapons in their Houſes, except ſome ruſtie blade which they vſe when they trauell for feare of Theeues. Their greateſt Brawles goe no further, then ſcratching or pulling by the hayre; hee which flees or abſtaines from wrong is eſteemed both Wiſe and Valiant. When the King dyeth, none of his Sonnes are permitted to remayne in the Royall Citie, but the Heyre; and it is Capitall for them, being diſperſed in diuers Cities to ſtirre thence. Some principall amongſt them, compounds their ſtrifes and rules them; in Caſes with others, they are ſubject to the Magiſtrates.

Weapons.

Brawles.

Succeſſion and royall kindred.

§. IIII.

Their manifold rites in Salutations, Entertaynments, and other Ciuilitie: to the King and Magiſtates: Of Buryals and Marriages, Birthdayes; their Men, Women, Names and Games, Habites.

Cap.7.

COurteſie or Ciuilitie, is reckoned one of their fiue *Cardinall vertues*, much commeded in their Bookes. (*Their common Rites yee haue had largely in Pantoia.*) When greater reſpect is vſed, as after long abſence, or on a Solemne day, after the common bowing, both fall on their knees with the forehead to the ground, and then riſe and downe againe in like ſort three or foure times. When they doe this reuerence to a Superiour, hee ſtands at the head of the Hall, or ſits, and at all thoſe proſtations ioyning his hands, bowes a little and ſometime for greater modeſtie hee goeth to the ſide of the Hall, whoſe head is Northwards as the doore is Southwards. The ſame rites they performe to their Idols; and ſometimes as the Seruants to their Maſter, or the meaneſt of the people to honourable perſons, which is preſently to kneele and knock the ground thrice with their forehead: they ſtand at his ſide when their Maſter ſpeakes, and kneele at euery anſwer. When one ſpeakes to another, they vſe not the ſecond perſon, nor the firſt perſon when they mention themſelues, except to their inferiour, and haue as many formes of depreſſing themſelues, as of exalting others, the lowlieſt of which is to call a mans ſelfe by his proper name, in ſtead of (I.) When they ſpeake any thing of another mans, they vſe a more honourable forme; Of their owne, or theirs, a more modeſt: which a man muſt learne both for manners ſake, and to vnderſtand their meaning.

Courteſie in mutuall veneration and circumſpect behauiour to others.

Side-reuerence.

Reſpect of perſons.

See *Thaoſos* Epiſtle. *ſup.*344

The Viſitors ſend their Libels or papers of viſitation, ſo many that the Porter is faine to keepe a note of their names, and where they dwell, leſt wee ſhould forget; and if the partie to bee viſited be not at home or at leaſure, that libell is left with the Porter for a teſtimonie. The more honourable the Viſitor, the larger hee writes his name. In ſending Preſents they vſe like libelling; ſetting downe alſo each gift in a line by it ſelfe, part of which may bee ſent backe without offence, which is done with a like libell of thankes. They often ſend money or pieces of Gold for preſents. They haue Garments proper for viſitations. The chiefe place in both Royall Courts, is giuen to Strangers, moſt remote eſpecially, which made vs commonly to bee preferred. The ſeruant, when they are ſet, brings as many little Cups of *Cia* as are Gueſts. When they part, neere the Hall doore, they reiterate their bowings, then at the Doore, and at the paſſing out, and after they are in their Chayre or on Horſebacke, againe without doores; and laſtly, a Seruant is ſent after in his Maſters name, to ſalute them, and they ſend their ſeruants likewiſe to reſalute.

Viſiting one another.

Tedious courteſie.

Their Banquets are not ſo much commeſſations as *Compotations*; for although their Cups be as little as Nut-ſhels, yet they drinke often. Their Ciuill and Religious affayres are therein handled, beſides the demonſtration of kindneſſe. In eating they haue neither Forkes, nor Spoones, nor Kniues; but vſe ſmall ſmooth ſtickes, a palme and a halfe long, wherewith they put all meats to their mouthes, without touching them with their fingers. They bring all things to the Table cut in little pieces, except it bee of ſofter condition, as Egges, Fiſh, and ſuch things as their ſtickes will diuide. They vſe to drinke hot, euen in hotteſt weather, whether their *Cia*-decoction, or Wine, or Water: which it ſeemeth is profitable to the Stomacke; for they liue long, and are ſtrong at ſeuentie or eightie yeeres: Neither is any of them troubled with the Stone, which I ſuppoſe is occaſioned by our cold drinke. When any is Inuited, a Libell is ſent a day or more dayes (if it bee to a ſolemne Banquet) before, ſignifying, that the Inuiter *hath prepared a Banquet of Hearbs, and hath waſhed his Cups, that at ſuch a day and houre (which commonly is neare night) hee may heare and learne ſomewhat of him*: At the day they ſend another like Libell (on the out-ſide of theſe Libels, there is a red paper added with the more honourable Name of the inuited, which the *Chinois* vſe beſides their proper name) in the morning to each Gueſt, and a

China banqueting.

Feeding.

Hot drinke.

The Stone vnknowne in *China*, which ſo tormenteth *Europeans*, both in the Kidney, Vreters, Bladder: this laſt depriued me of

my honorable Patron and beſt friend, B. *King*, *Anno* 1621. and *Anno* 1622. Maſter *Bifield* my neighbour, the painefull Miniſter at *Thiſtleworth* dyed of a Stone, which I weighed, and found (a miracle in Nature) much aboue 32 Ounces, whiles theſe our *China* relations are in the Preſſe; therefore here mentioned. My ſelfe alſo hauing ſtone paſſions, am therefore not ſtonie in compaſſion.

third

third at the houre. Their furniture is not Hangings (whereof they haue no vſe) but Pictures, Flowers, Veſſels; to each Gueſt his Table, and ſometimes two to one, the one before the other. Theſe Tables are ſome Cubits long and broad, but more in length, and couered with a cloath as our Altars. The Seats ſhine with their Varniſh, adorned alſo with Pictures and Gold. The firſt entertainment is with *Cia* in the Hall: and thence they goe to the Feaſting-roome. Before they ſit downe, the Inuiter ſalutes the principall Gueſt with a low courteſie, and holding a cup of Wine: then goeth to the doore or porch, and firſt making a low courteſie, turning his face to the South, powres out that cup on the ground, offering it to the *Lord of Heauen*, and bowing downe againe, returneth, and filling another cup goeth to that principall Gueſt, and bowing ſalutes him in the place in which the rites of ſalutation are vſed: and then they goe together to the Table where the chiefe Gueſt muſt ſit. The midſt of it is the chiefe place; there with both his hands he ſets a diſh with great veneration, and taking the two ſtickes (which vſually are of Ebonie, or Iuorie tipped with Gold or Siluer, where they touch the meate) layes them by, and taking a ſeat, bruſheth it with his ſleeues lightly, and ſets it in the middeſt; after which both goe backe and bow themſelues in the middeſt of the Roome. Thus hee doth to euery one, placing the ſecond on the left hand, the third on the right. Laſtly, hee which ſhall haue the chiefe roome receiueth of his ſeruant the Inuiters Diſh and Cup, and bids Wine to be filled, and together with the other Gueſts and the Inuiter, boweth downe and placeth the Diſh on his Table (which is placed in the lower part of the Hall, with his backe to the South, and face to the chiefe Table) with the ſtickes and ſeat, as he had done before to him; and then all goe againe to their place, with great ceremonie, to ſit them better with both hands, he to whome the rite is done, ſtanding by the ſide of the doer with his hands in his ſleeues, and modeſtly bowing with thanks. They waſh neither before nor after. After all this, they performe the laſt rite of inclination to the Inuiter together, and then each to other, and then ſit downe. When they drinke, the Inuiter with both hands takes the Cup in the Diſh, and lightly lifting it vp, and then letting it down inuites them to drinke, all turning to him at the ſame time, and beginning to drinke, or to ſip rather, foure or fiue times ſetting it to his mouth, not as we vſe with one continued draught. After the firſt Cup the Diſhes are brought in, of which the Inuiter beginning, all with their ſtickes apply a bit or two to their mouthes, diligently obſeruing, not to lay downe their ſtickes before the principall Gueſt hath layd downe his: and then the ſeruants fill his, and after euery mans Cup, with hot Wine: and the ſame rite is againe and againe repeated, but more ſipping then eating. Mean-while ſome diſcourſe, or Comedie, or Muſike continue. The grace of their Feaſt is variety, a little of each, Fleſh alſo and Fiſh mixed, taking off nothing, but ſetting one Diſh on another like Caſtles and Towers. Bread, and Rice (which there ſupplyes our Bread) comes not in ſolemne Banquets. They haue games alſo, in which the loſer is fined to drinke, with others diſport. None is compelled to drinke aboue his ſtrength. Their drinke is tipſie, boyled like our Beere. Their ſolemne Banquets laſt all night, the remainders giuen to the Gueſts ſeruants. Neere the end of the Feaſt they change Cups. In eating they are more moderate.

The Gueſts courteſie to the Hoſt.

Sipping oft, not drinking one draught.

King obſerued.

Petitions.

New yeere.

New Moone.

Birth-day.

The King is obſerued with more Rites then any other in the World. None ſpeakes to him but his Eunuches, and thoſe which liue in his Palace, Sonnes and daughters. None of the Magiſtrates without the Palace (the Eunuches alſo haue their degrees) ſpeake to the King but by Petition, and thoſe with ſo many formes of veneration that none can make them, which is not well exerciſed, though he be learned. Euery new yeere which beginnes with that New Moone which next precedeth or followeth the Nones of February, out of euery Prouince a Legate is ſent to viſite the King, which is done more ſolemnely euery third yeere. Alſo in euery Citie on euery Change day, all the Magiſtrates aſſemble to one place in their Citie, where the Kings Throne and Dragon-enſignes are carued and gilded, often bowing and kneeling before it with peculiar compoſition of the body to veneration, and wiſh ten thouſand yeers of life to the King. The like is done on his Birth-day yeerely, the *Pequin* Magiſtrates and Prouinciall Legates, and the Kings kindred make their appearance there and preſents. All alſo which are named to any Office by the King goe to giue thankes to the Throne (for the King is not there) with rites preſcribed with habite peculiar to that purpoſe, with an Iuorie Table couering their mouth as oft as they ſpeake before the King: the King was wont to come forth to a window, with ſuch a Table in his hand, and another on his head, ouer his Crowne hanged, about with threads of gemmes, his face hidden in preſence from the beholders.

Kings colour yellow, Sun-like.

Dragons.

The Kings colour is yellow (forbidden to others) of which his garment is wrought with many golden Dragons, which are carued or painted in all the Palace, and Veſſell, and furniture; in the roofe alſo; whence ſome haue thought the Tiles to be of Gold or Braſſe, being of a yellow Earth, each nayled to the Timber: with Nayles gilded on the heads, that all may appeare yellow. It were treaſon for another to arrogate that colour or Armes, except he bee of the Royall linage.

The Palace and gates.

The Palace gates are foure, to the foure corners of the World. They which paſſe by, deſcend from their Horſes or Seats, and goe on foot till they be paſt, the greateſt ſooneſt alight, and that at *Nanquin* alſo, where no King hath of long time reſided. The gates to the South both inner

and

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and outward are three, the King only going in and out at the middle (which otherwise is shut) others at the other gates on the right and left hand. Their computation of time is onely by the Kings Raigne. Sometimes the King bestoweth a Title on the Parents of the principall Magistrates by a certaine writing, made by the Kings Philosophers in the Kings name; esteemed wonderfully, acquired with any cost, and kept in the familie as a thing sacred. The like opinion is of other Titles giuen to Widowes, expressed in two or three Characters, giuen to Widowes which to their old age haue refused second marriages; or to old Men which haue liued an hundred yeeres, and in like cases. They set these Titles ouer their doores. Magistrates also doe the like to their friends. To good Magistrates Arches are erected at publike cost, of Marble: by Citizens also to some of their Citizens which haue attayned any notable dignitie. The most precious Artifices thorow all the Kingdome are yeerely sent to the King to *Pequin* with great costs. The Magistrates of the Kings Citie goe abroad with lesse pompe, on horsebacke; and few of the principall in Seats, and those carried but by foure Porters: all in reuerence of the King. Foure times in the yeere, once a quarter, all the Court Magistrates assemble at the Sepulchres of the antient Kings and Queenes, and make there their offerings: giuing the principall honour to *Hamou*. They prepare to this solemnitie certaine dayes fasting at home and surceasing of suits.

Kings gate. Time. Title. Widowes. Old men. Arches. *Pequin*. Funerals of Kings:

Next to the King they honour their Magistrates, both in formes of words and visitations, to which none aspire but Magistrates; and they which haue beene depriued lose not all honour in this kind, but sometimes come forth in their habits, and are respected by their Citie Magistrates. If one bee preferred to another dignity, which hath well executed his Office, they honour him with publike gifts, and reserue his Boots in a publike Chist, with Verses in his praise. To some they erect Temples also, and Altars with Images, and some are deputed to keepe lights there burning, and odours, at publike Rent charge perpetually, with huge Censers of Bell-metall, as they doe to their Idols. Yet doe they distinguish betwixt this and Diuine worship, of their Gods asking many things, whereas these Rites are onely memorials, though many of the vulgar * confound them together. Cities are full of such Temples, by friends often erected to vnworthie men, to which at certaine times they goe and performe kneeling and bowing Rites, and offer Meats. Their Bookes are full of precepts for obseruing Parents with due honour, and in outward shew no Nation performes so much. They will not sit ouer against them but on the side, speake to them with great reuerence, they sustaine their poorer Parents with their labour in best manner they are able, and in nothing are more curious then their funerals.

Honour of Magistrates. * As in the *dulia* and *latria* of Saints worship and that of God. Honour of parents.

The mourning colour is white, and all their habite from the Shooes to the Cap of a strange and miserable fashion. The cause of three yeeres mourning for Parents, is because so long they carried them in armes with so much labour of education: for others as they please, a yeere, or three moneths, as they are in neereneese: For the King they mourne three yeeres thorow all the Kingdome, and for the *Lawfull Queene*. Their funerall Rites are written in a Booke which they consult on that occasion, all the parcels of the habite there pictured. When a man of ranke is dead, the Sonne or next Kinsman sends Libels to the friends within three or foure dayes: all the Roome is white, with an Altar in the midst, on which they place the Coffin and Image of the dead. Thither all the friends come in mourning one after another, & offer Odors and two Wax-candles on the Altar; whiles they burne, making foure bendings and kneelings, hauing first censed against the Image. The Sonnes stand at the side, and the women behinde, couered with a Curtaine, mourning the while: the Priests also burne Papers and Silkes, with certaine rites to minister Clothes to the deceassed. They abstayne from wonted Beds (sleeping on Straw-beds on the ground neere the Corps) from flesh and other daintier food, Wine, Bathes, companie with their Wiues, Bankets; not going out for certaine moneths, remitting by degrees as the three yeeres expire. On the funerall day the friends are by another Libell inuited, to which they goe in Procession forme, in mourning; many Statues of Men, Women, Elephants, Tigres, Lions, of Paper all going before, diuersified in colour and gilding, which are all burnt before the Graue: a long ranke of Idoll Priests, Prayers, and Players on diuers Instruments obseruing diuers rites in the way; huge Bell-censers also carried on mens shoulders; after which followes the Herse vnder a huge carued Canopie adorned with Silkes, carried with forty or fifty men. Next the children on foot with staues, and then the women enclosed within a white gestatory Curtaine, that they may not be seene: followed by women of the kindred in mourning Seats. The Graues are all in the Suburbs. If the Sonnes bee absent, the Funerall pompe is deferred till their comming. They bring (if it may bee) the deceassed in another Countrey to lie by his friends. The Graues are adorned with Epitaphs in Marble magnificently. Thither on certaine dayes yeerely the kindred resort to cense and offer, and make a funerall banquet.

See in *Pantoia* of Funeralls and mournings. Mourning by booke. Buriall.

Their Marriages and Spousals are with many rites, done in their youth; the Contracts compounded by the Parents without their consent; they obserue equalitie in yeeres and degree in the lawfull Wife. In their Concubines, lust, beauty, price beare sway. The poorer also buy their Wiues, and when they list sell them. The King and his kindred respect onely beauty, Magistrates appointed to make the choise. One is his lawfull Wife; the King and his Heire hauing

Marriages.

nine

nine other Wiues a little inferiour, and after them sixe and thirty, which are also called Wiues: his Concubines are more. Those which bring forth Sonnes are more gracious, especially the Mother of the eldest. This is also familiar to other families thorow the Kingdome. Their first Wife sits at Table; others (except in the Royall families) are as Hand-maids, and may not sit, but stand in presence of either of them: their Children also calling that lawfull Wife their Mother, and for her (though not the true Parent) obserue trienniall mourning. In Marriages they are curious not to take any of the same sur-name, of which sur-names there are not a thousand in all that vast Kingdome. Nor may any man frame a new sur-name, but must haue one antient of the Fathers side, except he be adopted into another familie. They respect no affinity or consanguinity in a differing sur-name, and so marrie with the Mothers kindred almost in any degree. The Wife brings no portion, and although when shee first goeth to her Husbands house the street-full of household attends her, yet is all prouided by his costs which sends money some moneths before as a gift to her for that purpose.

Sur-names few. In *England* antiently were few or none. See *Cam. Remaines.*

Affinitie and consanguinity.

Portion.

Birth-day.

Euery mans Birth-day is festiually celebrated with Presents, Banquets and iollity: especially after the fiftieth yeere explete (at which time they are reckoned amongst old men) and then euery tenth yeere. The Children then procure Emblemes of their friends, and Epigrams, and some write Bookes. That day is also festiuall in which they are of age to take the *Mans cap*, which is about twenty yeeres, till that time wearing their haire loose. But the first New and Full Moone of the yeere is most generally festiuall; each man then hauing ingeniously deuised Lights or Lamps made of Paper, Glasse, or other matter, the house seeming by the diuersified Lights to bee on a light fire. They runne vp and downe also with great stirres in the night with Dragon-fashioned Lights, and make great shewes of Powder-fire-workes.

Virilis pileus.

Candlemas.

Fire-workes.

Cap 8.

The *Chinois* are white (but neerer the South more browne) with thinne beards (some hauing none) with staring haires, and late growing; their haire wholly blacke; eyes narrow, of Egge forme, blacke and standing out: the nose very little, and scarcely standing forth; eares meane: in some Prouinces they are square faced. Many of *Canton* and *Quamsi* Prouinces on their little toes haue two nailes, as they haue generally in *Cochin-china*. Their women are all low, and account great beauty in little feet, for which cause from their infancy they bind them straight with clothes, that one would iudge them stump-footed: this, as is thought, deuised to make them house-wiues. The men and women both alike let their haire grow without cutting: but Boyes and Girles till they are fifteene yeere old, are cut round, leauing a locke onely on the crowne: after which they let it grow loose ouer their shoulders till twenty. The most of the Priests shaue head and beard euery eighth day. When they are men they binde vp their haire in a Cap or Coife made of horse or mans haire, or in a silken Cawle; and in Winter of woollen: on the top it hath a hole, where the haire comes forth, and is tyed in a neate knot. The women weare not this Cap, but binde vp their haire in a knot, and make it vp with a dresse of Gold, Siluer, Stones, and Flowers. They weare Rings on their eares, but not on their fingers.

Chinois persons described.

Women.

Haire.

Rings.

Apparell.

The men and women weare long garments. The men double them on their breast, and fasten them vnder both the arme-holes; the women on the midst of the breast. They weare wide long sleeues; but the womens wider, the mans straighter, at the wrists. Their Caps are artificially wrought. Their Shooes are much differing from ours; the men weare them of Silke with diuers workes and flowers, exceeding the elegance of our Matrons. Shooes of Leather none but the meaner sort weare; and scarcely admit they Leather soles, but of Cloth. The Caps of their Learned are square, of others, round. Euery one spends halfe an houre at least in combing and trimming his haire. They winde also long clouts about their feet and legs, and therefore weare their Breeches loose. They weare no Shirts, but a white Coat next the skinne, and wash often. They haue a seruant to carrie a Shadow or great *Sumbrero* ouer their heads against the raine and Sunne; the poore carrie one for themselues.

Name-ceremonies.

Women haue none.

Fathers name.

For *Names*, besides the sur-name of which is spoken, the Father giues one to the Sonne (for females haue no name but the Fathers sur-name, and called as they are borne, *first, second, third,* in order of the Sisters:) by this name they are called by the Father and Elders; others call them likewise from that order amongst the Brethren, as is said of Sisters. They in their writings call themselues by that which their Father gaue them; but if others either equall or superiour should so call them, it were both vnciuill and iniurious. When a Boy goeth to Schoole his Master giueth him another name, which is called his *Schoole-name*, whereby onely his Master and Schoole-fellowes may stile him. When he hath his *Mans cap* put on, and marrieth a Wife, some more honourable person giueth him a more honourable name, which they call, *the Letter*: by this any man may call him, but those which are subiect to him. And when he is now at the full growth, he receiueth of some graue person his most honourable name, which they call *Great*, whereby any may call him present or absent: but his Parents and Elders still vse the *Letter-name*. If any professe a new Sect, his Instructer calls him by a new name, which they call, *of Religion*. And when one visites another, he will aske what is his *Honourable name*, to stile him thereby: and we were therefore fayne to take a *Greater name* then that which we receiued in Baptisme, for them to call vs by.

Schoole-name.

Letter-name.

Great name.

Religious name.

Greater then *Christian* name.

They

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They are studious of Antiquities: much value old Triuets of Bell metall, Pictures in blacke and white Characters and writings, sealed with the Authors seale (for there are many Counterfeiters.) The Officers haue all a Seale proper to their place giuen by *Humvu*, which they vse only sealing with red colour: and if they lose the Seale they lose the Office, and are besides seuerely punished; and therefore they carry it with them, in a sealed and locked Boxe, and neuer leaue it out of sight, at night keeping it vnder their Pillow. Seales of Magistrates.

Graue men goe not on foote thorow the streets, but are carryed in a seate closed, except they list to open the fore-part, whereas Magistrates seates are euery way open. Matrons seates are altogether closed, but easily knowne from mens by the fashion. Seats in which they are carryed on mens shoulders.

The Law forbids Coaches and Litters. Some Cities are in the midst of Riuers and Lakes, in which they haue very neate Boates to passe the streets. And becausе they goe more by water then ours, therefore there Shipping is more conuenient and elegant. Boates & ships

But the Magistrates, built by publike cost are as commodious as Houses, with diuers Lodgings, a Hall, Kitchin, Cells, so neate as seeming Great mens houses, rather then Ships; and therefore they make their solemne Banquets a Ship-board, passing along the Riuers and Lakes for further pleasure.

All within shines with *Ciuram* or shining Vernish in diuers colours, and the Carued workes gilded in places, with combined sweetes to the Eyes and Nose.

They honour their Masters more then with vs, so that if a man haue beene anothers Scholler but one day in any Art, hee calls him Master euer after, and neuer sits in any meeting but at his side, and doth him all honour. Masters respect.

Dice-play and Cards are common with them: Chesse also with the grauer persons, not altogether vnlike ours: but their King neuer remoues but to the foure next roomes, and the Bishops haue their Queenes. They haue also which they call *Poulder paunes*, which goe before the Knights and follow the Paunes. Games. Chesse.

They haue a graue Game in a table of three hundred roomes with two hundred men white and blacke, in which Magistrates spend much time, and the cunning skill whereof gets much credit to a man, although hee can doe nothing else: and some chuse such their Masters with wonted rites.

Theft is not punished with Death: the second fault therein, is branded with an hot Iron and Inke in the Arme, with two Characters, the third time in the Face, after with their terrible Whipping or condemning to the Gallies, for a time limitted: so that there are abundance of Theeues. Theft punishment.

Euery night in Cities, many Watchmen at certayne times beate Basons as they walke the streets, the streets also enclosed and shut, yet many thefts are committed, the Foxe being the Goosehерd, and the Watch partners with the Theefe. The Cities in greatest Peace in the midst of the Kingdome, are shut euery Night, and the Keyes carryed to the Gouernour.

§. V.

Of their Superstitions, Cruelties, feares of Magistrates, of the Kings kindred, of Strangers and Souldiers. Their Deities and three Sects: Priests, Nunnes, Monasteries, Legends, Lyes.

NO superstition is so generall in the Kingdome, as the obseruation of luckie and vnluckie *Dayes and Houres*, for which purpose yeerely is Printed a two-fold Table of dayes by the Kings Astrologers, in such plentie that euery house is full of them. *Chap. 9.* Obseruation of times. Two fold Almanacke.

In them is written on euery day, what may bee done or not, or to what houre yee must forbeare businesse, which may in that yeere happen.

There are others more dangerous Masters, which make a liuing by this Wizardly profession of selling lyes, or prescribing fit houres: wherby many differre the beginning of Building, or Iourneying till their appointed day or houre come: & then how vnfitting soeuer that prooueth with crosse weather, they set on neuertheless, though it be but a little little onset, that the worke might thence appeare to take beginning. Impostors.

The like superstitious obseruation they haue of the moment of the Natiuitie, which they precisely set downe, diuers professing by Astrologie, or by superstitious numbers, or by Physiognomie, or Palmestrie, or Dreames, or words in Speech, or posture of the body & by innumerable other wayes to foretell future Fortunes; many *Gipsie*-juglings vsed to such impostures, as by a stalking Knaue which shall professe his Fortunes exactly told him by the professor, or by learning out of printed Bookes which describe euery Citie, Street and Familie, what hath hapned as an argument of the truth of that which they say shall happen. Diuinations and telling of Fortunes.

Yea, their credulitie breeds such strong imagination, that some being foretold of a Sickneſſe such a day, will then fall sicke of conceit. Strength of imaginations.

Many also consult with Deuils and familiar Spirits, and receiue Oracles from the mouth of Infants, or of Beasts, not without fraud. Deuils consulted.

They are superstitious in chusing a plot of ground, to erect a dwelling House, or Sepulcher, conferring it with the head, tayle and feete of *diuers Dragons*, which liue (forsooth) vnder our earth, whence depends all good or bad Fortune. Dreames of Dragons.

Diuers Learned

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Geologers. Learned men busie their wits in this abstruse Science, and are consulted when any publike Buildings are rayſed. And as Astrologers by the Starres, so these *Geologers* by inspection of Riuers, Fields, Mountaines and scite of Regions, foretell Destinies; dreaming by setting a Doore or Window this or that way, conueying the rayne to the right or left hand, by a higher or lower roofe, honour and wealth shall accrue to the House. Of these Impostors the Streets, Cities, Courts, Shops, Markets are full, which sell that which themselues want, good Fortune to all Foole-fortunate buyers: yea, Women and blinde folkes professe it, and some find such Chapmen of the Learned, Noble, King and all, that they grow to great riches by others little wits. All disasters publike or priuate are attributed to *Fate*, and ill scite of some Citie, House or Palace. The

Augurie. *noise of Birds*, the first meeting in the Morning, Shadowes caused by the Sunne in the house, are their Fortune-guides.

Cruell vices and vnnaturall *Chinois*. For other vices, some will make themselues Seruants to rich men, to haue one of the handmaydes become his Wife, so multiplying issue to bondage. Others buy a Wife, but finding their family becomne too numerous sell their Sonnes and Daughters as Beasts, for two or three pieces of Gold (although no dearth prouoke him) to euerlasting separation and bondage, some to the *Portugals*. Hence is the Kingdome full of Slaues, not captiued in warre, but of their owne free-

Child-selling. borne. Yet is seruice there more tollerable then else-where; for euery man may redeeme himselfe at the price payd for him, when hee is able; and there are many poore which with hard

Child-killing. labour sustayne themselues. A worse euill in some Prouinces is theirs, which finding themselues poore, smother their new-borne Babes, specially Females, by an impious pietie and pittilesse pitie

Pittilesse pitie. Transmigration of soules. preuenting that sale to Slauerie, by taking away that life which euen now they had giuen. They pretend hereunto also their *Metempsychosis*, dreaming that the Soule of that Infant shall the sooner passe into some more fortunate body: and are not therefore ashamed to doe this in others

Selfe-slayers. presence, yea not the meanest of the communaltie. Many more inhumanely kill themselues, either wearie of a miserable life, or willing after death to bee reuenged of some enemy, whiles to the Enemy of mankind many thousands yeerely Sacrifice themselues, by Halter, Drowning, and

Eunuches. Poyson. Another immanitie in the Northerne Prouinces is vsed vpon Male Infants, whom for hope of Palace preferments their Parents make Eunuches; of which in the Kings house are ten

Whip-killing. thousand, a dull and blockish kinde of vnkind vnmanly men. Their Whippings also take away more liues, then the executions of sentences to Death; their Reedes slit two ells long, a finger thicke and foure broad, at the first blow breaking the skinne and flesh on the hinder part of the thighes: to preuent which many bribe the Magistrates, of whose domineering fulnesse of power they liue in perpetuall feare, where calumnies and lyes are so rife: which *China*

Slauish feare. perfidiousnesse made the Kings come so guarded abroad and vnknowne, and now not to come foorth at all.

Kings kindred. *China* suspicions. The Kings kindred are now growne to sixtie thousand, and daily increasing become a burthen to the publike, and daily increase in idlenesse, impotence, numbers, the King being very jea-

Strangers contemned. lous of them, and setting Guards, besides their perpetuall exile from *Pequin* and *Nanquin*. No maruell if Strangers be no better trusted in *China*, where the Natiues and Bloud are suspected: out of whose Bookes they scorne to learne, and repute them little better then Beasts: and the Characters whereby they expresse them are taken from Beasts. How Legats are held as prisoners in publike houses is else-where deliuered. Commanders of Souldiers, which guard places are

Souldiers base. guarded and watched, and not trusted with the pay of their Companies: neither is there any more base then the Souldiery, most Slaues or condemned persons, for their owne or their Ancestors euils: and when they are free from exercises of warre, they become Muletters, Porters, and of other base Offices. The Captaynes onely haue some authoritie. Their armes are worth-

Studies of Alchimie and long life. lesse for offence or defence, and onely make a shew, the Captaynes being also subiect to the Magistrates whippings. Their Alchimisticall vanitie, and study of long Life, with precepts and huge bookes of both, I omit. The founders forsooth of these Sciences haue gone body and soule to Heauen. The making of Siluer hath made many spend their siluer, wits and credit, cheated by professing Artists; and the great Magistrates (few in *Pequin* free) are taken vp with the other Study; some shortning their life to make it longer. They write of one of their Kings which had procured such a potion of immortalitie, whom a friend of his was not able to dissuade from that conceit, enraged, by his sudden snatching & drinking his prepared potion: which he seeking by death to reuenge, the other answered, how can I be killed, if this draught cause immortalitie? and if I may, then haue I freed thee of this errour.

Chap. 10. Touching the *China* Sects, I read in their Bookes, that the *Chinois* from the beginning worshipped one God, which they call the *King of Heauen*, or by another Name *Heauen and Earth*.

China Gods. Beneath this Deitie, they worshipped diuers *tutelare Spirits* of Mountaynes, Riuers, and of the foure parts of the world. In all actions they held *Reason* to bee obeyed, which light of Reason

What pitie is it that *Lutherans* and *Caluenists*, may not aswell be saued without the Pope, as these Idolaters without God and Christ, they confessed they had from Heauen. Of that supreame Deitie and his administring Spirits, they neuer had such monstrous conceits as the *Romans*, *Greekes*, *Ægyptians*, whence the *Iesuites* hope that many of them in the law of Nature were saued. Their Sects are reckoned three: The first of the *Learned*, the second of *Sciequia*, the third *Laucu*. One of these is professed by all

which

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which vſe their Characters. That of the *Learned*, is moſt proper to *China* and moſt ancient, and all their Learned learne it in the courſe of their ſtudies. *Confutius* is the Prince therof. This Sect hath no Idols, worſhips one God, beleeuing all things to bee conſerued by his prouidence. They worſhip in inferiour ſort the Spirits. The beſt of them teach nothing of the Creation: rewards and puniſhments, they confine in this life to a mans ſelfe or his poſteritie. Of the immortalitie of the Soule they ſeeme to make no doubt, for they ſpeake of the deceaſed liuing in Heauen; but of Hell they make no mention. The later *Learned* deny both, with the ſoules immortalitie: yet ſome ſay, that the ſoules of good men are corroborated with vertue and made able to hold out, others dying with the body.

The principall opinion ſeemeth borrowed of the Idoll Sect, fiue hundred yeeres agoe; which holds that this whole Vniuerſe conſiſts of one matter, and that the Creatures are as ſo many members of this huge body, ſo that euery one may attayne to the ſimilitude of God being one with him; which we confute out of their owne ancient Authors. Though the *Literate* acknowledge one ſupreame Deitie, yet they erect no Temple to him, nor any other place proper to his Worſhip, nor any Prieſts, perſons or rites peculiar, nor haue precepts thereof, nor any which preſcribeth, or puniſheth defect of Holies; nor any which priuately or publikely recite or ſing ought to him. Yea they affirme, that the Office of Sacrificing to the King of Heauen and his worſhip belongs to the King: and if any ſhould take on him that Office, hee ſhould vſurpe the Kings, and be thereby a Traytor. For this purpoſe, the King hath two ſtately Temples in both Royall Cities, one dedicated to the *Heauen*, the other to the *Earth*: in which ſometime hee vſed to Sacrifice, but now in his place certayne Magiſtrates haue ſucceeded, which there ſacrifice many Oxen and Sheepe, with many Rites. To the *Spirits* of Mountaynes, Riuers, and of the foure Regions of the world, onely the chiefe Magiſtrates Sacrifice, nor are the people admitted thereto. The precpts of this Law are contayned in the *Tetrabiblion* and fiue Bookes of *Doctrines*; nor are any other Bookes allowed, but onely ſome Commentaries thereon. Nothing in this Sect is more of note then their yeerely *Obits*, or parentations to their deceaſed Parents, common to all from the King to the meaneſt, obſeruing their dead Anceſtrie as if they were liuing. Neither yet doe they ſuppoſe that they eate of the meate which is ſet them, or need it, but they haue no better meane to expreſſe their loue.

God ſuppoſed the ſoule of the world.

Perſians had no Temples.

Two Temples Royall.

King high Prieſt: Magiſtrates inferiour.

Obite.

The *Literate* haue a coſtly Temple to *Confutius* in euery Citie, by Law appointed, in that place where the *Schoole* is, and adjoyning to the Magiſtrates Palace, which is ſet ouer the Bachelors or Graduates of the firſt degree. In a principall place of that Temple his Image is erected, or elſe his Name in golden Cubitall letters, written in a curious Table. Hither the Magiſtrates aſſemble euery New-moone, and Full, alſo the Bachelors, with wonted kneelings, Odours and Wax-lights, to acknowledge their Maſter. On his Birth-day and on other ſet times, they offer feſtiuall Diſhes, thankefully confeſſing his learned workes, whence they haue attayned their Degrees and Offices, but pray not to him nor looke for ought from him; but as is obſerued of their dead Parents. Other Temples alſo are ſeene of the ſame Sect to the *Tutelare Spirits* of each Citie, and to the Magiſtracie of each Tribunall, wherein they ſolemnly binde themſelues by ſolemne Oathes, to obſerue Law and Iuſtice, when they firſt enter into their Office. In theſe they offer Diſhes and Odours, but in differing Worſhip: for in theſe they acknowledge, there is a Diuine power to puniſh the perjurious, and reward the good. The ſcope of this *Literate Sect*, is the peace and good of the Common-wealth, and of Families, and of each perſons; their precepts agreeing with Nature and Chriſtianitie. Fiue Relations or Societies are obſerued by them, comprehending all duties of humanitie; of Father and Child, of Husband and Wife, of Maſter and Seruant, of elder and younger Brethren, of Fellowes and Equals. They condemne Single life, permit Polygamie, and in their Bookes largely explaine that precept of *Charitie, to doe to another as a man would be done to.* They deny this to bee a Sect, but a certayne Acadamie inſtituted for the gouernment of the Common-wealth; and becauſe it preſcribes not, nor prohibiteth any thing touching the Life to come, many adjoyne the other two Sects to this.

Confutius Temple and Rites.

Temple of tutelar Sprrits.

Tribunall Temple.

Oath of Magiſtrates.

Fiue combinations.

The ſecond Sect is called *Siequia* or *Omitoſe*, and by the *Iaponians*, *Sciacca* and *Amidabu*. Both haue the ſame Characters, and the ſame *Totoqui* or Law. It came to the *Chinois* from the Weſt, brought from the Kingdome of *Thienſcio* or *Scinto*, now called *Indoſtan*, betwixt *Indus* and *Ganges*, about the yeere of Chriſt 65. It is written that the King of *China*, warned in a Dreame, ſent Legats thither, which brought Bookes and Interpreters from thence, the Authors of them being dead. And therefore I ſee not how truely the *Iaponians* affirme that *Sciacca* and *Amidaba* pierced thither, and were Natiue of *Siam*. The Authors of this Sect, haue taken ſome things out of our Philoſophers. For they hold foure Elements, and manifold Worlds and tranſmigration of Soules, and other things. Somewhat it ſeemes to acknowledge the *Trinitie* fabling of three Gods becomming one; it acknowledgeth iuſt rewards to the good in Heauen, to the bad in Hell. It extols Single life, ſo as it may ſeeme to reject Marriage. They leaue houſe and friends and trauell into diuers places Begging. The Rites of this prophane Sect, haue great affinitie with our (*Romiſh*) Eccleſiaſticall: the Singings of men ſaying their ſeruice may ſeeme nothing to differ from our *Gregorian*; they haue Images alſo in their Churches; their Prieſts Garments are altogether

Second Sect began A.D. 65.

Democritians Sythagorians.

Likeneſſe of Popiſh rites and thoſe of China, in opinion of Ieſuites.

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gether like ours, which with an Eccleſiaſticall terme wee call, *Pluuialia*. In their Seruice they often recite the name *Tolome*, which themſelues confeſſe to be ignorant of. But they denie eternitie in their Heauen and Hell, aſcribing a new birth after I know not what reuolutions of time, in ſome other of their conceited Worlds, then and there to be penitentially purged; with other fooleries. They prohibite to eate of liuing creatures, but few impoſe on themſelues this abſtinence, and they finde eaſie abſolution from this and other ſinnes, if they giue to the Prieſts, who profeſſe to deliuer from Hell by their Prayers or Recitations, whom they will.

This Sect came in at firſt with great applauſe, as clearely profeſſing the Soules immortalitie: but nothing more diſgraced it, then that that King and theſe Princes which firſt embraced it (which the *Literate* often obiect) died miſerably with violent death, and publike loſſe and miſfortune followed. By writing of many Bookes they haue entangled it in inextricable Labyrinths. The notes of Antiquity appeare in the multitude of their Temples, and moſt of them ſumptuous: in which huge Monſters of Idols of Braſſe, Marble, Wood, and Earth are ſeene; with Steeples adioyned of Stone or Bricke, and in them huge Bells, and other ornaments of great price.

Many and coſtly Temples, Steeples, Bells, Images.

The Prieſts of this Sect are called *Oſciami*, they ſhaue their head and beard, againſt the faſhion of the Countrey: ſome trauell, as is ſaid, ſome leade a very auſtere life in Mountaines and Caues, but the greateſt part which amount to two or three millions, liue in Monaſteries, ſuſtayned with their antiently-giuen Reuenues, and Almes, and alſo by their owne induſtry. Theſe Prieſts are accounted, and iuſtly, the moſt vile and vicious in the whole Kingdome, ſprung of the baſeſt plebeians, ſold in their childhood to the elder *Oſciami*, and of Slaues made Diſciples, ſucceed their Maſters in Office and Benefice, a courſe which they haue found for their propagation. For, few are found which voluntarily by deſire of ſanctitie doe adioyne themſelues to thoſe Monkes. Ignorance alſo and illiberall education makes them liker their Maſters, few of them learning Letters or ciuill rites; and daily growing worſe. And although they haue no wiues, they are much addicted to women, and cannot but by grieuous penalties be kept from them.

Their Prieſts many and miſerable.

The Colledges of the *Oſciami* are diuided into diuers Stations, in euery of which is one perpetuall Adminiſtrator, to whom his ſeruants or as many as he brings vp, ſucceed. They acknowledge no Superior in thoſe Cells, but euery one in his owne Station builds as many Lodgings as he can (moſt of all places, in the Court) which after they let to ſtrangers, ſo that they are rather Innes then Monaſteries, as full of tumults as empty of deuotion. Although they bee of baſe eſteeme, yet are they employed to Funerals and other Rites, by which wilde beaſts, and fowles, and fiſhes are ſet at liberty, by the profeſſors of this Sect with opinion of great merit. In this our age this Sect hath much reuiued, and many Temples are built and repaired, by Eunuches, Women, and the rude vulgar, and eſpecially by the *Ciaicum*, or *Faſters*, which all their liues abſtayne from Fleſh, Fiſh, (Egges, and Milke) and worſhip a multitude of Idols with ſet prayers at home, and are by hire to be called to any other mans. Nunnes alſo obſerue the ſame Monaſticall rules, being ſingle and ſhaued; they call them Nunnes, nothing ſo many as the Monkes.

Monaſteries, Innes. Redemption of wilde creatures. See Pintes Riuer faire. *Faſters.*

Nicu, or Nuns.

The third Sect is called, *Lauzu*, deriued from a Philoſopher which liued at the ſame time with *Confutius*, whom they fable to haue beene carried 80. yeeres in his parents wombe before he was borne, and therefore called, *Lauzu*, that is, the *Old Philoſopher*. He left no Bookes of his Opinion, nor ſeemes to haue intended any new Sect, but certaine Sectaries, called *Tauſa*, made him the head of their Sect after his death, and wrote diuers elegant Bookes gathered out of diuers Sects. Theſe alſo liue ſingle in their Monaſteries, and buy diſciples, baſe and wicked as the former. They weare their haire as the Lay-men, differing herein, that where they weare their haire tyed on a knot, theſe haue a Cap on the crowne of Wood. Some alſo are married, and ſay ouer their Holies in their owne houſes. They ſay, that with other Idols they worſhip alſo the *Lord of Heauen*, whom yet they imagine Corporeall, and to haue ſuffered many things. They tell, that the King of Heauen which now raigneth, is called *Ciam*, and he which before ruled was named *Leu*. This *Leu* came one day to the Earth riding on a white Dragon, and *Ciam* a Wizard entertayned him with a Feaſt, where whiles *Leu* was eating, *Ciam* gat vp on the white Dragon, and was carried to Heauen, and excluded *Leu* from that ſoueraignty; only he obtayned of this new King, that he might rule ouer a certaine Mountaine in his Kingdome, where they ſay he ſtill liueth: thus confeſſing (as the *Greekes* of *Iome*) themſelues to worſhip an Vſurper and Traitor. Beſides this Deity of *Heauen*, they acknowledge three others, one of which they ſay, *Lauzu* is, hauing ſome dreame alſo, as the former of the Trinitie.

Third Sect. Lye of Lauzu.

Leu Legend.

See before of Leus Hill, n ere the great Lake.

They alſo ſpeake of places of rewards and puniſhments, but differing from the former: for they promiſe a Paradiſe for ſoule and body together, and haue Images of ſome in their Temples which haue ſo gone thither. To obtayne this, they preſcribe certaine exerciſes of ſitting in diuers poſtures, ſet Prayers, Medicines by which the life is lengthned, if not made immortall. Their Prieſts exorciſe Deuils, and driue them out of houſes, by painting horrible ſhapes of them in yellow Paper on the walls, and making horrible cryes as if themſelues were become Deuils. They arrogate alſo to bring downe or to ſtay Raines, and other publike and priuate fortunes, moſt impudent impoſtors, either Lyars or Magicians. They aſſiſt the Kings ſacrifices in thoſe Temples of *Heauen and Earth* (thereby acquiring much authority) being Maſters of the Muſike therein: and

Way to fooles Paradiſe.

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and are called to Funerals, to which they goe in precious veſtments with diuers muſicall Inſtruments, making a pompous proceſſion ſhowe thorow the ſtreets. The like pompes they vſe at the ſtreets ends on certaine times, hired by the dwellers.

They haue a Prelate called *Ciam*; which dignity he tranſmitted to his poſterity 1000. yeeres ſince by hereditary ſucceſſions, and ſeemeth to haue taken beginning from a Magician which liued in a Caue of *Quiamſi* Prouince, where his poſterity ſtill continueth. Their Prelate liueth moſt commonly at *Pequin*, obſerued by the King, and admitted into the inmoſt Palace to conſecrate and hallow the Roomes ſuſpected to bee hanted by ill ſpirits. Hee is carried in an open Chaire, and with other pompe competent to the chiefe Magiſtrates, and is allowed by the King a great Reuenue. But I haue learned of a Conuert that theſe Prelates now are ſo ignorant that they know not their owne Charmes and Rites. Hee hath no power ouer the people, but the *Tanſius* (Prieſts) and their Monaſteries, many of which are alſo Alchimiſts. Theſe three Sects haue diuerſified themſelues into 300. in ſeeming, daily encreaſing and growing worſe and worſe. *Humvn* ordayned that theſe three Lawes ſhould be kept for the good of the Kingdome, onely the *Literate* to rule; whence it comes that they ſeeke not to ruine each other. The Kings make vſe of them all for their purpoſes, often repairing the old, and building new Temples. The Kings wiues are more prone to the Idoll Sect, and maintayne whole Monaſteries without the Palace, and buy their Prayers with Almes. The Idols are not onely in Temples in this Kingdome, but in priuate houſes in peculiar places, in ſtreets, ſhips, Palaces, they are the firſt things you ſee, and yet put they little confidence in them. Their wiſeſt men ſeeke to mixe all three Sects together, and ſo whiles they embrace all, are of none, and proue *Atheiſts*.

Ciam Prelate.

Multiplication of Sects.

§. VI.

Of Strangers, and forraine Religions in China.

HOw inhoſpitall the *Chinois* are to Strangers, we haue in part heard, neither permitting egreſſe to the Natiues, nor ingreſſe to Aliens except in three reſpects. The firſt, ſuch as come to pay their annuall Tributes. The ſecond, ſuch as pretending honour and tribute, come (as wee haue heard) from the Weſt with ſeeming tribute, a colour to their gaine by merchandiſe. The third, ſuch as in admiration of the *Chinian* vertues and learning, come thither (as the Queene of *Sheba* to *Salomon*) to learne the ſame, which is the *Ieſuites* pretence: but theſe muſt here fixe their habitation, nor may be ſuffered to returne; ſuch is their iealouſie, of diſcouering their myſteries to others. And this made the *Ieſuites*, after ſo long ſtay, free from feare of expulſion, which yet ſince complaine of perſecution. But it may not be known, that they haue any intelligence or commerce with ſtrangers: & therfore the *Ieſuites*, which haue obtayned two ſo great priuiledges, the Eunuches Palace for their reſidence, and the imployment in correcting the *China* Kalender, both by Royall approbation; yet could not obtayne leaue to goe into the Prouince of *Canton*, though with Mathematicall pretexts for that Kalender-buſines, to obſerue longitudes and latitudes of places, becauſe they were ſaid to be Countrymen to thoſe of *Macao*. Yea, a *Colao*, or Counſellor of State, was deprined, for ſending a meſſage to a bordering King; a tempeſt of libelling complaints thundring and ſhowring againſt him therefore. In the bordering Prouiuces they ſet narrow watch at Cuſtom-houſes, Bridges, and in the very Riuers, by ſhips of warre thereto appointed. But if they be once gotten into the inner parts of the Kingdome, there are no ſuch Officers, nor ſearches. Neither may any ſtranger paſſe out of the Kingdome, after once entring, without the Kings licence. The *Ieſuites* ſteale their ingreſſe and egreſſe by meanes of the *Portugals*, which had the Towne of *Macao* aſſigned them by the *Chinois*, for trafficke. Theſe come vſually twice a yeere to the chiefe Citie of the Prouince of *Canton*, which is not called *Quantum*, or *Canton*, (the name of the Prouince) but *Quamceu*. All the day time they haue free entrance in the Citie about their merchandiſe, but muſt lie on ſhipboord at night. In the midſt of the Riuer there is a little Iland, and therein a Temple, in which they are allowed their Catholike deuotions. There by Boat did they prouide to ſteale in or out of the Countrey. The *Mahumetans* that come in by land, if they ſtay nine yeeres (as is obſerued) may neuer return home againe. Of theſe there are now many thouſand Families in *China*, diſperſed into the moſt of the Prouinces and chiefe Cities. They haue there their Temples very ſumptuous, and their Circumciſion. But as farre as I could euer learne, they neither teach, nor care to teach, others their deuotions, but are vnskilfull of the *Saracens* Tenents, and are contemned of the *Chinois*. It ſeems, that their comming in was in the time that the *Tartars* reigned here, which ſince haue increaſed, and after ſo long continuance, are not held in ſuſpicion, as other ſtrangers. Some ſay, after the fourth generation they are reputed as Natiues: yea, they are admitted to the ſtudies of Learning, Degrees, and Magiſtracy, as well as the *Chinois*. But moſt of theſe, thus dignified, relinquiſh their former ſuperſtition, retayning nothing thereof, but abſtinence from Swines fleſh, which rather by Nature, then for Religion, they abhorre.

This is alſo teſtified by *Monſ. de Monfart*.

Many *Mahumetans* in *China*.

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Christians.

Touching *Christians* in *China*, there is not so great certainty. Certaine *Mogores* told *Riccius* of some in the *Xensian* Prouince, in the North parts of *China*, at a place called *Xucheo*, which were white, bearded, vsed Bells, worshipped *Isa*, that is, *Iesus*, and *Marie*, and honoured the Crucifixe; their Priests married, which cured diseases without medicines. A *Iew* at *Pequin* gaue more full intelligence, that at *Caifumfu*, and at *Lincin*, in the Prouince of *Sciantum*, and in the Prouince of *Sciansi*, there liued certaine Strangers, whose Ancestours had come out of forraine parts, which worshipped the Crosse which the *Chinois* expresse by the Character of Ten) and made the signe thereof with the finger on their meate and drinke. They also made the same signe with Inke on the foreheads of their children, to preserue them from misfortunes. A *Iesuite* also saw, in the hands of an Antiquarie, a Bell, with a Church and Crosse thereon grauen, circumscribed with *Greeke* letters. The *Iew* also reported that those Crosse-worshippers had the same doctrine in their prayers which the *Iewes* held: this the *Iesuites* interpreted of the Psalter common to them both. Hee affirmed that there were many of them in the Northerne Prouinces, which so flourished in Letters and Armes, that they grew suspicious to the *Chinois*, which hee thought was caused by the *Saracens* some sixty yeeres before. The Magistrates were so incensed hereby, that they for feare were dispersed, some turning *Iewes*; some *Saracens*; others *Idolaters*: and their Temples were also conuerted into Idolatrous Temples, one of which he mentioned in his Countrey. Euer since they hide their profession, and when the *Iesuites* sent one of their Conuerts to make enquirie, he could learne of none: which they thought proceeded from their feare, taking him for a Spie sent from the Magistrates.

See *sup.* in *Pinto.* 269.

All these Sects the *Chinois* call, *Hoei*, the *Iewes* distinguished by their refusing to eate the sinew or leg; the *Saracens*, Swines flesh; the *Christians*, by refusing to feed on round-hoofed beasts, Asses, Horses, Mules which all both *Chinois*, *Saracens*, and *Iewes* doe there feed on. The *Saracens* called the *Christians* also *Isai*, as before; and *Terzai*, which is a name giuen in *Persia* to the *Armenian Christians* (as an *Armenian* affirmed to *Riccius*) whence hee coniectured, that these *Christians* came out of *Armenia*. And by the report of *Haiton* the *Armenian*, which sayth, their King came to the Great *Can* of *Cathay* (which wee haue before obserued, at least the best parts thereof, to be the North parts of *China*) to perswade him and his to become *Christians*; which in great part also hee affected, besides other *Christians* there reported to bee, by *Paulus*; and those of *Sarnau*, subiect to the Great *Can*, mentioned by *Vertomannus*, which seeme to be neere these in *China*. The *Malabar Christians* haue *Chaldee* memorials of *China*, conuerted by Saint *Thomas*; and their Metropolitan hath his style of all *India* and *China*.

See *sup. pag.* 115

Sian.

Chaisamfu.

Iew at *Pequin* his report.

A certaine *Iew* at *Pequin* hearing of the *Iesuites* there, came to them to see and conferre with them, imagining them to be *Iewes*. This *Iew* was borne at *Chaisamfu*, the Mother-citie of the Prouince *Honan*, his name was *Ngai*, his countenance not resembling the *Chinois*; hee neglecting *Iudaisme*, had addicted himselfe to the *China* studies, and now came to *Pequin* to the examination, in hope of proceeding Doctor. There did hee enter the *Iesuites* House, professing that he was of their Law and Religion. *Ricci* leads him into the Chappell, where on the Altar stood the Image of the Virgin, *Iesus*, and *Iohn Baptist*, kneeling; which he taking to be the Images of *Rebecca* and her Twins, did worship vnto them, contrary (he said) to their custome. The Images of the Euangelists he supposed to be so many of *Iacobs* sonnes. But vpon further questioning, the *Iesuite* perceiued that he was a professor of the Law of *Moses*: he confessed himselfe an *Israelite*, and knew not the name of *Iew*; so that it seemed, the dispersion of the ten Tribes had pierced thus farre. Seeing the *Hebrew* Bible, hee knew the Letters, but could not reade them. He told them that in *Chaifamfu* were ten or twelue Families of *Israelites*, and a faire Synagogue, which had lately cost them ten thousand Crownes; therein the *Pentateuch* in Rolls, which had bin with great veneration preserued fiue or six hundred yeers. In *Hamcheu* the chiefe Citie of *Chequian*, hee affirmed, were many more Families with their Synagogue; many also in other places but without Synagogues, and by degrees wearing out: his pronunciation of *Hebrew* names differed from ours, as *Heruſoloim*, *Moſeia*; for *Meſſia*, *Ieruſalem*. His Brother, hee said, was skilfull in the *Hebrew*; which he in affection to the *China* preferment had neglected; and therefore was hardly censured by the Ruler of the Synagogue.

Israelites dispersion.

Iewes at *Hamcheu.*

To this Citie did *Ricci* send one of his to enquire, who found those reports true, which also copied the beginnings and endings of their Bookes, which they compared, and found to agree with their owne *Pentateuch*, sauing that they wanted prickes or points. He wrote also in *China* Characters to the Ruler of their Synagogue, that hee had the rest of the Bookes of the Old Testament, and other Bookes of the New, which contayned the acts of the *Messias*, being already come. The Ruler doubted, saying, that he would not come till ten thousand yeeres were expired. Hee also promised, that because hee had heard much good of him, if hee would come thither, and abstaine from Swines flesh, they would make him Ruler of their Synagogue. After this, three *Iewes* came from thence to *Pequin*, and were almost perswaded to become *Christians*. These complayned, that through ignorance of the *Hebrew*, their Religion decayed, and that they were likely all of them in a short time to become *Saracens* or *Ethnikes*. The old Archisynagogue, was now dead, his sonne a young man succeeded in place, but ignorant of their

Pentateuch. Want of pricks

Decay of *Iudaisme.*

Law

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覽 THE 輿 MAP 方 備

MATHAEUS RICIUS.

A Picture of a Chinese man

CAR

ACATHAI vel Catuia regna.

REGNUM CIALIS

SCI

EN

SI

QUI

CHEU

HU

SUS

CU

CO

EN

IU

SI

N A N

Flumen flavum

Lacus Constantionum

Flu Kiansu

chiang

Flumen flavum

Hainan vel Ainan

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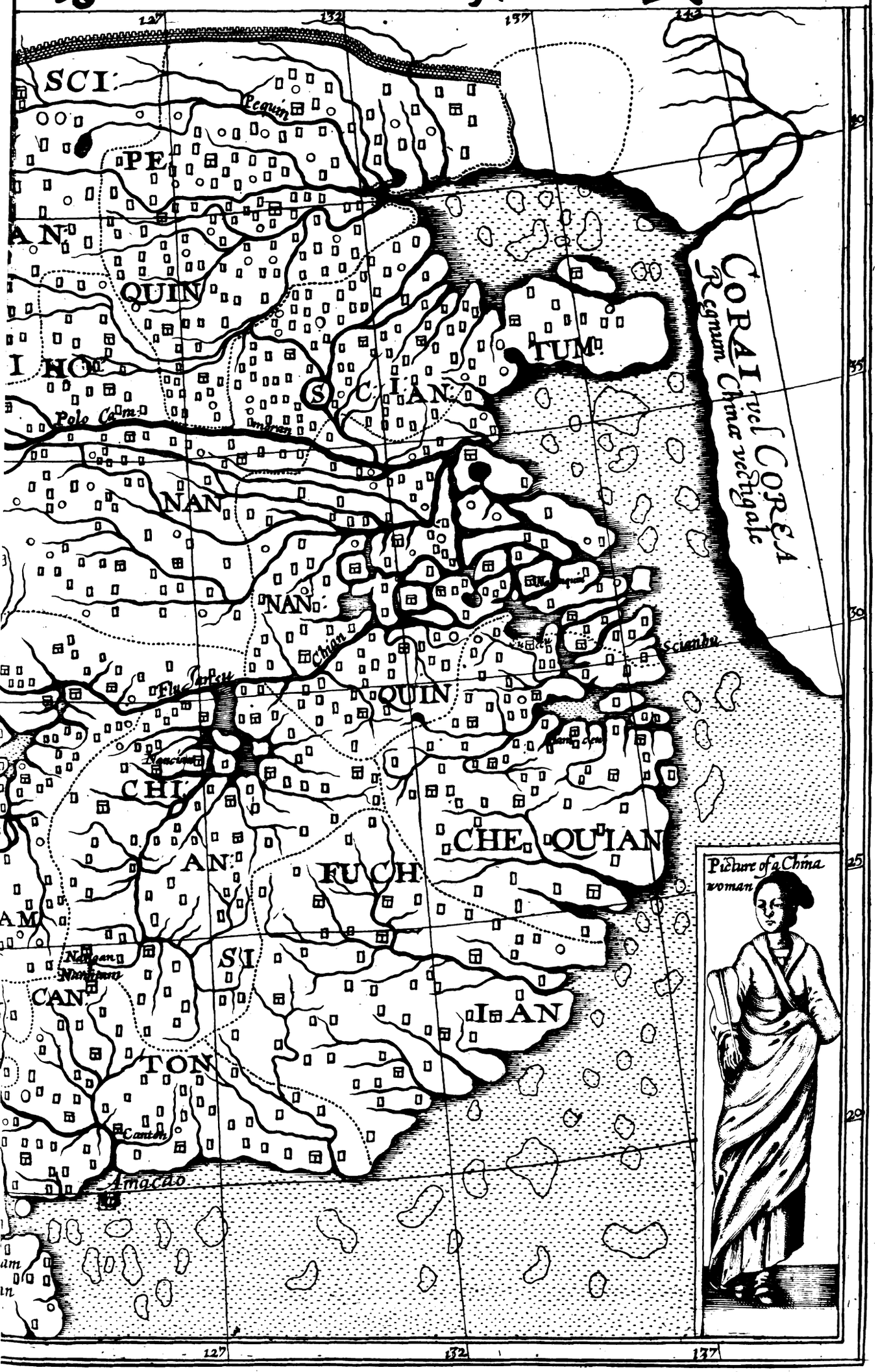
CHINA 皇明一統



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Law. And that their *Iewish* Religion was indeed languishing, appeared by this, that they both worshipped the Popish Images, and complayned that in their Synagogue and priuate houses they had none. They were offended that they were forbidden the eating of any creature, which themselues had not killed, which had they obserued in this Iourney had cost them their liues. Their wiues and neighbours esteemed Circumcision of their Infants on the eighth day a cruell thing, which they could be willing to alter, with acceptation of the *Christian* Law, nor would much stand about Swines flesh.

As for the *Christian* Religion thither carried by the *Iesuites*, you haue heard the whole substance of their owne large Histories; I meane not of Miracles, and other like stuffe and stuffings, but the meanes of conuaying the Gospel to the *Chinois*, which are merchandise, money, & gifts, Mathematiks, Memoratiue-art, Morality, which to *China* Couetousnes and Curiosity with their conforming to *Confutius* Ethikes, and *China* Literature, Habite, Names and officious Rites, were good Orators, and made way with much adoe to that little which is done; a mutuall exchange in many things, of *Romish* for *Chinois* Beades, Shauing, Vests, Songs, Mumsimus, Tapers, Censers, Images, Legends, Monkes, Nunnes, Processions, Pilgrimages, Monasteries, Altars, hee and shee Saints, and other things innumerable pertayning rather to *bodily exercise which profiteth little*, then to *Godlinesse*, or God-likenesse, who *being a Spirit, requireth men to worship him in spirit and truth; and by foolishnesse of preaching saueth them that beleeue*, not *by wisedome of words*, in elegant writings, and those more of Arts then *Christianity*. The great Doctor of the *Gentiles* tooke another course, not with *excellency of words*, sayth he, or *wisedome*; yea, *hee esteemed to know nothing among the* learned Corinthians *but* Iesus Christ *and him crucified: neither stood his word in the entising speech of mans wisedome, but in playne euidence of the Spirit; not the wisedome of the World, but the wisedome of God in a mysterie*, &c. Which I speake not as denying the seruice of Arts to Diuinity, but of Diuinity in manner to Arts, where the profession is not as of a Tent-maker to liue that he may preach, but as of an *European* Philosopher, where *Hagar* domineereth, and *Sara* at some times whispers a little, and except in Images and Shewes scarcely shewes her selfe, as more fully appeareth in the fore-going History. But would God any Arts or any Preachers may occasion the opening of their eyes, which were wont to bragge of two eyes, and say *Europeans* had but one, when as they haue but this one naturall eye, and in spirituall things are blinde: and would God the *Chinois* might as generally acknowledge themselues thankfull to *Iesuiticall* labours in professing the Gospell, as I doe here my selfe for this Historicall light of *China*.

1.*Tim.*4.8.
Io.4.23,24.
1.*Cor.*1.21,17.
1.*Cor.*2.1,2,3.
*Haiton, c.*1.

§. VII.

The Map of China, *taken out of a* China *Map, printed with* China *Characters; illustrated with Notes, for the vnderstanding thereof.*

THe originall Map, whence this present was taken and contracted, was by Captaine *Saris* (whose industrie and acts haue both heere and elsewhere enriched this worke) gotten at *Bantam* of a *Chinese*, in taking a distresse for debts owing to the *English* Merchants; who seeing him carefull to conuay away a Boxe, was the more carefull to apprehend it, and therein found this Map, which another *Chinese* lodged at his house, lately come from *China*, had brought with him. The greatnesse of the danger at home (if knowne) made him earnestly begge for that which was on the other side as earnestly desired and kept. Master *Hakluyt* procured it of the Captaine, professing his intent to giue it to Prince *Henry* of glorious memory, who being suddenly aduanced to a higher view in Heauen, and Master *Hakluyt* following, this Map came to my hand, who sought to expresse my loue to the publike in communicating what I could thereof. For it being in *China* Characters (which I thinke none in *England*, if any in *Europe*, vnderstands) I could not wholly giue it, when I giue it; no man being able to receiue, what he can no way conceiue.

*Tom.*1. *l.*4. *c.*1. *&* 2. *&* 3.
The *Chinois* iealous of Strangers.

And as in greatest things our little vnderstandings easier apprehend negations then affirmations, and can better tell what they are not, then what they are; so this Map easily tells at first, euen without Commentaries, the comments and conceits of our Geographers, *Ortelius*, *Mercator*, *Hondius*, and whatsoeuer other our Authors of Maps, and Globes, who all haue heerein fayled, giuing nothing lesse then *China* in their *China*; whether wee regard the generall figure and shape thereof, or the particular Riuers, Hills, Prouinces, Wall, Latitude, and if wee beleeue the *Iesuites*) Longitude also. They present it in forme somewhat like a Harpe, whereas it is almost foure square; they make Hills, Riuers, Lakes, Ilands, (*Coray* also for one, which is part of the Continent) Cities, Prouinces, euery thing out of due place. Whose industry I commend; but industry guided by fansie, and without light, is but *the blind leading the blind*, or like a seeled vnmanaged Horse, the more spurred, the more ready to carrie his Rider into precipices, or out of the way at least. Our Geographers haue indeed payd the *Chinois* in their owne Coine:

Benefit of this Map in confuting others.
Coray no Iland.

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for they, as before yee haue read, knew nothing in manner of the other parts of the World, and expreſſed them as fanſifully in their Maps; and wee likewiſe knowing nothing of them, haue entertayned, and beene entertayned with *Fanſi-maps*, in ſtead of thoſe of *China*. As therefore by Sir *Thomas Roes* honourable induſtry wee haue giuen you *Indus* and *India* before, which no Geographer before had done (they all bringing *Indus* thorow *Cambaia*, and ſome ſeeking for *Ganges* at *Canton* in *China*) ſo here we giue you a true *China*, the *Chinois* themſelues being our Guides, and the *Ieſuites* their both Examiners and Interpreters.

The Originall is aboue foure foot one way, and almoſt fiue foot the other, whereof a yard and ſome foure inches ſquare is the Map it ſelfe; the reſt are *China* Diſcourſes touching the ſayd Map in their Characters and Lines (running downward, and beginning at the right hand to bee read, after their manner) which are heere omitted, as not vnderſtood. Yet haue wee ſome vnderſtanding (as where wee ſee a man farre off, whom we know to bee a man, and can obſerue his habit, geſture, motion, though wee ſee not the proper complexion of his face) by that which *Pantoia* hath told vs before; namely, that thoſe *China* Characters contayne all the Tributes of each Prouince, yea the number of Houſes and perſons in the ſame. And in the Map (of which wee haue giuen an extract) hee ſayth the *Rounds* and *Squares* are Cities and Townes of principall note all walled; adding that the Riuers are diſtinctly delineated; and the great Lines are boundaries of Prouinces, (wee haue heere expreſſed them after our manner in little prickes,) the leſſer expreſſe the chiefe Cities Iuriſdiction. Ours hath no ſuch leſſe Lines, but thoſe mentioned Rounds and Squares, which perhaps hee meaneth; for therein are many others in Characters, without ſuch lines round or ſquare, and therefore as I ſuppoſe without Iuriſdiction; and in this extract wee haue left them out, becauſe we exactly knew not their meaning, and perhaps ſometimes are Cities, ſometimes Caſtles or Townes, or Hills, or ſome other thing: and ſilence ſeemed better, then labour to expreſſe an vnknowne Character, or boldneſſe to expreſſe our owne folly or to occaſion others, deceiuing and being deceiued. Theſe Rounds and Squares alſo haue their Characters in them, and thoſe greater Squares with Croſſes, haue, ſome three others foure Characters.

Beſides *Pantogia*, another hath helped further to the particular vnderſtanding, namely our famous Countryman Maſter *Candiſh*, who in his voyage about the Globe, brought home certayne references taken out of the Map of *China*, neere whiah hee ſayled, and it ſeemes by ſome ſkilfull of the Languages both of *China* and *Portugall*, had the ſame interpreted to him. That the Prouinces beare other names then in our Map or diſcourſe is no wonder; for both the *Chinois* themſelues in diuers Prouinces ſpeake diuers languages, and in all haue the Court language beſides the peculiar: and the *China* Characters are the ſame to many Nations, each of which reades them into his owne language, dialect and appellation. Thus what one Prouince calleth *Lanquin* (wanting the *N.*) by diuerſitie of Dialect, is elſe-where called *Nanquin*; *Pequin*, *Paquin*, and *Puckin*; yea, by other language *Taybin*, and *Cambalu*, and *Suntien*, or *Citie of Heauen*. I durſt not interpret all, chuſing rather to giue an vncertayne truth, then to hazard a certayne errour. Maſter *Candiſhes* Notes are theſe.

1 THe Prouince of *Canſas* * hath 4. great Cities, and 20. ſmall Cities, and 77. Townes and Caſtles: it contayeth in length 55. leagues n it hath 362000. Houſes of great men that pay Tribute and 13900. men of Warre, and hath 47000. Horſes which are the Kings, kept for his dfeence.

2 The great City of *Paquin* where the King doth lye, hath belonging to it 8. great Cities, and 18. ſmall Cities, with 118. Townes and Caſtles, it hath 418789. Houſes of great men which pay Tribute: it hath Horſemen for the War, 258100. this City is in the latitude of o 50. degrees to the North-wards, being there as cold as it is vſually in *Flanders*.

3 The Prouince of *Soyebin* hath 7. great Cities, and 16. ſmall, with 12. Townes and Caſtles, and one great Citie, to which many repayre to fight againſt the *Tartars*: it hath ( ) leagues in length, and hath 164118. great Houſes which pay Tribute, and 96000. men of War.

4 The Prouince of *Santo* p hath 6. great Cities, and 14. ſmall, with 90. Townes and Caſtles; it is 82. leagues long, and hath 77555. great Houſes which pay Tribute: 63808. horſemen, and 31000. footmen of War.

5 The Prouince of *Oyuan* q hath 7. great Cities, and 14. ſmall, with 90. Townes and Caſtles; being 470. leagues long, and 132958. great Houſes that pay Tribute, 82800. men of Warre. Out of this Prouince commeth Copper, Quick-ſiluer, and Black-lead.

6 The Prouince of r *Cutchew* hath 8. great Cities, and 12. ſmall; and 83. Townes which make Armour to fight with the *Iewes* which do inhabit beyond *Cauchin-china*: it is 100. leagues broad, and hath 32920. Horſemen and Footmen with 405670. great Houſes which pay Tribute whereof the men of War are payed.

7 The Prouince of *Languyn* hath 14. great Cities, and 17. ſmall, and 95. Townes and Caſtles: it is 120. leagues ouer, and hath 962818. great Houſes which pay Tribute: it hath in it 208900. men of Warre. Whereof there are 52500. *Tartar* Horſemen that take wages.

8 The

* Perhaps this is *Seianſi*.

n Theſe leagues ſeeme doubtfull.

Pequin.

o This note of degrees is falſe, if the Ieſuits be true: and I thinke rather the gueſſe of the *Portugall* Interpreter, then that there was any ſuch note in the Map. For the *Chinois* were ſcarſly ſo good Coſmographers to obſerue degrees.

p *Sciantum*.

q *Henan*.

r Or *Quicheu*, *Nanuin*.

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8 The Prouince of *Vquam* hath 14. great Cities and 19. ſmall, 150. Townes and Caſtles, and is 210. leagues broad; and 53161. Houſes that pay Tribute: and 71600. men of Warre.

9 The Prouince of *Som* hath 7. great Cities, and 11. ſmall, and 105. Townes and Caſtles; and is 200. leagues broad: and hath Houſes that pay Tribute 139567. and men of Warre 345632.

10 The Prouince of *Eſſiram* hath 11. great Cities, and 75. ſmall, and 80. Townes and Caſtles, and is 440. leagues broad, and hath great Houſes that doe pay Tribute 1242135. and 339000. men of Warre.

11 This Lake lyeth behind *Siam*, and before *Champa*, and doth joyne with the *Lappians*, and from thence commeth all the water that ſerueth the Kingdome of *China*: and the *Indians* and the *Chinians* doe report this Lake to be the whole World, and ſo they paint the Sea, the Moone and the Stars within it. *Lacus Conſtellationum.*

12 The Prouince of *Lanſay*, hath 13. Cities and a chiefe Citie, and 73. Townes and Caſtles, and is 260. leagues broad, and hath great Houſes that pay Tribute 1393629. and 12700. men of Warre.

13 The Prouince *Cuanſa* hath 12. great Cities, 45. ſmall, and 51. Townes and Caſtles, it is 260. leagues broad, and hath great Houſes that pay Tribute 1306390. and men of Warre, both Horſemen and Footmen 100100.

14 The Prouince of *Vanam* hath 14. great Cities, and 36. ſmall, and 34. Townes and Caſtles, and is 88. leagues broad, and hath great Houſes that pay Tribute, 589296. and 15100. men of Warre.

15 The Prouince of *Fuquien* hath eight great Cities, and one principall Citie, and 54. Towns and Caſtles, and two great Cities of Garriſon to keepe watch vpon the *Iapons*, and is 200. leagues broad, and hath 5009532. great Houſes that pay Tribute, and 4003225. men of the Kings Guard.

16 The Prouince of *Canton* hath 40. great Cities, and ſeuen ſmall, and 77. Townes and Caſtles; and a Citie that putteth forth hundreds of ſhips for the keeping of *Cauchin-china*, and is 380. leagues in breadth, and hath 483383. great Houſes which pay Tribute, and 39400. men of Warre.

17 The Prouince of *Enam* hath ſeuen great Cities and 13. ſmall, and 90. Townes and Caſtles: and is 88. leagues broad, and hath 589296. great Houſes that pay Tribute, and 15100. Souldiers.

The *Spaniſh* Friers of the *Philippinas*, as *Mendoza* recordeth, thus out of the *China* Bookes relate the names of the Prouinces, *Paquia, Foquiens, Olam, Sinſay, Siſuan, Tolanchia, Canſay, Oquiam, Anchoo, Honan, Xanton, Quicheu, Chequean, Suſuam* and *Saxij*; tenne of which are ſeated on the Sea-coaſt. He alſo addes that *Paquia* or *Pequin* hath forty ſeuen Cities (ſtiled *Fu*) and one hundred and fiftie others termed *Cheu*. *Canton* hath thirtie ſeuen of the one, and one hundred and ninetie of the other, and ſo proceedeth with ſomewhat differing account, reckoning in all fiue hundred ninety one Cities entituled *Fu*, and 1593. of the *Cheu* Cities, which he makes Townes: whereas the Ieſuits haue taught vs that *Fu* is the Title of a *Region* or *Shire*, in each Prouince, which are ſub-diuided into *Cen* and *Hien*, thoſe the more, theſe the leſſe principall, but yet equall to our Cities, as before is obſerued.

Againe, in a Dialogue printed at *Macao*, in the Confines of *China*, 1590. by the *Portugals*, theſe Prouinces are thus reckoned, Sixe vpon the Sea, *Coantum, Foquien, Chequiam, Nanquin, Xantum, Paquin*; the other nine In-land Prouinces, *Quianſi, Huquam, Honam, Xienſi, Xanſi, Suchuon, Queichen, Iunan, Coanſi. Perera* reckons them thus, *Fuquien* in which *Cinceo* is the beſt knowne City; *Cantan, Chequeam, Xutiamfu, Chelim, Quianci, Quicin, Quanci, Confu, Vrnan, Sichina, &c.* all which diuerſity proceedeth partly from ignorance, partly from different Language and Dialect in the expounding theſe Characters. And it muſt needs be ſo, the *Chinois* wanting vſe of, and Characters to expreſſe *b. d. r.* and all their Characters being of things not Letters; in proper names is very great difficulty to expreſſe ours in their Characters, or theirs in our Letters; inſomuch that one Ieſuite doth not perfectly agree with another, nay, often diſſents from himſelfe, as in *Ianſeu, Yamceu, Hianceu*, for their great Riuer which *Polo* cals *Quian*; and *Chi*, and *Ci*, and *Qui* I find often confounded in their ſyllables, as alſo *x* and *ſci*, as *Xanchin, Scianchin*, and the like. Yea, ſuch is the difficulty, that the Ieſuits can ſcarſly deuiſe to expreſſe in *China* Characters, the forme of Baptime, to put the *Latine* words thereof, into *China* Characters, that Baptiſme might vniformely bee adminiſtred after the *Romiſh* Rite, as themſelues confeſſe. *Trig. Epiſt.*

Touching their Souldiers, I thought good, to adde this note for their Peeces whoſe Barels *Pantoia* ſayth, are but a ſpan long, that Captayne *Saris* beeing asked told mee, hee ſaw many of them, and they were as long as Piſtols, but the Cocke ſuch as makes them of little ſeruice. Note of Souldiers Peeces. *Pantoia* miſtaken, perhaps the Printers fault.

I haue added theſe Pictures of a Man and Woman of *China*, not by gheſſe, but out of certayne in *China* Pictures made alſo in *China* in very good Colours, but with Arte meane enough, fine cloth inſerted in ſtrong *Indian* Paper; of which Captayne *Saris* communicated many to me. Pictures.

Their

Their little Eyes and Noſes, long Hayre bound vp in knots, womens feete wrapped vp, long wide-ſleeued Garments, Fannes, &c. I haue (taking diuers parts out of diuers) preſented to thee. A taſte of the *China* Characters thou haſt in the Title. That of *Ricius* I haue added from the Ieſuits, in thankes for his great paines, and to ſhew the habit of the head, &c.

Prouinces and their names.

The names of the Prouinces I haue hunted out of the Ieſuites Iourneyes and other Relations. In the moſt I am ſure I am right, in the other * you haue my coniecture; for neyther know we their Characters, nor haue any giuen vs a particular Geography or Chorography, but only the names of the Prouinces. I haue added names alſo to ſome Cities and Riuers of principall note. As for the truth of the Map I finde well to agree with the Ieſuites Iourneyes; but it hath not *European* Art, it being neyther graduated, nor Hils, nor Woods, or other differing places preſented to the view; only hauing Characters, Lines, Lakes, and Riuers. I haue aduentured to adde Degrees to helpe ſuch Readers as cannot doe it better themſelues, following the Ieſuits preſcripts in generall, although I cannot but maruell at that longitude, ſo farre differing from the generall opinion, and could almoſt doubt, that herein theſe *Portugals* are minding that diuiſion agreed on betwixt the *Spaniards* and them, which hath anciently cauſed ſuch contentions, and wherein you haue read ſome Offices of the Ieſuits in theſe *China* Diſcourſes. But I will not contend, where themſelues ſpeake faintly.

* Three or 4. to the South-weſt.

Degrees.

Quian.

Now for *Quian* which *Polo* hath mentioned, as the greateſt Riuer in the world (it is here called *Ianſu*, or *Hianſu*, or *Yamſu*, that is, the *Sonne of the Sea*, and *Ianſuchian*) and another called *Caramoran* (*Cara* ſignifieth blacke, and this great Northerne Riuer is alway thicke and troubled) and their Marriage by Art, is here viewed; and more then two hundred Cities (one of *Polos* Wonders) communicating their Merchandizes by that *Quian*, or *Chian*, as they now terme it *Ianſuchian*, *chian* ſignifying *the chiefe Riuer*. For the name *Cathay* to bee giuen by the *Tartars* to *China*, *Goez* his Iourney hath made it out of doubt; alſo that *Pequin* is *Cambalu*, that is, *the Citie of the King*. I doe conceiue that *Polos Mangi* was the nine Southerne Prouinces of *China*; the Northerly before conquered was knowne by the name of *Cathay*; a name by the *Tartars* giuen to diuers Countreyes, as *Cara Catay* and *Catay Calay* and Great *Catay*. This Great *Catay* is *China*.

* *Mandeuile* & others ſpeake of the irregularitie of *Caramoran*.

Polo and other Authors ſpeake of *Cathay* and *Mangi* as two; perhaps the *Tartars* ſo accounting them; the one, to wit, the North parts being formerly ſubiect to them, and called by their ancient name, the other called *Mangi* in contempt; as the *Romanes* called the ſubiect *Britaines* of this Iland by their former name, and the others *Picts* and *Barbarians*; and as our Anceſtors called thoſe *Britons* which withſtood them *Walſh* or *Welch* in a kind of diſgrace. Nay ſtill the Northerne *Chinois* call the Southerne *Mangines*; that is, *rude* or *barbarous*, as the Ieſuites haue taught vs. But neither *Cathay*, nor *Mangi*, was then the name which they aſſumed, but was giuen them by the *Tartars*, as *China* is a name vnknowne to them now. If any will find no other *Cambalu*, nor *Cathay* but *Pequin* and *China*, I will not contend, though my Reaſons elſewhere giuen out of *Polo*, and *Chaggi Memet*, and others, with the former Relations of *Pinto* and *Albacen*, make me ſcrupulous, and ſtill to beleeue ſome greater Prince or *Can* with his *Cambalu* or Court in the more Northerly parts of *Aſia*, then the Ieſuits could learne of; which the *China* iealouſie, admitting no entercourſe of Strangers, and the many quarrelling *Tartar* Princes in the way haue concealed from vs hitherto.

P. Pil. l. 4. c. 12. §. 2.

The great blacke ſpace on the North-weſt hath in the Originall certayne Characters in it which expreſſe it: whether it intendeth Mountayns which their Art could no better expreſſe, and the Riuers thence running may import; or that ſandy Deſert on the North-weſt, I cannot ſo well determine. The Ieſuits ſay, that *ab occaſu qui Aquiloni vicinior eſt, conterminus viſitur arenæ ſitientis ager, qui multorum dierum penuria aduenarm exercitus ab* Sinarum *Regno aut deterret, aut ſepelit.* I rather thinke that it is *Cara Catay* or *Blacke Catay*, before often mentioned, both Mountaynous, and Deſert, and perhaps coloured blackiſh, as the name intimates, by black ſands, or as health grounds with vs: it was the firſt *Tartarian* Conqueſt, and beginning of the greateſt greatneſſe which this World hath yeelded; the Countrey before of *Preſbyter Ioannes Aſiaticus*.

The wall is in this forme in the original, not in the Picture made vp of Mountaynes, wherein I thinke they had not art to imitate Nature; the Art in the whole Map much reſembling our old Maps, of wooden prints, ſaue that I ſee not one Mountaine preſented in ſwelling faſhion to the Eye. The Ilands are very many with their Characters, but poorely delineated, their names here omitted for their vncertaynties: ſo little (and yet how much more then any other!) doe wee giue you of *China*, till Time giue vs more. The degrees are not ſo perfectly accommodated to the Map, by reaſon that we muſt at once follow the *Chinian* Map which had no degrees (nor could their Art without degrees giue euery place his iuſt longitude or latitude) and the Ieſuits Rules: yet we haue come ſomewhat neere, as may be ſeene. Other things appeare in the Hiſtory.

CHAP.

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CHAP. VIII.

A continuation of the Iesuits Acts and Obseruations in China *till* RICIVS *his death and some yeares after. Of* Hanceu *or* Quinsay. *An Extract of* MONFARTS *trauell.*

THus hauing with *Pantogius* eyes taken some view of the Kings Palace, and with *Ricius* of their whole Gouernment, I hold it fit not to leaue this *China* Apostle (so *Ricius* is called) till wee haue seene some fruits of his labours vntill and after his death. He tels vs that three dayes after they had beene shut vp in the Palace of Strangers as yee haue read, they were brought forth into the Kings Palace to performe the wonted Rites to the Kings Throne. This is done in a large and glorious Court or Porch, where 30000. men might be contayned; at the end whereof is a high Chamber, vnder which by fiue great doores is a passage to the Kings Lodgings; in that Chamber is the Kings Throne, where anciently he sate to heare and dispatch businesses and Embassages, and to receiue the Rites of Magistrates, rendring thankes for their Preferments. But in the present solitarinesse of the King, those Rites are done to the Empty Throne, many there gratulating the King euery day. In this Court, enuironed with stately Workes, 3000. Souldiers watch euery night, besides others watching in Towres without, a stones cast from one another. In each of the fiue Gates is an Elephant, which with the Souldiers goe forth when it is day: and those are admitted which come to gratulate the King. These come in a peculiar Habit of Red, with an Iuory Table in their hand to couer * their mouth, and exhibit their kneelings and bowings to the Throne, as they are taught by Officers of Rites or Masters of Ceremonies: one crying out to that purpose at the performance of each gesture. The Gouernour of Strangers hauing shut them vp, first petitioned the King sharply against *Mathan* the Eunuch and them, but seeing no answere, he petitioned more gently but would haue them sent from *Pequin*; which the King liked not, yet without Petition from the Magistrates would not detayne them. The Eunuches also laboured their stay for feare the Clockes should miscarry beyond their skill. The Kings Mother hearing of a selfe-striking bell sent for it, and the King sent it, but to preuent her asking it, caused the Wheeles to be loosed, so that not seeing the vse, she sent it againe.

When the Rituall Magistrates could get no answere to their Petitions, for not touching their stay at *Pequin*; the *Prefect* sent to *Ricius* that he would make a Petition to giue him leaue to stay there in pretence of Sickneſse and Phylicke, which hee did, and the other presently answered, giuing him libertie to hyre a House; continuing also his former allowance, with foure seruants to bring it euery fifth day, (Flesh, Salt, Rice, Wine, Hearbs, Wood,) and another seruant in continuall attendance: so that now they recouered libertie and credit. The Eunuches also told them of the Kings approbation of their stay; and they had out of the Treasurie eight Crownes a moneth, which their goeth much further then heere: and the Captayne of Strangers by open Sentence gaue them full libertie. One of the *Colai*, and then the onely, became their great friend, with his Sonne, after some *European* Presents, which hee bountifully rewarded: likewise the supreame President of the Court of Magistrates, and other of the Grands, besides the Eunuches of the Palace, and some of the Queenes and Royall family. Amongst others was *Fumochan* a great man, who for withstanding the Eunuches capacitie in *Vquam* Prouince, was depriued, whipped, and three yeeres Imprisoned; but by others honored with Temples, Odours, Images, and Bookes in prayse of him, as a Saint, and the King wearyed by multitude of Petitions for him, granted him againe his libertie. Also *Lingoson* a great Magistrate and Mathematician as they accounted, became *Ricius* his Scholler, and was baptised *Leo*, borne at *Hancen*, the chiefe Citie of *Cechuan*, of which afterward.

Yet had *Ricius* a great enemy of a great Learned man of *Hanlin* Colledge, who in zeale of the Idol-sect had put away his Wife, and professed himselfe one of their Votaries or Shauelings, drew many Disciples after him, and writ many Bookes against the *Literate Sect*; and writ also against *Ricius* his bookes. One of the Kings *Admonishers* accused him to the King by Petition, and the King rescribing seuerely, hee slue himselfe: yea, the King ordayned, that if the Magistrates would become Apostata shauelings, they should leaue their Robes and get them to the Deserts; many accordingly chusing rather to leaue their Offices, then their Idols. One *Thacon* was so famous, that the chiefe Queene daily worshipped his habit, (hauing no other meane of entercourse) and so proud that hee sent to *Ricius* to come and visite him, with the rites of kneeling. But on occasion of search for a Libell against the King, hee was found guiltie of writing ill of the King, for not professing Idols, and of ill vsage to the Kings Mother, for which he was Whipped so, that before they could adde bonds, hee dyed. One which by torments confessed himselfe author of the Libell, had 1600. gobbets plucked from his flesh and then beheaded, a Death most (for the diuision of the body) abominable to the *Chinois*.

Ricij Expedition. *l.c.* 13.

Atrium.

Kings Throne reuerenced and guarded.

Elephants.

* See the like *sup.* 23.

Rites to the Throne.

Kings politike pietie.

Their libertie and allowance

Fumochan.

One of *Hanlin* Colledge turneth Idol-Priest.

Thacon a famous infamous Priest.

In

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Xauceum reſidence.

Hoaquan a three eyed Monſter.

Portugall cuſtomes odious to *Chinois*.

Faſts and proceſſions.

Locus vnluckineſſe.

Seueritie.

Hollanders take a *Portugall* ſhip Hell Paſſport.

Inferni directorium.

Chiutaiſo Baptiſed.

Ieſuiticall vprore.

The Ieſuite *Martinez* whipped to death.

Traitors.

Scianbai in *Nanquin* Prouince deſcribed.

In the *Xaucean* Reſidence ſome ſtirre happened, whiles they brought to the *Ieſuits* houſe their Idoll *Hoaquan*, made with three Eyes, one in his forehead (for though the *Chinois* haue no Idols repreſenting any formes but humane, yet they admit Monſters) as their God of Eye-ſight, for whom they intended to build him a Temple, and carryed him from houſe to houſe a begging to that purpoſe; the *Ieſuites* refuſing to giue them. Rumours alſo of *Mathans* detayning the Preſents were ſoone apprehended; as likewiſe certayne Stage-players which comming from *Amacao*, ſet forth in Pictures thoſe things which the *Chinois* hated in the *Portugals*, as their ſhort Garments (ſeeming to them ridiculous) praying on Beads by men in Temples, with Swords girded to them, kneeling on one knee; their quarrels one with another and combats, Women going with Men in company, and the like; a Magiſtrate alſo accuſed the *Ieſuites* to the *Tauli*, who ſpake for them and viſited them. It happened alſo that by occaſion of a great Drought, Proceſſions and Faſts were commanded, and the Shambles ſhut vp, the Gouernour and people in diuers places appointed thereto, begging rayne with their bowings; and when this preuayled not, they brought an Idoll out of the Suburbes, called *Locu*, which was carryed about, adored, offered too, with no better ſucceſſe. Hereupon they conſulted a Witch, which ſayd the *Quoqyn* or Goddeſſe was angry, that her backe was daily ſcorched (ſpoken of the Conuerts burning their Idols) which cauſed ſome conſpiracie, quenched with the *Taulis* fauour and the rayne following. At *Nanquin* one borne at *Scianbai*, and firſt pronounced Licentiat in the examination 1597. was Baptiſed by the name of *Paulus*, who conuerted his whole Family. *Anno* 1604. hee was made Doctor, amongſt three hundred and eight, of which number foure and twentie were choſen of *Hanlin* Colledge, after the *China* courſe of beſt Writing, of which hee was the fourth: this Choiſe of foure and twentie is but for probationers, for at the moſt after long tryals by the *Colai*, but twelue or fifteene are ſet in poſſeſſion, in which examinations hee was ſtill a principall.

I thought to adde this by the way, that *Ligoiſun* a learned friend of the *Ieſuites*, had beene put from his great place into I know not what pettie Office, for too light demeanour and too frequent Cheſſe-play, which continued three yeeres. The *Hollanders* much impoueriſhed the *Portugals* by taking the *Iapan* Ship of *Amacao*, the iewell of the *Ieſuites* beneficence. At *Nancian* they Conuerted three of the Blood royall, Baptiſed by the names of *Melchior*, *Gaſpar*, *Balthaſar*, and their Mother a woman much addicted to Idols, and obſeruing the *China* Faſt; who ſent them a Charter, called the Directorie of Hell, which the Shaueling Impoſtors had ſold her, written to the Infernall King, to giue her good entertaynment, and remit her puniſhment. The *Ieſuites* exchanged their Images for her Idols, and their *Eccleſiaſticall* Faſt for that *Pegan*.

At *Nanquin*, *Chiutaiſo* was baptiſed by the name of *Ignatius*, ſtriking the ground foure times firſt with his forehead, and reciting the profeſſion of his Faith, which hee deliuered in writing to the Fathers; the contents of which and of *Paulus*, are expreſſed in our Author. The *Hollanders* ſought entrance into *China*, to bee admitted Trade in *Fuquien* Prouince, but were denyed notwithſtanding both promiſes and threats. Feare of them made the *Portugals* at *Amacao* begin to build a Tower and to fortifie. But a quarrell falling betwixt a Regular, and a Secular Prieſt, one fleeing to the *Ieſuite* Rector for refuge, there grew ſuch a combuſtion that the *Chinois* fled to their Countrey, perſwaded that *Cataneus* then there intended to get the Kingdome, whereof hee had ſuch expenſe; at *Canton* was ſuch terrour, that aboue one thouſand Houſes without the walls were pulled downe, the Gates toward *Amacao* filled vp with Lime and Stones, all commerce with *Amacaons* prohibited, great Watch kept; *Francis Martinez* betrayed by a falſe brother a Conuert, as a Spie, was twice ſo Whipped that hee dyed ſoone after the ſtripes, as hee was entring the Priſon. At *Nanquin* three thouſand were found, *Anno* 1606. to haue conſpired the Death of the Magiſtrates, and to inuade the ancient Treaſuries. Thoſe which were taken were put in thoſe Pillorie boards, which force them to ſtand till their Legges rot, ſome of them holding out a Fortnight, as was thought by bribing the Executioners: the ſuſpition hereof was by ſome caſt on the *Ieſuites*. Two Guides or Fraternities were erected of *China* Conuerts.

Ziu Paulus the learned Conuert, being to leaue his place for three yeeres, to mourne for his Father at *Scianbai* his natiue Towne, he obtayned *Cataneus* to bee ſent thither with him, where hee ſtayed two yeeres. This is one of the meaneſt ſorts of Cities which they call *Hien*, one hundred fortie and foure *Italian* myles from *Nanquin*, and in that Prouince, in twentie nine Degrees, ouer againſt *Corai* and the *Iaponian* Ilands, within a little of the Eaſterne Sea. The name *Scianhia*, ſignifieth *on the Sea*; and it is fortified with Garriſons and a Fleet againſt the *Iaponians*, being a paſſage with a good winde of foure and twentie houres ſayle. The walls are two myles compaſſe, the Suburbes contayne as many Houſes as the Citie; ſo that there are numbred fortie thouſand Houſholds *(by this yon may meaſure the frequencie of great Cities,)* the Territorie is an euen Playne, and ſo cultiuated that they ſeeme a Citie of Gardens, full alſo of Villages, Hamlets, Towers, contayning twentie thouſand Families in this Townes iuriſdiction, there being in that Circuit 300000. men. This Iuriſdiction alone, payeth to the King the yeerely value of 150000. Golden Crownes, in the weight of Siluer, and aſmuch in Rice, in all 300000. *(whence the incredible reuennes of this Crowne appeare alſo credible)* the Ground being fertile of

Cotton

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Cotton, whereof there are reckoned 200000. Weauers, *Pequin* and other parts being hence ser- 200000. Weauers.
ued with Cloathes. There are many good wits and Students, a good Ayre, and they liue long,
eightie, ninetie, and a hundred yeeres.

Wee are now come to the Death of Father *Ricius* (the Author of our Iesuiticall Discourse of *China* hitherto; occasioned by multitude of businesse that yeere, fiue thousand Magistrates comming to visite the King, and fiue thousand others standing for their Doctorship, of which about three hundred onely are chosen. Wearyed with his Ecclesiasticall Fasts also and labour of building a Church, hee fell sicke and dyed, May 11. 1610. hauing much propagated the Gospell by his writings, and furthered it by his Mathematickes. For all Sects haue beene there more encreased by Writing then Preaching. Hee dyed leauing much sorrow to his friends and care also in that *China* scrupulositie, how and where to interre him. It was the counsell of their friends, to put vp a Petition to the King, whereupon they resolued, and *Pantogia* by Doctor *Leos* helpe, thus Petitioned in behalfe of *Ricius* his Corps. *I* Iames Pantogia, *subiect of the Kingdomes of the great West, Offer a Supplication in behalfe of another Forrainer now deceased. I humbly beseech your great Clemencie for a place of Buriall, that your Royall beneficence may extend to all, euen Strangers of remotest Regions. I* Iames Pantogia *am a Stranger of a most remote Kingdome, but mooued with the vertue and fame of your most Noble Kingdome, haue in three yeeres sayle, with much trouble, passed hither aboue sixe thousand leagues. In the eight and twentieth yeere of* Vanlie, (for so, as wee, they account their yeeres by the Kings raigne) *in the twelfth Moone, I, with* Matthew Ricius, *came into your Court; where wee presented some gifts, and haue since beene sustayned at the Kings charge. The nine and twentieth yeere of* Vanlie, *in the first Moone, we Petitioned your Maiestie for a place of residence, and haue many yeeres enioyed the Royall bountie. In the eight and thirtieth yeere of* Vanlie, *the eighteenth day of the third Moone,* Ricius *dyed. I, a Client of the Kingdome of the great West, remaine a fit subiect of pitie. The returne into our Countrey is long, &c. And I now, after so many yeares stay, suppose that wee may bee numbred to the people which followeth your Royall Chariot, that your Clemencie, like that of* Yao, *may not containe it selfe in the Kingdome of* China *alone, &c.* So proceeds he to set foorth the good parts of *Ricius*, and with a long supplication to begge a place of Buryall, *some Field, or part of a Temple; and hee, with his fellowes, should obserue their wonted Prayers to the Lord of Heauen, for thousands of yeeres to him and his Mother.* This Libell was written with peculiar forme, Characters, Seales; many Rites herein necessarily obserued. Before any bee offered to the King, it must bee viewed of some Magistrate; and they got this to bee allowed by one which is Master of Requests, which sent it presently to the King. They must also haue many Copies thereof, to shew to those Magistrates, to whom it appertaines; which they did: one of them affirming, That *Ricius* deserued a Temple also, with his Image to bee there set vp. This message hee sent them by another: for when they fauour a cause, they shew great strangenesse. The King commonly answers the third day (except hee mislike, for then he suppresseth) and sends it to the Magistrate that had presented it, who shewes which of the sixe is the peculiar Court, which iudgeth of these things: This being sent to the *Rituall Tribunall.* Their answer is sent to the King within a Moneth (which there is a short space) and repeating the Petition *verbatim*, and the Kings command to the peculiar Office, answers what the Law sayth in that case, and concludes the Petition to bee agreeing to Iustice, and earnestly pleades and sues for confirmation. The King sends this answers to the *Colao*, which subscribed his approbation; which being sent againe to the King, hee subscribed with his owne hand *Xi*, that is *Fiat*, or *bee it done*, which the third day after was deliuered them.

He was a King of old, accounted a Saint.

The *Iesuites* hauing so speedie and prosperous successe, bethought of gratifying their friends, which had furthered this designe with Dyals, especially to the *Colao*, which vsed *Pantogia* very kindly and writ to the Gouernour of *Pequin* to looke out a place fitting. Three or foure were offered to their choyse, one of which much pleased them.

It was aboue a quarter of a myle from one of the Citie gates, built by an Eunuch, who now was condemned for some crime; and left his Palace which hee had heere builded, with the expence of aboue foureteene thousand Duckats (which in *China* is a great summe, in that cheapnesse of all things, farre beyond *European* computation) should fall into the hands of spoylers (the goods of Eunuches in this Kingdome, vsually becomming his which first can catch them) hee consecrated his Palace, and made it a Temple, maintayning therein one Prieft. Such Palaces many of the Magistrates haue neere to the Cities, as retyring places and *Tusculanes* for their Muses. The portraiture of this whole House, with the Garden, and other appurtenances, *Trigautius* hath set foorth in Picture; being after the *China* building, with the doore Southwards, and so running a great length into the North, with foure great Halls one beyond another; in the middle parts, and on each side, Chambers and other Roomes; beyond all the Garden, the pillars of Timber bearing vp the roofe; the walls and pauement of Bricke. The outmost of these Halls was conuerted into a Temple or Idoll-Chappell, in which was a great Altar of Stone and Bricke cunningly fretted, paynted red (a colour forbidden to priuate Houses) and vpon the middest thereof sate a huge Monster of Earth, gilded from top to toe, of massie quantitie. The *Chinois* call it *Ti cam*, the God (as they fable) of the Earth & Treasures, as *Pluto* in the Poets.

Place assigned to the *Iesuites.*

Spoylers spoyled.

Chappell of *Ticam* the *China Pluto.*

In

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His Image or Idoll.

In his hand was a Scepter, on his head a Crowne, not vnlike those vsed by our Kings. On each side stood foure ministers of the same matter: on both sides of the Roome two great Tables, and on each of them fiue Kings, or great Officers of Hell. On both the wals were painted the same Officers, or Iudges, sitting on their seuerall Tribunals, giuing sentence on wicked men, euery one according to the condition of his Court. Before them stood many Deuils, more terribly formed then with vs. The paines of Hell also were so deciphered, that could not but strike terrour to the beholders; some rosted in yron Beds, some fryed in scalding Oyle, some cut in pieces, or diuided in the middle or torne of Dogges, or otherwise tortured. The first of those Iudges examined the faults, which they said hee saw in a certayne Glasse. Those which hee found guiltie, were sent to the other Iudges, according to the qualitie of the crimes. One of these was Iudge in Cases of *Transmigration*, which sent the soules of cruell men into Tygres; of vncleane persons, into Swine, and the like: or if their crimes were smaller, into the poorer sort. There was a great Ballance; in one of the Scales, a man laden with sinnes; in the other, one of their Hypocriticall Prayer-bookes, which counterpoysed the other Scale, and freed the Sinner. There ranne through the midst of Hell a discoloured Riuer, which carried away many. For ouer it were two Bridges, one of Gold, the other of Siluer; by which, those passed ouer, which had beene deuout Idolaters, carrying in their hands Ensignes of the same: these were guided by the Priests, which led them through the midst of Hell to faire and pleasant Groues and Gardens. In another part were painted the Dungeons of Hell, with horrible Serpents, Flames, Deuils. To the Brazen Gates thereof there comes an Idolatrous Priest, which in despight of all the Deuils deliuers his Mother from those flames. There was no infernall punishment painted, but had such an Inscription: *He which shall pray to such an Idoll a thousand times, shall bee free from this punishment.* The Iesuites beat the Earthen Idols to dust, and burnt those of wood, wherein the *Chinese* Conuerts were the forwarder, because the Countrey custome is to fill the hollow bellies of these Images with deuoted Money or Iewels. They demolished the Altar and playstred ouer the Pictures, and in place thereof erected the Image of Christ. No priuate man may erect a Temple by Law, which yet the mighty Eunuchs transgresse.

Deuils & Hell.

Minos, Æacus, Rhadamanthus here haue two other assessors.

μετεμψύχωσις

Ballances like those in diuers Legends, as of S. *Francis*, in *M. Paris, &c.*

Stix.

Elysian fields.

* The Iesuites say, that the *Chinois* maintayne their Idolatries, saying they worship not the Idoll, but God thereby represented, &c.

Trigaut.

A little before this exchange of Idols into Images (after their distinction, and a * silly one it is) some tooke their last leaue of *Ticam:* one kneeling and bidding it fare-well; another chafing, said; *Thou masse of Dung and Earth, if thou hast no power to maintayne thy Temple and thy selfe, what helpe may I looke for at thy hand? Neither art thou worthy of any honour at mine.* Others said, that this had sometime borne the name of some other Idoll, and therefore was auenged for that change.

Ricius, hauing thus taken possession of *China* by his dead bodie, and liuing name, wee shall briefly out of the Iesuits Epistles adde some later accidents, and so leaue our *China* Discourses, which if they haue seemed tedious and troublesome, remember that *China* is both excessiuely ritual, and also inhospitall to Strangers; and I haue but imitated my subject, in long and wearisome entertaynment. These tell vs of the Kings vnkindnesse to his Heire, proclaymed, as yee haue seene against his will, scarsly allowing him necessary sustenance, nor permitting his Mother at her death to be mourned for with wonted Rites. He is indeuout, his Mother egregiously Superstitious, mayntayning many Priests, erecting or repayring Temples, that it is a Prouerbe, *In the Court the Priests, in the Prouinces are Magistrates obserued.* In that their studie of long life One had beene so mad, that he being a Licentiate, bought children whom secretly he killed, of their bloud making compositions for that purpose; which comming to light by one of his Concubines, he was put to a deserued death, three thousand pieces of flesh first cut from him.

Prince and his Mother disrespected.

Long life-study cruel shortner of life.

Dry winters.

In their Winter is greatest scarsity of water in the Riuers, and many shelues then cause many shipwrackes. As they want *b. d. r.* so they end no word in any other Consonant but *m.* and *n.* The *China* Conuerts are very zealous in selfe-whipping penance, and fasting, altered from their forme to the Ecclesiasticall, which is hard to them accustomed to eate thrice a day: Their Priests vse Beads, mumbling thereby their Deuotions and many things alike. They built a Church at *Nanquin, Anno* 1611.

Chequian sometimes the Imperiall Prouince.

The Prouince of *Chequian* yeelds only to the two Royall, *Nanquin* and *Pequin*, beeing more excellent then any of the rest. Neither hath it lost other Prouinciall Ornaments howsoeuer it hath lost the seat of the *China* Empire, but is still the best of thirteene. On the East it is washed with the Sea, which the winds fauouring admit passage to *Iapan* in foure and twentie houres: on the West it confineth with the Prouinces of *Nanquin* and *Kiamsi* (or *Chiansi*) on the South with *Fuquian:* to the North is *Xanto* (or *Sciantum.*) It hath twelue Cities of principall note, which are the heads of sixtie three lesse; besides innumerable Townes, Castles, Villages. The soile is the most fertile of the Kingdome pleasantly interlaced with Riuers, many of them produced by Art in imitation of Nature, in commodiousnesse no whit inferiour, yeelding a spectacle of amazement to the amused Posteritie, how humane force could effect such wonders. These Riuers for further commoditie are towred with innumerable Bridges of huge massie stones arising into diuers Arches, like to the *European* workmanship. You haue alreadie *Almeidas* Epistle of his and *Rogers* going into this Prouince, to *Xao Him*, whence soone after they returned. The *Chinois* haue

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a Prouerbe of *Hamcen* the Metropolis, and of *Sucen, thien xam, thien tham, ti xam Suhuto*, that which *in Heauen is the Hall of Heauen (lactea via*, as he elſe-where interprets it) *that on Earth Sucen and Hamcen.* The Countrey ſo aboundeth with Mulbery-trees and Silke-wormes, that *China, Iapon* and *India* are thence furniſhed. Ten Veſts of Sillke are there cheaper, then in our Countrey one of cloth. *Hamcen* ſtands from *Nanquin* South-eaſtward nine dayes Iourney, almoſt in thirtie degrees eleuation: about three dayes Iourney from *Scianhai*, where *Catayeus* was, who with *Trigautius* our Author were ſent thither by *Leos* procurement. They went from *Nanquin* by the Riuer *Ianſu* firſt, and then into hand-made Riuers, Cities, Townes, Villages, ſo frequent in the way, that nothing ſeemes in the whole Kingdome more populous. Mid-way, where *Nanquin* and *Chequian* Prouinces joyne is that famous *Sucen*, ſeated in the Continent, and ſeeming yet the Daughter of the Sea, like another *Venice*, but more happie with her freſh waters: the Ports ſo frequent, and ſhips ſo many, as if the whole ſhipping of the Kingdome were thither comne to ſome Faires, which yet are in ſucceſſion perpetuall. When the Fathers were comne hither, the *Chinois* by I know not what rumour were conceited that their *Fos* or Gods were comne thither in Viſitation. And a Magiſtrate ſent to *Leo* about it, to know it, and how, hee might viſit them. See *ſup. p.* 343.

But to leaue their Fooleries, let vs take view of their Citie. *Hamcen* is the chiefe Citie of this Prouince: yea, in all this Kingdome; leſſe perhaps ſomewhat in compaſſe of walles then *Nanquin*, but better peopled: no place in the Citie emptie, nor occupied with Gardens, but all builded, and all the Buildings almoſt with diuers Stories, which in other Cities of *China* is not vſuall. The Inhabitants are ſo many, and the Tribute ſo much, that the Ieſuites durſt not relate that which hereof they had heard by graue teſtimonie, for the incredibilitie: the deſcription would aske a whole Volume. The chiefe ſtreet is almoſt halfe a dayes Iourney in length, and cannot be leſſe then admirable. For whereas the *Chinois* vſe to erect triumphall Arches, as Monuments, to wel-deſeruing Magiſtrates, and Ornaments to their Cities; this one ſtreet hath at leaſt three hundred ſuch (beſides very many others in other parts of the Citie) of maſſie ſtones and exceeding curious Workmanſhip, that if the Houſes on both ſides yeelded the like ſplendor, the World could not ſhew ſuch a ſpectacle. But they occupie it all with ſhops, and build the moſt magnificence of their Houſes inwards, and yet thoſe not like the *European* Palaces. *Hamceu, Hamcheu*, or *Hancen.*

There is alſo a Lake cloſe to the Citie, which the eye can ſcarſly meaſure, which ſliding into a Valley encompaſſing, emboſſed with diuers Hillocks, hath giuen occaſion to Art to ſhew her vtmoſt in the adorning the ſame, beautifyng all thoſe ſpacious bankes with Houſes; Gardens, Groues; a very Labyrinth to the bewitched eyes, not knowing whereat moſt in this Maze to bee moſt amazed, wherein moſt to delight. And in delights doe they ſpend their dayes, filling the Lake with Veſſels, furniſhed with Feaſts, Spectacles and Playes on the water. There is a pleaſant Hill in the middle of the Citie, whereon is a faire Towre or Steeple, where they meaſure their houres by a ſtrange deuice. Out of huge Veſſels water droppeth from one to another, the loweſt being very large, in the middle whereof is perpendicularly rayſed a Rule, diſtinguiſhed with houre-ſpaces, which by the aſcent or deſcent of the water, diuide the riſing and declining day, and declare the houres: euery halfe houre ſome men appointed by Tables with Cubitall Letters, to giue notice of the time to all men. From this Hill is a proſpect ouer all the Citie. All the ſtreets being ſet with Trees, make ſhew of pleaſant Gardens. It is ſo full of Riuers, Lakes, Rils, Ponds, both in the Citie and Suburbs, as if a man would frame a *Platonicall Idea* of elegancie to his minde. The Idoll Temples are many and ſtately, which Idolatry where it is wanting in *China*, hath a worſe Succeſſor, Atheiſme. The Lake. See the Map.

Let vs ſtay awhile and gaze (for where haue you ſuch an Obiect?) Is not *Quinſay* (whilome the Royall Seat of the Kings of *Mangi*, as *Venetus* recordeth, ſuppoſed by our Moderne Geographers to be ſwallowed vp with ſome Earth-quake, or in *Bellona's* all-conſuming belly) here rayſed vp from the Graue? The Lake ſituate on the one [b] ſide, (ſo *Paulus* reports of *Quinſay*) the *Name Quinſay* ſignifying the Citie of Heauen, and this called a Heauenly Paradiſe by the *Chinois*; and *Han* ſignifies *Lactea via*, in Heauen; and *Cen, perfect*: yea, *Quinſay*, or as *Odoricus* calls it *Canaſia*, and *Han* or *Chanceu*, not ſo diſagreeing in ſound, as different Dialects are wont: the *excellencie* being chiefe Citie in the Kingdom, and this Prouince ſometimes Royal, as *Pequin* now and *Nanquin* are: the *ſituation*, South-eaſt from *Cinczianfu*, [c] fiue and twentie miles from the Sea: the *high Houſes*, and *Shops* vnderneath: the exceeding Trade, Reuenue, Paſtimes by water, multitudes, faireneſſe, and length of the ſtreets; all ſo conſpiring to prooue this *Han* or *Hamcen* to be that *Quinſay*, of *Paulus*. True it is, that *Quinſay* was then greater, beeing as *Venetus* ſaith, one hundred miles about: But the euerting of that *Farfur* and his Family, then reigning, the diuerting of the Court to *Cambalu* by the *Tartars*, and after to *Nanquin* by *Hamvu*, and neuer returning hither, might leſſen the fame. And might not warres, in that long ſiege by the *Tartars*, in the recouery thereof by the *Chinois*, eaſily circumciſe her ſuperfluities? Beſides, who knoweth whether all this huge Lake might bee contayned in that account of *Paulus*, ſtill compaſſed about with Buildings? Or before thoſe Warres, the Lake it ſelfe might (as *Sucen* now is) be builded on; which Time and Warre hath conſumed; nor ſince the remooue of the Court *Quinſay, ciuitas cæli.* See it deſcribed, *ſup.* 98. [b] *Hada vna bandaun lago, &c.* [c] That which is before ſaid almoſt 2. daies iourney, is to be vnderſtood of the *Chinois* iourneyes, which make ſlow paſſage, ſometime but 6. myles a day.

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were so necessarie. *Mandeuill* mentions Warres at *Quinsay* in his time; *Nicolo di Conti* (which was heere about the yeere 1440.) sayth, *Quinsay* was in his time new built, of thirtie miles compasse.

Thiensui sup. 314. Thien signifieth *Heauen.* * See *pag.* 338.

But that *Quinsay* of *Conti* and *Ahacen*, is perhaps *Thiensin*, being (as they lay it) neerer *Cambalu*. I confesse, much may bee sayd for *Nanquin* to finde *Quinsay* there, and I haue giuen such a note * vpon it, to incite industrious search, because it was the Ancient royall Chamber: Neither could I finde any other Royall Citie but *Pequin*, in *Ricius* or other Writers, till *Trigautius* later Epistles intimated, that the *Chequian* Prouince hath beene sometimes Imperiall; which I conceiue to bee that time of *Farfur* mentioned by *Polo*, and *Hanceu* his *Quinsay*.

Anno 1618. *Trigautius* writes of Persecution in *China*, raised by an Idolotrous Magistrate in *Nanquin*, and effected by bribes, which hath caused the *Iesuites* to bee sent thence: but because our intelligence is little, wee will leaue them heere (as much as lyeth in our power) and visite some of the other Northerne people; hauing first giuen you a briefe view of a *French*-mans trauell, *Monsieur de Monfart*, who hauing trauelled thorow the *Indies*, saluted *Canton* in *China*, and *Cauchinchina*; whose knowledge therefore could not bee so solid, as the *Iesuites*, nor yet is so contemptible that it should vtterly bee forgotten. Wee will therefore present his Seruice as a *French* Page, and one attending the *Iesuites* Grauitie, and thus as it were bearing their trayne.

Macao.

FRom *Malaca* I went to *Macao*, (neere a moneths trauell) which is a Citie scituate on the Sea coast, at the foote of a great Mountayne, where in times past the *Portugals* had a great Fort, and to this day, there bee yet many that dwell there. This is the entrance into *China*, but the place is of no great importance; they are *Gentiles*, and there the Inhabitants begin to bee faire complexioned.

Cauchinchina.

Thence I trauelled two moneths to the *Cochinchines*, finding nothing by the way worthy of note; no not so much as necessaries, so that wee were fayne to carrie our Victuals with vs, the greatest part of the way. They are Subiects to the King of *China*, but sometimes they rebell and make Warre against him; And there is great number of *Christians* among them.

Christians.

Their Kings treasure consisteth in a certayne kinde of Wood, called *Calamba*: for which the *Portugals* pay one hundred Crownes a pound, to make *Pater-nosters* with. It is of a mixt colour, with blacke and yellow veynes; the better sort of it is moyst, so that being cut it expelleth a kinde of fat oylie liquour. It groweth out of a certayne Tree, which they fell and let it lye a while a putrifying; then they bruise it, and within the same, they finde this kinde of Wood, like many hard knots. They are a very white people, because there it begins to bee cold, low of Stature, flat Nosed, and little Eyed, with a very few hayres on their Chins, and Mustachoes: none at all on their Cheekes, the hayre of the Head they weare long like Women, tyed vp with a blacke silke hayre-lace, and weare a flat Cap vpon them. They weare Cloath breeches made very leuell, and a short Robe aboue them, like a Master of the chamber of Accounts.

Calamba for Beades.

Huge Serpents

There are found a kinde of Serpents that will swallow vp a whole Stagge; two Friers assured me that trauelling in that Countrey, together with sixteene other men, through a Fennie-marsh, about the dawning of the day, they met to their seeming, a great Tree lying along the ground, the boughes being lopped off, vpon which they all began to sit downe and rest themselues: but no sooner were they sate, but that which they tooke for a Tree, fiercely rowsed it selfe from vnder them, and left them all to picke strawes on the ground, for indeed this was one of those Serpents.

Their custome is (as they say) to put themselues in ambush among the boughes of a Tree, and when they espie their prey to draw neere, bee it Man or Beast, they fall vpon him with open mouth and deuoure it. There are also store of *Lions*, *Leopards*, and *Tigers*: and there the Fruits begin to resemble those of these parts: but the Fruit, which aboue all others aboundeth there, is the *Mirabolan*.

Wild Beasts: this of Lions is doubtfull.

Canton in *China*. This is not the principall Citie, except of that Prouince, and for trauelling further, he speakes true of ordinarie courses, but other accidents and the Art *Liberall* of the Fathers haue of Ours

Thence I sent forwards to *Canton*, the principall Citie of all *China*, (some three Moneths trauell distant) beyond which there is no passage, say any body what hee will to the contrary; for neuer any man proceeded further, except (as they say) sixe *Iesuites*, who dwelled twentie yeeres at *Canton*, as well to learne the Language perfectly, as to let their hayre to grow long, after the Countrey manner, of whom there was neuer since heard any newes, nor is their hope euer to see their returne. That people is very white, and apparelled as is aboue sayd; they are likewise *Gentiles*, and worship the same Image with three heads. Their Women of the better sort, and qualitie which are able to liue of their owne without working, neuer goe out of their houses but as they are carryed in a Chayre. And to that effect, from their Infancie, they put their feete into certayne woodden Slippers, to make them stump-footed and impotent, in so

found admittance, as in the former Relations is seene. This testimonie touching *Iesuites* is worth the noting: For which vpon great offers could not finde meanes to enter *China*, haue held that none haue beene there.

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much as they are not able to goe: the reaſon they alleadge for it, is, that Women were made to no other end, then to keepe at home.

The *Chriſtians* are not permitted to lye within the Citie, but as ſoone as Night approaches they muſt retire themſelues to their Ships, being lawfull for them to Traffique whereſoeuer they pleaſe by Day-light. And for their traffique, what rarities ſoeuer there bee throughout all *China*, are to bee had in this Citie, which are diligently brought thither, to wit, great ſtore of cloath of Gold and Silke, Cabinets, wrought Veſſels, Venus ſhells, Maſſiue gold, and many other things. They will exchange or barter Gold for twice as much waight in Siluer, for they haue no coyned money, for when they would buy any thing, they carrie with them a piece of Gold, and will cut off as much as they intend to beſtow on what they take. They make carued Images of Siluer, which they erect heere and there through the Streets, and no body dares touch them.

The Citie is gouerned by foure Rulers, and each one hath his Gouernment, or Circuit apart, ſecluded from each other: thoſe of one quarter dare not goe and labour in another, and thoſe which cauſe themſelues to bee carryed, from one part to another, muſt change their Bearers when they come to the Gate of the next circuit: thoſe Gates are opened eury morning, and ſhut euery night, vnleſſe there bee any complaint made of ſome miſdemeanour, committed within the Circuit: for then they ſhut them ſuddenly, or if they bee ſhut, they open them not, till the offender be found. The King beſtowes theſe commands on thoſe who are beſt Learned. This is a moſt faire Citie, and well built, very neare as bigge as *Paris*, but there the Houſes are arched, and nothing neare ſo high. There is ſo much Sugar in that Countrey, that it is by them very little ſet by, yet is Silke in farre more great abundance, but withall more courſe then ours, by reaſon of their ſtore, being ſo great as they are conſtrayned to make it abroad in the Fields, on the very Trees, in this wiſe; when the Wormes are hatched, (whereof the Egges are farre greater then ours.) They obſerue what quantitie of Wormes each Tree will bee able to feede, then they lay ſo many on it, leauing them there without any more adoe, except it bee to gather the cods, when they are ready to bee ſpunne, which is done as they gather Apricocks: for indeed a farre off they appeare to bee ſo, and is a very fine ſight to behold: they vſe a ſtrange kinde of Fiſhing with Cormorants. They tie their neckes a little aboue their ſtomackes, leſt they ſhould deuour the Fiſh they take: then comming to their Maſter, hee pulleth it aliue, out of their throates: Likewiſe for water Fowle, they make vſe of great Bottles with two holes, which they leaue floating vp and downe the water a good while, to acquaint the Fowles therewith: then ſome fellowes will wade vp to the necke in the water, thruſting their heads into thoſe Bottles, and hauing a bagge vnderneath, come as neere the Fowle as they will, taking them with their hands, without the reſt being afraid of it.

Silkes and Silke-wormes.

See Polo, Pereira, &c. of this Fiſhing.

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VOYAGES AND DISCOVERIES OF THE NORTH PARTS OF THE WORLD, BY LAND AND SEA, IN *ASIA*, *EVROPE*, THE POLARE REGIONS, AND IN THE NORTH-WEST OF AMERICA.

THE THIRD BOOKE.

CHAP. I.

A Treatise of Rusia *and the adioyning Regions, written by Doctor* GILES FLETCHER * *Lord Ambassadour from the late Queene, Euerglorious* ELIZABETH, *to* THEODORE *then Emperour of* Rusia *A. D.* 1588.

* I haue in some places contracted, in others mollified the biting or more bitter stile, which the Author vseth of the *Russian* Gouernment; that I might doe good at home, without harme abroad.

Chap. 1. The description of the Country of *Russia*, with the bredth, length, and Names of the Shires.

THE Countrey of *Russia* was sometimes called *Sarmatia*. It changed the Name (as some doe suppose) for that it was parted into diuers small, and yet absolute Gouernments, not depending, nor being subiect the one to the other. For *Russe* in that tongue doth signifie, as much as to *Part*, or *Diuide*. The *Russe* reporteth that foure Brethren, *Trubor*, *Rurico*, *Sinees*, and *Varinus*, diuided among them the North parts of the Countrey: Likewise that the South parts were possessed by foure other, *Kio*, *Scieko*, *Choranus*, their and sister *Libeda*: each calling his Territorie after his owne Name. Of this partition it was called *Russia*, about the yeere from Christ 860. As for the conjecture which I finde in some Cosmographers, that the *Russe* Nation borrowed the name of the people called *Roxellani*, and were the very same Nation with them, it is without all good probabilitie, both in respect of the Etymologie of the word (which is very farre fetcht) and especially for the seate and dwelling of that people, which was betwixt the two Riuers of *Tanais* and *Boristhenes*, as *Strabo* reporteth, quite another way from the Countrey of *Russia*.

Strabo in his 7. booke of *Geogr.*

When it bare the name of *Sarmatia*, it was diuided into two chiefe parts: the *White*, and the *Blacke*. The *White Sarmatia*, was all that part that lyeth towards the North, and on the side of *Liefland*: as the Prouinces now called *Duyna*, *Vagha*, *Vstik*, *Vologda*, *Cargapolia*, *Nonogradia*, &c. whereof *Nonogrod velica* was the Metropolite, or chiefe Citie. *Blacke Sarmatia* was all that Country that lyeth Southward, towards the *Euxin* or *Blacke Sea*: as the Dukedome of *Volodemer*, of *Mosko*, *Rezan*, &c. Some haue thought that the name of *Sarmatia* was first taken from one *Sarmates*, whom *Moses* and *Iosephus* call *Asarmathes*, Sonne to *Iokan*, and nephew to *Heber*, of the posteritie of *Sem*. But this seemeth to bee nothing but a conjecture taken out of the likenesse

Gen. 10. *Ioseph. l.* 1. *c.* 24.

of the name *Aſarmathes*. For the dwelling of all *Ioktans* poſteritie is deſcribed by *Moſes*, to haue beene betwixt *Meſcha* or *Maſius*, (an Hill of the *Amonites*) and *Sephace*, neare to the Riuer *Euphrates*. Which maketh it very vnlikely, that *Aſarmathes* ſhould plant any Colonies ſo farre off, int the North and North-weſt Countries. It is bounded Northward by the *Lappes*, and the North *Ocean*. On the South-ſide by the *Tartars*, called *Chrims*. Eaſtward they haue the *Naigaian Tartar*, that poſſeſſeth all the Countrey on the Eaſt ſide of *Volgha*, towards the *Caſpian* Sea. On the Weſt and South-weſt border, lie *Lituania*, *Liuonia* and *Polonia*.

The borders of *Ruſsia*.

The whole Countrey being now reduced vnder the Gouernment of one, contayneth theſe chiefe Prouinces or Shires. *Volodemer* (which beareth the firſt place in the Emperours ſtile, becauſe their Houſe came of the Dukes of that Countrey,) *Moſko*, *Niſnonogrod*, *Pleſko*, *Smolenſko*, *Nonogrod velica* (or *Nonogrod* of the low Countrey) *Roſtone*, *Tarnſlaue*, *Bealozera*, *Bezan*, *Duyna*, *Corgapolia*, *Meſchora*, *Vagha*, *Vſtugha*, *Ghaletſa*. Theſe are the naturall Shires pertayning to *Ruſſia*, but farre greater and larger then the Shires of *England*, though not ſo well peopled.

The Shires of *Ruſſia*.

The other Countries or Prouinces, which the *Ruſſe* Emperours haue gotten perforce added of late to their other Dominion, are theſe which follow, *Twerra*, *Toughoria*, *Permia*, *Vadska*, *Boulghoria*, *Chernigo*, *Ondoria*, *Obdoria*, *Condora*, with a great part of *Siberia*: where the people though they bee not naturall *Ruſſes*, yet obey the Emperour of *Ruſſia*, and are ruled by the Lawes of his Countrey, paying cuſtomes and taxes, as his owne people doe. Beſides theſe hee hath vnder him the Kingdomes of *Cazan* and *Aſtracan*, gotten by Conqueſt not long ſince. As for all his poſſeſſions in *Lituania* (to the number of thirtie great Townes and more,) with *Narue* and *Dorp* in *Liuonia*, they are quite gone, being ſurpriſed of late yeeres by the Kings of *Poland* and *Sweden*. Theſe Shires and Prouinces are reduced all into foure *Iuriſdictions*, which they call *Chetfyrds* (that is) *Tetrarchies*, or *Fourth-parts*. Whereof wee are to ſpeake in the Title or Chapter, concerning the Prouinces, and their manner of Gouernment.

The Prouinces or Countries got by Conqueſt.

The whole Countrey is of great length and breadth. From the North to the South (if you meaſure from *Cola* to *Aſtracan* which bendeth ſomewhat Eaſtward) it reacheth in length about foure thouſand two hundred and ſixtie verſt, or myles. Notwithſtanding, the Emperour of *Ruſſia* hath more territorie Northward, farre beyond *Cola* vnto the Riuer of *Tromſchna*, that runneth a thouſand verſt, well nigh beyond *Pechinga*, neere to *Wardhouſe*, but not intire nor clearely limitted, by reaſon of the Kings of *Sweden* and *Denmarke*, that haue diuers Townes there, as well as the *Ruſſe*, plotted together the one with the other: euery one of them clayming the whole of thoſe North parts, as his owne right. The breadth (if you goe from that part of his Territorie that lyeth fartheſt Weſtward on the *Narue* ſide, to the parts of *Siberia* Eaſtward, where the Emperour hath his Garriſons) is foure thouſand and foure hundred verſt, or thereabouts. A Verſt (by their reckoning) is one thouſand paces, yet leſſe by one quarter then an *Engliſh* myle. If the whole dominion of the *Ruſſe* Emperour were all habitable, and peopled in all places, as it is in ſome, hee would either hardly hold it all within one Regiment, or bee ouer mightie for all his neighbour Princes,

The breadth and length of the Countrey.

chap. 2.

Of the Soyle and Climate.

THe Soyle of the Countrey for the moſt part is of a ſleight ſandie mold, yet very much different one place from another, for they yeeld of ſuch things as grow out of the earth. The Country Northwards, towards the parts of Saint *Nicholas* & *Cola*, and North-eaſt towards *Siberia*, is all very barren, and full of deſart Woods by reaſon of the Clymate, and extremitie of the cold in Winter time. So likewiſe along the Riuer *Volgha*, betwixt the Countries of *Cazan*, and *Aſtracan*; where (notwithſtanding the Soyle is very fruitfull) it is all vnhabited, ſauing that vpon the Riuer *Volgha* on the Weſt ſide, the Emperour hath ſome few Caſtles with Garriſons in them. This hapneth by meanes of the *Chrim Tartar*, that will neither himſelfe plant Townes to dwell there, (liuing a wilde and vagrant life) nor ſuffer the *Ruſſe* (that is farre off with the ſtrength of his Countrey) to people thoſe parts. From *Vologda* (which lyeth almoſt one thouſand ſeuen hundred verſt from the Port of Saint *Nicholas*) downe towards *Moſko*, and ſo towards the South part that bordereth vpon the *Chrim*, (which contayneth the like ſpace of one thouſand ſeuen hundred verſt, or thereabouts) is a very fruitfull and pleaſant Countrey, yeelding Paſture, and Corne, with Woods and water in very great plentie. The like is betwixt *Rezan* (that lyeth South-eaſt from *Moſko*) to *Nonograd* and *Vobſko*, that reach fartheſt towards the North-weſt. So betwixt *Moſko*, and *Smolenſko* (that lyeth South-weſt towards *Lituania*) is a very fruitfull and pleaſant ſoyle. The whole Countrey differeth very much from it ſelfe, by reaſon of the yeere: ſo that a man would marualle to ſee the great alteration and difference betwixt the Winter and the Summer in *Ruſſia*. The whole Countrey in the Winter lyeth vnder Snow, which falleth continually, and is ſometime of a yard or two thicke, but greater towards the North. The Riuers and other waters are all frozen vp, a yard or more thicke, how ſwift or broad ſoeuer they bee: and this continueth commonly fiue Moneths, *viz.* from the beginning of Nouember, till towards the end of March, what time the Snow beginneth to melt. So that it would breed a froſt in a man to looke abroad at that time, and ſee the winter face of that Countrey. The ſharpeneſſe of the ayre you may judge of by this: for that water dropped downe or caſt

Difference of *Ruſſia* in different ſeaſons.

The Cold of *Ruſſia*.

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caſt vp into the ayre, congealeth into Ice before it come to the ground. In the extremitie of Winter, if you hold a Pewter diſh or pot in your hand, or any other metall (except in ſome chamber where their warme Stoues bee) your fingers will freeze faſt vnto it, and draw of the skinne at the parting. When you paſſe out of a warme roome into a cold, you ſhall ſenſibly feele your breath to waxe ſtarke, and euen ſtifeling with the cold, as you draw it in and out. Diuers not onely that trauell abroad, but in the very Markets, and ſtreets of their Townes, are mortally pinched and killed withall: ſo that you ſhall ſee many drop downe in the Streets, many Trauellers brought into the Townes ſitting dead and ſtiffe in their Sleds. Diuers loſe their Noſes, the tippes of their Eares, and the balls of their Cheekes, their Toes, Feete, &c. Many times when (the winter is very hard and extreame) the Beares and Wolues iſſue by troupes out of the woods driuen by hunger, and enter the Villages, tearing and rauening all they can finde: ſo that the Inhabitants are faine to flee for ſafegard of their liues. And yet in the Summer time you ſhall ſee ſuch a new hew and face of a Countrey, the Woods (for the moſt part which are all of Firre and Birch) ſo freſh and ſo ſweet, the Paſtures and Meadowes ſo greene and well growne, (and that vpon the ſudden) ſuch varietie of Flowers, ſuch noyſe of Birds, (ſpecially of Nightingales, that ſeeme to be more loud and of a more variable note then in other Countries) that a man ſhall not lightly trauell in a more pleaſant Countrey.

M. *Cole* Miniſter to Sir *Ierome Bowes* told me of a lickoriſh fellow, which taking a Pewter diſh of ſome ſweet ſawce from his Maſters Table in the next roome, licked it, and payd the skin of his tongue for that ſweet taſte: a ſower ſawce to ſweet ſawcineſſe. The caſe altered.

And this freſh and ſpeedy growth of the Spring there, ſeemeth to proceed from the benefit of the Snow: which all the Winter time being ſpred ouer the whole Countrey as a white robe, and keeping it warme from the rigour of the Froſt, in the Spring time (when the Sunne waxeth warme, and diſſolueth it into water) doth ſo throughly drench and ſoake the ground, that is ſomewhat of a fleight and ſandie mold, and then ſhineth ſo hotly vpon it againe, that it draweth the Hearbs and Plants forth in great plentie and varietie, in a very ſhort time. As the Winter exceedeth in cold, ſo the Summer inclineth to ouermuch heate, ſpecially in the moneths of Iune, Iuly, and Auguſt, being much warmer then the ſummer ayre in *England*.

Effect of ſnow.

The Countrey throughout, is very well watred with Springs, Riuers, and Ozeraes or Lakes. Wherein the prouidence of God is to bee noted, for that much of the Countrey being ſo farre inland, as that ſome part lyeth a thouſand myles and more euery way from any Sea, yet it is ſerued with faire Riuers, and that in very great number, that emptying themſelues one into another, runne all into the Sea. Their Lakes are many and large, ſome of ſixtie, eightie, a hundred, and two hundred myles long, with breadth proportionate.

Ruſſia well watered.

The chiefe Riuers are theſe, 1. *Volgha*, that hath his head or ſpring at the roote of an Alder-tree, about two hundred verſt aboue *Yaruſlaue*, and groweth ſo bigge by the increaſe of other Riuers by that time it commeth thither, that it is broad an *Engliſh* myle and more, and ſo runneth into the *Caſpian* Sea, about two thouſand and eight hundred verſt or myles of length.

The chiefe Riuers of *Ruſſia*.

The next is *Boriſthenes* (now called *Neper*) that diuideth the Countrey from *Lituania*, and falleth into the *Euxin* Sea.

The third *Tanais* or *Don*, (the ancient bounder betwixt *Europe* and *Aſia*) that taketh his head out of *Rezan Ozera*, and ſo running through the Countrey of the *Chrim Tartars*, falleth into the great Sea lake, or meare, (called *Mæotis*) by the Citie of *Azou*. By this Riuer (as the *Ruſſe* reporteth) you may paſſe from their Citie *Moſko* to *Conſtantinople*, and ſo into all thoſe parts of the world by water, drawing your Boate (as their manner is) ouer a little *Iſthmus* or narrow ſlippe of land, a few verſts ouerthwart. Which was prooued not long ſince by an Ambaſſadour ſent to *Conſtantinople*, who paſſed the Riuer of *Moſkua*, and ſo into another called *Ocka*, whence he drew his Boate ouer into *Tanais*, and thence paſſed the whole way by water.

The fourth is called *Duyna*, many hundred myles long, that falleth Northward into the Bay of Saint *Nicholas*, and hath great Alabaſter rockes on the bankes towards the Sea ſide.

The fifth *Duna*, that emptyeth into the *Baltick* Sea by the Towne *Riga*.

The ſixt *Onega*, that falleth into the Bay at *Solouetsko* ninety Verſt from the Port of S. *Nicholas*. This Riuer below the Towne *Cargapolia* meeteth with the Riuer *Volock*, that falleth into the *Finland* Sea by the Towne *Yama*. So that from the Port of S. *Nicholas* into the *Finland* Sea, and ſo into the Sound, you may paſſe all by water, as hath beene tryed by the *Ruſſes*.

The ſeuenth *Suchana*, that floweth into *Duyna*, and ſo into the North-ſea.

The eighth *Ocka*, that fetcheth his Head from the Borders of the *Chrim*, and ſtreameth into *Volgha*.

The ninth *Moſkua*, that runneth thorow the Citie *Moſko*, and giueth it the name.

There is *Wichida* alſo a very large and long Riuer that riſeth out of *Permia*, and falleth into *Volgha*. All theſe are Riuers of very large ſtreames, the leaſt to bee compared to the *Thames* in bigneſſe, and in length far more, beſides diuers other. The Pole at *Moſko*, is fiftie fiue degrees ten minutes. At the Port of Saint *Nicholas* towards the North ſixty three degrees and fifty minutes.

Chap. 3.

FOr kinds of fruits, they haue Apples, Peares, Plummes, Cheries, Red and Blacke, (but the Black wild) a Deene like a Muske Milian, but more ſweet & pleaſant, Cucumbers and Goords (which they call *Arbouſe*) Raſpes, Strawberries, and Hurtilberries, with many other Berries in great

The Natiue Commodities of the Countrey.

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great quantitie in euery Wood and Hedge. Their kinds of Graine are Wheate, Rie, Barley, Oates, Peaſe, Buckway, Pſnytha, that in taſte is ſomewhat like to Rice. Of all theſe Graines the Countrey yeeldeth very ſufficient with an ouer-plus quantitie, ſo that Wheate is ſold ſometime for two Alteens or tenne pence ſterling the *Chetfird* which maketh almoſt three *Engliſh* Buſhels.

Rye. Their Rye is ſowed before the Winter, all their other Graine in the Spring-time, and for the moſt part in May. The *Permians* and ſome other that dwell farre North, and in Deſart places, are ſerued from the parts that lye more South-ward, and are forced to make Bread ſometimes of a kind of Roote called *Vaghnoy)* and of the middle rine of the Firre-tree. If there bee any Dearth (as they accounted this laſt yeere, *Anno* 1588. Wheat and Rye being at thirteene Alteens, or fiue ſhillings fiue pence ſterling the *Chetfird)* the fault is rather in the practice of their Nobilitie that vſe to engroſſe it, then in the Countrey it ſelfe. The Natiue Commodities of the Countrey (wherewith they ſerue both their owne turnes, and ſend much abroad to the great enriching of the Emperour, and his people) are many and ſubſtantiall. Firſt, Furres of all ſorts. Where in the prouidence of God is to bee noted, that prouideth a naturall remedy for them, to helpe the naturall inconuenience of their Countrey by the cold of the Climate. Their chiefe Furs are theſe, Blacke Fox, Sables, Luſernes, Dunne Fox, Martrones, Gurneſtalles or Armins, Laſets or Miniuer, Beuer, Wuluerins, the Skin of a great Water Rat that ſmelleth naturally like Muske, Calaber or Gray Squirrell, Red Squirrell, Red and White Foxe. Beſides the great quantitie ſpent within the Countrey (the people being clad all in Furs the whole Winter) there are tranſported out of the Countrey ſome yeares by the Merchants of *Turkie*, *Perſia*, *Bougharia*, *Georgia*, *Armenia*, and ſome other of Chriſtendome to the value of foure or fiue hundred thouſand Rubbels, as I haue heard of the Merchants. The beſt Sable Furre groweth in the Countrey of *Pechora*, *Momgoſorskoy* and *Obdorskoy*, the worſer ſort in *Siberia*, *Perm*, and other places. The Blacke Fox and Red come out of *Siberia*, White and Dunne from *Pechora*, whence alſo come the white Wolfe, and white Beare Skin. The beſt Wuluerin alſo thence and from *Perm*. The beſt Martrons are from *Siberia*, *Cadam*, *Morum*, *Perm*, and *Cazan*. Lyſerns, Mineuer, and Armins, the beſt are out of *Gallets*, and *Ouglites*, many from *Nouogrod*, and *Perm*. The Beauer of the beſt ſort breedeth in *Murmonskey* by *Cola*. Other common Furres, and moſt of theſe kinds grow in many, and ſome in all parts of the Countrey.

The chiefe commodities of the Countrey. 1. Furre.

2. Waxe. The ſecond Commoditie is of Waxe, whereof hath beene ſhipped in forraine Countreyes (as I haue heard it reported by thoſe that beſt know it) the ſumme of fiftie thouſand Pood yearely, euery Pood contayning fortie pound, but now about tenne thouſand Pood a yeare.

3. Honey. The third is their Honey, whereof beſides an exceeding great quantitie ſpent in their ordinary Drinkes (which is *Mead* of all ſorts) and their other vſes, ſome good quantitie is carried out of the Countrey. The chiefe increaſe of Honey is in *Mordua* and *Cadam* neere to the *Cheremiſſen Tartar*: much out of *Seuerskoy*, *Bezan*, *Morum*, *Cazan*, *Dorogoboſe*, and *Vaſma*.

4. Tallow. Fourthly, of Tallow they afoord a great weight for tranſportation: not only for that their Countrey hath very much good ground apt for Paſturage of cattell, but alſo by reaſon of their many Lents and other Faſts: and partly, becauſe their greater men vſe much Waxe for their Lights; the poorer and meaner ſort Birch dryed in their Stoues, and cut into long ſhiuers, which they call *Luchineos*. Of Tallow there hath beene ſhipped out of the Realme a few yeares ſince about one hundred thouſand Pood yeerely, now not paſt thirty thouſand or thereabouts. The beſt yeeld of Tallow is in the parts and Territories of *Smolenske*, *Yarnſlaue*, *Ouglas*, *Nouogrod*, and *Vologda*, *Oiſer*, and *Gorodetskey*.

5. Hide. Another principall Commoditie is their Loſh and Cow-hide. Their Loſh or Buffe-hide is very faire and large. Their Bull and Cow-hide (for Oxen they make none, neither yet Weather) is of a ſmall ſize. There hath beene tranſported by Merchants ſtrangers ſome yeeres, one hundred thouſand Hides. Now it is decreaſed to thirty thouſand or thereabouts. Beſides great ſtore of Goats Skins, whereof great numbers are ſhipped out of the Countrey. The largeſt kind of Loſh or Buffe breedeth about *Roſtoue*, *Wichida*, *Nouogrod*, *Morum*, and *Perm*. The leſſer ſort within the Kingdome of *Cazan*.

6. Trane Oyle. The manner of hunting the Seale-fiſh. Another very great and principall Commoditie is their Trane-oyle, drawne out of the Seal-fiſh. Where it will not be impertinent to ſhew the manner of their hunting the Seale, which they make this Oyle of: which is in this ſort. Towards the end of Summer (before the Froſt beginne) they goe downe with their Boats into the Bay of Saint *Nicholas*, to a Cape called *Cuſconeſſe* or *Foxnoſe*, where they leaue their Boats till the next Spring-tyde. When the Sunne waxeth warme toward the Spring, and yet the Ice not melted within the Bay, they returne thither againe. Then drawing their Boats ouer the Sea Ice, they vſe them for Houſes to reſt and lodge in. There are commonly about ſeuenteene or eighteene Fleete of them, of great large Boats, which diuide themſelues into diuers companies, fiue or ſixe Boats in a conſort.

They that firſt find the haunt, fire a Beacon, which they carrie with them for the nonce. Which being eſpied by the other companies, by ſuch among them as are appointed of purpoſe, they

they come all together and compasse the Seales round about in a Ring, that lye Sunning themselues together vpon the Ice, commonly foure or fiue thousand in a shoale, and so they inuade them euery man with his Club in his hand. If they hit them on the Nose, they are soone killed. If on the sides or backe they beare out the blow, and many times so catch and hold downe the Club with their Teeth by mayne force, that the partie is forced to call for helpe to his fellowes.

The manner of the Seales is, when they see themselues beset, to gather all close together in a throng or plumbe, to sway downe the Ice, and to breake it (if they can) which so bendeth the Ice, that many times it taketh the Sea-water vpon it, and maketh the Hunters to wade a foot or more deepe. After the slaughter, when they haue killed what they can they fall to sharing euery Boat his part in equall portions: and so they flay them, taking from the body the Skin, and the Lard or Fat with all that cleaueth to the Skin. This they take with them, leauing the bodies behind, and so goe to shoare. Where they digge Pits in the ground of a fathome and an halfe deepe, or there about, and so taking the Fat or Lard off from the Skin, they throw it into the Pit, and cast in among it hot burning stones to melt it withall. The vppermost and purest is sold and vsed to oyle Wooll for Cloth, the grosser (that is of a red colour) they sell to make Sope.

7. Ickary. Likewise Ickary or Cauery, a great quantity is made vpon the Riuer of *Volgha*, out of the fish called Bellougina, the Sturgeon, the Seueriga and the Sterledey. Whereof the most part is shipped by *French* and *Netherlandish* Merchants for *Italy* and *Spaine*, some by *English* Merchants.

8. Hempe and flaxe. The next is of Flaxe and Hempe, whereof there hath beene shipped (as I haue heard Merchants say) at the Port of *Narue* a great part of one hundred ships small and great yeerely. Now not past fiue. The reason of this abating and decrease of this and other Commodities, that were wont to bee transported in a greater quantitie, is the shutting vp of the Port of the *Narue* towards the *Finland* Sea, which now is in the hands and possession of the *Sweaden*. Likewise the stopping of the passage ouer-land by the way of *Smolenske*, and *Plotsko*, by reason of their Warres with the *Polonian*, which causeth the people to bee lesse prouident in mayntayning and gathering these and the like Commodities, for that they lacke Sales. Partly also for that the Merchants and Mousicks (for so they call the common sort of people) are very much discouraged by many heauy and intollerable exactions, that of late time haue beene imposed vpon them: no man accounting that which he hath to be sure his owne. And therefore regard not to lay vp any thing, or to haue it before hand, for that it causeth them many times to be fleeced and spoyled, not only of their goods, but also of their liues. For the growth of Flaxe the Prouince of *Vobske*, and the Countrey about is the chiefe and only place. For Hempe *Smolenksko*, *Dorogoboſe* and *Vasma*.

9. Salt. The Countrey besides maketh great store of Salt. Their best Salt is made at *Stararouſe* in very great quantitie, where they haue great store of Salt-wels, about two hundred and fiftie verst from the Sea. At *Astracan* Salt is made naturally by the Sea-water, that casteth it vp into great Hils, and so it is digged downe, and carryed away by the Merchants and other that will fetch it from thence. They pay to the Emperour for acknowledgement or custome three pence *Russe* vpon euery hundred weight. Besides these two, they make Salt in many other places of the Realme, as in *Perm*, *Wichida*, *Totma*, *Kenitsma*, *Solouetske*, *Ocona*, *Bombasey*, and *Nonocks* all out of Salt-pits, saue at *Solouetskey*, which lyeth neere to the Sea.

10. Tarre. Likewise of Tarre they make a great quantitie out of their Fiere-trees in the Countrey of *Duyna* and *Smolensko*, whereof much is sent abroad.

11. Ribazuba. Besides these (which are all good and substantiall Commodities) they haue diuers other of smaller account, that are naturall and proper to that Countrey: as the fish tooth (which they call *Ribazuba* which is vsed both among themselues and the *Persians* and *Boughariens*, that fetcht it from thence for Beads, Kniues, and Swordhafts of Noblemen, and Gentlemen, and for diuers other vses. Some vse the powder of it against poyson, as the Vnicornes Horne. The fish that weareth it is called a Morie, and is caught about *Pechora*. These fish teeth some of them, are almost two foot of length, and weigh eleuen or twelue pound a-piece.

12. Slude. In the Prouince of *Corelia*, and about the Riuer *Duyna* towards the North Sea, there groweth a soft Rocke which they call *Slude*. This they cut into pieces, and so teare it into thin flakes, which naturall it is apt for and so vse it for Glasse-lanthornes and such like. It giueth both inwards and outwards a cleerer light then Glasse, and for this respect is better then eyther Glasse or Horne: for that it neyther breaketh like Glasse, nor yet will burne like the Lanthorne.

13. Salt-peeter and Brimstone. Salt-peeter they make in many places, as at *Onglites*, *Yaruslaue* and *Vstug*, and some small store of Brimstone vpon the Riuer *Volgha*, but want skill to refine it.

14. Iron. Their Iron is somewhat brittle, but a great weight of it is made in *Corelia*, *Cargapolia*, and *Vstug Theleſna*. Other Myne they haue none growing within the Realme.

The strange beasts, fish, foule, &c. that breed in *Russia*. Their beasts of strange kinds are the Losh, the Ollen, the wilde Horse, the Beare, the Woluering or wood Dogge, the Lyserne, the Beauer, the Sable, the Matron, the blacke and dunne Foxe, the white Beare towards the Sea coast of *Pechora*, the Gurnstale, the Laset, or Mineuer.

They

They haue a kind of Squirrell that hath growing on the pinion of the shoulder bone, a long tuft of haire, much like vnto feathers, with a far broader tayle then haue any other Squirrels, which they moue and shake as they leape from tree to tree, much like vnto a wing. They skise a large space, and seeme for to flie withall, and therefore they call them *Letach Veckshe*, that is, the flying Squirrel. Their Hares and Squirrels in Summer are of the same colour with ours, in Winter the Hare changeth her coate into milke white, the Squirrell into gray, whereof commeth the *Calabar*.

Deare Horses.

They haue sallow Deere, the Roe Bucke, and Goats very great store. Their Horses are but small, but very swift and hard, they trauell them vnshod both Winter and Summer, without all regard of pace.

Sheepe. I haue seene some of them in *England* breed twice a yeere; the Ram hath foure hornes, &c.

Their Sheepe are but small, and beare course and harsh wooll. Of Fowle, they haue diuers of the principall kinds: First, great store of Hawkes; the Eagle, the Gerfaulcon, the Slightfaulcon, the Gos-hawke, the Tassell, the Sparhawke, &c. But the principall Hawke that breedeth in the Countrey, is counted the Gerfaulcon.

Of other Fowles their principall kinds are the Swanne tame and wilde, (whereof they haue great store) the Storke, the Crane, the Tedder, of the colour of a Feasant, but farre bigger and liueth in the Firre woods. Of Feasant and Partridge they haue very great plenty. An Owle there is of a very great bignesse, more vgly to behold then the Owles of this Countrey, with a broad face, and eares much like vnto a man.

Fresh-water fish.

For fresh water Fish, besides the common sorts (as Carpe, Pike, Pearch, Tench, Roach, &c.) they haue diuers kinds very good and delicate: as the Bellouga, or Bellougina of foure or fiue elnes long, the Ositrina or Sturgeon, the Seueriga, and Sterledy somewhat in fashion and taste like to the Sturgeon, but not so thicke or long. These foure kinds of fish breed in the *Volgha*, and are catched in great plenty, and serued thence into the whole Realme for a great food. Of the Roes of these foure kinds they make very great store of Icary or Caueary, as was said before. They haue besides these that breed in the *Volgha*, a fish called the *Ribabela*, or white Salmon, which they account more delicate then they doe the red Salmon, whereof also they haue exceeding great plenty in the Riuers Northward, as in *Duyna* the Riuer of *Cola*, &c. In the *Ozera* or Lake neere a Towne called *Periaslaue*, not farre from the *Mosko*, they haue a small fish which they call the fresh Herring, of the fashion, and somewhat of the taste of a Sea-herring. Their chiefe Townes for fish are, *Yaruslaue*, *Bealozera*, *Nouogrod*, *Astracan*, and *Cazan*: which all yeeld a large Custome to the Emperour euery yeere for their trades of fishing, which they practise in Summer, but send it frozen in the Winter time into all parts of the Realme.

Chap. 4. The chiefe Cities of *Russia*.

THe chiefe Cities of *Russia* are, *Mosko*, *Nouograd*, *Rostone*, *Volodomer*, *Plesco*, *Smolensko*, *Iaruslaue*, *Periaslaue*, *Nisnouograd*, *Vologda*, *Ustiuck*, *Golmigroe*, *Cazan*, *Astracan*, *Cargapolia*, *Columna*.

Mosko.

The Citie of *Mosko* is supposed to bee of great antiquitie, though the first Founder bee vnknowne to the *Russe*. It seemeth to haue taken the name from the Riuer that runneth on the one side of the Towne.

Berosus, a suspected author, or rather that which now beareth his name.

Berosus the *Chaldean* in his fifth Booke telleth that *Nimrod* (whom other profane Stories call *Saturne*) sent *Assyrius*, *Medus*, *Moscus*, and *Magog* into *Asia* to plant Colonies there, and that *Moscus* planted both in *Asia* and *Europe*. Which may make some probality, that the Citie, or rather the Riuer whereon it is built, tooke the denomination from this *Moscus*: the rather because of the climate or situation, which is in the very farthest part and list of *Europe*, bordering vpon *Asia*. The Citie was much enlarged by one *Euan* or *Iohn*, sonne to *Daniel*, that first changed his title of Duke into King: though that honour continued not to his posteritie: the rather because he was inuested into it by the Popes Legate, who at that time was *Innocentius* the fourth, about the yeere 1246. which was very much misliked by the *Russe* people, being then a part of the Eastern or *Greeke* Church. Since that time the name of this Citie hath growne more famous, and better knowne to the World: insomuch that not only the Prouince, but the whole Countrey of *Russia* is termed by some by the name of *Moscouia* the Metropolite Citie. The forme of this Citie is in a manner round, with three strong walls, circuling the one within the other, and streets lying betweene, whereof the inmost wall, and the buildings closed within it (lying safest as the heart within the bodie, fenced and watred with the Riuer *Moskua*, that runneth close by it) is all accounted the Emperours Castle. The number of houses (as I haue heard) through the whole Citie (being reckoned by the Emperour a little before it was fired by the *Chrim*) was 41500. in all. Since the *Tartar* besieged and fired the Towne (which was in the yeere 1571.) there lieth waste of it a great bredth of ground, which before was well set and planted with buildings, specially that part on the South side of *Moskua*, built not long before by *Basilius* the Emperour for his Garrison of Souldiers, to whom he gaue priuiledge to drinke Mede, and Beere at the drie or prohibited times, when other *Russes* may drinke nothing but water, and for that cause called this new Citie by the name of *Naloi*, that is, *Skinke* or *powre in*. So that now the Citie of *Mosko* is not much bigger then the Citie of *London*.

Mosko fired.

Nouograd.

The next in greatnesse, and in a manner as large, is the Citie *Nouograde*: where was committed (as the *Russe* sayth) the memorable warre so much spoken of in Stories of the *Scythian*

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thian ſeruants, that tooke Armes againſt their maſters: which they report in this ſort: *vz.* That the *Boiarens* or Gentlemen of *Nouograde* and the Territorie about (which onely are Souldiers after the diſcipline of thoſe Countries) had warre with the *Tartars*. Which being well performed and ended by them, they returned homewards. Where they vnderſtood by the way, that their *Cholopey* or Bondſlaues whom they left at home, had in their abſence poſſeſſed their Townes, Lands, Houſes, Wiues, and all. At which newes being ſomewhat amazed, and yet diſdayning the villanie of their ſeruants, they made the more ſpeed home: and ſo not farre from *Nouograde* met them in warlike manner marching againſt them. Whereupon aduiſing what was beſt to be done, they agreed all to ſet vpon them with no other ſhew of weapon but with their Horſe whips (which as their manner is, euery man rideth withall) to put them in remembrance of their ſeruile condition, thereby to terrifie them, and abate their courage. And ſo marching on, and laſhing altogether with their whips in their hands they gaue the onſet. Which ſeemed ſo terrible in the eares of their villaines, and ſtroke ſuch a ſenſe into them of the ſmart of the whip which they had felt before, that they fled altogether like Sheepe before the Driuers. In memory of this victory the *Nouogradians* euer ſince haue ſtamped their Coine (which they call a *dingoe Nouogrodskoy*, currant thorow all *Ruſſia*) with the figure of a Horſe-man ſhaking a whip aloft in his hand. Theſe two Cities exceed the reſt in greatneſſe. For ſtrength their chiefe Townes are, *Vobsko*, *Smolensko*, *Cazan*, and *Aſtracan*, as lying vpon the borders. But for ſituation *Iaruſlaue* farre exceedeth the reſt. For beſides the commodities that the ſoyle yeeldeth of Paſture and Corne, it lieth vpon the famous Riuer *Volga*, and looketh ouer it from a high banke very faire and ſtately to behold: whereof the Towne taketh the name. For *Iaruſlaue* in that Tongue ſignifieth as much as a faire or famous Banke. In this Towne (as may be gheſſed by the name) dwelt the *Ruſſe* King *Vlademir*, ſurnamed *Iaruſlaue*, that married the daughter of *Harald* King of *England*, by mediation of *Sueno* the *Dane*, as is noted in the *Daniſh* Storie about the yeere 1067.

Pleaſant Hiſtorie.

Like lips, like lettice.

Iaruſlaue.

The other Townes haue nothing that is greatly memorable, ſaue many ruines within their walls. Which ſheweth the decreaſe of the *Ruſſe* People, vnder this gouernment. The ſtreets of their Cities and Townes in ſtead of pauing, are planked with Firre trees, plained and layd euen cloſe the one to the other. Their houſes are of wood without any lime or ſtone, built very cloſe and warme with Firre trees plained and piled one vpon another. They are faſtned together with dents or notches at euery corner, and ſo claſped faſt together. Betwixt the trees of timber they thruſt in moſſe (whereof they gather plenty in their Woods, to keepe out the aire. Euery houſe hath a paire of ſtaires that lead vp into the chambers out of the yard or ſtreet after the *Scottiſh* manner. This building ſeemeth farre better for their Countrey, then that of ſtone and bricke: as being colder and more dampiſh then their woodden houſes, ſpecially of Firre, that is a dry and warme wood. Whereof the prouidence of God hath giuen them ſuch ſtore, as that you may build a faire houſe for twentie or thirtie Rubbels, or little more, where wood is moſt ſcant. The greateſt inconuenience of their woodden building is the aptneſſe for firing, which happeneth very oft, and in very fearefull ſort, by reaſon of the drineſſe and fatneſſe of the Firre, that being once fired, burneth like a Torch, and is hardly quenched till all bee burnt vp.

The manner of *Ruſſe* building.

THe ſur-name of the Imperiall houſe of *Ruſſia*, is called *Beala*. It tooke the originall (as is ſuppoſed) from the Kings of *Hungarie*. Which may ſeeme the more probable, for that the *Hungarian* Kings many yeeres agoe haue borne that name: as appeareth by *Bonfinius* and other Stories written of that Countrey. For about the yeere 1059. mention is made of one *Beala* that ſucceeded his brother *Andreas*, who reduced the *Hungarians* to the *Chriſtian* Faith from whence they were fallen by *Atheiſme* and *Turkiſh* perſwaſion before. The ſecond of that name was called *Beala the blind*, after whom ſucceeded diuers of the ſame name.

Chap. 5. Of the houſe or ſtocke of the *Ruſſe* Emperour.

That their Anceſtry came not of the *Ruſſe* Nation, *Iuan vaſilowich* father to this Emperour, would many times boaſt, diſdayning (as ſhould ſeeme) to haue his progenie deriued from the *Ruſſe* bloud. As namely to an *Engliſhman* his Gold-ſmith, that had receiued Bullion of him to make certaine Plate: whom the Emperour commanded to looke well to his weight. For my *Ruſſes* (ſaid he) are theeues all. Whereat the Workeman looking vpon the Emperour, began to ſmile. The Emperour being of quicke conceit, charged him to tell him what hee ſmiled at. *If your Maieſtie will pardon mee* (quoth the Gold-ſmith) *I will tell you. Your Highneſſe ſaid, that the* Ruſſes *were all theeues, and forgat in the meane while that your ſelfe was a* Ruſſe. I thought ſo (quoth the Emperour) but thou art deceiued. For I am no *Ruſſe*, my Anceſtors were *Germanes* (for ſo they account of the *Hungarians* to bee part of the *Germane* Nation, though indeed they come of the *Hunnes*. That inuaded thoſe Countries, and reſted in thoſe parts of *Pannonia*, now called *Hungarie*.

The houſe *Beala* not naturall *Ruſſe*. See *ſup.* 56. where the *Tartars* deſtroyed theſe Countreyes then called *Bulgaria maior*, many fled into *Hungarie*: and after *Bathus* death, both *Hungarie* and this *Bulgaria* had better

meanes to recouer themſelues, and perhaps either by *Hungarian* affinitie with their Princes, or taking a Prince from *Hungarie* that aſſiſted with *Germans*, they began to recouer of that *Tartarian* diſeaſe, whereof ſtill ſome Symtomes remayne.

How

The aduancement of the house of *Beala.*

How they aspired to the Dukedome of *Volodemer* (which was their first degree, and ingrafting into *Russia*) and whether it were by Conquest, or by Marriage, or by what other meanes, I could not learne any certainty among them. That from these beginnings of a small Dukedome (that bare notwithstanding an absolute gouernment with it, as at that time did also the other Shires or Prouinces of *Russia*) this house of *Beala* spred it selfe forth, and aspired by degrees to the Monarchie of the whole Countrey, is a thing well knowne, and of very late memorie. The chiefe of that House that aduanced the Stocke, and enlarged their Dominions, were the three last that raigned before this Emperour, to wit, *Iuan Basileus*, and *Iuan* father to the other that raigneth at this time. Whereof the first that tooke vnto him the name and title of Emperour, was *Basileus* father to *Iuan*, and grandfather to this man. For before that time they were contented to be called great Dukes of *Mosko*. What hath beene done by either of these three, and how much they haue added to their first estate by Conquest or otherwise, may bee seene in the Chapter of their Colonies, or Purchases perforce. For the continuance of the race, this House of *Beala* at this present * is in like case as are many of the greatest Houses of *Christendome, vz.* the whole Stocke and Race concluded in one, two, or some few of the Bloud. For besides the Emperour that now is, who hath no child (neither is like euer to haue, for ought that may bee coniectured by the constitution of his body, and the barrennesse of his wife after so many yeeres marriage) there is but one more, *vz.* a child of sixe or seuen yeeres old, in whom resteth all the hope of the succession, and the posteritie of that House. As for the other brother that was eldest of the three, and of the best towardnesse, he died of a blow giuen him by his father vpon the head in his furie with his walking staffe, or (as some say) of a thrust with the prong of it driuen deepe into his head. That he meant him no such mortall harme when hee gaue him the blow, may appeare by his mourning and passion after his sonnes death, which neuer left him till it brought him to the graue. Wherein may be marked the iustice of God, that punished his delight in shedding of bloud with this murder of his sonne by his owne hand, and so ended his dayes and tyrannie together, with the murdring of himselfe by extreme griefe, for this his vnhappie and vnnaturall fact.

* *Viz. A. D.* 1588.

Since the Scepter hath been in diuers Families, with manifold combustions.

The Emperor vnfortunatly killed his son.

We haue since had two which haue assumed to be this *Demetrius*, and haue obtayned the State; thereof and of their liues dispossessed as Counterfeits.

The Emperours younger brother of sixe or seuen yeeres old (as was said before) is kept in a remote place from the *Mosko*, vnder the tuition of his mother and her kindred, of the House of the *Nagaies:* yet not safe (as I haue heard) from attempts of making away by practice of some that aspire to the succession, if this Emperour die without any issue. The Nurse that tasted before him of certaine meat (as I haue heard) died presently. That hee is naturall sonne to *Ioan Vasilowich*, the *Russe* People warrant it, by the fathers qualitie that beginneth to appeare already in his tender yeeres. Hee is delighted (they say) to see Sheepe and other cattell killed, and to looke on their throats while they are bleeding (which commonly children are afraid t behold) and to beate Geese and Hennes with a staffe till he see them lie dead. Besides these of the male kind, there is a Widow, that hath right in the succession, Sister to the old Emperour, and Aunt to this man, sometime Wife to *Magnus* Duke of *Holst*, Brother to the King of *Denmarke*, by whom she had one daughter. This woman since the death of her Husband hath beene allured againe into *Russia*, by some that loue the succession better then her selfe, which appeareth by the sequele. For her selfe with her daughter, so soone as they were returned into *Russia*, were thrust into a Nunnerie, where her daughter died this last yeere while I was in the Countrey, of no naturall disease as was supposed. The mother remayneth still in the Nunnerie, where (as I haue heard) she bewayleth her selfe, and curseth the time when she returned into *Russia*, enticed with the hope of marriage, and other faire promises in the Emperours name. Thus it standeth with the Imperiall Stocke of *Russia*, of the House of *Beala*, which is like to determine in those that now are, and to make a conuersion of the *Russe* estate. If it be into a gouernment of some better temper, and milder constitution, it will be happie for the poore people that are now oppressed with intolerable seruitude.

Chap. 6. Of the manner of crowning or inauguration of the *Russe* Emperours.

THe solemnities vsed at the *Russe* Emperours Coronation, are on this manner. In the great Church of *Precheste* (or our Ladie) within the Emperours Castle is erected a Stage, whereon standeth a Scrine that beareth vpon it the Imperiall Cap and Robe of very rich stuffe. When the day of the Inauguration is come, there resort thither, first the Patriarch with the Metropolitans, Arch-bishops, Bishops, Abbots, and Priors, all richly clad in their Pontificalibus. Then enter the Deacons with the Quier of Singers. Who so soone as the Emperour setteth foot into the Church, beginne to sing: *Many yeeres may liue noble Theodore Iuanowich*, &c. Whereunto the Patriarch and Metropolite with the rest of the Clergie, answere with a certaine Hymne, in forme of a Prayer, singing it all together with a great noise. The Hymne being ended, the Patriarch with the Emperour mount vp the Stage, where standeth a Seat ready for the Emperour. Whereupon the Patriarch willeth him to sit downe, and then placing himselfe by him vpon another Seate prouided for that purpose, boweth downe his head towards the ground, and sayeth this Prayer: *Oh Lord God King of Kings, Lord of Lords, which by thy Prophet* Samuel *didst choose thy seruant* Dauid, *and anoynt him for King ouer thy People* Israel, *heare now our Prayers, and looke from*

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from thy Sanctuarie vpon this thy Seruant Theodore, *whom thou hast chosen and exalted for King ouer these thy holy Nations, anoint him with the oyle of gladnesse, protect him by thy power, but vpon his head a Crowne of Gold and precious Stones, giue him length of dayes, place him in the Seat of Iustice, strengthen his armes, make subiect vnto him all the barbarous Nations. Let thy feare bee in his whole heart, turne him from all errour, and shew him the saluation of thy holy and vniuersall Church, that hee may iudge thy people with Iustice, and protect the children of the poore, and finally attayne euerlasting life.* This Prayer he speaketh with a lowe voyce, and then pronounceth a lowd: *All prayse and power to God the Father, the Sonne, and the Holy Ghost.* The Prayer being ended, he commandeth certayne Abbots to reach the Imperiall Robe and Cap: which is done very decently, and with great Solemnitie, the Patriarch withall pronouncing alowde: *Peace be vnto all.* And so he beginneth another Prayer to this effect: *Bow your selues together with vs, and pray to him that reigneth ouer all. Preserue him (oh Lord) vnder thy holy protection, keepe him that hee may doe good and holy things, let Iustice shine forth in his dayes, that we may liue quietly without strife and malice.* This is pronounced somewhat softly by the Patriarch, whereto hee addeth againe alowd: *Thou art the King of the whole World, and the Sauiour of our soules, to thee the Father, Sonne, and Holy Ghost, bee all prayse for euer and euer.* Amen. *Then putting on the Robe and the Cap, hee blesseth the Emperour with the signe of the Crosse: saying withall, in the Name of the Father, the Sonne, and the Holy Ghost.*

The like is done by the Metropolites, Archbishops, and Bishops: who all in their order come to the Chaire, and one after another blesse the Emperor with their two fore-fingers. Then is said by the Patriarch another Praier, that beginneth: *Omost holy Virgin Mother of God, &c.* After which a Deacon pronounceth with an high lowd voyce: *Many yeeres to Noble* Theodore, *good, honourable, beloued of God, great Duke of* Volodemer *of* Mosko, *Emperour, and Monarch of all* Russia, *&c.* Whereto the other Priests and Deacons that stand somewhat farre of by the Altar or Table, answere singing, *Many yeeres, many yeeres, to the Noble* Theodore. The same Note is taken vp by the Priests and Deacons, that are placed at the right and left side of the Church, and then altogether, they chaunt and thunder out, singing: *Many yeeres to the Noble* Theodore, *good, honourable, beloued of God, great Duke of* Volodemer, Mosko, *Emperour of all* Russia, *&c.* These Solemnities being ended, first commeth the Patriarch with the Metropolites, Archbishoppes, and Bishops, then the Nobilitie, and the whole Companie in their order, to doe homage to the Emperour, bending downe their heads, and knocking them at his feet to the very ground.

The Stile wherewith hee is inuested at his Coronation, runneth after this manner. Theodore Iuanowich, *by the grace of God, great Lord and Emperour of all* Russia, *great Duke of* Volodemer, Mosko, *and* Nouograd, *King of* Cazan, *King of* Astracan, *Lord of* Plesko, *and great Duke of* Smolensko, *of* Twerria, Ioughoria, Permia, Vadska, Bulghoria, *and others, Lord and great Duke of* Nouograd, *of the Low Countrey, of* Chernigo, Rezan, Polotskoy, Rostoue, Yarusklaueley, Bealozera, Leifland, Oudoria, Obdoria, *and* Condensa, *Commander of all* Siberia, *and of the North parts, and Lord of many other Countreyes, &c.*

This stile contayneth in it the Emperours Prouinces, and setteth forth his greatnesse. And therefore they haue a great delight and pride in it, forcing not onely there owne people but also Strangers (that haue any matter to deliuer to the Emperour by Speech or writing) to repeat the whole forme from the beginning to the end. Which breedeth much cauill, and sometimes quarrell betwixt them and the *Tartar*, and *Poland* Ambassadours: who refuse to call him *Czar*, that is Emperour, and to repeat the other parts of his long Stile. My selfe, when I had audience of the Emperour, thought good to salute him onely with thus much, *viz. Emperour of all* Russia, *great Duke of* Volodemer, Mosko, *and* Nouograd, *King of* Cazan, *King of* Astracan. The rest I omitted of purpose, because I knew they gloried, to haue their stile appeare to be of a larger Volume then the Queenes of *England*. But this was taken in so ill part, that the Chancellor (who then attended the Emperour, with the rest of the Nobilitie) with a lowd chasing voyce called still vpon me to say out the rest. Whereto I answered, that the Emperours Stile was very long, and could not so well be remembred by Strangers, that I had repeated so much of it, as might shew that I gaue honour to the rest, &c. But all would not serue till I commanded my Interpreter to say it all out.

chap. 7. The State or forme of their Gouernment. The *Russe* Gouernment tyrannicall.

THE manner of their Gouernment is much after the *Turkish* fashion: which they seeme to imitate as neere as the Countrey, and reach of their capacities in Politike Affaires will giue them leaue to doe.

The State and forme of their Gouernment seemeth to apply all to the behoofe of the Prince, and that after a most open manner: as may appeare by the *Sophismata*, or secrets of their Gouernment afterwards set downe, aswell for the keeping of the Nobilitie and Commons in an vnder proportion, and farre vneuen ballance in their seuerall degrees, as also in their Impositions and Exactions, without any regard of Nobilitie or People: farther then it giueth the Nobilitie a kind of libertie, to exact vpon the Commons and baser sort of People in all parts

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of the Realme whereſoeuer they come, ſpecially in the place where their Lands lye, or where they are appointed by the Emperour to gouerne vnder him: Alſo to the Commons ſome ſmall contentment, in that they paſſe ouer their Lands by diſcent of Inheritance to whether Sonne they will: which commonly they doe after our *Gauill kind*, and diſpoſe of their goods by gift or Teſtament without any controllment.

Gauill-kind giue-all-kind tenure.

Concerning the principall points and matters of State, wherein the Souereignetie conſiſteth (as the *making and annulling of publike Lawes, the making of Magiſtrates, power to make Warre or League with any Forreine State, to execute or to pardon life, with the right of Appeale in all matters, both Ciuill and Criminall*) they doe ſo wholy and abſolutely pertayne to the Emperour, and his Counſell vnder him, as that he may be ſaid to be both the Souereigne Commander, and the Executioner of all theſe. For as touching any Law or publike Order of the Realme, it is euer determined before any publike Aſſembly or Parliament be ſummoned. Where beſides his Councell, hee hath none other to conſult with him of ſuch matters as are concluded before hand, but onely a few Biſhops, Abbots, and Friers: to make aduantage of the peoples Superſtitions, euen againſt themſelues, which thinke all to be holy and juſt, that paſſeth with conſent of their Biſhops and Clergie men, whatſoeuer it be. For which purpoſe the Emperours are content to make much of the corrupt ſtate of the Church, as now it is among them, and to nouriſh the ſame by extraordinary fauours, and Immunities to the Biſhops Seas, Abbeyes and Frieries: as knowing Superſtition and falſe Religion beſt to agree with a Tyrannicall State, and to be a ſpeciall meanes to vphold and maintayne the ſame.

Abſolute Souereigntie.

Magiſtracies.

Secondly, as touching the publike Offices and Magiſtracies of the Realme, there is none hereditarie, neyther any ſo great nor ſo little in that Countrey, but the beſtowing of it is done immediately by the Emperour himſelfe. Inſomuch that the very *Diacks*, or Clerkes in euery head Towne, are for the moſt part aſſigned by himſelfe. Notwithſtanding, the Emperour that now is (the better to entend his Deuotions) referreth all ſuch matters pertayning to the State, wholly to the ordering of his Wiues Brother, the Lord *Borris Federowich Godonoe*.

He ſucceeded him.

Iuriſdiction.

Thirdly, the like is to be ſaid of the Iuriſdiction concerning matters Iudiciall, ſpecially ſuch as concerne life and death. Wherein there is none that hath any authoritie or publike Iuriſdiction that goeth by Diſcent, or is held by Charter, but all at the appointment and pleaſure of the Emperour, and the ſame practiſed by the Iudges with ſuch awe and reſtraint, as that they dare not determine vpon any ſpeciall matter, but muſt referre the ſame wholly, vp to the *Moſko* to the Emperours Councell. To ſhew his Souereigntie ouer the liues of his Subjects, the late Emperour *Iuan Vaſilowich* in his walkes or progreſſes, if he had miſliked the face or perſon of any man whom he met by the way, or that looked vpon him, would command his head to be ſtrooke off. Which was preſently done, and the head caſt before him.

Iuan Vaſilowich cruell.

Appeales and Pardons.

Fourthly, for the Souereigne Appeale, and giuing of Pardons in Criminall Matters to ſuch as are conuicted, it is wholly at the pleaſure and grace of the Emperour. Wherein alſo the Empreſſe that now is, being a woman of great Clemencie, and withall delighting to deale in publike Affaires of the Realme, (the rather to ſupply the defect of her Husband) doth behaue her ſelfe after an abſolute manner, giuing out pardon, (ſpecially on her birth day and other ſolemne times) in her owne name, by open Proclamation, without any mention at all of the Emperour. Some there haue beene of late of the ancient Nobilitie, that haue held diuers Prouinces by right of Inheritance, with an abſolute Authoritie and Iuriſdiction ouer them, to order and determine all matters within their owne Precinct without all Appeale, or controllment of the Emperour. But this was all annulled and wrung cleane from them by *Iuan Vaſilowich* Father to this Emperour.

Ancient Nobilitie.

Chap. 8.

THeir higheſt Court of publike conſultation for matter of State, is called the *Zabore*, that is, the *Publike Aſſembly*. The ſtates and degrees of perſons, that are preſent at their Parliaments, are theſe in order. 1. The Emperour himſelfe. 2. Some of his Nobilitie about the number of twenty being all of his Councell. 3. Certayne of the Clergie-men, &c. about the ſame number. As for Burghers or other to repreſent the Comminaltie, they haue no place there: the people beeing of no better account with them then as ſeruants or bond-ſlaues that are to obey, not to make Lawes, nor to know any thing of publike matters before they are concluded.

The manner of holding the Parliaments.

The States of Parliament.

The order of the ſummons or aſſembling.

The Court of Parliament (called *Zabore*) is held in this manner. The Emperour cauſeth to be ſummoned ſuch of his Nobilitie as himſelfe thinketh meete, being (as was ſaid) all of his Councell: together with the Patriarch, who calleth his Clergie, to wit, the two Metropolites, the two Archbiſhops, with ſuch Biſhops, Abbots, and Friers as are of beſt account and reputation among them. When they are all aſſembled at the Emperours Court, the day is intimated when the Seſſion ſhall beginne. Which commonly is vpon ſome Friday, for the Religion of that day.

Friday reſpect.

When the day is come, the Clergie-men aſſemble before at the time and place appointed, which is called the *Stollie*. And when the Emperour commeth attended by his Nobilitie, they ariſe all, and meete him in an out-roome, following their Patriarch, who bleſſeth the Emperour

with

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with his two fore-fingers, laying them on his fore-head, and the sides of his face, and then kisseth him on the right side of his breast. So they passe on into their Parliament House, where they sit in this order. The Emperour is enthronized on the one side of the Chamber. In the next place not farre from him at a small square Table (that giueth roome to twelue persons or thereabouts) sitteth the Patriarch with the Metropolites and Bishops, and certayne of the principall Nobilitie of the Emperours Councell, together with two *Diacks* or Secretaries (called *Dumnoy dyakey*) that enact that which passeth. The rest place themselues on benches round about the Roome, euery man in his ranke after his degree. Then is there propounded by one of the Secretaries (who representeth the *Speaker*) the cause of their Assembly, and the principall matters that they are to consider of. For to propound Bils what euery man thinketh good for the publike benefit (as the manner is in *England*) the *Russe* Parliament alloweth no such custome, nor liberty to subiects.

Their discourse at Parliament.

The points being opened, the Patriarch with his Clergie-men haue the Prerogatiue to be first asked their vote, or opinion, what they thinke of the points propounded by the Secretarie. Whereto they answere in order, according to their degrees, but all in one forme, without any Discourse: as hauing learned their Lesson before, that serueth their turnes at all Parliaments alike, whatsoeuer is propounded. Commonly it is to this effect. *That the Emperour and his Councell are of great wisdome and experience, touching the Policies and publike Affaires of the Realme, and farre better able to iudge what is profitable for the Common-wealth, then they are, which attend vpon the seruice of God only, and matters of Religion. And therefore it may please them to proceed. That instead of their aduise, they will ayde them with their Prayers, as their duties and vocations doe require, &c.* To this or like effect hauing made their Answeres euery man in his course, vp standeth some Abbot or Frier more bold then the rest (yet appointed before-hand as a matter of forme) and desireth the Emperour it would please his Majestie to command to be deliuered vnto them what his Majesties own iudgement, and determinate pleasure is, as touching those matters propounded by his *Deiake*.

Whereto is replyed by the said Secretarie in the Emperours name. *That his Highnesse with those of his Noble Councell, vpon good and sound aduice haue found the matters proposed to be very good and necessary for the Common-wealth of his Realme. Notwithstanding, forasmuch as they are Religious men, and know what is right, his Maiestie requireth their godly Opinions, yea, and their Censures too, for the approuing or correcting of the said Propositions. And therfore desireth them again to speak their minds freely. And if they shall like to giue their consents, that then the matters may passe to a full conclusion.*

Hereunto when the Clergie-men haue giuen their consents (which they vse to doe without any great pausing) they take their leaues with blessing of the Emperour: who bringeth the Patriarch on his way so farre as the next Roome, and so returneth to his Seat, till all be made ready for his returne homeward. The Acts that thus are passed by the *Zubore* or Parliament, the *Deiakes* or Secretaries draw into a forme of Proclamation, which they send abroad into euery Prouince, and head Towne of the Realme, to be published there by the Dukes and *Diakeis*, or Secretaries of those places. The Session of Parliament being fully ended, the Emperour inuiteth the Clergiemen to a solemne Dinner. And so they depart euery man to his home.

Chap. 9.

Of the Nobilitie, and by what meanes it is kept in an vnder proportion agreeable to that State.

The *Vdelney Knazey* chiefe of the Nobilitie.

THe degrees of persons or Estates of *Russia* (besides the Soueraigne State or Emperour himselfe) are these in their order. 1. The Nobility which is of foure sorts. Whereof the chiefe for Birth, Authority, and Reuenue are called the *Vdelney Knazey*, that is, *The exempt or priuiledged Dukes*. These held sometime a seuerall Iurisdiction, and absolute Authoritie within their Precincts, much like vnto the States or Nobles of *Germany*. But afterwards (reseruing their Rights vpon composition) they yeelded themselues to this House of *Beula*, when it beganne to waxe mightie, and to enlarge it selfe by ouer-matching their Neighbours. Onely they were bound to serue the Emperour in his Warres with a certayne number of Horse. But the late Emperour *Iuan Vasilowich* Father to this Prince, being a man of high spirit, and subtill in his kind meaning to reduce his Gouernment into a more strict forme, began by degrees to clip off their greatnesse, and to bring it downe to a lesser proportion: till in the end he made them not onely his Vassals, but his *Kolophey*, that is, his very Villaines or Bond-slaues. For so they terme and write themselues in any publike Instrument or priuate Petition which they make to the Emperour. So that now they hold their Authorities, Lands, Liues, and all at the Emperours pleasure as the rest do.

The meanes and practice whereby hee wrought this to effect against those, and other of the Nobility (so well as I could note out of the report of his doings) were these, and such like. First, he cast priuate emulations among them about prerogatiue of their Titles and Dignities. Wherein hee vsed to set on the inferiours, to prefer or equall themselues to those that were accounted to be of the Nobler Houses. Where hee made his aduantage of their malice and contentions, the one against the other, by receiuing deuised matter, and accusations of secret practice and Conspiracies to bee intended against his Person and State. And so hauing singled out the greatest of them, and cut them off with the good liking of the rest, hee fell at last to open practice, by forcing of the other to yeeld their Rights vnto him.

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The faction of *Oppreſſini* and *Zempskey* deuiſed by the Emperour.

2. Hee diuided his ſubiects into two parts or factions by a generall Schiſme. The one part he called the *Oppreſſini* or *Select men*. Theſe were ſuch of the Nobility and Gentry as he took to his owne part, to protect and maintayne them as his faithfull ſubiects. The other he called *Zemskey*, or the *Commons*. The *Zemskey* contayned the baſe and vulgar ſort, with ſuch Noblemen and Gentlemen as he meant to cut off, as ſuſpected to miſlike his Gouernment, and to haue a meaning to practiſe againſt him. Wherein he prouided that the *Oppreſſini* for number and qualitie of Valure, Money, Armour, &c. farre exceeded the other of the *Zempskey* ſide, whom he put (as it were from vnder his protection: ſo that if any of them were ſpoyled or killed by thoſe of the *Oppreſſini*, (which he accounted of his owne part) there was no amends to bee ſought for by way of publike Iuſtice, or by complaint to the Emperour.

The whole number of both parts was orderly regiſtred and kept in a Booke: ſo that euery man knew who was a *Zempskey* man, and who of the *Oppreſſini*. And this libertie of the one part to ſpoile and kill the other without any helpe of Magiſtrate, or Law (that continued ſeuen yeeres) enriched that ſide, and the Emperours Treaſury, and wrought that withall which hee intended by this practiſe, *viz.* to take out of the way ſuch of the Nobilitie, as himſelfe miſliked; whereof were ſlaine within one weeke to the number of three hundred within the Citie of *Moske*.

This miſchieuous practice of making a generall Schiſme, and publike diuiſion among the ſubiects of his whole Realme, proceedeed (as ſhould ſeeme) from an extreame doubt, and deſperate feare, which he had conceiued of moſt of his Nobilitie, and Gentlemen of his Realme, in his Wars with the *Polonian* and *Chrim Tartar*. What time he grew into a vehement ſuſpition (conceiued of the ill ſucceſſe of his Affaires) that they practiſed Treaſon with the *Polonian* and *Chrim*. Whereupon he executed ſome, and deuiſed this way to be rid of the reſt.

Pomeſtnoy tenure.

3. Hauing thus pulled them and ſeaſed all their Inheritance, Lands, Priuiledges, &c. ſaue ſome very ſmall part which hee left to their name, hee gaue them other Lands of the tenour of *Pomeſtnoy* (as they call it) that are held at the Emperours pleaſure, lying far of in another Countrey, and ſo remooued them into other of his Prouinces, where they might haue neyther fauour, nor authority, not being Natiue nor well knowne there. So that now theſe of the chiefe Nobility (called *Vdelney Knazey*) are equalled with the reſt: ſaue that in the opinion and fauour of the people they are of more account, and keepe ſtill the Prerogatiue of their place in all their publike meetings.

Their practice to keepe downe theſe Houſes from riſing againe and recouering their dignities are theſe, and ſuch like. Firſt, many of their Heires are kept vnmarried perforce, that the ſtocke may dye with them. Some are ſent into *Siberia*, *Cazan* and *Aſtracan*, vnder pretence of ſeruice, and there either made away, or elſe faſt clapped vp. Some are put into Abbeyes, and ſheare themſelues Friers by pretence of a Vow to be made voluntary, and of their owne accord, but indeed forced vnto it by feare, vpon ſome pretenced crime objected againſt them. Where they are ſo guarded by ſome of ſpeciall truſt, and the Couent it ſelfe (vpon whoſe head it ſtandeth that they make no eſcape) as that they haue no hope but to end their liues there. Of this kind there are many of very great Nobilitie. Theſe and ſuch like wayes begunne by the Emperour *Iuan Vaſilowich* are ſtill practiſed by the *Godonoes*, who being aduanced by the Marriage of the Empreſſe their Kinſwoman, rule both the Emperour, and his Realme (ſpecially *Borris Federowich Godonoe*, Brother to the Empreſſe) and endeauour by all meanes to cut off, or keepe downe all of the beſt and ancienteſt Nobilitie. Whereof diuers already they haue taken away, whom they thought likelieſt to make head againſt them and to hinder their purpoſe, as *Knez Andreas Gutaken Bulgaskoue*, a man of great birth and authoritie in the Countrey. The like they haue done with *Peter Gollanni* (whom they put into a Dungeon where hee ended his life) with *Knez Vaſilie Vrywich Golloshen*, with *Andrieu Iuanowich Suskey* accounted among them for a man of a great wiſedome. So this laſt yeere was killed in a Monaſtery (whither they had thruſt him) one *Knez Iuan Petrowich Suskey* a man of great valour, and ſeruice in that Countrey: who about fiue or ſixe yeeres ſince, bare out the ſiege of the Citie *Vobske*, made by *Stephan Batore* King of *Polonia*, with one hundred thouſand men, and repulſed him very valiantly, with great honour to himſelfe, and his Countrey, and diſgrace to the *Polonian*. Alſo *Micheta Romanowich* Vncle to the Emperour by the Mothers ſide, was ſuppoſed to haue dyed of Poyſon, or ſome like practice.

Names of the greateſt Houſes of the *Ruſſe* Nobilitie.

The Names of theſe families of greateſt Nobilitie are theſe in their order. The firſt is of *Knez Volodemer*, which reſteth at this time in one Daughter a widow, and without Children (mentioned before) ſometime wife to *Hartock Magnus* Brother to the King of *Denmarke*, now cloſed within a Nunnerie. The ſecond *Knez Metheloskey*, thruſt into a Frierie, and his onely Sonne kept from marriage, to decay the houſe. The third *Glimskey*. But one left of his houſe, and hee without children ſaue one Daughter. The fourth *Suskey*, whereof there are foure Brethren young men, and vnmarryed all. The fifth *Hubetskey*. Of this Houſe are foure liuing. The ſixth *Bulgakoy*, now called *Gulelchey* houſe, whereof are fiue liuing, but youths all. The ſeuenth *Voralinſkoy*. Two left of that ſtocke. The eighth *Odgoskey*, two. The ninth *Telletskoy*, one. The tenth *Taytoue*, three. Theſe are the Names of the chiefe Families, called *Vdelney Knazy*: that in effect haue

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haue loſt all now, ſaue the very name it ſelfe, and fauour of the people, which is like one day to reſtore them againe, if any be left.

The ſecond degree of Nobilitie is of the *Boiarens*. Theſe are ſuch as the Emperour honoureth (beſides their Nobilitie) with the title of Counſellers. The reuenue of theſe two ſorts of their Nobles that riſeth out of their Land aſſigned them by the Emperour, and held at his pleaſure (for of their owne Inheritance there is little left them, as was ſayd before) is about a thouſand Marcks a yeere: beſides Penſion which they receiue of the Emperour for their ſeruice in his Warres, to the ſumme of ſeuen hundred Rubbels a yeere, and none aboue that ſumme. The ſecond degree of Nobilitie.

But in this number the Lord *Borris Federowich Godenoe* is not to bee reckoned, that is like a *Tranſcendent*, and in no ſuch predicament with the reſt, being the Emperours Brother in law, his Protector for direction, for Command and authoritie Emperour of *Ruſſia*. His yeerely reuenue in Land and Penſion, amounteth to the ſumme of 93700. Rubbels and more, as appeareth by the particulars. Hee hath of inheritance (which himſelfe hath augmented in *Vaſma Dorogoboſe*, ſixe thouſand Rubbels a yeere. For his office of *Connick*, or Maſter of the Horſe twelue thouſand Rubbels or Marcks, raiſed out of the *Conaſtue Sloboday*, or the liberties pertayning to that Office, which are certayne Lands and Townes neere about the *Moſco*. Beſides, all the meadow and paſture ground on both ſides the banke of the Riuer *Moſko*, thirtie verſt vp the ſtreame, and fortie verſt downwards. For his penſion of the Emperour (beſides the other for his Office) fifteene thouſand Rubbels. Out of the Prouince or Shire of *Vagha*, there is giuen him for a peculiar exempted out of the *Chetfird* of *Poſolskoy*, two and thirtie thouſand Rubbels, beſides a rent of Furres. Out of *Rezan* and *Seuer*, (another peculiar) thirtie thouſand Rubbels. Out of *Otſer* and *Turiock* another exempt place eight thouſand Rubbels. For rent of Bath-ſtoaues and Bathing-houſes without the walls of *Moſko*, fifteene hundred Rubbels. Beſides his *Pomeſt*, or Lands which hee holdeth at the Emperours pleaſure, which farre exceedeth the proportion of land allotted to the reſt of the Nobilitie. Lord *Borris* after this Emperour.

One other there is, of the houſe of *Glinskoy*, that diſpendeth in Land and Penſion about fortie thouſand Rubbels yeerely. Which hee is ſuffered to enioy, becauſe he hath marryed *Borris* his wiues Siſter, being himſelfe very ſimple and almoſt a naturall. The ordering of him and his Lands are committed to *Borris*.

In the third ranke are the *Voyauoday*, or ſuch Nobles as are, or haue beene Generals in the Emperours warres. Which deliuer the honour of their Title to their poſteritues alſo: who take their place aboue the other Dukes and Nobles, that are not of the two former ſorts, *viz.* of the *Vdelney knazey*, nor of the *Boiarens*. The third ſort of Nobilitie.

Theſe three degrees of their Nobilitie, (to wit) the *Vdelney knazey*, the *Boiarens*, and the *Voiauoday*, haue the addition of *Vich*, put vnto their ſirname, as *Borris Federowiſh*, &c. which is a note of Honour that the reſt may not vſurpe. And in caſe it bee not added in the naming of them, they may ſue the *Beſtcheſt* or penaltie of diſhonour vpon them, that otherwiſe ſhall tearme them. Title *Vich*.

The fourth and loweſt degree of Nobilitie with them, is of ſuch as beare the name of *Knazey* or Dukes, but come of the younger Brothers of thoſe chiefe Houſes, through many diſcents, and haue no inheritance of their owne, ſaue the bare name or title of Duke onely. For their order is to deliuer their names and titles of their Dignities ouer to all their Children alike, whatſoeuer elſe they leaue them. So that the Sonnes of a *Voiauoday* or Generall in the field, are called *Voiauoday*, though they neuer ſaw the field, and the Sonnes of a *Knez* or Duke, are called *Knazey*, though they haue not one groat of inheritance or liuelyhood to maintayne themſelues withall. Of this ſort there are ſo many, that the plentie maketh them cheape: ſo that you ſhall ſee Dukes glad to ſerue a meane man for fiue or ſixe Rubbels or Marcks a yeere, and yet they will ſtand highly vpon their *Beſtcheſt* or reputation of their Honours. And theſe are their ſeuerall degrees of Nobilitie.

The ſecond degree of perſons, is of their *Sina Boiarskey*, or the ſonnes of Gentlemen: which all are preferred, and hold that Name by their ſeruice in the Emperours warres, being Souldiers by their very ſtocke and birth. To which order are referred their *Dyacks* or Secretaries, that ſerue the Emperour in euery head Towne, being ioyned in Commiſſion with the Dukes of that place. The ſecond degree of perſons.

The laſt are their Commons, whom they call *Mouſicks*. In which number they reckon their Merchants, and their common Artificers. The very loweſt and baſeſt ſort of this kinde (which are held in no degree) are their Countrey people, whom they call *Chriſtianeis*. Of the *Sina Boiarskey* (which are all Souldiers) wee are to ſee in the deſcription of their Forces, and Militarie prouiſions. Concerning their *Mouſicks*, what their condition and behauiour is, in the Title or Chapter *Of the Common people*. The third degree.

Chap. 10. Of the Gouernment of their Prouinces and Shires.

THe whole Countrey of *Ruſſia* (as was ſayd before) is diuided into foure parts, which they call *Chetfirds*, or *Tetrarchies*. Euery *Chetfird* containeth diuers Shires, and is annexed to a ſeuerall Office, whereof it takes the name. The firſt *Chetfird* or *Tetrarchie*, beareth the name of

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The foure, *Chetfirds.*

Posolskoy Chetfird, or the *Iurisdiction of the office of Ambassages*, and at this time is vnder the chiefe Secretarie and officer of the Ambassages, called *Andreas Schalcalone*. The standing fee or stipend that hee receiueth yeerely of the Emperour for this seruice, is one hundred Rubbels or Marcks.

The second is called the *Roseradney Chetfird*, becausse it is proper to the *Roserade* or high Constable. At this time it pertayneth by vertue of Office to *Basilie Shalcalone*, Brother to the Chancellour, but it is executed by one *Zapon Abramone*. His pension is an hundred Rubbels yeerely.

The third is the *Chetfird* of *Pomestnoy*, as pertayning to that Office. This keepeth a Register of all Lands giuen by the Emperour for seruice to his Noblemen, Gentlemen and others, giueth out and taketh in all Assurances for them. The officer at this time is called *Eleazar Wellusgine*. His stipend is fiue hundred Rubbels a yeere.

The fourth is called *Cassauskoy Dworets*, as being appropriate to the Office that hath the iurisdiction of the Kingdomes of *Cazan* and *Astracan*, with the other Townes lying vpon the *Volgha*, now ordered by one *Druzhine Penteleone*, a man of very speciall account among them, for his wisedome and promptnesse in matters of policie. His pension is one hundred and fiftie Rubbels a yeere.

From these *Chetfirds* or *Tetrarchies* is exempted the Emperours inheritance or *Vochin* (as they call it) for that it pertayned from ancient time to the House of *Beala*, which is the firname of the Imperiall bloud. This standeth of sixe and thirtie Townes with their bounds or Territories. Besides diuers peculiar Iurisdictions, which are likewise deducted out of those *Chetfirds*, as the Shire of *Vagha* (belonging to the Lord *Borrise Federowich Godonoe*) and such like.

These are the chiefe Gouernours or Officers of the Prouinces, not resident at their charge abroad, but attending the Emperour whither soeuer hee goeth, and carrying their Offices about with them, which for the most part they hold at *Mosko*, as the Emperours chiefe seate.

The parts and practice of these foure Offices, is to receiue all Complaints and Actions whatsoeuer, that are brought out of their seuerall *Chetfirds* and Quarters, and to informe them to the Emperours Councell. Likewise to send direction againe to those that are vnder them, in their sayd Prouinces, for all matters giuen in charge by the Emperour and his Councell, to bee done or put in execution within their Precincts.

For the ordering of euery particular Prouince of these foure *Chetfirds*, there is appointed one of these Dukes, which were reckoned before in the lowest degree of their Nobilitie, which are resident in the head Townes of the sayd Prouinces. Whereof euery one hath joyned with him in Commission a *Dyack* or Secretarie to assist him or rather to direct him. For in the executing of their Commission, the *Dyack* doth all.

The Commission of the Dukes or Presidents of Shires.

The parts of their Commission are these in effect. First, to heare and determine in all ciuill matters within their Precinct. To which purpose they haue vnder them certayne Officers, as *Gubnoy Starets* or Coroners, who besides the tryall of selfe Murders, are to attach Fellons: and the *Soudia* or vnder Iustices, who themselues also may heare and determine in all matters of the same nature, among the Countrey people of their owne Wards or Bayliwickes: but so that in case either partie dissent, they may appeale, and goe further to the Duke and *Dyack* that reside within the head Towne. From whom also they may remoue the matter to the higher Court at *Mosko*, of the Emperours Councell, where lye all appeales. They haue vnder them also *Sotskoy Starets*, that is Aldermen, or Bayliffes of the Hundreds.

Secondly, in all criminall matters, as Theft, Murder, Treason, &c. they haue authoritie to apprehend, to examine and to imprison the malefactor, and so hauing receiued perfect euidence and imformation of the cause, they are to send it ready drawne and orderly digested vp to the *Mosko*, to the Officer of the *Chetfird*, whereunto that Prouince is annexed: by whom it is referred and propounded to the Emperours Councell. But to determine in any matter criminall, or to doe execution vpon the partie offending, is more then their Commission will allow them to doe.

Thirdly, if there bee any publike seruice to be done within that Prouince, (as the publishing of any Law, or common order, by way of Proclamation, collecting of taxes and impositions for the Emperor, mustering of Souldiers, and sending them forth at the day, and to the place assigned by the Emperour or his Councell) all these and such like pertayne to their charge.

Dukes and *Dyacks*: many of them vniust oppressors, and Spunges pressed againe.

These Dukes and *Dyacks* are appointed to their place by the Emperour himselfe, and are changed ordinarily at euery yeeres end, except vpon some speciall liking or suite, the time bee prorogued for a yeere or two more. They are men of themselues of no credit, nor fauour with the people where they gouerne, being neither borne, nor brought vp among them, nor yet hauing inheritance of their owne there, or elsse where. Onely of the Emperour they haue for that seruice an hundred Marcks a yeere, hee that hath most, some fiftie, some but thirtie. Which maketh them more suspected and odious to the people, becausse being so bare, and comming fresh and hungry vpon them lightly euery yeere, they racke and spoyle them without due regard of Iustice or Conscience. Which is easily tollerated by the chiefe Officers of the *Chetfirds*, to the end they may spoyle them againe, and haue a better bootie when they call them to account: which

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which commonly they doe at the end of their seruice, making an aduantage of their injustice and oppression ouer the poore people. There are few of them but they come to the *Pudkey* or Whip when their time is ended, which themselues for the most part doe make account of. And therefore they furnish themselues with all the spoyle they can for the time of their Gouernment, that they may haue for both turnes, as well for the Emperour and Lord of the *Chetfird*, as to reserue some good part for themselues.

They that are appointed to gouerne abroad, are men of this qualitie: saue that in the foure border Townes that are of greatest importance, are set men of more speciall valour and trust, two in euery Towne. Whereof one is euer of the Emperours priuie Counsell. These foure border Townes are, *Smolensko*, *Vobsko*, *Nouogrod*, and *Cazan*, whereof three lie towards the *Polonian* and *Sweden*, one bordereth farre off vpon the *Chrim Tartar*. These haue larger commission then the other Dukes of the Prouinces that I spake of before, and may doe execution in criminall matters. Which is thought behooffull for the Common-wealth: for incident occasions that may happen vpon the borders that are farre off, and may not stay for direction, about euery occurrent and particular matter from the Emperour and his Counsell. They are changed euery yeere (except as before) and haue for their stipend 700. Rubbels a yeere he that hath most: some haue but 400. Many of these places that are of greatest importance, and almost the whole Countrey is managed at this time, by the *Godonoes* and their Clients.

The Citie of *Mosko* (that is the Emperours Seat) is gouerned altogether by the Emperours Counsell. All matters there both ciuill and criminall, are heard and determined in the seuerall Courts, held by some of the said Counsell, that reside there all the yeere long.

Onely for their ordinary matters (as Buildings, Reparations, keeping of their Streets decent and cleane, Collections, leuying of Taxes, Impositions and such like) are appointed, two Gentlemen, and two *Dyacks* or Secretaries, who hold a Court together for the ordering of such matters. This is called the *Zempskey* house. If any Towne's-man suspect his seruant of theft or like matter, hither he may bring him to haue him examined vpon the *Pudkey*, or other torture. Besides these two Gentlemen, and Secretaries that order the whole Citie, there are *Starusts* or Aldermen for euery seuerall Companie. The Alderman hath his *Sotskey* or Constable, and the Constable hath certaine *Decetskeis* or Decurions vnder him, which haue the ouersight of ten housholds a piece, whereby euery disorder is sooner spyed, and the common seruice hath the quicker dispatch. The whole number of Citizens poore and rich are reduced into Companies. The chiefe Officers (as the *Dyacks* and Gentlemen) are appointed by the Emperour himselfe, the *Starust* by the Gentlemen and *Dyacks*, the *Sotskey* by the *Starust* or Alderman, and the *Decetskoyes* by the Constables. The gouernment of *Mosko*.

This manner of gouernment of their Prouinces and Townes, if it were as well set for the giuing of iustice indifferently to all sorts, as it is to preuent innouations, by keeping of the Nobility within order, and the Commons in subiection, it might seeme in that kind to be no bad nor vnpolitike way, for the contayning of so large a Common-wealth, of that breadth and length as is the Kingdome of *Russia*. But the oppression and slauery is so open, and so great, that a man would maruell, how the Nobilitie and People should suffer themselues to be brought vnder it, while they had any meanes to auoide and repulse it: or being so strengthned as it is at this present, how the Emperours themselues can be content to practise the same, with so open iniustice and oppression of their Subiects, being themselues of a *Christian* profession: By this it appeareth how hard a matter it were to alter the state of the *Russe* Gouernment, as now it standeth. An hard matter to alter the State of *Russia*.

chap. 11. Of the Emperours Counsel.

THe Emperours of *Russia* giue the name of Counsellour to diuers of their chiefe Nobilitie, rather for honours sake, then for any vse they make of them about their matters of State. These are called *Boiarens* without any addition, and may be called, *Counsellours at large*. For they are seldome or neuer called to any publike consultation. They which are of his speciall and priuie Counsell indeed (whom he vseth daily and ordinarily for all publike matters pertayning to the State) haue the addition of *Dumnoy*, and are named *Dumnoy boiaren*, or *Lords of the Counsell*, their Office or Sitting *Boarstua dumna*.

Their names at this present are these in their order. First, *Knez Feoder Ioanowich Methisloskey*. 2. *Knez Iuan Michailowich Glinskoy*. 3. *Knez Vasilie Iuanowich Suskoy Scopin*. (These three are accounted to be of greater birth then wisedome, taken in (as may seeme) for that end, rather to furnish the place with their honours and presence, then with their aduice or counsell.) 4. *Knez Vasilie Iuanowich Suskoy*, thought to be more wise then the other of his name. 5. *Knez Feoder Michailowich*. 6. *Knez Micheta Romanowich Trowbetskoy*. 7. *Knez Timophey Romanowich Trowbetskoy*. 8. *Knez Andriew Gregorowich Curakine*. 9. *Knez Demetrie Iuanowich Foresline*. 10. *Knez Feoder Iuanowich Foresline*. 11. *Bolan Iuanowich Sabarone*. 12. *Knez Iuan Vasilowich*. 13. *Knez Feoder Demetriwich Sheftinoue*. 14. *Knez Feoder Michailowich Troyconione*. 15. *Iuan Buterlyney*. 16. *Demetrie Iuanowich Godonoe*. 17. *Borrise Federowich Godonoe*, brother to the Empresse. 18. *Stephan Vasilowich Godonoe*. 19. *Gregorie Vasilowich Godonoe*. 20. *Iuan Vasilowich* The number and names of the Councellours of State.

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Vasilowich Godonoe. 21. *Feoder Sheremitoue.* 22. *Andrew Petrowich Cleshenina.* 23. *Ignatie Petrowich Tatisloue.* 24. *Romain Michailowich Pena.* 25. *Demenshoy Iuanowich Cheremissen.* 26. *Romain Vasilowich Alferioue.* 27. *Andriew Shalcaloue.* 28. *Vasilie Shalcaloue.* 29. *Eleazar Wellusgin.* 30. *Drezheen Penteleoue.* 31. *Zapon Abramoue.*

Foure Secretaries.

The foure last of these are called *Dumnoy deiakey* or *Lord-Secretaries.* These are all of the Emperours priuie Counsell, though but few of them are called to any consultation, for that all matters are aduised and determined vpon by *Borris Federowich Godonoe* brother to the Empresse, with some fiue or sixe more whom it pleaseth him to call. If they come, they are rather to heare, then to giue counsell, and doe so demeane themselues. The matters occurrent which are of State done within the Realme, are informed them at their sittings by the Lords of the foure *Chetfirds*, or Tetrarchies. Whereof mention is made in the Chapter concerning the Gouernment of their Prouinces. Who bring in all such Letters as they receiue from the Dukes, *Dyacks*, Captaines, and other Officers of the Citie and Castles pertayning to their seuerall Quarter or *Chetfird*, with other aduertisements, and informe the Counsell of them.

The like is done by the chiefe Officer of euery seuerall Office of Record: who may come into the Counsell-chamber, and informe them, as occasion incident to his Office doth require. Besides matters of State, they consider of many priuate Causes, informed by way of supplication in very great numbers. Whereof some they entertayne and determine, as the Cause or meanes can procure fauour. Some they send to the Offices whereto they pertayne by common course of Law. Their ordinary dayes for their sitting are, Mondayes, Wednesdayes, and Fridayes. Their time of meeting is commonly seuen of the clocke in the morning. If there bee any extraordinary occasion that requireth consultation on some other day, they haue warning by the Clerke of the Counsell, called *Derofey Bushew*, who receiueth order from the *Roserad*, or High Constable of the Realme, to call them together at the time appointed.

Chap. 12. Of the Emperors Customs and other Reuenues.

The Offices of Receit.

The Steward Receiuer of the Crowne-land Rents.

FOr the receiuing of Customes, and other Rents belonging to the Crowne, there are appointed diuers Vnder-officers, which deliuer ouer the same into the head Treasurie. The first is, the Office of *Dworetsoua* or *Steward of the houshold.* The second is, the Office of the *Chetfirds*, which I comprehend vnder one, though it be diuided into foure seuerall parts, as was said before. The third is called, *Bulsha Prechode*, or the great Income.

As touching the first, which is the Office of the *Steward*, it receiueth all the Rents of the Emperours Inheritance, or *Crowne-land*, which they call, *Vochin.* The *Vochin* or Crown-land contayneth in it sixe and thirtie Townes with the Territories or Hundreds belonging vnto them. Whereof the chiefe that yeeld the greatest Rents are these: *Alexandrisca, Corelska, Otfer, Slobodey, Danielska, Moisalskoy, Chara, Sametska, Straraouse, Bransoue*, &c. The Inhabitants or Tenants of these and the other Townes, pay some Rent money, some other Rent duties (called *Obrokey*) as certaine *Chetfirds* or measures of Graine, Wheat, Rye, Barley, Oats, &c. or of other victuall, as Oxen, Sheepe, Swannes, Geese, Hares, Hennes, wilde Fowle, Fish, Hay, Wood, Honey, &c. Some are bound to sowe for the Emperours prouision certaine acres of ground, and to make the Corne ready for his vse: hauing for it an allowance of certaine acres of ground for their owne proper vse.

This prouision for the houshold, specially of Graine serued in by the Tenants, is a great deale more then is spent in his house, or in other allowance serued out in liuery, or for the Emperours honour, called *Schalonaney:* for which vse there is bestowed very much, both in Graine and other Victuall. This surplus of prouision is sold by the Steward to the best hand, and runneth into the Emperours Treasurie.

In the time of *Iuan Vasilowich*, father to this Emperour (who kept a more Princely and bountifull house then the Emperour now doth) this ouerplus of Graine, and other incomes into the Stewards Office, yeelded to his Treasurie not past 60000. Rubbels yeerely, but riseth now by good husbanding of the Steward *Gregory Vasilowich Godonoe*, to 230000. Rubbels a yeere. And this by the meanes of the Empresse, and her kindred, specially *(Borris Federowich Godonoe)* that account it all their owne that runneth into the Emperors Treasure. Much of this surplusage that riseth out of the Rent prouision, is employed to the payment of the wages of his houshold Officers, which are very many attending at home, and purueying abroad.

The Office of *Chetfird.*

Tagla and *Podat.*

The second Office of Receit, called the *Chetfirds*, (being diuided into foure seuerall parts, as before was said) hath foure head Officers: which besides the ordering and gouernment of the Shires contayned within their seuerall *Chetfirds*, haue this also as a part of their Office, to receiue the *Tagla* and *Podat* belonging to the Emperour, that riseth out of the foure *Chetfirds* or Quarters. The *Tagla* is a yeerly Rent or Imposition raised vpon euery *Wite* or measure of Graine, that groweth within the Land, gathered by sworne men, and brought into the Office. The *Wite* contayneth sixtie *Chetfirds.* Euery *Chetfird* is three Bushels *English*, or little lesse. The *Podat* is an ordinary Rent of money imposed vpon euery Soake, or Hundred within the whole Realme.

This *Tagla* and *Podat* bring in yeerely to the Offices of the *Chetfirds* a great summe of money:

as

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as may appeare by the particulars heere set downe. The Towne and Province of *Vobsko* pay yeerely for *Tagla* and *Podat* about 18000. Rubbels. *Nouogrod* 35000. Rubbels. *Torshocke* and *Otser* 8000. Rubbels. *Razan* 30000. Rubbels. *Morum* 12000. Rubbels. *Colmigro* and *Duyna* 8000. Rubbels. *Vologda* 12000. Rubbels. *Cazan* 18000. Rubbels. *Vstiug* 30000 Rubbles. *Rostone* 50000. Rubbels. The Citie of *Mosko* 40000. Rubbels. *Sibierskoy* 20000. Rubbels. *Castrome* 12000. Rubbels. The totall amounteth to 400000. Rubbels, or Markes a yeere, which is brought in yeerely the first of September, that is reckoned by them the first day of the yeere. Yeere begins with September.

The third (that is called the *Bulsha Prechod*, or great Income) receiueth all the Customes that are gathered out of all the principall Townes and Cities within the whole Realme. Besides the fees and other duties which rise out of diuers smaller Offices, which are all brought into this Office of *Bulsha Prechod*. The Townes of most trade, that doe yeeld greatest Custome, are these here set downe. *Mosko, Smolensko, Vobsko, Nouogrod Veliea, Strararouse, Torshocke, Otser, Yarusla[illegible], Castrome, Nesna Nouogrod, Cazan, Vologda.* This Custome out of the great Townes is therefore more certaine, and easie to bee reckoned, because it is set and rated precisely what they shall pay for the Custome of the yeere. Which needs must bee payd into the said Office, though they receiue not so much. If it fall out to be more, it runneth all into the Emperours aduantage. The Office of *Bulsha Prechod* or great Income.

The Custome at *Mosko* for euery yeere, is 12000. Rubbels. The Custome of *Smolensko* 8000. *Vobsko* 12000. Rubbels. *Nouogrod velika* 6000. Rubbels. *Strararouse* by Salt and other commodities 18000. Rubbels. *Torshock* 800. Rubbels. *Otser* 700. Rubbels. *Yarusla[illegible]* 1200. Rubbels. *Castrome* 1800. Rubbels. *Nesna Nouogrod* 7000. Rubbels. *Cazan* 11000. Rubbels. *Vologda* 2000. Rubbels. The Custome of the rest that are Townes of trade, is sometimes more, sometimes lesse, as their trafficke and dealings with commodities to and fro, falleth out for the yeere. The Emperors Custome.

This may bee said for certaine, that the three Tables of Receits belonging to this Office of *Bulsha Prechod*, when they receiue least, account for thus much, *vz.* The first table, 160000. Rubbels. The second table, 90000. Rubbels. The third 90000. Rubbels. So that there commeth into the Office of *Bulsha Prechod*, at the least reckoning (as appeareth by their Bookes of Customes) out of these and other Townes, and maketh the summe of 340000. Rubbles a yeere. The whole receit of the *Bulsha Prechod* or great Income.

Besides this Custome out of the Townes of trade, there is receiued by this Office of *Bulsha Prechod*, the yeerely Rent of the common Bath-stoues, and Cabacks or drinking houses, which pertayne to the Emperour. Which (though it be vncertaine for the iust summe, yet because it is certaine, and an ordinary matter, that the *Russe* will bathe himselfe as well within as without) yeeldeth a large Rent to the Emperours Treasurie.

There is besides, a certaine Mulct or Penaltie that groweth to the Emperour out of euery Iudgement or Sentence, that passeth in any of his Courts of Record in all Ciuill matters. This Penaltie or Mulct is twentie *Dingoes* or Pence vpon euery Rubbel or Marke, and so ten in the hundred. Which is payd by the partie that is conuict by Law. He hath besides for euery name contayned in the Writs that passe out of these Courts, fiue *Altoens*. An *Altoene* is fiue pence sterling, or thereabouts. This is made good out of the Office, whence the Writ is taken forth. Thence it goeth to the Office that keepeth the lesser Seale, where it payeth as much more to the Emperours vse. This riseth commonly to three thousand Rubbels a yeere, or thereabouts. Farther also out of the Office of *Roisbonia*, where all felonies are tryed, is receiued for the Emperour the halfe part of Felons goods, the other halfe goeth the one part to the Informer, the other to the Officers. Rents out of the Iudiciall Offices. Mulcts or fines.

All this is brought into the Office of *Bulsha Prechod*, or *Great Income*. Besides the ouerplus or remainder that is saued out of the Land-rents allotted to diuers other Offices: as namely, to the Office called *Roserade*, which hath Lands and Rents assigned vnto it to pay the yeerely salaries of the Souldiers, or Horsemen, that are kept still in pay. Which in time of peace, when they rest at home not employed in any seruice, is commonly cut off and payd them by halfes, sometimes not the halfe: so that the remainder out of the *Roserade* Office that is layd into the Emperours treasurie, commeth for the most part euery yeere to 250000. Rubbels.

In like sort (though not so much) is brought in the surplus out of the *Strelletskoy* Offices which hath proper Lands for the payment of the *Strelsey* men or Gunners, as well those at *Mosko*, that are of the Emperors Guard (12000. in ordinary) as on the borders, and other garrison Townes and Castles. Likewise out of the Office of *Prechase*, *Shisnoy*, *Newshoy*, which hath set allowance of Lands to maintayne the forraine mercenary Souldiers, as *Poles*, *Sweedens*, *Dutches*, *Scots*, &c. So out of the Office of *Pussharskoy*, (which hath Lands and Rents allowed for the prouision of munition, great Ordnance, Powder, Shot, Saltpeter, Brimstone, Lead, and such like) there is left somewhat at the yeeres end, that runneth into the Treasurie. All these bring into the Office of *Bulsha Prechod* that which remayneth in their hand at the yeeres end. Whence it is deliuered into the Emperours Treasurie. So that the whole summe that groweth to this Office of *Bulsha Prechod*, or the great Income (as appeareth by the Bookes of the said Office) amounteth to 800000. Rubbels a yeere, or thereabouts.

All

The Emperors treasure house within his Castle of *Mosko.*

All these Offices, to wit, the Office of the Steward, the foure *Chetsirds*, and the *Bulsha Prechod* deliuer in their receipts to the head treasurie, that lyeth within the Emperours house or Castle at the *Mosko*. Where lye all his Moneys, Iewels, Crownes, Scepters, Plate, and such like, the Chests, Hutches, and Bags being signed by the Emperours themselues with their owne seale. Though at this time the L. *Borris Federowich Godonoe*, his seale and ouer-sight supplieth for the Emperour, as in all other things. The vnder Officer at this time is one *Stepan Vasilowich Godonoe*, Cousin germane to the said *Borris*, who hath two Clerkes allowed to serue vnder him in the Office.

The sum of the Emperors rent money.

The sum that groweth to the Emperors Treasury in money onely, for euery yeere.

1. *Out of the Stewards Office aboue the expence of his house* 23000. *Rubbels.*
2. *Out of the foure Chetsirds for Soake and Head-money*, 400000. *Rubbels.*
3. *Out of the* Bulsha Precod *Office, or great Income, for Custome and other Rents*, 800000. *Rubbels.*

} Sum 1430000. Rubbels cleere, besides all charges for his house and ordinary salleries of his Souldiers otherwise discharged.

But besides this reuenue that is paid all in money to the Emperors treasurie, he receiueth yeerely in Furres, and other duties to a great value out of *Siberia*, *Pechora*, *Permia*, and other places, which are sold or bartred away for other forraine commodities to the *Turkish*, *Persian*, *Armenian*, *Georgian* and *Bougharian* Merchants, that trade within his Countries, besides others of Christendome. What it maketh in the whole (though the value cannot bee set downe precisely, as being a thing casuall as the commoditie may be got) it may be ghessed by that which was gathered the last yeere out of *Siberia* for the Emperours Custome, *viz.* 466. Timber of Sables, fiue Timber of Martrones, 180. blacke Foxes, besides other commodities.

To these may be added their seazures, and confiscations vpon such as are in displeasure, which riseth to a great summe, besides other their extraordinary Impositions, and exactions done vpon their Officers, Monasteries, &c. not for any apparant necessitie, or vse of the Prince, or Commonwealth, but of will and custome: yet with some pretence of policie. To this purpose this by-word was vsed by the late Emperour *Iuan Vasilowich*: *That his people were like to his beard. The oftner shauen, the thicker it would grow. Or like sheepe, that must needs bee shorne once a yeere at the least: to keepe them from being ouer-laden with their woll.*

Vnderstand these politike courses of the times when the Author writ. Gods chastisement hath since beene heauy to sweep such ills from among them.

MEanes seruing to which purpose were to preuent no extortions, exactions, or briberies whatsoeuer, done vpon the Commons by their Dukes, *Diacks*, or other Officers in their Prouinces: but to suffer them to goe on till their time be expired, and to sucke themselues full. Then to call them to the *Praueush* (or whip) for their behauiour, and to beat out of them all, or the most part of the bootie, (as the Hony from the Bee) which they haue wrung from the Commons, and to turne it into the Emperours Treasurie, but neuer any thing backe againe to the right owners, how great or euident soeuer the iniurie be. To this end the needie Dukes, and *Diacks*, that are sent into their Prouinces, serue the turne very well, being changed so often (to wit) once a yeere: where in respect of their owne, and the qualitie of the people (as before was said) they might be continued for some longer time, without all feare of innouation. For coming still fresh vpon the Commons, they sucke more eagerly: like *Tiberius* the Emperours Flies, that came new still vpon an old sore. To whom he was wont to compare his *Prætors*, and other Prouinciall Officers.

2. Yet they did make of these Officers (that haue robbed their people) sometimes a publike example, if any be more notorious then the rest: the Emperour thus seeming to mislike the oppressions done to his people, and transferring the fault to his ill Officers. As among diuers other, was done by the late Emperor *Iuan Vasilowich* to a *Diacke* in one of his Prouinces: that (besides many other extortions and briberies) had taken a goose readie dreft full of mony. The man was brought to the Market-place in *Mosko*. The Emperour himselfe present made an Oration. *These, good people, are they that would eate you vp like bread, &c.* Then asked he his *Polachies* or Executioners, who could cut vp a Goose, and commanded one of them first to cut off his legs about the midst of the shin, then the armes aboue his elbowes (asking him still if *Goose-flesh were good meat*) in the end to chop off his head: that hee might haue the right fashion of a Goose readie dressed.

3. They make an open shew of want, when any great Taxe or Imposition is towards. As was done by this Emperour *Theodore Iuanowich*, by the aduice of some about him at the beginning of his raigne: when being left very rich (as was thought) by his father, he sold most of his Plate, and stamped some into Coyne: that he might seeme to want money. Whereupon presently out came a Taxation.

4. They suffer their subiects to giue freely to the Monasteries (which for their superstition very many doe, specially in their last Wills) and to lay vp their money and substance in them, to keepe it more safe. Which all is permitted them without any restraint or prouiso, as was and is in some Countries of Christendome. Whereby their Monasteries grow to exceeding great wealth. This they doe to haue the money of the Realme better stored together, and more readie

die for their hand, when they liſt to take it. Which many times is done without any noyſe: the Friers being content rather to part from ſomewhat (as the increaſe groweth) then to loſe all at once. Which they were made to doubt of in the other Emperours dayes.

To this end *Iuan Vaſilowich* late Emperor vſed a very ſtrange practiſe, that few Princes would haue done in their greateſt extremities. Hee reſigned his Kingdome to one *Velica Knez Simeon*, the Emperours ſonne of *Cazan*: as though hee meant to draw himſelfe from all publike doings to a quiet priuate life. Towards the end of the yeere, he cauſed this new King to call in all Charters granted to Biſhoprickes, and Monaſteries, which they had enioyed many hundred yeeres before. Which were all cancelled. This done (as in diſlike of the fact & of the miſ-gouernment of the new King) hee reſumed his Scepter, and ſo was content (as in fauour to the Church and Religious men) that they ſhould renew their Charters, and take them of himſelfe: reſeruing and annexing to the Crowne ſo much of their lands, as himſelfe thought good. A ſtrange practice to get money.

By this practice he wrung from the Biſhoprickes and Monaſteries (beſides the lands which he annexed to the Crowne) an huge maſſe of money. From ſome fortie, from ſome fiftie, from ſome an hundred thouſand Rubbels. And this as well for the increaſe of his Treaſury, as to abate the ill opinion of his hard gouernment, by a ſhew of worſe in another man. Wherein his ſtrange ſpirit is to be noted: that being hated of his ſubiects (as himſelfe knew well enough) yet ſhould venture ſuch a practice to ſet another in his ſaddle, that might haue rid away with his horſe, while himſelfe walked by on foot.

5. They ſend their Meſſengers into the Prouinces or Shires, where the ſpeciall commodities of their Countrey grow, as Furres, Wax, Hony, &c. There to foreſtall and ingroſſe ſometime one whole commoditie, ſometime two or more, taking them at ſmall prices what themſelues liſt, and ſelling them againe at an exceſſiue rate to their owne Merchants, and to Merchants ſtrangers. If they refuſe to buy them, then to force them vnto it. The like is done when any commoditie either natiue or forraine (as Cloth of Gold, Broad-cloth, &c.) thus engroſſed by the Emperour, and receiued into his treaſury happeneth to decay, or marre by long lying, or ſome other caſualtie. Which is forced vpon the Merchants to be bought by them at the Emperours price, whether they will or no. This laſt yeere of 1589. was engroſſed all the Wax of the Countrey: ſo that none might deale with that commoditie, but the Emperour onely.

6. To take vp and engroſſe in like ſort ſometime forraine commodities (as Silkes, Cloth, Lead, Pearle, &c. brought into his Realme by *Turkiſh* Merchants, *Armenians*, *Bougharians*, *Poles*, *Engliſh*, and other. And then to force his Merchants to buy them of his Officers at his owne price.

7. They make a Monopoly for the time of ſuch commodities as are paid him for Rent, or Cuſtome, and to inhance the price of them, as Furres, Corne, Wood, &c. What time none muſt ſell of the ſame kinde of commoditie, till the Emperours be all ſold. By this meanes he maketh of his Rent, Corne, and other prouiſion of victuall (as before was ſaid) about 200000. Rubbels or Markes a yeere. Of his Rent, Wood, Hay, &c. 30000. Rubbels, or thereabouts.

8. In euery great Towne of his Realme hee hath a *Caback* or other drinking houſe, where is ſold *Aqua-vita* (which they call *Ruſſe* Wine) Mead, Beere, &c. Out of theſe hee receiueth Rent that amounteth to a great ſumme of money. Some yeeld 800. ſome 900. ſome a 1000. ſome 2000. or 3000. Rubbels a yeere. Wherein beſides the baſe and diſhonourable meanes to encreaſe his treaſury, many foule faults are committed. The poore Labouring man, and Artificer, many times ſpendeth all from his wife and children. Some vſe to lay in twentie, thirtie, fortie Rubbels, or more into the *Caback*, and vow themſelues to the pot, till all that be ſpent. And this (as he will ſay) for the honour of *Hoſpodare*, or the Emperour. You ſhall haue many there that haue drunke all away to the very skin, and ſo walke naked (whom they call *Naga*.) While they are in the *Caback*, none may call them forth whatſoeuer cauſe there be, becauſe he hindereth the Emperours reuenue.

9. Some of his *Boiarens*, or *Nobles* of his Court, (whom he vſeth vpon truſt) that haue houſes in the *Mosko*, faine themſelues robbed: Then they ſend for the *Zemskey* men, or Aldermen of the Citie, and command them to finde out the robbery: In default of not finding it, *praue* or ceaſe the Citie for their miſgouernment in 8000. 9000. or 10000. Rubbels at a time. This is many times practiſed.

10. In theſe exactions to ſhew their Soueraignetie, ſometime they haue beene vſed very plaine, and yet ſtrange cauillations. As was that of *Iuan Vaſilowich*, father to this Emperour, after this ſort. He ſent into *Permia* for certaine loads of Cedar wood, wherof he knew that none grew in that Countrey. The inhabitants returned anſwer they could finde none there. Whereupon hee ſeazed their Countrey in 12000. Rubbels, as if they concealed the commoditie of purpoſe. Againe, he ſent to the Citie of *Mosko* to prouide for him a *Colpack*, or meaſure full of liue Fleas for a medicine. They returned anſwere that the thing was impoſſible. And if they could get them, yet they could not meaſure them, for leaping out. Whereupon hee *praued*, or beat out of their ſhins 7000. Rubbels for a Mulct. By like cauillation hee extorted for his Nobilitie 30000. Rubbels, becauſe he miſſed of his game, when hee went a hunting for the Hare:

as

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as if their hunting and murthering of Hares had beene the cause of it. Which the Nobilitie (as the manner is) *Praised* presently againe vpon the *Mouſicks*, or common people of the Countrey.

Chap. 13. Of the state of the Commonnaltie, or vulgar sort of the people in the Countrey of *Russia*.

THe condition of the Commons and vulgar sort of people, may partly bee vnderstood by that which already hath beene sayd concerning the manner of their Gouernment, and the state of the Nobilitie, with the ordering of their Prouinces, and chiefe Townes of the Land. And first touching their libertie how it standeth with them, it may appeare by this: that they are reckoned in no degree at all, nor haue any suffrage nor place in their *Zabore*, or high Court of Parliament, where their Lawes and publike Orders are concluded vpon. Againe into what seruile condition their libertie is brought, not onely to the Prince, but to the Nobles, and Gentlemen of the Countrey (who themselues also are but seruile, specially of late yeeres) it may further appeare by their owne acknowledgments in their supplications, and other writings to any of the Nobles or chiefe Officers of the Emperours. Wherein they name and subscribe themselues *Kolophey*, that is, their Villaines, or Bond-slaues: as they of the Nobilitie doe vnto the Emperour. This may truely bee sayd of them, that there is no seruant nor bond-slaue more awed by his Master, nor kept downe in a more seruile subjection, then the poore people are, and that vniuersally, not onely by the Emperour, but by his Nobilitie chiefe Officers and Souldiers. So that when a poore *Mouſick* meeteth with any of them vpon the high way, hee must turne himselfe about, as not daring to looke him on the face, and fall downe with knocking of his head to the very ground, as he doth vnto his Idoll.

The seruile and miserable estate of the *Russe* people.

Misrie of those times, manners and men.

Secondly, concerning the Lands, goods, and other possessions of the Commons, they answer the Name and lye *Common* indeed, without any fence against the rapine and spoyle, not onely of the highest, but of his Nobilitie, Officers, and Souldiers. Besides the Taxes, Customes, Seazures, and other publike exactions done vpon them by the Emperour, they are so racked and pulled by the Nobles, Officers, and Messengers, sent abroad by the Emperour in his publike affayres, specially in the *Yammes* (as they call them) and thorow faire Townes, that you shall haue many Villages and Townes of halfe a mile, and a mile long, stand all vnhabited: the people being fled all into other places, by reason of the extreame vsage, and exactions done vpon them. So that in the way towards *Mosko*, betwixt *Vologda* and *Yariuſlaueley* (which is two nineties after their reckoning, little more then an hundred miles *English*,) there are in sight fiftie *Darieuues* or Villages at the least, some halfe a mile, some a mile long (that stand vacant) and desolate without any inhabitant. The like is in all other places of the Realme, as is sayd by those that haue better trauelled the Countrey then my selfe had time, or occasion to doe.

The great oppression ouer the poore Commons, made them to haue no courage in following their Trades: for the more they haue, the more danger they are in, not onely of their goods, but of their liues also. And if they haue any thing, they conceale it all they can, sometimes conueying it into Monasteries, sometimes hiding it vnder the ground, and in Woods, as men are wont to doe where they are in feare of forraigne inuasion. Insomuch that many times you shall see them afraid to bee knowne to any *Boiuren* or Gentleman, of such commodities as they haue to sell. I haue seene them sometimes when they haue layd open their Commodities for a liking (as their principall Furres and such like) to looke still behinde them, and towards euery doore: as men in some feare, that looked to bee set vpon, and surprised by some Enemie. Whereof asking the cause, I found it to bee this, that they haue doubted least some Nobleman or *Sinaboiarskey* of the Emperour had beene in company, and so layed a trayne for them to pray vpon their Commodities perforce.

This made the people (though otherwise hardened to beare any toyle) to giue themselues much to Idlenesse and Drinking: as passing for no more, then from hand to mouth. And hereof it commeth that the Commodities of *Russia* (as was sayd before) as Waxe, Tallow, Hides, Flax, Hempe, &c. grow and goe abroad, in farre lesse plentie then they were wont to doe: because the people being oppressed and spoyled of their gettings, are discouraged from their labours. Yet this one thing is much to bee noted, that in all this oppression there were three brethren Merchants, of late that traded together with one Stocke in common, that were found to bee worth 300000. Rubbels in money, besides Lands, Cattels, and other Commodities. Which may partly be imputed to their dwellings farre off from the eye of the Court, *viz.* in *Wichida*, one thousand miles from *Mosko* and more. The same are sayd by those that knew them, to haue set on worke all the yeere long ten thousand men in making of Salt, carriages by Cart, and Boat, hewing of Wood and such like: besides fiue thousand Bond-slaues at the least, to inhabite and till their Land. They had also their Physitians, Surgeons, Apothecaries, and all manner of Artificers of *Dutches* and others, belonging vnto them. They are sayd to haue payed to the Emperour for Custome to the summe of three and twentie thousand Rubbels a yeere, (for which cause they were suffered to enioy their Trade) besides the maintayning of certayne Garrisons on the borders of *Siberia*, which were neare vnto them. Wherein the Emperour was content to vse their purse, till such time as they had got ground in *Siberia*, and made it habitable, by burning and cutting downe Woods, from *Wichida* to *Perm*, aboue one thousand verst, and then tooke it all away from them

Rich *Russian* Merchants.

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them perforce. But this in the end being enuyed and diſdayned, as a matter not ſtanding with their policie, to haue any ſo great, ſpecially a *Mouſick*, the Emperour began firſt to pull from them by pieces, ſometimes twentie thouſand Rubbels at a time, ſometime more: till in the end their Sonnes that now are, are well eaſed of their Stocke, and haue but ſmall part of their Fathers ſubſtance: the reſt being drawne all into the Emperours treaſurie. Their names were *Iacoue*, *Gregorie*, and *Simon*, the Sonnes of *Onyka*.

For the qualitie of their people otherwiſe, though there ſeemeth to bee in them ſome aptneſſe to receiue any Art (as appeareth by the naturall wits in the men, and very children) yet they excell in no kinde of common Art, much leſſe in any learning, or literall kinde of knowledge: which they are kept from of purpoſe, as they are alſo from all military practice: that they may bee fitter for the ſeruile condition, wherein now they are, and haue neither reaſon, nor valour to attempt innouation. For this purpoſe alſo they are kept from trauelling, that they may learne nothing, nor ſee the faſhions of other Countries abroad. You ſhall ſeldome ſee a *Ruſſe* a traueller, except hee bee with ſome Embaſſadour, or that hee make an eſcape out of his Countrey. Which hardly he can doe, by reaſon of the borders that are watched ſo narrowly, and the puniſhment for any ſuch attempt, which is death, if hee bee taken, and all his goods confiſcate. Onely they learne to write, and to read, and that very few of them. Neither doe they ſuffer any ſtranger willingly to come into their Realme out of any ciuill Countrie, for the ſame cauſe, farther then neceſſitie of vttering their commodities, and taking in of forreine doth enforce them to doe.

Ruſſes not permitted to trauell.

And therefore this yeere 1589. they conſulted about the remouing of all Merchants ſtrangers to the border Townes, to abide and haue their reſidencie there, and to bee more wary in admitting other ſtrangers heereafter into the Inland parts of the Realme. For the ſame purpoſe alſo they are kept within the bounds of their degree by the Lawes of their Countrey: ſo that the ſonne of a *Mouſick*, Artificer, or Husbandman, is euer a *Mouſick*, Artificer, &c. and hath no meanes to aſpire any higher: except, hauing learned to write and reade, hee attayne to the preferment of a Prieſt, or *Dyack*. Their Language is all one with the *Slauonian*, which is thought to haue beene deriued from the *Ruſſe* Tongue, rather then the *Ruſſe* from the *Slauonian*. For the People called *Sclaui*, are knowne to haue had their beginning out of *Sarmatia*, and to haue tearmed themſelues of their Conqueſt *Sclauos*, (that is) Famous or Glorious, of the word *Sclaua*, which in the *Ruſſe* and *Slauonian* Tongue ſignifieth as much as *Glorie*, or *Fame*. Though afterwards being ſubdued and trod vpon by diuers Nations, the *Italians*, their Neighbours, haue turned the word to a contrary ſignification, and terme euery Seruant or Peaſant by the name of *Sclaue*, as did the *Romanes* by the *Getes* and *Syrians*, for the ſame reaſon. The *Ruſſe* Character or Letter is no other then the *Greeke*, ſomewhat diſtorted.

The iealouſie of the Emperour concerning his ſtate.

Sclauonia and the Language.

Concerning their Trades, Diet, apparell, and ſuch like, it is to be noted in a ſeuerall Chapter of their priuate behauiour. This order that bindeth euery man to keepe his ranke, and ſeuerall degree, wherein his fore-fathers liued before him, is more meet to keepe the Subiects in a ſeruile ſubiection, and ſo apt for this and like Commonwealths, then to aduance any vertue, or to breed any rare or excellent qualitie in Nobilitie or Commons: as hauing no further reward nor preferment, whereunto they may bend their endeauours, and employ themſelues to aduance their eſtate, but rather procuring more danger to themſelues, the more they excell in any noble or principall qualitie.

Chap. 14.

THeir Courts of Ciuill Iuſtice for matters of Contract, and other of like ſort, are of three kinds, the one being ſubiect vnto the other by way of appeale. The loweſt Court (that ſeemeth to be appointed for ſome eaſe to the Subiects) is the Office of the *Gubnoy Staruſt*, that ſignifieth an Alderman, and of the *Sotskoy Staruſt*, or Bayliffe of the Soake or Hundred, whereof I ſpake before in the ordering of the Prouinces. Theſe may end matters among their neighbours within their Soake, or ſeuerall Hundred, where they are appointed vnder the Dukes and *Dyacks* of the Prouinces, to whom the parties may remoue their matter, if they cannot be agreed by the ſaid *Gubnoy*, or *Sotskoy Staruſt*.

Of their publike Iuſtice, and manner of proceeding in Ciuill, and Criminall matters.

Courts of Ciuill Iuſtice three.

The ſecond is kept in the head Townes of euery Prouince or Shire, by the ſaid Dukes and *Dyacks*, that are Deputies to the foure Lords of the *Chetſirds* (as before was ſaid.) From theſe Courts they may appeale, and remoue their Suits to the chiefe Court, that is kept at the *Mosko*, where are reſident the Officers of the foure *Chetſirds*. Theſe are the chiefe Iuſtices or Iudges, euery of them in all Ciuill matters that grow within their ſeuerall *Chetſird* or Quarter, and may be either commenced originally before them, or proſecuted out of the inferiour Courts of the Shires by way of appeale.

The Dukes and *Dyacks* Court.

The high Court of *Mosko*.

Their commencing, and proceeding in Ciuill actions is on this manner. Firſt, the Plaintife putteth vp his Supplication, wherein he declareth the effect of his Cauſe, or wrong done vnto him. Whereupon is granted vnto him a *Wepis*, or Warrant, which he deliuereth to the *Preſtaue*, or Sergeant, to doe the arreſt vpon the partie whom hee meaneth to implead. Who vpon the arreſt

Their manner of proceeding in Ciuill matters.

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arreſt, is to put in Sureties to anſwere the day appointed, or elſe ſtandeth at the Sergeants deuotion, to be kept ſafe by ſuch meanes as he thinketh good.

The Segeants are many, and excell for their hard and cruell dealing towards their priſoners; commonly they clap Irons vpon them, as many as they can beare, to wring out of them ſome larger fees. Though it be but for ſixe pence, you ſhall ſee them goe with Chaines on their legs armes, and necke. When they come before the Iudge, the Plaintiffe beginneth to declare his matter after the contents of his Supplication. As for Attorneys, Counſellors, Procurators, and Aduocates, to plead their Cauſe for them, they haue no ſuch order, but euery man is to tell his owne tale, and plead for himſelfe as well as he can.

Ending of controuerſies by kiſſing the Croſſe.

If they haue any witneſſe or other euidence, they produce it before the Iudge. If they haue none, or if the trueth of the Cauſe cannot ſo well bee diſcerned by the plea, or euidence on both parts: then the Iudge asketh either partie (which hee thinketh good, Plaintiffe or Defendant) whether hee will *kiſſe the Croſſe*, vpon that which hee auoucheth, or denyeth. Hee that taketh the Croſſe (being ſo offered by the Iudge) is accounted cleare, and carrieth away the matter. This Ceremonie is not done within the Court, or Office, but the partie is carried to the Church by an Officer, and there the Ceremonie is done: the money in the meane while hanging vpon a naile, or elſe lying at the Idols feet, ready to be deliuered to the partie, as ſoone as he hath kiſſed the Croſſe before the ſaid Idoll.

Iudgement by lot.

This kiſſing of the Croſſe (called *Creuſtina chelouania*) is as their corporall Oath, and accounted with them a very holy thing, which no man will dare to violate, or prophane with a falſe allegation. If both parties offer to kiſſe the Croſſe in a contradictorie matter, then they draw Lots. The better Lot is ſuppoſed to haue the right, and beareth away the matter. So the partie conuicted is adiudged to pay the debt or penaltie whatſoeuer, and withall to pay the Emperours fees, which is twentie pence vpon euery Marke, as before hath beene noted.

When the matter is thus ended, the partie conuicted is deliuered to the Sergeant, who hath a Writ for his warrant out of the Office, to carrie him to the *Praueuſh* or *Righter of Iuſtice*, if preſently he pay not the money, or content not the partie. This *Praueuſh* or *Righter*, is a place neere to the Office: where ſuch as haue ſentence paſſed againſt them, and refuſe to pay that

Shin-beating.

which is adiudged, are beaten with great cudgels on the ſhinnes, and calues of their legs. Euery fore-noone from eight to eleuen, they are ſet on the *Praueuſh*, and beate in this ſort till the money bee payd. The after-noone and night time, they are kept in chaines by the Sergeant: except they put in ſufficient Sureties for their appearance at the *Praueuſh* at the houre appointed. You ſhall ſee fortie or fiftie ſtand together on the *Praueuſh* all on a rew, and their

Terrible terms

ſhinnes thus becudgelled, and beaſted euery morning with a piteous crye. If after a yeeres ſtanding on the *Praueuſh*, the partie will not, or lacke wherewithall to ſatisfie his creditor, it is lawfull for him to ſell his wife, and children, either outright, or for a certaine terme of yeeres. And if the price of them doe not amount to the full payment, the Creditor may take them to be his bond-ſlaues, for yeeres, or for euer, according as the value of the debt requireth.

Such kind of Suits as lacke direct euidence, or ſtand vpon coniectures and circumſtances to be weighed by the Iudge, draw of great length, and yeeld great aduantage to the Iudge, and Officers. If the Suit be vpon a Bond, or Bill, they haue for the moſt part good and ſpeedy iuſtice.

The forme of *Ruſſe* Bills or Bonds.

Their Bonds or Bills are drawne in a very plaine ſort, after this tenour. *I* Iuan Vaſileo *haue borrowed of* Alphonaſſe Dementio, *the ſumme of one hundrsd Rubbels of going money of* Moſko, *from the Kreſhenea* (or hallowing of the water) *vntill the Saburney Voſcreſhenea* (or Counſell Sunday) *without intereſt. And if this money reſt vnpayed after that day, then hee ſhall giue intereſt vpon the ſaid money, after the common rate, as it goeth among the people*, vz. *for euery fine the ſixt Rubbell.* Vpon this there are Witneſſes, *Micheta Sydroueskoy*, &c. Subſcribed. *This Bill haue I written* Gabriel Iacoueleſni, *in the yeere* 7096. The Witneſſes, and Debter (if hee can write) endorſe their names on the backeſide of the Bill. Other ſigning, or ſealing haue they none.

Proceeding in Criminall matters.

When any is taken for a matter of Crime (as Treaſon, Murder, Theft, and ſuch like) he is firſt brought to the Duke and *Diack*, that are for the Prouince where the partie is attached, by whom hee is examined. The manner of examination in ſuch caſes, is all by torture, as ſcourging with

Pudkey whipping.

whips made of ſinowes, or whitleather (called the *Pudkey*) as big as a mans finger, which giueth a ſore laſh, and entreth into the fleſh; or by tying to a Spit and roſting at the fire; ſometimes by breaking and wreſting one of their ribs with a paire of hot Tongs, or cutting their fleſh

Roſting.

vnder the nayles, and ſuch like.

The examination thus taken with all the proofes, and euidences that can bee alleaged againſt the partie, it is ſent vp to the *Mosko*, to the Lord of the *Chetſird* or Fourth part, vnder whom the Prouince is, and by him is preſented to the Counſell-table, to be read and ſentenced there, where onely Iudgement is giuen in matter of life and death, and that by euidence vpon information, though they neuer ſaw nor heard the partie who is kept ſtill in priſon where the fact was committed, and neuer ſent vp to the place where hee is tryed. If they finde the partie guilty,

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guilty, they giue Sentence of death according to the qualitie of the fact: which is ſent downe by the Lord of the *Chetſird*, to the Duke and *Diack* to bee put in execution. The Priſoner is carried to the place of execution with his hands bound, and a Waxe candle burning held betwixt his fingers.

Executions. Their Capitall puniſhments are hanging, heading, knocking on the head, drowning, putting vnder the Ice, ſetting on a ſtake, and ſuch like. But for the moſt part, the Priſoners that are condemned in Summer, are kept for the Winter, to be knockt in the head, and put vnder the Ice. This is to bee vnderſtood of common perſons. For theft, and murder, If they bee committed vpon a poore *Mouſick* by one of Nobilitie are not lightly puniſhed, nor yet is hee called to any account for it. Their reaſon is, becauſe they are accounted their *Kolophey*, or Bond-ſlaues. If by ſome *Sinaboiarskey*, or Gentleman Souldier, a murder or theft bee committed, peraduenture hee ſhall bee impriſoned at the Emperours pleaſure. If the manner of the fact be very notorious, hee is whipped perchance, and this is commonly all the puniſhment that is inflicted vpon them.

If a man kill his owne ſeruant, little or nothing is ſaid vnto him, for the ſame reaſon: becauſe hee is accounted to be his *Kolophey*, or Bond-ſlaue, and ſo to haue right ouer his very head. The moſt is ſome ſmall mulct to the Emperour, if the partie bee rich: and ſo the quarrell is made rather againſt the purſe, then againſt the iniuſtice. They haue no written Law, ſaue onely a ſmall Booke that contayneth the time and manner of their ſitting, order in proceeding, and ſuch other Iudiciall formes and circumſtances, but nothing to direct them to giue Sentence vpon right or wrong. Their onely Law is their *Speaking Law*, that is, the pleaſure of the Prince, and of his Magiſtrates and Officers.

Rituall (not right-all) Booke.

Chap. 15.

THe Souldiers of *Ruſſia* are called *Sinaboiarskey*, or the Sonnes of Gentlemen: becauſe they are all of that degree, by vertue of their military profeſſion. For euery Souldier in *Ruſſia* is a Gentleman, and none are Gentlemen but onely the Souldiers, that take it by diſcent from their Anceſtors: ſo that the ſonne of a Gentleman (which is borne a Souldier) is euer a Gentleman, and a Souldier withall, and profeſſeth nothing elſe but military matters. When they are of yeeres able to beare Armes, they come to the Office of *Roſerade*, or *Great Conſtable*, and there preſent themſelues: who entreth their names, and alloteth them certaine Lands to maintaine their charges, for the moſt part of the ſame that their fathers enioyed. For the Lands aſſigned to maintayne the Armie, are euer certaine, annexed to this Office without improuing, or detracting one foot. But that if the Emperour haue ſufficient in wages, the roomes being full ſo farre as the Land doeth extend already, they are many times deferred, and haue nothing allowed them, except ſome one portion of the Land be diuided into two. Which is a cauſe of great diſorder within that Countrey: When a Souldier that hath many children, ſhall haue ſometimes but one entertayned in the Emperours pay. So that the reſt hauing nothing, are forced to liue by vniuſt and wicked ſhifts, that tend to the hurt and oppreſſion of the *Monſicke*, or common ſort of people. This inconuenience groweth by maintayning his forces in a continuall ſucceſſion. The whole number of his Souldiers in continuall pay, is this: Firſt, he hath of his *Dworaney*, that is, Penſioners, or Guard of his perſon, to the number of 15000. Horſemen, with their Captaines and other Officers, that are alwaies in a readineſſe.

Their forces for the warres, with the chiefe Officers and ſalaries.

The onely Gentlemen Souldiers by birth and inheritance.

Emperours Guard.

Of theſe fifteene thouſand Horſemen, there are three ſorts or degrees, which differ as well in eſtimation, as in wages, one degree from another. The firſt ſort of them is called, *Dworaney Bulſhey*, or the companie of head Penſioners, that haue, ſome 100. ſome 80. Rubbels a yeere, and none vnder 70. The ſecond ſort are called, *Seredney Dworaney*, or the middle ranke of Penſioners: theſe haue 60. or 50. Rubbels by the yeere, none vnder 40. The third and loweſt ſort are, the *Dyta Boiarskey*, that is, the lowe Penſioners: their ſalarie is 30. Rubbels a yeere, for him that hath moſt; ſome haue but 25. ſome 20. none vnder 12. Whereof the halfe part is payd them at the *Mosko*, the other halfe in the field by the General, when they haue any warres, and are employed in ſeruice. When they receiue their whole pay, it amounteth to 55000. Rubb. by the yeere.

Degrees of Horſemen. 1. *Pretoriani*, or ſuch as attend the Emperors perſon, 15000.

And this is their wages, beſides lands allotted to euery one of them, both to the greater and the leſſe, according to their degrees. Whereof he that hath leaſt, hath to yeeld him 20. Rubbels or Markes by the yeere. Beſides theſe 15000. Horſemen, that are of better choiſe (as being the Emperours owne Guard when himſelfe goeth to the warres, not vnlike the *Roman* Souldiers called *Pretoriani*) are 110. men of ſpeciall account for their Nobilitie, and truſt, which are choſen by the Emperour, and haue their names regiſtred, that find among them for the Emperours warres, to the number of 65000. Horſemen, with all neceſſaries meet for the warres of the *Ruſſe* manner.

Two other troupes to the number of 65000.

To this end they haue yeerely allowance made by the Emperour for themſelues, and their Companies, to the ſumme of 40000. Rubbels. And theſe 65000. are to repaire to the field euery yeere on the borders towards the *Chrim Tartar*, (except they bee appointed for ſome other ſeruice) whether there bee warres with the *Tartars*, or not. This might ſeeme peraduenture

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ſomewhat dangerous for ſome State, to haue ſo great forces vnder the command of Noblemen, to aſſemble euery yeere to one certaine place. But the matter is ſo vſed, as that no danger can grow to the Emperour, or his State by this meanes. Firſt, Becauſe theſe Noblemen are many, to wit, 110. in all, and changed by the Emperour ſo oft as hee thinketh good. Secondly, Becauſe they haue their liuings of the Emperour, being otherwiſe but of very ſmall Reuenue, and receiue this yeerely pay of 40000. Rubbels, when it is preſently to be paid forth againe to the Souldiers that are vnder them. Thirdly, Becauſe for the moſt part they are about the Emperors perſon, being of his Counſell, either ſpeciall, or at large. Fourthly, They are rather as Pay-maſters, then Captaines to their Companies, themſelues not going forth ordinarily to the warres, ſaue when ſome of them are appointed by ſpeciall order from the Emperour himſelfe. So the whole number of Horſemen that are euer in a readineſſe, and in continuall pay, are 80000. a few more or leſſe.

Horſemen in continuall pay 80000.

If he haue need of a greater number (which ſeldome falleth out) then hee entertayneth of thoſe *Sinaboiarskey*, that are out of pay, ſo many as he needeth: and if yet he want of his number, hee giueth charge to his Noblemen, that hold Lands of him, to bring into the field euery man a proportionable number of his ſeruants (called *Kolophey*, ſuch as till his Lands) with their furniture, according to the iuſt number that hee intendeth to make. Which, the ſeruice being done, preſently lay in their weapons, and returne to their ſeruile occupations againe.

Footmen in continuall pay 12000.

Of Footmen that are in continuall pay, he hath to the number of 12000. all Gunners, called *Strelſey*. Whereof 5000. are to attend about the Citie of *Moske*, or any other place where the Emperour ſhall abide, and 2000. (which are called *Stremaney*, *Streſley*, or Gunners at the Stirrop) about his owne perſon at the very Court or houſe where himſelfe lodgeth. The reſt are placed in his garriſon Townes, till there be occaſion to haue them in the field, and receiue for their ſalarie or ſtipend euery man ſeuen Rubbels a yeere, beſides twelue meaſures, a piece of Rye, and Oats.

Strangers mercenaries in pay 4300.

Of mercenary Souldiers, that are ſtrangers (whom they call *Nimſcoy*) they haue at this time 4300. of *Polonians*: of *Chirchaſſes* (that are vnder the *Polonians*) about 4000. whereof 3500. are abroad in his Garriſons: of *Dutches* and *Scots*, about 150: of *Greekes*, *Turkes*, *Danes*, and *Sweadens*, all in one band, 100. or thereabouts. But theſe they vſe only vpon the *Tartar* ſide, and againſt the *Siberians*: as they doe the *Tartar* Souldiers (whom they hire ſometimes, but onely for the preſent) on the other ſide againſt the *Polonian* and *Sweaden*: thinking it beſt policy ſo to vſe their ſeruice vpon the contrary border.

The chiefe Captaines or Leaders.

The chiefe Captaines or Leaders of theſe forces, according to their names and degrees, are theſe which follow. Firſt, the *Voyauodey Bulſhaia*, that is, the *Great Captaine*, or *Lieutenant generall* vnder the Emperour. This commonly is one of the foure houſes of the chiefe Nobilitie of the Land: but ſo choſen otherwiſe, as that he is of ſmall valour or practice in Martiall matters, being thought to ſerue that turne ſo much the better, if he bring no other parts with him ſaue the countenance of his Nobilitie, to bee liked of by the Souldiers for that, and nothing elſe. For in this point they are very warie, that theſe two, to wit, Nobilitie and Power, meet not both in one, ſpecially if they ſee wiſedome withall, or aptneſſe for policie.

1. The *Voiauod* or Generall.

Their great *Voiauod* or Generall at this preſent in their warres, is commonly one of theſe foure, *Knez Feoder Iuanowich Methiſloskey*, *Knez Iuan Michailowich Glinskoy*, *Cherechaskoy*, and *Trowbetskoy*, all of great Nobilitie, but of very ſimple qualitie otherwiſe: though in *Glinskoy* (as they ſay) there is ſomewhat more then in the reſt. To make vp this defect in the *Voiauod* or Generall, there is ſome other ioyned with him as Lieutenant generall, of farre leſſe Nobilitie, but of more valour and experience in the warres then he, who ordereth all things that the other countenanceth. At this time their principall man, and moſt vſed in their warres, is one *Knez Demetrie Iuanowich Foreſtine*, an antient and expert Captaine, and one that hath done great ſeruice (as they ſay) againſt the *Tartar*, and *Polonian*.

2. Lieutenant generall.

3. Marſhals of the field, foure.

Next vnder the *Voiauod* and his Lieutenant generall, are foure other, that haue the marſhalling of the whole Armie diuided among them, and may be called the Marſhals of the field.

Euery man hath his quarter, or fourth part vnder him: whereof the firſt is called, the *Praua Polskoy*, or Right wing. The ſecond is, the *Leuoy Polskoy*, or Left wing. The third is, *Ruſnoy Polskoy*, or The broken band, becauſe out of this there are choſen to ſend abroad vpon any ſudden exploit, or to make a reſcue or ſupply, as occaſion doth require. The fourth, *Storeſhenoy Polskoy*, or The warding band. Euery one of theſe foure Marſhals haue two other vnder them (eight in all) that twice euery weeke at the leaſt muſt muſter and traine their ſeuerall wings or bands, and hold and giue iuſtice for all faults and diſorders committed in the Campe.

4. Marſhals Deputies 8.

And theſe eight are commonly choſen out of the hundred and ten (which I ſpake of before) that receiue and deliuer the pay to the Souldiers. Vnder theſe eight are diuers other Captaines, as the *Gul auoy*, Captaines of thouſands, fiue hundreds, and hundreds. The *Petyde Setskoy*, or Captaines of fifties; and the *Decetskies*, or Captaines of tennes:

5. Coronels Vnder-captaines.

6. Maſters of the Artillerie.

Beſides the *Voiauoda*, or *Generall of the Armie*, (ſpoken of before) they haue two other that beare the name of *Voiauoda*: whereof one is the Maſter of the great Ordnance (called *Naradna Voiauoda*) who hath diuers Vnder-officers, neceſſary for that ſeruice. The other is called, the

Voiauoda

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Voiaoda Gulanoy, or the *Walking Captayne*, that hath allowed him 1000: good Horsemen of principall choice, to range and spye abroad, and hath the charge of the running Castle, which we are to speake of in the Chapter following. All these Captaynes, and men of charge must once euery day resort to the *Bulsha Voiaoda*, or *Generall of the Armie*, to know his pleasure, and to informe him if there be any requisite matter pertayning to their Office. The walking Captayne.

chap. 16. Of their mustering, and leuying of forces, manner of Armour, and prouision of victuall for the Warres.

WHen Wars are towards (which they faile not of lightly euery yeere with the *Tartar*, and many times with the *Polonian* and *Sweden*, (the foure Lords of the *Chetfirds* send forth their Summons in the Emperours name, to all the Dukes and *Dyacks* of the Prouinces, to be proclaymed in the head Townes of euery Shire: that all the *Sinaboiarskey*, or Sonnes of Gentlemen make their repayre to such a border where the Seruice is to be done, at such a place, and by such a day, and there present themselues to such and such Captaynes. When they come to the place assigned them in the Summons or Proclamation, their names are taken by certayne Officers that haue Commission for that purpose from the *Roserade*, or *High Constable*, as Clerkes of the Bands.

Their order for mustering.

If any make default and faile at the day, he is mulcted, and punished very seuerely. As for the Generall and other chiefe Captaines, they are sent thither from the Emperours owne hand, with such Commission and charge as he thinketh behoofefull for the present seruice. When the Souldiers are assembled, they are reduced into their Bands, and Companies, vnder their seuerall Captaynes of tens, fifties, hundreds, thousands, &c. and these Bands into foure *Polskeis* or *Legions* (but of farre greater numbers then the *Romane* Legions were) vnder their foure great Leaders, which also haue the authoritie of Marshals of the field (as was said before.)

The Horsemans Furniture.

Concerning their Armour they are but slightly appointed. The common Horse-man hath nothing else but his Bow in his Case vnder his right arme, and his Quiuer and Sword hanging on the left side: except some few that beare a Case of Dagges, or a Iaueling, or short Staffe along their Horse side. The vnder Captaynes will haue commonly some piece of Armour besides, as a shirt of Male, or such like. The Generall with the other chiefe Captaynes and men of Nobility, will haue their Horse very richly furnished, their Saddles of Cloth of Gold, their Bridles faire bossed and tasselled with Gold, and Silke frindge, bestudded with Pearle and Precious Stones, themselues in very faire Armour, which they call *Bullatnoy*, made of faire shining Steele, yet couered commonly with Cloth of Gold, and edged round about with Armine Furre, his Steele Helmet on his head of a very great price, his Sword, Bow, and Arrowes at his side, his Speare in his hand, with another Helmet, and his *Sheshapera*, or Horse-mans Scepter carried before him. Their Swords, Bowes, and Arrowes are of the *Turkish* fashion. They practise like the *Tartar* to shoot forwards and backwards, as they flye and retyre.

Shooting forward and backward.

The footmans Furniture.

The *Strelsey* or Footman hath nothing but his Peece in his hand, his striking Hatchet at his backe, and his Sword by his side. The stocke of his Peece is not made Caleeuer wise, but with a plaine and strait stocke (some-what like a Fowling-peece) the Barrell is rudely and vnartificially made, very heauie, yet shooteth but a very small Bullet.

Prouision of victuall.

As for their prouision of victuall, the Emperour alloweth none, either for Captayne, or Souldier, neyther prouideth any for them except peraduenture some Corne for their Money. Euery man is to bring sufficient for himselfe to serue his turne for foure moneths, and if need require to giue order for more to bee brought vnto him to the Campe from his Tenant that tilleth his Land, or some other place. One great helpe they haue, that for Lodging and Dyet euery *Russe* is prepared to bee a Souldier before-hand. Though the cheife Captaynes and others of account carry Tents with them after the fashion of ours with some better prouision of victuall then the rest. They bring with them commonly into the Campe for victuall a kind of dryed Bread (which they call *Sucharie*) with some store of Meale, which they temper with water, and so make it into a Ball, or small lumpe of dowe, called *Tollockno*. And this they eate raw in stead of Bread. Their Meate is Bacon, or some other flesh or fish dryed, after the *Dutch* manner. If the *Russe* Souldier were as hardie to execute an Enterprize, as he is hard to beare out toyle and trauell, or were otherwise as apt and well trayned for the Warres, as he is indifferent for his Lodging and Dyet, hee would farre exceed the Souldiers of our parts. Whereas now he is farre meaner of courage and execution in any Warlike seruice. Which commeth partly of his seruile condition, that will not suffer any great courage or valour to grow in him. Partly for lacke of due honour and reward, which hee hath no great hope of whatsoeuer seruice or execution he doe.

Prouisions.

Homas alit artes.

chap. 17. Of their marching, charging, and other Martiall Discipline.

THe *Russe* trusteth rather to his number, then to the valour of his Souldiers, or good ordering of his Forces. Their marching or leading is without all order, saue that the fore *Polsky* or Legions, (whereinto their Armie is diuided) keepe themselues seuerall vnder their Ensignes, and so thrust all on together in a hurrie, as they are directed by their Generall. Their Ensigne is the Image of Saint *George*. The *Bulsha Dworaney* or chiefe Horse-men, haue euery man a small Drumme of Brasse at his Saddle-bow, which hee striketh when hee giueth the charge, or onset.

George-ensigne.

Horse-mens Drummes.

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The horſemans manner of charging.

They haue Drummes beſides of a huge bigneſſe, which they carrie with them vpon a board layd on foure Horſes, that are ſparred together with Chaines, euery Drumme hauing eight ſtrikers, or Drummers, beſides Trumpets and Shawmes, which they ſound after a wild manner, much different from ours. When they giue any charge or make any inuaſion, they make a great hallow or ſhoute altogether, as loude as they can, which with the ſound of their Trumpets, Shawmes, and Drummes, maketh a confuſed and horrible noyſe. So they ſet on firſt diſcharging their Arrowes, then dealing with their Swords, which they vſe in a brauery to ſhake, and brandiſh ouer their heads, before they come to ſtrokes.

The footmans charge.

Their Footmen (becauſe otheriſe they want order in leading) are commonly placed in ſome ambuſh or place of aduantage, where they may moſt annoy the enemy, with leaſt hurt to themſelues. If it be a ſet battell, or if any great inuaſion be made vpon the *Ruſſe* borders by the *Tartar*, they are ſet with in the *running* or *moning Caſtle* (called *Beza*, or *Gulay gorod*) which is carried about with them by the *Voianoda gulauoy* (or the *walking Generall*) whom I ſpake of before.

The walking Caſtle.

This walking or mouing Caſtle is ſo framed, that it may be ſet vp in length (as occaſion doth require) the ſpace of one, two, three, foure, fiue, ſixe, or ſeuen miles: for ſo long it will reach. It is nothing elſe but a double wall of wood to defend them on both ſides behind and before, with a ſpace of three yards or thereabouts betwixt the two ſides: ſo that they may ſtand within it, and haue roome enough to charge and diſcharge their pieces, and to vſe their other weapons. It is cloſed at both ends, and made with loope-holes on either ſide, to lay out the noſe of their Peece, or to puſh forth any other weapon. It is carryed with the Armie whereſoeuenit goeth, being taken into pieces, and ſo layed on Carts ſparred together, and drawne by Horſe that are not ſeene, by reaſon that they are couered with their carriage as with a ſhelfe or pent-houſe. When it is brought to the place where it is to bee vſed (which is deuiſed and choſen out before by the the *walking Voianod*) it is planted ſo much as the preſent vſe requireth, ſometime a mile long, ſometimes two, ſometimes three, or more: which is ſoone done without the helpe of any Carpenter, or Inſtrument: becauſe the Timber is ſo framed to claſpe together one piece within an other: as is eaſily vnderſtood by thoſe that know the manner of the *Ruſſe* building.

In this Caſtle ſtandeth their ſhot well fenced for aduantage, ſpecially againſt the *Tartar*, that bringeth no Ordnance, nor other weapon into the field with him, ſaue his Sword, and Bow and Arrowes. They haue alſo within it diuers field Peeces, which they vſe as occaſion doth require. Of Peeces for the field they carrie no great ſtore, when they warre againſt the *Tartar*: but when they deale with the *Polonian* (of whoſe forces they make more account) they goe better furniſhed with all kind of Munition, and other neceſſarie prouiſions. It is thought that no Prince of Chriſtendome hath better ſtore of Munition, then the *Ruſſe* Emperour. And it may partly appeare by the Artillerie Houſe at *Moſko*, where are of all ſorts of great Ordnance, all Braſſe Peeces, very faire, to an exceeding great number.

Store of Munition.

The *Ruſſe* Souldier is thought to be better at his defence within ſome Caſtle, or Towne, then he is abroad at a ſet pitched field. Which is euer noted in the practice of his Wars, and namely, at the ſiege of *Vobſko*, about eight yeares ſince: where he repulſed the *Polonian* King *Stepan Batore*, with his whole Armie of 100000. men, and forced him in the end to giue ouer his ſiege, with the loſſe of many of his beſt Captaynes and Souldiers. But in a ſet field the *Ruſſe* is noted to haue euer the worſe of the *Polonian*, and *Sweden*.

If any behaue himſelfe more valiantly then the reſt, or doe any ſpeciall piece of ſeruice, the Emperour ſendeth him a piece of Gold, ſtamped with the Image of Saint *George* on Horſeback. Which they hang on their ſleeues, and ſet in their Caps. And this is accounted the greateſt honour they can receiue, for any ſeruice they doe.

Reward for valour.

Chap. 18.

Of their Colonies, an maintayning of their conqueſts or purchaſes by force.

THe *Ruſſe* Emperours of late yeeres haue very much enlarged their Dominions and Territories. Their firſt Conqueſt after the Dukedome of *Moſko*, (for before that time they were but Dukes of *Volodomer*, as before was ſaid) was the Citie, and Dukedome of *Nouograd* on the Weſt, and North-weſt ſide: which was no ſmall enlargement of their Dominion, and ſtrengthning to them for the winning of the reſt. This was done by *Iuan* great Grand-father to *Theodore* now Emperour, about the yeere 1480. The ſame began likewiſe to encroach vpon the Countreyes of *Lituania*, and *Liuonia*, but the Conqueſt onely intended, and attempted by him vpon ſome part of thoſe Countreyes, was purſued and performed by his Sonne *Baſileus*, who firſt wan the Citie and Dukedome of *Plesko*, afterwards the Citie and Dukedome of *Smolenſko*, and many other faire Townes, with a large Territory belonging vnto them, about the yeere 1514. Theſe Victories againſt the *Lettoes* or *Lituanians* in the time of *Alexander* their Duke, hee atchieued rather by aduantage of ciuill Diſſentions and Treaſons among themſelues, then by any great policie, or force of his owne. But all this was loſt againe by his Sonne *Iuan Vaſiliwich*, about eight or nine yeeres paſt, vpon compoſition with the *Polonian* King *Stepan Batore*: whereunto he was forced by the aduantages which the *Pole* had then of him, by reaſon of the foyle hee had giuen him before, and the diſquietneſſe of his owne State at home. Onely the *Ruſſe* Emperour, at this time hath left him on that ſide his Countrey, the Cities of *Smolenſko*, *Vitobſko*, *Cheringo*, and *Beala gorod* in *Lituania*. In *Liuonia*, not a Towne, nor one foot of ground. When

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When *Basileus* first conquered those Countreyes, he suffered the Natiues to keepe their Possessions, and to inhabit all their Townes, onely paying him a Tribute, vnder the Gouernment of his *Russe* Captaynes. But by their Conspiracies and Attempts not long after, hee was taught to deale more surely with them. And so comming vpon them the second time, hee killed and carryed away with him, three parts of foure, which hee gaue or sold to the *Tartars* that serued him in those Wars, and in stead of them placed there his *Russes*, so many as might ouer-match the rest, with certayne Garrisons of strength besides, wherein notwithstanding this ouer-sight was committed, for that (taking away with him the Vp-land, or Countrey people that should haue tilled the ground, and might easily haue beene kept in order without any danger, by other good policies) he was driuen afterwards many yeeres together to victual the Countrey (especially the great Towne) out of his owne Countrey of *Russia*, the soyle lying there in the meane-while waste, and vntilled. *Lituania.*

The like fell out at the Port of *Narue* in *Liefland*, where his Sonne *Iuan Vasilowich* deuised to build a Towne, and a Castle on the other side the Riuer (called *Iuangorod*) to keepe the Towne and Countrey in subjection. The Castle hee caused to bee so built, and fortified, that it was thought to be inuincible. And when it was finished, for reward to the Architect (that was a *Polonian*) he put out both his eyes, to make him vnable to build the like againe. But hauing left the Natiues all within their owne Countrey, without abating their number or strength, the Towne and Castle not long after was betrayed, and surrendred againe to the King of *Sweden*. *Narue.* The Deuill it was.

On the South-east side they haue got the Kingdomes of *Cazan* and *Astracan*. These were wonne from the *Tartar*, by the late Emperour *Iuan Vasilowich*, Father to the Emperour that now is: the one about thirty fiue, the other about thirty three yeeres agoe. North-ward out of the Countrey of *Siberia*, he hath layed vnto his Realme a great breadth and length of ground, from *Wichida* to the Riuer of *Obba*, about 1000. miles space: so that he is bold to write himselfe now, *The great Commander of Siberia.*

The Countreyes likewise of *Permia*, and *Pechora*, are a diuers People and Language from the *Russe*, ouercome not long since, and that rather by threatning, and shaking of the Sword, then by any actuall force: as being a weake and naked people, without meanes to resist. *Permia* and *Pechora.*

THeir Neighbours with whom they haue greatest dealings and intercourse, both in Peace and Warre, are first the *Tartar*: Secondly, the *Polonian* whom the *Russe* calleth *Laches*, noting the first Author or Founder of the Nation, who was called *Lasches* or *Leches*, whereunto is added *Po*, which signifieth *People*, and so is made *Polaches*, that is, the *People or Posteritie of Laches*: which the *Latines* after their manner of writing call *Polanos*. The third are the *Swedens*. The *Polonians* and *Swedens* are better knowne to these parts of *Europe*, then are the *Tartars* that are farther off from vs (as being of *Asia*) and diuided into many Tribes, different both in name, and gouernment one from another. The greatest and mightiest of them is the *Chrim Tartar*, (whom some call the *Great Cham*) that lyeth South, and South-east-ward from *Russia*, and doth most annoy the Countrey by often Inuasions, commonly once euery yeere, sometimes entring very farre within the In-land parts. *Chap. 19. Of the Tartars and other borderers to the countrey of Russia, with whom they haue most to doe in war and peace. The Polonians called Laches by the Russe. The Chrim Tartar.*

In the yeere 1571. he came as farre as the Citie of *Mosko*, with an Armie of 200000. men, without any battell, or resistance at all, for that the *Russe* Emperour (then *Iuan Vasilowich*) leading forth his Armie to encounter with him, marched a wrong way: but as it was thought of very purpose, as not daring to aduenture the field, by reason that he doubted his Nobilitie, and chiefe Captaynes, of a meaning to betray him to the *Tartar*. *The firing of Mosko by the Chrim Tartar, in the yeere 1571.*

The Citie he tooke not, but fired the Suburbs, which by reason of the buildings (which is all of Wood without any Stone, Bricke, or Lime, saue certayne out Roomes) kindled so quickly, and went on with such rage, as that it consumed the greatest part of the Citie almost within the space of foure houres, being of thirty miles or more of compasse. Then might you haue seene a lamentable Spectacle: besides the huge and mightie flame of the Citie all on light fire, the people burning in their houses and streets, but most of all of such as laboured to passe out of the Gates farthest from the Enemie, where meeting together in a mighty throng, and so pressing euerie man to preuent another, wedged themselues so fast within the Gate, and streets neere vnto it, as that three Rankes walked one vpon the others head, the vppermost treading downe those that were lower: so that there perished at that time (as was said) by the fire and the presse, the number of 80000. people, or more.

The *Chrim* thus hauing fired the Citie, and fed his eyes with the sight of it all of a light flame, returned with his Armie, and sent to the *Russe* Emperour a Knife (as was sayd) to sticke himselfe withall: obrayding this losse, and his desperate case, as not daring either to meete his Enemie in the field, nor to trust his Friends or Subjects at home. The principall cause of this continuall quarrell, betwixt the *Russe* and the *Chrim*, is for the right of certayne border parts claimed by the *Tartar*, but possessed by the *Russe*. The *Tartar* alleadgeth, that besides *Astracan* and *Cazan*, (that are the ancient possession of the East *Tartar*) the whole Countrey from his bounds North and Westward, so farre as the Citie of *Mosko*, and *Mosko* it selfe, pertayneth to his right.

Which

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Homage done by the *Ruſſe* to the *Chrim Tartar.*

See the firſt booke of *Bathay* and of the *Tartars* Conqueſts.

Which ſeemeth to haue beene true by the report of the *Ruſſes* themſelues, that tell of a certayne homage that was done by the *Ruſſe* Emperour euery yeere, to the great *Chrim* or *Cham*, the *Ruſſe* Emperour ſtanding on foote and feeding the *Chrims* Horſe, (himſelfe ſitting on his backe) with Oates out of his owne Cap, in ſtead of a Boll or Manger, and that within the Caſtle of *Moſko*. And this homage (they ſay) was done till the time of *Baſileus* Grandfather to this man. Who ſurpriſing the *Chrim* Emperour by a ſtratagem, done by one of his Nobilitie (called *Iuan Demetrowich Belſchey*) was content with this Ranſome, *viz.* with the changing of this homage into a Tribute of Furres: which afterwards alſo was denyed to bee payed by this Emperours Father.

Hereupon they continue the quarrell, the *Ruſſe* defending his Countrey, and that which hee hath wonne, the *Chrim Tartar* inuading him once or twice euery yeere, ſometime about Whitſontide, but oftner in Harueſt What time if the Great *Cham* or *Chrim* come in his owne perſon, hee bringeth with him a great Armie of 100000. or 200000. men. Otherwiſe they make ſhort and ſudden roades into the Countrey with leſſer numbers, running about the liſt of the border as wilde Geeſe flie, inuading and retiring where they ſee aduantage.

The manner of the *Tartars* fight, and Armour.

Their common practice (being very populous) is to make diuers Armies, and ſo drawing the *Ruſſe* to one, or two places of the frontiers, to inuade at ſome other place, that is left without defence. Their manner of Fight, or ordering of their forces, is much after the *Ruſſe* manner, (ſpoken of before) ſaue that they are all Horſe-men, and carrie nothing elſe but a Bow, a ſheafe of Arrowes, & a falcon Sword after the *Turkiſh* faſhion. They are very expert horſe-men, and vſe to ſhoote as readily backward as forward. Some will haue a horſ-mans ſtaffe like to a bore Speare, beſides their other weapons.

Apparell.

The common Souldier, hath no other Armour then his ordinary Apparell, *viz.* a blacke Sheepes skinne with the wooll-ſide outward in the day time, and inward in the night time, with a Cap of the ſame.

Mirzahs or *Morſeis.*

But their *Morſeys* or Noblemen imitate the *Turke*, both in Apparell and Armour. When they are to paſſe ouer a Riuer with their Armie, they tye three or foure Horſes together, and taking long poles or pieces of wood, binde them faſt to the tayles of their Horſe: ſo ſitting on the Poles they driue their Horſe ouer. At handie ſtrokes (when they come to joyne battell) they are accounted farre better men then the *Ruſſe* people, fierce by nature, but more hardie and bloudie, by continuall practice of Warre: as men knowing no Arts of Peace, nor any ciuill practice.

The ſubtiltie of the *Tartar.*

Yet their ſubtiltie is more then may ſeeme to agree with their barbarous condition. By reaſon they are practiſed to inuade continually, and to rob their neighbours that border about them, they are very pregnant, and ready witted to deuiſe Stratagems vpon the ſudden, for their better aduantage. As in their warre againſt *Beala*, the fourth King of *Hungarie*, whom they inuaded with fiue hundred thouſand men, and obtayned againſt him a great victorie. Where among other, hauing ſlaine his Chancellor, called *Nicholas Schinich*, they found about him the Kings priuie Seale. Whereupon they deuiſed preſently to counterfeit Letters in the Kings name, to the Cities and Townes next about the place, where the Field was fought: with charge that in no caſe they ſhould conuay themſelues, and their goods out of their dwellings, where they might abide ſafely without all feare of danger, and not leaue the Countrey deſolate to the poſſeſſion of ſo vile and barbarous an Enemie, as was the *Tartar* Nation, tearming themſelues in all reproachfull manner. For notwithſtanding he had loſt his carriages, with ſome few ſtraglers that had marched diſorderly, yet he doubted not but to recouer that loſſe, with the acceſſe of a notable victory, if the ſauage *Tartar* durſt abide him in the field. To this purpoſe hauing written their Letters in the *Poliſh* Character, by certayne young men whom they tooke in the Field, and ſigned them with the Kings Seale, they diſpatched them foorth to all the Quarters of *Hungarie*, that lay neere about the place. Whereupon the *Ungarians*, that were now flying away with their goods, Wiues, and Children, vpon the rumour of the Kings ouerthrow, taking comfort of theſe counterfeit Letters, ſtayed at home. And ſo were made a prey, being ſurpriſed on the ſudden by this huge number of theſe *Tartars*, that had compaſſed them about before they were aware.

When they beſiege a Towne or Fort, they offer much Parley, and ſend many flattering meſſages to perſwade a ſurrendrie: promiſing all things that the Inhabitants will require: but being once poſſeſſed of the place, they vſe all manner of hoſtilitie and crueltie. This they doe vpon a rule they haue, *viz.* That Iuſtice is to bee practiſed but towards their owne. They encounter not lightly, but they haue ſome ambuſh, whereunto (hauing once ſhewed themſelues, and made ſome ſhort conflict) they retire, as repulſed for feare, and ſo draw the Enemie into it if they can. But the *Ruſſe* being well acquainted with their practiſe, is more warie of them. When they come a Rouing with ſome ſmall number, they ſet on Horſebacke counterfeit ſhapes of men, that their number may ſeeme greater.

Tartars reſolution.

When they make any onſet, their manner is to make a great ſhowte, crying all out together, *Olla Billa, Olla Billa, God helpe vs, God helpe vs.* They contemne death ſo much, as that they chooſe rather to dye, then to yeeld to their Enemie, and are ſeene when they are ſlaine to bite the very weapon, when they are paſt ſtriking, or helping of themſelues. Wherein appeareth how different the *Tartar* is in his deſperate courage from the *Ruſſe* and *Turke*. For the *Ruſſe* Souldier

Souldier if hee begin once to retire putteth all his safetie in his speedie flight. And if once he be taken by his enemie, hee neither defendeth himselfe, nor intreateth for his life, as reckoning straight to dye. The *Turke* commonly when hee is past hope of escaping, falleth to intreatie, and casteth away his weapon, offereth both his hands, and holdeth them vp, as it were to bee tyed: hoping to saue his life, by offering himselfe Bond-slaue.

The chiefe bootie the *Tartars* seeke for in all their warres, is to get store of Captiues, specially young Boyes and Girles, whom they sell to the *Turkes*, or other their neighbours. To this purpose they take with them great Baskets made like Bakers panniers, to carrie them tenderly, and if any of them happen to tyre, or to bee sicke on the way, they dash him against the ground, or some Tree, and so leaue him dead: The Souldiers are not troubled with keeping the Captiues and other bootie, for hindering the execution of their warres, but they haue certayne hands that intend nothing else, appointed of purpose to receiue and keepe the Captiues and the other prey. Captiues.

The *Russe* borders (being vsed to their inuasions, lightly euery yeere in the Summer) keepe few other Cattell on the borders parts, saue Swine onely, which the *Tartar* will not touch, nor driue away with him: for that he is of the *Turkish* Religion, & will eate no Swines-flesh. Of Christ our Sauiour they confesse as much as doth the *Turke* in his Alcaron, *viz.* That he came of the Angell *Gabriel*, and the Virgin *Marie*, that hee was a great Prophet, and shall bee the Iudge of the world at the last day. In other matters likewise, they are much ordered after the manner and direction of the *Turke*: hauing felt the *Turkish* forces when hee wonne from them *Azou* and *Cessa*, with some other Townes about the *Euxine*, or *Blacke Sea*, that were before tributaries to the *Chrim Tartar*. So that now the Emperour of the *Chrims* for the most part is chosen some one of the Nobilitie whom the *Turke* doth commend: whereby it is brought now to that passe, that the *Chrim Tartar* giueth to the *Turke* the tenth part of the spoyle, which hee getteth in his warres against the *Christians*. The *Tartars* Religion.

Herein they differ from the *Turkish* Religion, for that they haue certayne Idoll puppets made of Silke or like stuffe, of the fashion of a man, which they fasten to the doore of their walking houses, to bee as *Ianusses*, or keepers of their house. And these Idols are made not by all, but by certayne Religious women, which they haue among them for that and like vses. They haue besides, the Image of their King or great *Cham* of an huge bignesse, which they erect at euerie stage, when the Armie marcheth: and this euery one must bend or bow vnto as hee passeth by it, bee he *Tartar*, or Stranger. They are much giuen to Witchcraft and ominous conjectures, vpon euery accident which they heare or see. Idols. Sorcerie.

In making of Marriages, they haue no regard of alliance or consanguinitie. Only with his Mother, Sister, and Daughter, a man may not marrie, and though he take the woman into his house and accompanie with her, yet he accounteth her not for his Wife, till hee haue a Child by her. Then he beginneth to take a dowrie of her friends of Horse, Sheepe, Kine, &c. If shee be barren, after a certayne time hee turneth her home againe. Marriage.

Vnder the Emperour they haue certayne Dukes, whom they call *Morsei* or *Dynoymorseis*: that rule ouer a certayne number of 10000. 20000. or 40000. a piece, which they call *Hoords*. When the Emperour hath any vse of them to serue in his warres, they are bound to come, and to bring with them their Souldiers to a certayne number, euery man with his two Horse at the least, the one to ride on, the other to kill, when it commeth to his turne to haue his Horse eate. For their chiefe victuall is Horse-flesh, which they eate without Bread, or any other thing with it. So that if a *Tartar* bee taken by a *Russe*, hee shall be sure lightly to finde a Horse-legge, or some other part of him at his saddle bow. The *Tartar* Nobilitie. The *Tartar* dyet.

This last yeere when I was at the *Moske*, came in one *Kiriach Morsey*, nephew to the Emperour of the *Chrims* that now is (whose Father was Emperour before) accompanied with three hundred *Tartars*, and his two Wiues, whereof one was his Brothers widow. Where being entertayned in very good sort after the *Russe* manner, hee had sent vnto his lodging for his welcome, to bee made ready for his Supper and his companies, two very large and fat Horses, ready flayed in a Sled. They preferre it before other flesh, because the meare is stronger (as they say) then Beefe, Mutton, and such like. And yet (which is maruell) though they serue all as Horsemen in the warres, and eate all of Horse-flesh, there are brought yeerely to the *Moske* to bee exchanged for other Commodities, thirtie or fortie thousand *Tartar* Horse, which they call *Cones*. They keepe also great herds of Kine, and flockes of blacke Sheepe, rather for the Skinnes and Milke (which they carry with them in great bottles) then for the vse of the flesh, though sometimes they eate of it. Some vse they haue of Rice, Figges, and other fruits. They drinke Milke or warme Bloud, and for the most part card them both together. They vse sometimes as they trauell by the way, to let their Horse bloud in a veyne, and to drinke it warme, as it commeth from his body.

Townes they plant none, nor other standing buildings, but haue walking Houses which the *Latines* call *Veij*, built vpon wheeles like a Shepherds Cottage. These they draw with them whithersoeuer they goe, driuing their Cattell with them. And when they come to their Stage or The *Tartars* dwelling.

standing

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Moueable Citie and Court.

ſtanding place, they plant their Cart-houſes very orderly in a ranke : and ſo make the forme of ſtreets, and of a large Towne. And this is the manner of the Emperour himſelfe, who hath no other ſeate of his Empire but an *Agora*, or Towne of wood, that mooueth with him whitherſoeuer hee goeth. As for the fixed and ſtanding building vſed in other Countries, they ſay they are vnwholſome and vnpleaſant.

They begin to moose their Houſes and Cattell in the Spring time, from the South part of their Countrey towards the North parts. And ſo driuing on till they haue graſed all vp to the furtheſt part Northward, they returne backe againe towards their South Countrey (where they continue all the Winter) by ten or twelue miles a ſtage : in the meane while the graſſe being ſprung vp againe, to ſerue for their Cattell as they returne. From the border of the *Shalcan* towards the *Caſpian* Sea, to the *Ruſſe* frontiers, they haue a goodly Countrey, ſpecially on the South and South-eaſt parts, but loſt for lacke of tillage.

Of money they haue no vſe at all, and therefore preferre Braſſe and Steele before other metals, ſpecially Bullate, which they vſe for Swords, Kniues, and other neceſſaries. As for Gold and Siluer they neglect it of very purpoſe, (as they doe all tillage of their ground) to be more free for their wandring kinde of life, and to keepe their Countrey leſſe ſubject to inuaſions. Which giueth them great aduantage againſt all their neighbours, euer inuading, and neuer being inuaded.

Tartars perſons deſcribed.

For Perſon and Complexion, they haue broad and flat viſages, of a tanned colour yellow and blacke, fierce and cruell lookes, thinne hayred vpon the vpper Lip, and a pit on the Chin, light and nimble Bodied, with ſhort Legges, as if they were made naturally for Horſe-men : whereto they practiſe themſelues from their Childhood, ſeldome going a foot about any buſineſſe. Their Speach is very ſudden and loude, ſpeaking as it were out of a deepe hollow throat. When they Sing you would thinke a Cow lowed, or ſome great Bandogge howled. Their greateſt exerciſe is Shooting, wherein they trayne vp their Children from their very infancie, not ſuffering them to eate, till they haue ſhot neere the marke within a certaine ſcantling.

Speach.
Song.
Shooting.

Diuers kindes of *Tartars*.

There are diuers other *Tartars* that border vpon *Ruſſia*, as the *Nagaies*, the *Cheremiſſens*, the *Mordwites*, the *Chircaſſes*, and the *Shalcans*, which all differ in Name more then in Regiment, or other condition, from the *Chrim Tartar*, except the *Chircaſſes*, that border South-weſt towards *Lituania*, and are farre more ciuill then the reſt of the *Tartars*, of a comely perſon, and of a ſtately behauiour, as applying themſelues to the faſhion of the *Polonian*. Some of them haue ſubjected themſelues to the Kings of *Poland*, and profeſſe *Chriſtianitie*. The *Nagay* lyeth Eaſtward, and is reckoned for the beſt man of warre among all the *Tartars*, but very ſauage and cruell aboue all the reſt. The *Cheremiſin Tartar*, that lyeth betwixt the *Ruſſe* and the *Nagay*, are of two ſorts, the *Lugauoy* (that is of the valley) and the *Nagornay*, or of the hilly Countrey. Theſe haue much troubled the Emperours of *Ruſſia*. And therefore they are content now to buy Peace of them, vnder pretence of giuing a yeerely penſion of *Ruſſe* Commodities, to their *Morſeis* or *Dyuoymorſeis*, that are chiefe of their Tribes. For which alſo they are bound to ſerue them in their warres, vnder certayne conditions. They are ſayd to bee juſt and true in their dealings : and for that cauſe they hate the *Ruſſe* people, whom they account to bee double, and falſe in all their dealing. And therefore the common ſort are very vnwilling to keepe agreement with them, but that they are kept in by their *Morſeis*, or Dukes for their penſions ſake.

The *Nagay Tartar* the cruelleſt.
The *Chircaſce* the ciuilleſt *Tartars*.
The *Cheremiſſen Tartar*.

The moſt rude and barbarous is counted the *Mordwite Tartar*, that hath many ſelfe faſhions, and ſtrange kindes of behauiour, differing from the reſt. For his Religion, though hee acknowledge one God, yet his manner is to worſhip for God, that liuing thing, that hee firſt meeteth in the morning, and to ſweare by it all that whole day, whether it bee Horſe, Dog, Cat, or whatſoeuer elſe it bee. When his friend dyeth, hee killeth his beſt Horſe, and hauing flayed off the skinne, he carryeth it on high vpon a long pole, before the Corps to the place of Buriall. This he doth (as the *Ruſſe* fayth) that his friend may haue a good horſe to carrie him to Heauen : but it is likelier to declare his loue towards his dead friend, in that hee will haue to dye with him the beſt thing that hee hath.

The *Mordwit Tartar* the moſt barbarous of the reſt.

Next to the Kingdome of *Aſtracan*, that is the furtheſt part South-eaſtward of the *Ruſſe* Dominion, lyeth the *Shalcan*, and the Countrey of *Media* : whither the *Ruſſe* Merchants trade for raw Silkes, Syndon, Saphyon, Skinnes, and other commodities. The chiefe Townes of *Media* where the *Ruſſe* tradeth, are *Derbent* (built by *Alexander* the great, as the Inhabitants ſay) and *Zamachie*, where the ſtaple is kept for raw Silkes. Their manner is, in the Spring time to reuiue the Silke-wormes (that lye dead all the Winter) by laying them in the warme Sunne, and (to haſten their quickning, that they may ſooner goe to worke) to put them into bagges, and ſo to hang them vnder their Childrens armes. As for the Worme called *Chriniſin* (as wee call it *Chrimſon*) that maketh coloured Silke, it is bred not in *Media*, but in *Aſſyria*. This trade to *Derbent* and *Samachie* for raw Silkes, and other commodities of that Countrey, as alſo in *Perſia*, and *Bougharia*, downe the Riuer *Volgha*, and through the *Caſpian* Sea, is permitted as well to the *Engliſh*, as to the *Ruſſe* Merchants, by the Emperours laſt Grant at my being there. Which hee accounteth for a very ſpeciall fauour, and might proue indeed very beneficiall to our *Engliſh* Merchants, if the Trade were well and orderly vſed.

Shalcan.

Derbent.

The

The whole Nation of the *Tartars* are vtterly voide of all Learning, and without written Law. Yet certayne rules they haue which they hold by tradition, common to all the *Hoords* for the practice of their life. Which are of this sort. *First, To obey their Emperour and other Magistrates, whatsoeuer they command about the publike Seruice. Secondly, Except for the publike behoofe, euery man to bee free and out of Controlement. Thirdly, No priuate man to possesse any Lands, but the whole Countrey to bee as a Common. Fourthly, To neglect all daintinesse and varietie of Meates, and to content themselues with that which commeth next to hand, for more hardnesse, and readinesse in the executing of their Affaires. Fifily, To weare any base Attire, and to patch their Cloathes, whether there bee any need or not: that when there is need, it bee no shame to weare a patcht Coate. Sixtly, To take or steale from any Stranger whatsoeuer they can get, as being Enemies to all men, saue to such as will subiect themselues to them. Seuenthly, Towards their owne Hoord and Nation, to bee true in word and deed. Eightly, To suffer no Stranger to come within the Realme, if any doe, the same to bee Bond-slaue to him that first taketh him, except such Merchants and other, as haue the* Tartar *Bull or Passport about them.* *Tartars* generall Rules.

THe *Permians* and *Samoits* that lye from *Russia*, North and North-east, are thought likewise to haue taken their beginning from the *Tartar* kinde. And it may partly be ghessed by the fashion of their Countenance, as hauing all broad and flat faces, as the *Tartars* haue, except the *Circasses*. The *Permians* are accounted for a very ancient people. They are now subiect to the *Russe*. They liue by Hunting and trading with their Furres, as doth also the *Samoyt*, that dwelleth more towards the North Sea. The *Samoyt* hath his name (as the *Russe* saith) of *Eating himselfe*: as if in times past, they liued as the *Cannibals*, eating one another. Which they make more probable, because at this time they eate all kinde of raw flesh, whatsoeuer it bee, euen the very Carrion that lyeth in the ditch. But as the *Samoits* themselues will say, they were called *Samoie*, that is, *of themselues*, as though they were *Indigina*, or people bred vpon that very soyle, that neuer changed their seate from one place to another, as most Nations haue done. They are subiect at this time to the Emperour of *Russia*. *Chap. 20.* Of the *Permians, Samoits,* and *Lappes.* The *Permians.* The *Samoits.*

I talked with certaine of them, and finde that they acknowledge one God: but represent him by such things as they haue most vse and good by. And therefore they worship the Sunne, the Ollen, the Losh, and such like. As for the Storie of *Slata Baba*, or the *Gelden hagge*, (which I haue read in some Maps, and descriptions of these Countries, to bee an Idoll after the forme of an old Woman) that being demanded by the Priest, giueth them certaine Oracles, concerning the successe and euent of things, I found it to bee but a very fable. Onely in the Prouince of *Obdoria* vpon the Sea side, neere to the mouth of the great Riuer *Obba*, there is a Rocke, which naturally (being somewhat helped by imagination) may seeme to beare the shape of a ragged Woman with a Child in her armes, (as the Rocke by the North cape the shape of a Frier) where the *Obdorian Samoits* vse much to resort, by reason of the commoditie of the place for Fishing: and there sometime (as their manner is) conceiue, and practice their Sorceries, and ominous conjecturings about the good, or bad speed of their Iourneyes, Fishings, Huntings, and such like. The *Samoits* Religion. *Slata Baba* of the Golden Hag.

They are clad in Seale-skinnes, with the hayrie side outwards downe as low as the knees, with their Breeches and Netherstocks of the same, both men and women. They are all Blacke hayred, naturally beardlesse. And therefore the Men are hardly discerned from the Women by their lookes: saue that the Women weare a locke of hayre downe along both their eares. They liue in a manner a wilde and a sauage life, rouing still from one place of the Countrey to another, without any propertie of House or Land more to one then to another. Their leader or director in euery Companie, is their *Papa* or Priest. The *Samoits* habite and behauiour.

On the North side of *Russia* next to *Corelia*, lyeth the Countrey of *Lappia*, which reacheth in length from the furthest point Northward, (towards the North cape) to the furthest part South-east (which the *Russe* calleth *Sweetnesse* or Holy nose, the *English* men *Cape-grace*) about three hundred and fortie fiue verst or miles. From *Sweetnesse* to *Candelox*, by the way of *Versega* (which measureth the breadth of that Countrey) is ninetie miles or thereabouts. The whole Countrey in a manner is either Lakes or Mountaines, which towards the Sea side are called *Tondro*, because they are all of hard and craggie Rocke, but the inland parts are well furnished with Woods, that grow on the hills sides, the lakes lying betweene. Their dyet is very bare and simple. Bread they haue none, but feed onely vpon Fish and Fowle. They are subiect to the Emperour of *Russia*, and the two Kings of *Sweden* and *Denmarke*: which all exact Tribute and Custome of them (as was sayd before) but the Emperour of *Russia* beareth the greatest hand ouer them, and exact of them farre more then the rest. The opinion is that they were first tearmed *Lappes*, of their briefe and short speach. The *Russe* diuideth the whole Nation of the *Lappes* into two sorts. The one they call *Nowremanskoy Lapary*, that is, the *Norwegian Lappes*: because they bee of the *Danish* Religion. For the *Danes* and *Norwegians*, they account for one people. The other that haue no Religion at all, but liue as bruite and Heathenish people, without God in the world, they call *Dikoy Lopary*, or the wilde *Lappes*. The *Lappes*. No Bread. Wilde *Lappes*.

The whole Nation is vtterly vnlearned, hauing not so much as the vse of any Alphabet, or Letter

Witches. Letter among them. For practice of Witch-craft and Sorcerie; they paſſe all Nations in the the World. Though for the inchanting of ſhips that ſayle along their Coaſt (as I haue heard it reported) and their giuing of winds good to their friends, and contrary to other, whom they meane to hurt by tying of certayne knots vpon a Rope (ſomewhat like to the Tale of *Æolus* his wind-bag) is a very Fable, deuiſed (as may ſeeme) by themſelues, to terrifie Saylers for comming neere their Coaſt. Their Weapons are the Long-bow, and Hand-gunne, wherein they excell, aſwell for quickneſſe to charge and diſcharge, as for neerneſſe at the Marke, by reaſon of their continuall practice (whereto they are forced) of ſhooting at wild-fowle. Their manner is *Wardhuyſe.* in Summer time to come downe in great companies to the Sea-ſide, to *Wardhuyſe*, *Cola*, *Kegor*, and the Bay of *Vedagoba*, and there to fiſh for Cod, Salmon, and But-fiſh, which they ſell to the *Ruſſes*, *Danes*, and *Norwegians*, and now of late to the *Engliſh*-men that trade thither with Cloth, which they exchange with the *Lappes* and *Coreliens*, for their Fiſh, Oyle, and Furres, *Cola.* whereof alſo they haue ſome ſtore. They hold their Mart at *Cola*, on Saint *Peters* day, what time the Captayne of *Wardhuyſe* (that is Reſiant there for the King of *Denmarke*) muſt be preſent, or at leaſt ſend his Deputie to ſet prices vpon their Stock-fiſh, Trane-oyle, Furres, and other Commodities: as alſo the *Ruſſe* Emperours Cuſtomer, or Tribute taker, to receiue his Cuſtome, which is euer payed before any thing can be bought, or ſold. When their fiſhing is done, their manner is to draw their Carbaſſes, or Boats on ſhoare, and there to leaue them with the Sleds drawne with Deere. Keele turned vpwards, till the next Spring-tyde. Their trauell too and fro is vpon Sleds, drawne by the *Olen* Deere: which they vſe to turne a grazing all the Summer time, in an Iland called *Kilden* (of a very good Soyle compared with other parts of that Countrey) and towards the Winter time, when the Snow beginneth to fall, they fetch them home againe, for the vſe of their Sled.

Chap. 21. Of their Eccleſiaſticall ſtate, with their Church Offices.

CONcerning the Gouernment of their Church, it is framed altogether after the manner of the *Greeke*: as being a part of that Church, and neuer acknowledging the Iuriſdicton of the *Latine* Church, vſurped by the Pope. That I may keepe a better meaſure in deſcribing their Ceremonies, then they in the vſing them (wherein they are infinite) I will note briefly: Firſt, what Eccleſiaſticall Degrees, or Offices they haue with the Iuriſdiction, and practice of them. Secondly, what Doctrine they hold in matter of Religion. Thirdly, what Lyturgie, or forme of Seruice they vſe in their Churches, with the manner of their adminiſtring the Sacraments. Fourthly, what other ſtrange Ceremonies, and Superſtitious Deuotions are vſed among them.

The Church Officers. Their Offices, or Degrees of Church-men, are as many in number, and the ſame in a manner both in name and degree, that were in the Weſterne Churches. Firſt, they haue their *Patriarch*, then their *Metropolites*, their *Archbiſhops*, their *Uladikey*, or *Biſhops*, their *Protopapes* or *Archprieſts*, their *Deacons*, *Friers*, *Monkes*, *Nunnes*, and *Eremites*.

The Patriarch. Their *Patriarch*, or chiefe Directer in matter of Religion vntill this laſt yeere, was of the Citie of *Conſtantinople* (whom they called the *Patriarch* of *Sio*) becauſe being driuen by the *Turke* Patriarch of *Sio*, or *Chio*. out of *Conſtantinople* (the Seate of his Empire) he remoued to the Ile *Sio*, ſometimes called *Chio*, and there placed his Patriarchiall Sea. So that the Emperours, and Clergie of *Ruſſia*, were wont yeerely to ſend Gifts thither, and to acknowledge a Spirituall kind of homage, and ſubjection due to him, and to that Church. Which cuſtome they haue held (as it ſeemeth) euer ſince they profeſſed the Chriſtian Religion. Which how long it hath bn I could not wel learne, for that they haue no Story or Monument of Antiquitie (that I could heare of) to ſhew what hath beene done in times paſt within their Countrey, concerning either Church, or Common-wealth matters. Onely I heare a report among them, that about three hundred yeers ſince, there was a Mariage betwixt the Emperour of *Conſtantinople*, and the Kings Daughter of that Countrey: who at the firſt denyed to joyne his Daughter in Mariage with the *Greeke* Emperour, becauſe he was of the Chriſtian Religion. Which agreeth well with that I find in the Story of *Laonicus Chalcocondylas* concerning *Turkiſh* Affaires in his fourth Booke: where hee ſpeaketh of ſuch a Mariage betwixt *Iohn* the *Greeke* Emperour, and the Kings Daughter of *Sarmatia*. And this argueth out of their owne report, that at that time they had not receiued the Chriſtian Religion: as alſo that they were conuerted to the Faith, and withall peruerted at the very ſame time, receiuing the Doctrine of the Goſpell, corrupted with Superſtitions euen at the firſt when they tooke it from the *Greeke* Church, which it ſelfe then was degenerate, and corrupted with many Superſtitions, and foule Errours, both in Doctrine and Diſcipline: as may appeare by the Story of *Nicephorus Gregoras*, in his eighth and ninth Bookes. But as touching the time of their Conuerſion to the Chriſtian Faith, I ſppoſe rather that it is miſtaken by the *Ruſſe*, for that which I find in the *Polonian* Story, the ſecond Booke the third Chapter: where is ſaid that about the yeere 990. *Vlodomirus* Duke of *Ruſſia*, married one *Anne* Siſter to *Baſilius*, and *Conſtantinus* Brothers, and Emperours of *Conſtantinople*. Whereupon the *Ruſſe* receiued the Faith and Profeſſion of Chriſt. Which though it be ſomewhat more ancient then the time noted before out of the *Ruſſe* Report, yet it falleth out all to one reckoning, touching this point, *viz.* in what truth and

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ſinceritie of Doctrine the *Ruſſe* receiued the firſt ſtampe of Religion: for aſmuch as the *Greeke* Church at that time alſo was many wayes infected with errour and ſuperſtition.

The tranſlation of the Patriarchicall ſea from *Conſtantinople* or *Sio*, to *Mosko*.

At my being there, the yeere 1588. came vnto the *Mosko* the Patriarch of *Conſtantinople*, or *Sio* (called *Hieronimo* being baniſhed as ſome ſayd) by the *Turke*, as ſome other reported by the *Greeke* Clergie depriued. The Emperour being giuen altogether to ſuperſtitious deuotions, gaue him great entertaynment. Before his comming to *Mosko*, hee had beene in *Italy* with the Pope, as was reported there by ſome of his company. His arrand was to conſult with the Emperour concerning theſe points. Firſt, about a League to paſſe betwixt him and the King of *Spaine*, as the meeteſt Prince to joyne with him in oppoſition againſt the *Turke*. To which purpoſe alſo Ambaſſages had paſſed betwixt the *Ruſſe* and the *Perſian*. Likewiſe from the *Georgians* to the Emperour of *Ruſſia*, to joyne league together, for the inuading of the *Turke* on all ſides of his Dominion: taking the aduantage of the ſimple qualitie of the *Turke* that now is. This treatie was helped forward by the Emperours Ambaſſadour of *Almayne*, ſent at the ſame time to ſolicite an inuaſion vpon the parts of *Polonia*, that lye towards *Ruſland*, and to borrow money of the *Ruſſe* Emperour, to purſue the warre for his Brother *Maximilian*, againſt the *Swedens* ſonne, now King of *Poland*. But this conſultation concerning a league betwixt the *Ruſſe* and the *Spaniard*, (which was in ſome forwardneſſe at my comming to *Mosko*, and already one appointed for Ambaſſage into *Spaine*) was marred by meanes of the ouerthrow giuen to the *Spaniſh* King by her Majeſtie, the Queene of *England*, this laſt yeere. Which made the *Ruſſe* Emperour and his Councell, to giue a ſadder countenance to the *Engliſh* Ambaſſadour at that time: for that they were diſappointed of ſo good a policie, as was this conjunction ſuppoſed to bee betwixt them and the *Spaniſh*.

His ſecond purpoſe (whereto the firſt ſerued as an introduction) was in reuenge of the *Turke* and the *Greeke* Clergie, that had thruſt him from his ſeate, to treate with them about the reducing of the *Ruſſe* Church vnder the Pope of *Rome*. Wherein it may ſeeme that comming lately from *Rome*, hee was ſet on by the Pope, who hath attempted the ſame many times before, though all in vaine; and namely the time of the late Emperour *Iuan Vaſilowich*, by one *Anthony* his Legate. But thought this belike a farre better meane to obtayne his purpoſe by treatie and mediation of their owne Patriarch. But this not ſucceeding, the Patriarch fell to a third point of treatie, concerning the reſignation of his Patriarchſhip, and tranſlation of the Sea from *Conſtantinople* or *Scio*, to the Citie of *Mosko*. Which was ſo well liked and entertayned by the Emperour (as a matter of high Religion and policie) that no other treatie (ſpecially of forraigne Ambaſſages) could bee heard or regarded, till that matter was concluded.

The reaſon wherewith the Patriarch perſwaded the tranſlating of his Sea to the Citie of *Mosko*, were theſe in effect. Firſt, for that the Sea of the Patriarch was vnder the *Turke*, that is enemie to the Faith. And therefore to bee remooued into ſome other Countrey of *Chriſtian* profeſſion. Secondly, becauſe the *Ruſſe* Church was the onely naturall daughter of the *Greeke* at this time, and holdeth the ſame Doctrine and Ceremonies with it: the reſt being all ſubject to the *Turke*, and fallen away from the right profeſſion. Wherein the ſubtill *Greeke* to make the better market of his broken ware, aduanced the honour that would grow to the Emperour, and his Countrey: to haue the Patriarchs Seat tranſlated into the chiefe Citie, and ſeate of his Empire. As for the right of tranſlating the Sea, and appointing his Succeſſour, hee made no doubt of it, but that it pertayned wholly to himſelfe.

The Patriarchſhip of *Conſtantinople* tranſlated to *Mosko*.

So the Emperour and his Councell, with the principall of his Clergie, being aſſembled at the *Mosko*, it was determined that the Metropolite of *Mosko*, ſhould become Patriarch of the whole *Greeke* Church, and haue the ſame full Authoritie and Iuriſdiction that pertayned before to the Patriarch of *Conſtantinople*, or *Sio*. And that it might bee done with more order and ſolemnitie, the fiue and twentieth of Ianuarie, 1588. the *Greeke* Patriarch accompanied with the *Ruſſe* Clergie, went to the great Church of *Prechebſte*, or our Ladie, within the Emperours Caſtle (hauing firſt wandred thorow the whole Citie in manner of a Proceſſion, and bleſſing the people with his two fingers) where hee made an Oration, and deliuered his reſignation in an Inſtrument of writing, and ſo layed downe his Patriarchicall ſtaffe. Which was preſently receiued by the Metropolite of *Mosko*, and diuers other ceremonies vſed about the Inauguration of this new Patriarch.

The day was holden very ſolemne by the people of the Citie, who were commanded to forbeare their workes, and to attend this ſolemnitie. The great Patriarch that day was honoured with rich Preſents ſent him from the Emperour and Empreſſe, of Plate, cloath of Gold, Furres, &c. carryed with great pompe thorow the ſtreets of *Mosko*, and at his departing receiued many gifts more, both from the Emperour, Nobilitie, and Clergie. Thus the Patriarchſhip of *Conſtantinople*, or *Sio*, (which hath continued ſince the Councell of *Nice*) is now tranſlated to *Mosko*, or they made beleeue that they haue a Patriarch with the ſame right and Authoritie that the other had. Wherein the ſubtill *Greeke* hath made good aduantage of their Superſtition, and is now gone away with a rich booty into *Poland*, whither their Patriarchſhip be currant or not.

The matter is not vnlike to make ſome Schiſme betwixt the *Greeke* and *Ruſſe* Church, if the

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Ruſſe hold his Patriarchſhip that hee hath ſo well payed for, and the *Greekes* Elect another withall, as * likely they will, whether this man were baniſhed by the *Turke*, or depriued by order of his owne Clergie. Which might happen to giue aduantage to the Pope, and to bring ouer the *Ruſſe* Church to the Sea of *Rome*, (to which end peraduenture hee deuiſed this Stratagem, and caſt in this matter of Schiſme among them) but that the Emperours of *Ruſſia* know well enough, by the example of other *Chriſtian* Princes, what inconuenience would grow to their State and Countrey, by ſubjecting themſelues to the *Romiſh* Sea. To which end the late Emperour *Iuan Vaſilowich*, was very inquiſitiue of the Popes authoritie ouer the Princes of *Chriſtendome*, and ſent one of very purpoſe to *Rome*, to behold the order and behauiour of his Court.

*As they doe and euer ſince haue done.

With this Patriarch *Hieronymo*, was driuen out at the ſame time by the great *Turke*, one *Demetrio* Archbiſhop of *Lariſſa*: who is now in *England*, and pretendeth the ſame cauſe of their baniſhment by the *Turke*, (to wit) their not admitting of the Popes new Kalender, for the alteration of the yeere. Which how vnlikely it is, may appeare by theſe Circumſtances. Firſt, becauſe there is no ſuch affection, nor friendly reſpect betwixt the *Pope* and the *Turke*, as that hee ſhould baniſh a Subject for not obeying the *Popes* ordinance, ſpecially in a matter of ſome ſequel for the alteration of Times within his owne Countries. Secondly, for that hee maketh no ſuch ſcruple in deducting of times, and keeping of a juſt and preciſe account from the Incarnation of Chriſt: whom hee doth not acknowledge otherwiſe then I noted before. Thirdly, for that the ſayd Patriarch is now at *Naples* in *Italy*, where it may be gheſſed he would not haue gone within the Popes reach, and ſo neere to his noſe, if hee had beene baniſhed for oppoſing himſelfe againſt the Popes Decree.

Kalender pretence.

The Patriarchs Iuriſdiction.

This office of Patriarchſhip now tranſlated to *Moſko*, beareth a ſuperiour Authoritie ouer all the Churches, not onely of *Ruſſia*, and other the Emperours Dominions, but thorow out all the Churches of *Chriſtendome*, that were before vnder the Patriarch of *Conſtantinople*, or *Sio*: or at leaſt the *Ruſſe* Patriarch imagineth himſelfe to haue the ſame authoritie. Hee hath vnder him as his proper Dioceſſe the Prouince of *Moſko*, beſides other peculiars. His Court or Office is kept at the *Meſko*.

Two Metropolites.

Before the creation of this new Patriarch, they had but one *Metropolite*, that was called the *Metropolite* of *Moſko*. Now for more ſtate to their Church, and new Patriarch, they haue two Metropolites, the one of *Nouogrod velica*, the other of *Roſtone*. Their office is to receiue of the Patriarch ſuch Eccleſiaſticall orders, as hee thinketh good, and to deliuer the charge of them ouer to the Archbiſhops: beſides the ordering of their owne Dioceſſe.

Foure Archbiſhops.

Their Archbiſhops are foure: of *Smolenſo*, *Cazan*, *Vobſko*, and *Vologda*. The parts of their office is all one with the Metropolites: ſaue that they haue an vnder Iuriſdiction, as Suffraganes to the Metropolites, & Superiors to the Biſhops. The next are the *Vladikeis* or Biſhops, that are but ſixe in all: of *Crutitſka*, of *Rezan*, of *Otfer* and *Torſhock*, of *Collomenſka*, of *Volodemer*, of *Suſdalla*. Theſe haue euery one a very large Dioceſſe: as diuiding the reſt of the whole Countrey among them.

Sixe Biſhops.

Eccleſiaſticall Iuriſdiction.

The matters pertayning to the Eccleſiaſticall juriſdiction of the Metropolites, Archbiſhops, and Biſhops, are the ſame in a manner that are vſed by the Clergie in other parts of *Chriſtendome*. For beſides their authoritie ouer the Clergie, and ordering ſuch matters as are meere Eccleſiaſticall, their juriſdiction extendeth to all Teſtamentarie cauſes, matters of Marriage, and Diuorcements, ſome Pleas of iniuries, &c. To which purpoſe alſo they haue their Officials, or Commiſſaries (which they call *Boiaren Vladitskey*) that are Lay-men of the degree of Dukes, or Gentlemen, that keepe their Courts and execute their Iuriſdiction. Which beſides their other oppreſſions ouer the common people, raigne ouer the Prieſts: as the Dukes and *Djacks* doe ouer the poore people, within their Precincts. As for the Archbiſhop or Biſhop himſelfe, hee beareth no ſway in deciding thoſe cauſes, that are brought into his Court. But if hee would moderate any matter, he muſt doe it by intreatie with his Gentleman Officiall. The reaſon is, becauſe theſe *Boiarskey*, or Gentlemen officials, are not appointed by the Biſhops, but by the Emperour himſelfe, or his Councell, and are to giue account of their doings to none but to them. If the Biſhop can intreat at his admiſſion to haue the choice of his owne Officiall, it is accounted for a ſpeciall great fauour. But to ſpeake it as it is, the Clergie of *Ruſſia*, aſwell concerning their Lands and reuenues, as their Authoritie and Iuriſdiction, are altogether ordered and ouer-ruled by the Emperour and his Councell, and haue ſo much, and no more of both as their pleaſure doth permit them. They haue alſo there Aſſiſtants or ſeuerall Counſels (as they call them) of certayne Prieſts that are of that Dioceſſe, reſiding within their Cathedrall Cities, to the number of foure and twentie a piece. Theſe aduiſe with them, about the ſpeciall and neceſſarie matters belonging to their charge.

Their Gentlemen commiſſaries.

The Churches reuenues.

Concerning their Rents and Reuenues to maintayne their dignities, it is ſomewhat large. The Patriarchs yeerely rents out of his Lands (beſides other fees) is about 3000. Rubbels or Marcks. The Metropolites and Archbiſhops, about 2500. The Biſhops, ſome 1000. ſome 800. ſome 500. &c. They haue had ſome of them (as I haue heard ſay) ten or twelue thouſand Rubbels a yeere: as had the Metropolite of *Nouogrod*.

Their

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Their Habit or Apparell (when they shew themselues in their Pontificalibus after their solemnest manner) is a Mytre on their heads after the Popish fashion, set with Pearle and Precious Stone, a Coape on their backes (commonly of Cloth of Gold, embroydered with Pearle) and a Crosiers Staffe in their hands, layed ouer all with Plate of Siluer double gilt, with a Crosse or Sheepherds Crooke at the vpper end of it. Their ordinary habit (otherwise when they ride or goe abroad) is a Hood on their heads of blacke colour, that hangeth downe their backes, and standeth out like a Bongrace before. Their vpper Garment (which they call *Rea*) is a Gowne or Mantell of blacke Damaske, with many Lists or Gards of white Sattin layed vpon it, euery Gard about two fingers broad, and their Crosiers staffe carried before them. Themselues follow after, blessing the people with their two fore-fingers, with a maruellous grace.

The Election of Bishops.

The Election, and appointing of the Bishops and the rest, pertayneth wholly to the Emperour himselfe. They are chosen euer out of the Monasteries; so that there is no Bishop, Archbishop, nor Metropolite, but hath beene a Monke, or Frier before. And by that reason they are, and must all bee vnmarried men, for their Vow of Chastitie when they were first shorne. When the Emperour hath appointed whom he thinketh good, hee is inuested in the Cathedrall Church of his Diocesse, with many Ceremonies, much after the manner of the Popish Inauguration. They haue also their Deanes, and their Arch-deacons.

The learning and exercise of the *Russe* Clergie.

As for preaching the Word of God, or any teaching, or exhorting such as are vnder them, they neither vse it, nor haue any skill of it: the whole Clergie being vtterly vnlearned both for other knowledge, and in the Word of God. Only their manner is twice euery yeere, *viz.* the first of September (which is the first day of their yeere) and on Saint *Iohn* Baptists day, to make an ordinary speech to the people, euery Metropolite, Arch-bishop, and Bishop, in his Catherall Church, to this or like effect: That if any bee in malice towards his Neighbour, hee shall leaue off his malice: if any haue thought of Treason or Rebellion against his Prince, hee beware of such practice: if hee haue not kept his *Fasts*, and Vowes, nor done his other Duties to the holy Church, hee shall amend that fault, &c. And this is a matter of forme with them, vttered in as many words, and no more, in a manner, then I haue heere set downe. Yet the matter is done with that Grace and Solemnitie, in a Pulpit of purpose set vp for this one Act, as it hee were to discourse at large of the whole substance of Diuinitie. At the *Mosko* the Emperour himselfe is euer present at this Solemne Exhortation.

As themselues are void of all manner of Learning, so are they wary to keepe out all meanes that might bring any in: as fearing to haue their ignorance and vngodlinesse discouered. To that purpose they haue perswaded the Emperors, that it would breed Innouation, and sow danger to their State, to haue any noueltie of Learning come within the Realme. Wherein they say but truth, for that a man of spirit and vnderstanding, helped by Learning and liberall Education, can hardly indure a tyrannicall Gouernment. Some yeeres past in the other Emperours time, there came a Presse and Letters out of *Polonia*, to the Citie of *Mosko*, where a Printing House was set vp, with great liking and allowance of the Emperour himselfe. But not long after, the house was set on fire in the night time, and the Presse and Letters quite burnt vp, as was thought by the procurement of the Clergie-men.

Their Priests (whom they call *Papaes*) are made by the Bishops, without any great tryall for worthinesse of gifts, before they admit them, or Ceremonies in their admission: saue that their heads are shorne (not shauen, for that they like not) about an hand breadth or more in the crowne, and that place anointed with Oyle by the Bishop: who in his admission putteth vpon the Priest, first his Surplesse, and then setteth a white Crosse on his brest of Silke, or some other matter, which he is to weare eight dayes, and no more; and so giueth him authoritie to say and sing in the Church, and to administer the Sacraments. Priests.

They are men vtterly vnlearned, which is no maruell, for as much as their Makers, the Bishops themselues (as before was said) are cleere of that qualitie, and make no farther vse at all of any kind of Learning, no not of the Scriptures themselues, saue to reade and to sing them. Their ordinary charge and function is to say the Lyturgie, to administer the Sacraments after their manner, to keepe and decke their Idols, and to doe the other Ceremonies vsuall in their Churches. Their number is great because their Townes are parted into many small Parishes, without any discretion for diuiding them into competent numbers of Housholds, and people for a just Congregation: as the manner in all places where the meanes is neglected, for increasing of knowledge, and instruction towards God. Which cannot well be had, where by meanes of an vnequall partition of the people, and Parishes, there followeth a want and vnequalitie of stipend for a sufficient Ministery.

The *Russe* Priests can marry but once.

For their Priests, it is lawfull to marry for the first time. But if the first Wife dye, a second he cannot take, but he must lose his Priest-hood, and his liuing withall. The reason they make out of that place of Saint *Paul* to *Timothy* 1.3.2. not well vnderstood, thinking that to bee spoken of diuers Wiues successiuely, that the Apostle speaketh of at one and the same time. If hee

will needs marrie againe after his first wife is dead, he is no longer called *Papa*, but *Rospapa*, or *Priest quondam*. This maketh the Priests to make much of their Wiues, who are accounted as the Matrones, and of best reputation among the women of the Parish.

For the stipend of the Priest, their manner is not to pay him any tenths of Corne, or ought else: but he must stand at the deuotion of the people of his Parish, and make vp the Incommes towards his maintenance, so well as hee can, by Offerings, Shrifts, Mariages, Burials, Dirges, and Prayers for the dead and the liuing (which they call *Molitua.*) For besides their publike Seruice within their Churches, their manner is for euery priuate man to haue a Prayer said for him by the Priest, vpon any occasion of businesse whatsoeuer, whether he ride, goe, saile, plough, or whatsoeuer else he doth. Which is not framed according to the occasion of his businesse, but at randome, being some of their ordinary and vsuall Church-prayers. And this is thought to bee more holy, and effectuall, if it be repeated by the Priests mouth, rather then by his owne. They haue a custome, besides to solemnize the Saints day, that is, Patrone to their Church once euery yeere. What time all their Neighbours of their Countrey and Parishes about, come in to haue Prayers said to that Saint for themselues, and their friends: and so make an Offering to the Priest for his paines. This Offering may yeeld them some ten pounds a yeere, more or lesse, as the Patrone or Saint of that Church is of credit and estimation among them: The manner is on this day (which they keepe Anniuersary for the Priest, to hire diuers of his Neighbour Priests to helpe him: as hauing more Dishes to dresse for the Saint, then he can well turne his hand vnto. They vse besides to visit their Parishioners houses, with Holy Water, and Perfume, commonly once a quarter: and so hauing sprinkled, and becensed the goodman and his Wife, with the rest of their household, and household-stuffe, they receiue some Deuotion or lesse, as the man is of abilitie. This and the rest layd altogether, may make vp for the Priest towards his maynteNance, about thirty or forty Rubbels a yeere: whereof he payeth the tenth part to the Bishop of the Diocesse.

The Priests maintenance.

Their Priests attyre.

The *Papa* or Priest is knowne by his long Tufts of Haire, hanging downe by his Eares, his Gowne with a broad Cape, and a walking staffe in his hand. For the rest of his Habit, hee is apparelled like the common sort. When he sayth the Lyturgie or Seruice, within the Church, hee hath on him his Surplesse, and sometimes his Coape, if the day bee more Solemne. They haue besides their *Papaes* or Priests, their *Churnapapaes* (as they call them) that is, *Black Priests*: that may keepe their Benefices, though they be admitted Friers withall within some Monasterie. They seeme to be the very same that were called Regular Priests in the Popish Church. Vnder the Priest, is a Deacon in euery Church, that doth nothing but the Office of a Parish Clerke. As for their *Protopapaes*, or Arch-priests, and their Arch-deacons (that are next in election to be their *Protopopas*) they serue onely in the Cathedrall Churches.

Friers.

Of Friers they haue an infinite rabble farre greater then in any other Countrey, where Popery is professed. Euery Citie, and good part of the Countrey, swarmeth full of them. For they haue wrought (as the Popish Friers did by their Superstition and Hypocrisie) that if any part of the Realme be better and sweeter then other, there standeth a Friery or a Monastery dedicated to some Saint.

The number of them is so much the greater, not onely for that it is augmented by the Superstition of the Countrey, but because the Friers life is the safest from the Oppressions, and Exactions, that fall vpon the Commons. Which causeth many to put on the Friers Weed, as the best Armour to beare off such blowes. Besides such as are voluntary, there are diuers that are forced to shire themselues Friers, vpon some displeasure. These are for the most part of the chiefe Nobility. Diuers take the Monasteries as a place of Sanctuary, and there become Friers, to auoyde some punishment, that they had deserued by the Lawes of the Realme. For if hee get a Monastery ouer his head, and there put on a Coole before hee bee attached, it is a protection to him for euer against any Law, for what crime soeuer: except it be for Treason. But this *Proviso* goeth withall, that no man commeth there, (except such as are commanded by the Emperour to be receiued) but he giueth them Lands, or bringeth his stocke with him, and putteth it into the common Treasury. Some bring 1000. Rubbels, and some more. None is admitted vnder three or foure hundred.

Their manner of shiring Friers.

The manner of their Admission is after this sort. First, the Abbot strippeth him of all his Secular or ordinary Apparell. Then he putteth vpon him next to his skinne, a white flannell shirt, with a long Garment ouer it downe to the ground, girded vnto him with a broad Leather Belt. His vpper-most Garment is a Weed of *Garras*, or *Say*, for colour and fashion, much like to the vpper Weed of a Chimney-sweeper. Then is his crowne shorne a hand breadth, or more close to the very skinne, and these, or like words pronounced by the Abbot, whiles hee clippeth his haire: *As these haires are clipped of, and taken from thy head; so now we take thee, and separate thee cleane from the World, and worldly things, &c.* This done, hee anointeth his crowne with Oyle, and putteth on his Coole: and so taketh him in among the Fraternitie. They vow perpetuall Chastitie, and Abstinence from flesh.

Besides, their Lands (that are very great) they are the greatest Merchants in the whole Coun-

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Countrey, and deale for all manner of Commodities. Some of their Monaſteries diſpend in Lands, one thouſand, or two thouſand Rubbels a yeere. There is one Abbey called *Troits*, that hath in Lands and Fees, the ſumme of 100000. Rubbels, or Markes a yeere. It is built in manner of a Caſtle, walled round about, with great Ordnance planted on the wall, and contayneth within it a large breadth of ground, and great varietie of building. There are of Friers within it, (beſides their Officers, and other Seruants) about ſeuen hundred. The Empreſſe that now is, hath many Vowes to Saint *Sergius*, that is Patrone there: to intreate him to make her fruitfull, as hauing no children by the Emperour her Husband. Lightly euery yeere ſhee goeth on Pilgrimage to him from the *Mosko*, on foot, about eighty *Engliſh* miles, with fiue or ſixe thouſand women attending vpon her, all in blue Liueries, and foure thouſand Souldiers for her Guard. But Saint *Sergius* hath not yet heard her Prayers, though (they ſay) hee hath a ſpeciall gift and faculty that way.

What Learning there is among their Friers, may be knowne by their Biſhops, that are the choice men out of all their Monaſteries. I talked with one of them at the Citie of *Vologda*, where (to try his skill) I offered him a *Ruſſe* Teſtament, and turned him to the firſt Chapter of Saint *Matthews* Goſpell. Where hee beganne to reade in very good order. I asked him firſt what part of Scripture it was, that he had read? he anſwered, that he could not well tell. How many Euangeliſts there were in the New Teſtament? He ſaid he knew not. How many Apoſtles there were? He thought there were twelue. How he ſhould be ſaued? Whereunto he anſwered me with a piece of *Ruſſe* Doctrine, that he knew not whether he ſhould be ſaued, or no: but if God would *Poſhallouate* him, or gratifie him ſo much, as to ſaue him, ſo it was, he would bee glad of it: if not, what remedy. I asked him, why hee ſhoare himſelfe a Frier? Hee anſwered, becauſe he would eate his Bread with peace. This is the Learning of the Friers of *Ruſſia*, which though it be not to be meaſured by one, yet partly it may bee gheſſed by the ignorance of this man, what is in the reſt. The Friers Learning.

They haue alſo many Nunneries, whereof ſome may admit none but Noblemens Widowes, and Daughters, when the Emperour meaneth to keepe them vnmarryed, from continuing the bloud or ſtocke, which if he would haue extinguiſhed. To ſpeake of the life of their Friers, and Nunnes, it needs not, to thoſe that know the hypocriſie, and vncleanneſſe of that Cloyſter-brood. The *Ruſſe* himſelfe (though otherwiſe addicted to all Superſtition) ſpeaketh ſo foully of it, that it muſt needs gaine ſilence of any modeſt man. Nunneries.

Beſides theſe, they haue certayne *Eremites*, (whom they call *Holy men*) that are like to thoſe *Gymnoſophiſts*, for their life and behauiour: though farre vnlike for their Knowledge, and Learning. They vſe to goe ſtarke naked, ſaue a clout about their middle, with their haire hanging long, and wildly about their ſhoulders, and many of them with an Iron coller, or chaine about their neckes, or midſt, euen in the very extremitie of Winter. Theſe they take as Prophets, and men of great Holineſſe, giuing them a liberty to ſpeake what they liſt, without any controlment, though it bee of the very higheſt himſelfe. So that if hee reprooue any openly, in what ſort ſoeuer, they anſwere nothing, but that it is *Po gręcum*, that is, for their ſinnes. And if any of them take ſome piece of ſale ware from any mans ſhop, as he paſſeth by, to giue where he liſt, hee thinketh himſelfe much beloued of God, and much beholding to the holy Man, for taking it in that ſort. Eremites. Strange hardineſſe.

Of this kind there are not many, becauſe it is a very hard and cold Profeſſion, to goe naked in *Ruſſia*, ſpecially in Winter. Among other at this time, they haue one at *Mosko*, that walketh naked about the ſtreets, and inueigheth commonly againſt the State, and Gouernment, eſpecially againſt the *Godonoes*, that are thought at this time to be great Oppreſſors of that Commonwealth. Another there was, that dyed not many yeeres agoe (whom they called *Baſileo*) that would take vpon him to reproue the old Emperour, for all his crueltie, and oppreſſions, done towards his people. His body they haue tranſlated of late into a ſumptuous Church, neere the Emperours Houſe in *Mosko*, and haue canonized him for a Saint. Many Miracles he doth there (for ſo the Friers make the people to beleeue) and many Offerings are made vnto him; not only by the people, but by the chiefe Nobilitie, and the Emperour, and Empreſſe themſelues, which viſit that Church with great Deuotion. But this laſt yeere, at my being at *Mosko*, this Saint had ill lucke in working his Miracles. For a lame man that had his limmes reſtored (as it was pretended by him) was charged by a woman that was familiar with him (beeing then fallen out) that he halted but in the day time, and could leape merrily when hee came home at night. And that he had intended this matter ſixe yeeres before. Now hee is put into a Monaſtery, and there rayleth vpon the Friers, that hired him to haue this counterfeit Miracle practiſed vpon him. Beſides this diſgrace, a little before my comming from thence, there were eight ſlaine with in his Church by fire in a Thunder. Which cauſed his Bels (that were tingling before all day and night long as in triumph of the Miracles wrought by *Baſileo* their Saint) to ring ſomewhat ſoftlier, and hath wrought no little diſcredit to this Miracle-worker. There was another of great account at *Plesko*, (called *Nichola* of *Plesko*) that did much good, when this Emperours Father came to ſacke the Towne, vpon ſuſpition of their reuolting and Rebellion againſt him. The Emperour, *Baſileo* the Eremite. Lame Miracles. *Nichola* the Eremite.

perour, after he had ſaluted the Eremite, at his lodging, ſent him a reward. And the Holy man to requite the Emperour, ſent him a piece of raw Fleſh, being then their Lent time. Which the Emperour ſeeing, bid one to tell him, that he maruelled that the Holy man would offer him fleſh to eate in the Lent, when it was forbidden by order of holy Church. And doth *Euaske* (which is as much to ſay, as Iacke) thinke (quoth *Nicola*) that it is vnlawfull to eate a piece of beaſts fleſh in Lent and not to eate vp ſo much mans fleſh, as he hath done already. So threatning the Emperour with a prophecy of ſome hard aduenture to come vpon him, except he left murdring of his people, and departed the Towne: he ſaued a great many mens liues at that time.

This maketh the people to like very well of them, becauſe they are as Paſquils, to note their great mens faults, that no man elſe dare ſpeake of. Yet it falleth out ſometime, that for this rude libertie, which they take vpon them, after a counterfeit manner, by imitation of Prophets, they are made away in ſecret: as was one or two of them, in the laſt Emperours time, for being ouer-bold in ſpeaking againſt his gouernment.

Chap. 22. Of their Lyturgie, or form of Church-ſeruice, and their manner of adminiſtring the Sacraments.

Their morning Seruice.

THeir morning Seruice they call, *Zautrana*, that is, *Mattins*. It is done in this order. The Prieſt entreth into the Church with his Deacon following him. And when he is come to the middle of the Church, he beginneth to ſay with a loude voyce: *Blaſlauey Uladika* (that is) *Bleſſe vs heauenly Paſtor:* meaning of *Chriſt*. Then hee addeth, *In the name of the Father, and of the Sonne, and of the holy Ghoſt, one very God in Trinitie:* and *Aſpody pomelui*, or, *Lord haue mercy vpon vs, Lord haue mercy vpon vs, Lord haue mercy vpon vs:* repeated three times. This done, he marcheth on towards the Chancell, or *Sanctum Sanctorum*, (as they vſe to call it) and ſo entreth into the *Scharſuey Dwere*, or the *Heauenly Doore:* which no man may enter into, but the Prieſt onely. Where ſtanding at the Altar, or Table (ſet neere to the vpper wall of the Chancell) he ſayeth the Lords Prayer, and then againe *Aſpody pomelui*, or, *Lord haue mercy vpon vs, Lord haue mercy vpon vs*, &c. pronounced twelue times. Then praiſed be the *Trinitie, the Father, the Sonne, and holy Ghoſt, for euer and euer.* Whereto the Deacons, and People ſay, *Amen*. Next after, the Prieſt addeth the Pſalmes for that day, and beginneth with, *O come let vs worſhip, and fall downe before the Lord*, &c. and therewithall himſelfe, with the Deacons, and People, all turne themſelues towards their Idols, or Images, that hang on the wall, and *croſſing* themſelues, *bow downe* three times, *knocking* their heads to the very ground. After this, he readeth the *Ten Commandements*, and *Athanaſius* Creed, out of the *Seruice Booke*.

Legend.

This being done, the Deacon that ſtandeth without the *Heauenly Doore*, or Chancell, readeth a piece of a Legend, out of a written Booke, (for they haue it not in Print) of ſome Saints life, miracles, &c. This is diuided into many parts, for euery day in the yeere, and is read by them with a plaine ſinging note, not vnlike to the Popiſh tune, when they ſung their Goſpels. After all this (which reacheth to an houre and an halfe, or two houres of length) he addeth certaine ſet Collects, or Prayers vpon that which he hath read out of the Legend before: and ſo endeth his Seruice.

Candles.

All this while ſtand burning before their Idols, a great many of Waxe candles, (whereof ſome are of the bigneſſe of a mans waſte) vowed, or enioyned by penance, vpon the people of the Pariſh.

Compline.

About nine of the clocke in the morning, they haue another Seruice, called *Obeidna*, (or Compline) much after the order of the Popiſh Seruice, that bare that name. If it be ſome High or Feſtiuall day, they furniſh their Seruice beſide, with *Bleſſed bee the Lord God of Iſrael*, &c. and *Wee praiſe thee, O God*, &c. ſung with a more ſolemne and curious note.

Their euening Seruice.

Their euening Seruice, is called *Vecherna*, where the Prieſt beginneth with *Blaſlauey Uladika*, as he did in the morning, and with the Pſalmes appointed for the *Vecherna*. Which being read, he ſingeth, *My ſoule doeth magnifie the Lord, &c.* And then the Prieſt, Deacons, and People, all with one voice, ſing, *Aſpody pomelui*, or *Lord haue mercy vpon vs*, thirty times together. Whereunto the Boyes that are in the Church, anſwere all with one voice, rolling it vp ſo faſt, as their lips can goe: *Verij, Verij, Verij, Verij*, or, *Praiſe, Praiſe, Praiſe*, &c. thirty times together, with a very ſtrange noiſe. Then is read by the Prieſt, and vpon the Holidayes ſung, the firſt Pſalme: *Bleſſed is the man*, &c. And in the end of it, is added, *Alleluia*, repeated ten times. The next in order is ſome part of the Goſpell read by the Prieſt, which hee endeth with *Alleluia* repeated three times. And ſo hauing ſaid a Collect in remembrance of the Saint of that day, hee endeth his euening Seruice. All this while the Prieſt ſtandeth aboue at the Altar, or high Table, within the Chancell, or *Sanctum Sanctorum*, whence hee neuer moueth all the Seruice time. The Deacon, or Deacons (which are many in their Cathedrall Churches) ſtand without the Chancell by the *Scharſuey Dwere*, or *Heauenly Doore:* for within they may not be ſeene all the Seruice time, though otherwiſe their Office is to ſweepe and keepe it, and to ſet vp the Waxe candles before their Idols. The people ſtand together the whole Seruice time in the body of the Church, and ſome in the Church Porch, for Piew, or Seat they haue none within their Churches.

The manner of the *Ruſſe* Baptiſme.

The Sacrament of Baptiſme they adminiſter after this manner. The child is brought vnto the Church (and this is done within eight dayes after it is borne) if it bee the child of ſome Noble-

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Nobleman, it is brought with great pompe in a rich Sled or Wagon, with Chaires and Cushions of cloth of Gold, and such like sumptuous shew of their best furniture. When they are come to the Church, the Priest standeth ready to receiue the child within the Church Porch, with his Tub of water by him. And then beginneth to declare vnto them, that they haue brought a little Infidell to be made a Christian, &c. This ended, he teacheth the Witnesses (that are two or three) in a certaine set forme out of his Booke, what their dutie is in bringing vp the child after he is baptised, *vz.* That he must be taught to know God, and Christ the Sauiour. And because God is of great maiestie, and wee must not presume to come vnto him without Mediators (as the manner is when we make any suit to an Emperour, or great Prince) therefore they must teach him what Saints are the best, and chiefe Mediators, &c. This done, he commandeth the Deuill in the name of God after a coniuring manner, to come out of the water: and so after certaine Prayers he plungeth the child thrise ouer head and eares. For this they hold to bee a point necessary, that no part of the child be vndipped in the water.

The words that beare with them the forme of Baptisme vttered by the Priest, when he dippeth in the child, are the very same that are prescribed in the Gospell, and vsed by vs, *vz. In the name of the Father, and of the Sonne, and of the holy Ghost.* For that they should alter the forme of the words, and say, *by the holy Ghost*, (as I haue heard that they did) following certaine Heretikes of the *Greeke* Church, I found to be vntrue, as well by report of them that haue beene often at their Baptismes, as by their Booke of *Lyturgie* it selfe, wherein the order of Baptisme is precisely set downe.

When the childe is baptised, the Priest layeth Oyle and Salt tempered together vpon the forehead, and both sides of his face, and then vpon his mouth, drawing it along with his finger ouer the childs lips (as did the Popish Priests) saying withall certaine Prayers to this effect: that God will make him a good Christian, &c. all this is done in the Church Porch. Then is the child (as being now made a Christian, and meet to be receiued within the Church Doore) carried into the Church, the Priest going before, and there he is presented to the chiefe Idoll of the Church, being layd on a Cushion before the feet of the Image, by it (as by the Mediator) to be commended vnto God. If the child be sicke, or weake (specially in the Winter) they vse to make the water luke warme. After Baptisme the manner is to cut off the haire from the childs head, and hauing wrapped it within a piece of Waxe to lay it vp as a Relique or Monument in a secret place of the Church. Oyle and Salt. Presented. Cutting off haire.

This is the manner of their Baptisme, which they account to be the best and perfectest forme. As they doe all other parts of their Religion, receiued (as they say) by tradition from the best Church, meaning the *Greeke*. And therefore they will take great paines to make a Proselyte, or Conuert, either of an Infidell, or of a forreine Christian, by rebaptising him after the *Russe* manner. When they take any *Tartar* prisoner, commonly they will offer him life, with condition to be baptised. And yet they perswade very few of them to redeeme their life so: because of the naturall hatred the *Tartar* beareth to the *Russe*, and the opinion he hath of his falshood, and iniustice. The yeere after *Mosko* was fired by the *Chrim Tartar*, there was taken a *Diuoymorsey*, one of the chiefe in that exploit with three hundred *Tartars* more: who had all their liues offered them if they would be baptised after the *Russe* manner. Which they refused all to doe, with many reproches against those that perswaded them. And so being carried to the Riuer *Mosko* (that runneth through the Citie) they were all baptised after a violent manner: being thrust downe with a knock on the head into the water, through an hole made in the Ice for that purpose. Of *Liefslanders* that are captiues, there are many that take on them this second *Russe* Baptisme to get more libertie, and somewhat besides towards their liuing, which the Emperour ordinarily vseth to giue them. Proselytepaines. *Tartars* choose to die rather then turne *Christians*. Rebaptising.

Of *Englishmen* since they frequented the Countrey there was neuer any found, that so much forgot God, his Faith, and Countrey, as that he would be content to be baptised *Russe*, for any respect of feare, preferment, or other meanes whatsoeuer: saue onely *Richard Relph*, that following before an vngodly trade, by keeping a *Caback* (against the order of the Countrey) and being put off from that trade, and spoiled by the Emperours Officers of that which he had, entred himselfe this last yeere into the *Russe* Profession: and so was rebaptised, liuing now asmuch an Idolater, as before he was a Rioter, and vnthrifty person.

Such as thus receiue the *Russe* Baptisme, are first carried into some Monasterie to bee instructed there in the doctrine and ceremonies of the Church. Where they vse these ceremonies. First, they put him into a new and fresh sute of apparell, made after the *Russe* fashion, and set a Coronet, or (in Summer) a Garland vpon his head. Then they anoint his head with Oyle, and put a Waxe candle light into his hand: and so pray ouer him foure times a day, the space of seuen dayes. All this while he is to abstaine from flesh, and white meats. The seuen dayes being ended, he is purified and washed in a Bath-stoue, and so the eight day hee is brought into the Church, where he is taught by the Friers how to behaue himselfe in presence of their Idols, by ducking downe, knocking of the head, crossing himselfe, and such like gestures, which are the greatest part of the *Russe* Religion.

The

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The adminiſtring of the Lords Supper. Confeſſion.

The Sacrament of the Lords Supper they receiue but once a yeere, in their great Lent time, a little before Eaſter. Three at the moſt are admitted at one time, and neuer aboue. The manner of their communicating, is thus. Firſt, they confeſſe themſelues of all their ſinnes to the Prieſt (whom they call) their ghoſtly Father. Then they come to the Church, and are called vp to the Communion Table, that ſtandeth like an Altar, a little remoued from the vpper end of the Church, after the *Dutch* manner. Heere firſt they are asked of the Prieſt, *whether they bee cleane or no*, that is, whether they haue neuer a ſinne behind that they left vnconfeſſed. If they anſwer, *No*, they are taken to the Table. Where the Prieſt beginneth with certayne vſuall Prayers, the Communicants ſtanding in the meane while with their armes folded one within another, like *Penitentiaries* or Mourners. When theſe prayers are ended, the Prieſt taketh a Spoone and filleth it full of claret Wine. Then hee putteth into it a ſmall piece of Bread, and tempereth them both together: and ſo deliuereth them in the ſpoone to the Communicants, that ſtand in order, ſpeaking the vſuall words of the Sacrament. *Eate this, &c. Drinke this, &c.* both at one time without any pauſe.

Communion in both kinds.

After that hee deliuereth them againe Bread by it ſelfe, and then Wine carded together with a little warme water, to repreſent Bloud more rightly (as they thinke) and the water withall, that flowed out of the ſide of Chriſt. Whiles this is in doing the Communicants vnfold their armes. And then folding them againe, follow the Prieſt thrice round about the Communion table, and ſo returne to their places againe. Where hauing ſayd certayne other prayers, hee diſmiſſeth the Communicants, with charge to bee merrie, and to cheere vp themſelues for the ſeuen dayes next following. Which being ended, hee enioyneth them to faſt for it as long time after. Which they vſe to obſerue with very great deuotion, eating nothing elſe but Bread and Salt, except a little Cabbage, and ſome other Herbe or Root, with water and quaſſe Mead for their drinke.

This is their manner of adminiſtring the Sacraments. Wherein what they differ from the inſtitution of Chriſt, and what Ceremonies they haue added of their owne, or rather borrowed of the *Greekes*, may eaſily bee noted.

Chap. 23. Of the Doctrine of the *Ruſſe* Church, & what errors it holdeth.

THeir chiefeſt errours in matter of Faith I finde to bee theſe. Firſt, concerning the Word of God it ſelfe they will not read publikely certayne Bookes of the Canonicall Scripture, as the bookes of *Moſes*: ſpecially the foure laſt, *Exodus*, *Leuiticus*, *Numeri*, and *Deuteronomie*, which they ſay are all made diſauthentique, and put out of vſe by the comming of Chriſt: as not able to diſcerne the difference betwixt the *Morall* and the *Ceremoniall Law*. The bookes of the *Prophets* they allow of, but reade them not publikely in their Churches, for the ſame reaſon: becauſe they were but directers vnto Chriſt, and proper (as they ſay) to the Nation of the *Iewes*. Onely the Booke of *Pſalmes* they haue in great eſtimation, and ſing and ſay them daily in their Churches. Of the New Teſtament they allow and reade all, except the *Reuelation*: which therefore they reade not (though they allow it) becauſe they vnderſtand it not, neither haue the like occaſion, to know the fulfilling of the Prophecies contayned within it, concerning eſpecially the Apoſtacie of the *Antichriſtian* Church, as haue the Weſterne Churches. Notwithſtanding, they haue had their *Antichriſts* of the *Greeke* Church, and may finde their owne falling off, and the puniſhments for it by the *Turkiſh* inuaſion in the Prophecies of that Booke.

1. Their diſallowing of certaine parts of the Canonical Scriptures.

2. Traditions equall to the holy Scripture.

Secondly, (which is the fountayne of the reſt of all their corruptions both in Doctrine and Ceremonies) they hold with the Papiſts, that their Church *Traditions* are of equall authoritie with the written Word of God. Wherein they preferre themſelues before other Churches: affirming that they haue the true and right Traditions, deliuered by the Apoſtles to the *Greeke* Church, and ſo vnto them.

3. The Church to haue ſoueraigne authoritie in interpreting the Scriptures.

Thirdly, that the Church (meaning the *Greeke*, and ſpecially the Patriarch and his Synod, as the head of the reſt) hauing a ſoueraigne Authoritie to interpret the Scriptures, and that all are bound to hold that Interpretation, as ſound and authentique.

4. The holy Ghoſt to proceed from the Father onely.

Fourthly, concerning the Diuine nature and the three Perſons, in the one ſubſtance of God, that the holy Ghoſt proceedeth from the Father onely, and not from the Sonne.

5. Chriſt not ſole Mediator of interceſſion Saint *Nicolas* his 300. Angels

Fifthly, about the office of Chriſt, they hold many foule errours, and the ſame almoſt as doth the *Popiſh* Church: namely, that hee is the ſole Mediatour of redemption, but not of interceſſion. Their chiefe reaſon (if they bee talked withall) for defence of this errour, is that vnapt and fooliſh compariſon, betwixt God, and a Monarch or Prince of this world, that muſt bee ſued vnto by Mediatours about him: wherein they giue ſpeciall preferment to ſome aboue others, as to the bleſſed *Virgin* whom they call *Procheſte*, or vndefiled, and Saint *Nicolas*, whom they call *Scora pomoſnick*, or the *Speedy helper*, and ſay, that hee hath three hundred Angels of the chiefeſt appointed by God to attend vpon him. This hath brought them to an horrible exceſſe of Idolatrie, after the groſſeſt and prophaneſt manner, giuing vnto their Images all religious worſhip of Prayer, Thankeſgiuing, Offerings and Adoration, with proſtrating and knocking their heads to the ground before them, as to God himſelfe. Which becauſe they doe to the Picture, not to the portraiture of the Saint, they ſay they worſhip not an Idoll, but the Saint in his Image, and ſo offend

Images.

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ſend not God: forgetting the Commandement of God, that forbiddeth to make the Image or likeneſſe of any thing, for any Religious worſhip, or vſe whatſoeuer. Their Church walls are verie full of them, richly hanged and ſet foorth with Pearle and Stone, vpon the ſmooth Table. Though ſome alſo they haue emboſſed, that ſticke from the board almoſt an inch outwards. They call them *Chudanedites*, or their Miracle workers: and when they prouide them to ſet vp in their Churches, in no caſe they may ſay, that they haue *bought* the Image, but *Exchanged money for it*.

Sixtly, for the meanes of Iuſtification, they agree with the *Papiſts*, that it is not by Faith onely apprehending Chriſt, but by their Workes alſo. And that *Opus operatum*, or the worke for the worke ſake, muſt needs pleaſe God. And therefore they are all in their *numbers* of Prayers, Faſts, Vowes, and Offerings to Saints, Almes deeds, Croſſings and ſuch like, and carrie their numbring Beads about with them continually, as well the Emperour and his Nobilitie, as the common people, not onely in the Church, but in all other publike places, ſpecially at any ſet or ſolemne meeting, as in their Faſts, law Courts, common Conſultations, entertaynment of Ambaſſadours, and ſuch like. 6. Iuſtification by workes.

Seuenthly, they ſay with the *Papiſts*, that no man can bee aſſured of his ſaluation, till the ſentence be paſſed at the day of Iudgement. 7. Saluation vncertaine.

Eightly, they vſe auricular Confeſſion, and thinke they are purged by the very action from ſo many ſinnes, as they confeſſe by name, and in particular to the Prieſt. 8. Auricular confeſſion.

Ninthly, they hold three Sacraments, of *Baptiſme*, the *Lords Supper*, and the *laſt Anoiling* or *Vnction*. Yet concerning their Sacrament of extreame Vnction, they hold it not ſo neceſſarie to ſaluation as they doe Baptiſme, but thinke it a great curſe and puniſhment of God, if any dye without it. 9. Three Sacraments.

Tenthly, they thinke there is a neceſſitie of Baptiſme, and that all are condemned that dye without it. 10. All damned that die without Baptiſme.

Eleuenth, they rebaptiſe as many *Chriſtians* (not being of the *Greeke* Church) as they conuert to their *Ruſſe* profeſſion: becauſe they are diuided from the true Church, which is the *Greeke*, as they ſay. 11. Anabaptiſme.

Twelfth, they make a difference of Meates and Drinkes, accounting the vſe of one to be more holy then of another. And therefore in their ſet Faſts they forbeare to eate fleſh, and white meates (as wee call them) after the manner of the Popiſh ſuperſtition: which they obſerue ſo ſtrictly, and with ſuch blinde deuotion, as that they will rather die, then eate one bit of Fleſh, Egges or ſuch like, for the health of their bodies in their extreame ſickneſſe. 12. Differente of meates.

Thirteenth, they hold Marriage to bee vnlawfull for all the Clergie men, except the Prieſts onely, and for them alſo after the firſt Wife, as was ſayd before. Neither doe they well allow of it in Lay-men after the ſecond marriage. Which is a pretence now vſed againſt the Emperours onely Brother, a childe of ſixe yeeres old: who therefore is not Prayed for in their Churches, (as their manner is otherwiſe for the Princes bloud) becauſe hee was borne of the ſixt marriage, and ſo not legitimate. This charge was giuen to the Prieſts by the Emperour himſelfe, by procurement of the *Godenes*: who make him beleeue, that it is a good policie to turne away the liking of the people from the next ſucceſſour. 13. Marriage for ſome perſons vnlawfull.

Many other falſe opinions they haue in matter of Religion. But theſe are the chiefe, which they hold, partly by meanes of their traditions (which they haue receiued from the *Greeke* Church) but ſpecially by ignorance of the holy Scriptures. Which notwithſtanding they haue in the *Peloneian* tongue, (that is all one with theirs ſome few words excepted) yet few of them reade them with that godly care which they ought to doe: neither haue they (if they would) Bookes ſufficient of the old and new Teſtament for the common people, but of their Lyturgie onely, or Booke of common ſeruice, whereof there are great numbers. Which notwithſtanding it is not to bee doubted, but that hauing the Word of God in ſome ſort (though without the ordinarie meanes to attaine to a true ſenſe and vnderſtanding of it) God hath alſo his number among them. As may partly appeare by that which a *Ruſſe* at *Moſko* ſayd in ſecret to one of my Seruants, ſpeaking againſt their Images and other ſuperſtitions: That God had giuen vnto *England* light to day, and might giue it to morrow (if hee pleaſed) to them.

As for any Inquiſition or proceeding againſt men for matter of Religion, I could heare of none: ſaue a few yeeres ſince againſt one man and his wife, who were kept in a cloſe Priſon the ſpace of eight and twentie yeeres, till they were ouer-growne into a deformed faſhion, for their hayre, nayles, colour of countenance, and ſuch like, and in the end were burned at *Moſko*, in a ſmall Houſe ſet on fire. The cauſe was kept ſecret, but like it was for ſome part of truth in matter of Religion: though the people were made to beleeue by the Prieſts and Friers, that they held ſome great and damnable Hereſie. Inquiſition.

Chap. 24.

Of the manner of ſolemnizing their Marriages.

THe manner of making and ſolemnizing their Marriages, is different from the manner of other Countries. The man (though hee neuer ſaw the woman before) is not permitted to haue any ſight of her all the time of his wooing: which hee doth not by himſelfe, but by his Mother

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Mother or some other ancient woman of his kinne or acquaintance. When the liking is taken (as well by the Parents as by the parties themselues, for without the knowledge and consent of the Parents, the contract is not lawfull) the Fathers on both sides, or such as are to them in stead of Fathers, with their other chiefe friends, haue a meeting and conference about the dowrie, which is commonly very large after the abilitie of the parents: so that you shall haue a *Market man* (as they call them) giue a thousand Rubbels, or more with his Daughter.

The manner of indowment for Wiues.

As for the man it is neuer required of him, nor standeth with their custome to make any ioynter in recompence of the dowrie. But in case hee haue a Child by his Wife, shee enioyeth a third deale after his decease. If he haue two Children by her or more, she is to haue a courtesie more, at the discretion of the husband. If the husband depart without issue by his wife, shee is returned home to her friends without any thing at all, saue onely her dowrie: if the husband leaue so much behind him in goods. When the agreement is made concerning the dowrie, they signe Bonds one to the other, as well for the payment of the dowrie, as the performing of the Marriage by a certayne day. If the woman were neuer married before, her Father and friends are bound besides to assure her a Maiden. Which breedeth many brabbles and quarrels at Law, if the man take any conceit concerning the behauiour and honestie of his wife.

Thus the contract being made, the parties begin to send tokens the one to the other, the Woman first, then afterwards the Man, but yet see not one another till the Marriage bee solemnized. On the Eue before the marriage day, the Bride is carryed in a *Collimago*, or Coach, or in a Sled (if it bee winter) to the Bridegroomes house, with her marriage Apparell and Bed-stead with her, which they are to lye in. For this is euer prouided by the Bride, and is commonly verie faire, with much cost bestowed vpon it. Heere she is accompanied all that night by her Mother and other women: but not welcommed, nor once seene by the Bridegroome himselfe.

Ceremonies in Marriages.

When the time is come to haue the marriage solemnized, the Bride hath put vpon her a kinde of Hood, made of fine Knit-worke or Lawne, that couereth her head, and all her body downe to the middle. And so accompanied with her friends, and the Bridegroome with his, they goe to Church all on Horsebacke, though the Church be neare hand, and themselues but of very meane degree. The words of contract and other ceremonies in solemnizing the Marriage, are much after the order, and with the same words that are vsed with vs: with a Ring also giuen to the Bride. Which being put on, and the words of contract pronounced: the Brides hand is deliuered into the hand of the Bridegroome, which standeth all this while on the one side of the Altar or Table, and the Bride on the other. So the marriage knot being knit by the Priest, the Bride commeth to the Bridegroome (standing at the end of the altar or table) and falleth downe at his feet, knocking her Head vpon his Sliooe, in token of her subiection and obedience. And the Bridegroome againe, casteth the lappe of his Gowne or vpper garment ouer the Bride, in token of his dutie to protect and cherish her.

Ring.

Then the Bridegroome and Bride, standing both together at the Tables end, commeth first the Father and the other friends of the Bride, and bow themselues downe low to the Bridegroome: and so likewise his friends bow themselues to the Bride, in token of affinitie and loue euer after betwixt the two kindreds. And withall, the Father of the Bridegroome offereth to the Priest a loafe of Bread, who deliuereth it straight againe to the Father and other friends of the Bride, with attestation before God and their Idols, that hee deliuer the dowrie wholly and truely at the day appointed, and hold loue euer after, one kindred with another. Whereupon they breake the Loafe into pieces, and eate of it, to testifie their true and sincere meanings, for performing of that charge, and thenceforth to become as graines of one Loafe, or men of one Table.

Loafe.

These ceremonies being ended, the Bridegroome taketh the Bride by the hand, and so they goe on together with their friends after them towards the Church porch. Where meet them certaine with pots and cups in their hands, with Mead and *Russe* Wine. Whereof the Bridegroome taketh first a Charke, or little cup full in his hand, and drinketh to the Bride: who opening her Hood or Vale below, and putting the Cup to her mouth vnderneath it (for being seene of the Bridegroome) pledgeth him againe. Thus returning all together from the Church, the Bridegroome goeth not home to his owne, but to his Fathers house, and shee likewise to hers, where either entertayne their friends apart. At the entring into the House, they vse to fling Corne out of the windowes vpon the Bridegroome and Bride, in token of plentie and fruitfulnesse to bee with them euer after.

Mead.

Corne.

When the Eueuing is come, the Bride is brought to the Bridegroomes Fathers house, and there lodgeth that night, with her Vayle or couer still ouer her head. All that night she may not speake one word (for that charge shee receiueth by tradition from her Mother, and other Matrons her friends) that the Bridegroome must neither heare, nor see her, till the day after the marriage. Neither three dayes after, may she bee heard to speake, saue certaine few words at the Table in a set forme, with great manners and reuerence to the Bridegroome. If shee behaue herselfe otherwise, it is a great prejudice to her credit and life euer after: and will highly bee disliked of the Bridegroome himselfe.

Silence.

After

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After the third day, they depart to their owne, and make a Feast to both their friends together. The marriage day, and the whole time of their festiuall, the Bridegroome hath the honour to be called *Moloday Knez*, or young Duke, and the Bride *Moloday Knezay*, or young Dutchesse.

In liuing with their wiues, they shew themselues to be but of a barbarous condition: vsing them as seruants, rather then wiues. Except the Noble-women, which are, or seeme to bee of more estimation with their hushands, then the rest of meaner sort. They haue this foule abuse, contrary to good order, and the Word of God it selfe, that vpon dislike of his wife, or other cause whatsoeuer, the man may goe into a Monasterie and shire himselfe a Frier, by pretence of deuotion: and so leaue his wife to shift for her selfe so well as shee can.

chap. 25. Of the other Ceremonies of the *Russe* Church.

THe other Ceremonies of their Church, are many in number: especially, the abuse about the signe of the Crosse, which they set vp in their high wayes, in the tops of their Churches, and in euery doore of their houses, signing themselues continually with it on their foreheads & breasts with great deuotion, as they will seeme by their outward gesture. Which were lesse offence, if they gaue not withall that religious reuerence and worship vnto it, which is due to God onely, and vsed the dumbe shew, and signing of it instead of thanksgiuing, and of all other duties which they owe vnto God. When they rise in the morning, they goe commonly in the sight of some steeple that hath a Crosse on the top; and so bowing themselues towards the Crosse, signe themselues withall on their foreheads and breasts. And this is their thanksgiuing to God for their nights rest, without any word speaking, except peraduenture they say, *Aspody Pomeluy*, or *Lord haue mercie vpon vs.* When they sit downe to meat, and rise againe from it, the thanksgiuing to God, is the crossing of their foreheads and brests. Except it be some few that adde peraduenture a word or two of some ordinary prayer, impertinent to that purpose. When they are to giue an oath for the deciding of any controuersie at Law, they doe it by swearing by the Crosse, and kissing the feet of it, making it as God, whose name onely is to bee vsed in such triall of Iustice. When they enter into any house (where euer there is an Idoll hanging on the wall) they signe themselues with the Crosse, and bow themselues to it. When they begin any worke, bee it little or much, they arme themselues first with the signe of the Crosse. And this commonly is all their prayer to God, for good speed of their businesse. And thus they serue God with crosses, after a crosse and vaine manner: notwithstanding what the Crosse of Christ is, nor the power of it. And yet they thinke all strangers Christians, to be no better then Turkes in comparison of themselues (and so they will say) because they bow not themselues when they meet with the Crosse, nor signe themselues with it, as the *Russe* manner is.

The signe of the Crosse how it crosseth out other deuotions.

Holy-water.

They haue Holy-water in like vse and estimation, as the Popish Church hath. But heerein they exceed them, in that they doe not onely hollow their Holy-water stockes, and tubs full of water, but all the Riuers of the Countrey once euery yeere. At *Mosko* it is done with great pompe and solemnitie: the Emperour himselfe being present at it with all his Nobilitie, marching through the streets towards the Riuer of *Moskua*, in manner of Procession, in this order as followeth. First goe two Deacons, with banners in their hands, the one of *Precheste* (or our Lady) the other of Saint *Michael* fighting with his Dragon. Then follow after the rest of the Deacons, and the Priests of *Mosko*, two and two in a ranke, with Coaps on their backes, and their Idols at their brests, carried with girdles or slings, made fast about their necks. Next the Priests come their Bishops in their Pontificalibus: then the Friers, Monkes, and Abbots: and after the Patriarches in very rich attire, with a Ball or Sphere on the top of his Myter, to signifie his vniuersalitie ouer that Church. Last commeth the Emperour with all his Nobilitie. The whole traine is of a mile long, or more. When they are come to the Riuer, a great hole is made in the Ice, where the Market is kept of a road and a halfe broad, with a stage round about it to keepe off the presse. Then beginneth the Patriarch to say certaine prayers, and coniureth the Deuill to come out of the water: and so casting in Salt, and censing it with Frankincense, maketh the whole Riuer to become Holy-water. The morning before, all the people of *Mosko* vse to make crosses of chaulke ouer euery doore and window of their houses; least the Deuill being coniured out of the water, should flye into their houses.

Hallowing of Riuers.

When the Ceremonies are ended you shal see the black Guard of the Emperors house, & then the rest of the Towne, with their pailes and buckets to take off the hallowed water for drinke, and other vses. You shall also see the women dip in their children ouer head and eares, and many men and women leape into it, some naked, some with their clothes on, when some man would thinke his finger would freeze off, if he should but dip it into the water. When the men haue done, they bring their horse to the Riuer to drinke of the sanctified water, and so make them as holy as a horse. Their set day for the solemne action of hallowing their Riuers, is that we call *Twelfth-day*. The like is done by other Bishops in all parts of the Realme.

Their manner is also to giue it to their sicke in their greatest extremitie: thinking that it will either recouer them, or sanctifie them to God. Whereby they kill many, through their vnreasonable superstition, as did the Lord *Berris* his onely sonne, at my being at the *Mosko*: whom he

Drinking of Holy-water.

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Gruell blindnesse of superstition.

he killed (as was said by the Physitians) by powring into him cold Holy-water, and presenting him naked into the Church, to their Saint *Basileo*, in the cold of Winter in an extremitie of sickenesse.

They haue an Image of Christ, which they call *Neruchi*, (which signifieth as much as *Made without hands*) for so their Priests, and superstition withall perswadeth them it was. This in their Processions they carry about with them on high vpon a pole, enclosed within a Pixe, made like a Lanthorne, and doe reuerence to it as to a great mysterie.

Brewing with Holy-water.

At euery brewing their manner is likewise to bring a dish of their woort to the Priest within the Church: which being hollowed by him, is powred into the brewing, and so giueth it such a vertue, as when they drinke of it they are seldome sober. The like they doe with the first fruits of their Corne in Harueſt.

Palm-sunday.

They haue another Ceremony on Palm-sunday, of ancient tradition: what time the Patriarch rideth through the *Mosko*, the Emperour himselfe holding his horse bridle, and the people crying *Hosanna*, and spreading their vpper garments vnder his horse feet. The Emperour hath of the Patriarch for his good seruice of that day two hundred Rubbels of standing pension. Another pageant they haue much like to this, the weeke before the Natiuitie of Christ: when euery Bishop in his Cathedrall Church, setteth forth a shew of the three children in the Ouen. Where the Angell is made to come flying from the roofe of the Church, with great admiration of the lookers on, and many terrible flashes of fire are made with rosen, and gun-powder, by the *Chaldeans* (as they call them) that run about the Towne all the twelue dayes, disguised in their players coats, and make much good sport for the honor of the Bishops pageant. At the *Mosko*, the Emperour himselfe, and the Empresse neuer faile to be at it, though it be but the same matter plaid euery yeere, without any new inuention at all.

Fasts.

Besides their fasts on Wednesdayes, and Fridayes throughout the whole yeere, (the one because they say Christ was sold on the Wednesday, the other because he suffered on the Friday) they haue foure great Fasts or Lents euery yeere. The first, (which they call their great Lent) is at the same time with ours. The second, about Mid-summer. The third, in Harueſt time. The fourth, about Hallontide: which they keepe not of pollicie, but of meere superstition. In their great Lent, for the first weeke, they eat nothing but bread and salt, and drinke nothing but water, neither meddle with any matter of their vocation, but intend their shriuing and fasting only. They haue also three *Vigils*, or *Wakes* in their great Lent, which they call *Stoiania* and the

Vigils.

last Friday their great *Vigil*, as they call it. What time the whole Parish must be present in the Church, and watch from nine a clocke in the Euening, till sixe in the morning, all the while standing, saue when they fall downe and knocke their heads to their Idols, which must bee an hundred and seuentie times iust through the whole night.

Burialls.

About their burialls also, they haue many superstitious and prophane Ceremonies: as putting within the finger of the corps, a letter to Saint *Nicolas*: whom they make their chiefe mediatour, and as it were the porter of heauen gates, as the Papists doe their *Peter*.

In Winter time, when all is couered with snow, and the ground so hard frozen, as that no spade nor pick-axe can enter their manner is not to bury their dead, but to keepe the bodies (so many as die all the Winter time) in an house, in the suburbs, or out-parts of the Towne, which they call *Bohsedom*, that is, *Gods house*: where the dead bodies are pyled vp together, like billets on a woodstacke, as hard with the frost as a verie stone, till the Spring-tide come, and resolueth the frost: what time euerie man taketh his dead friend, and committeth him to the ground.

Moneths minds

They haue besides their yeeres and moneths mindes for their friends departed. What time they haue prayers said ouer the graue by the Priest: who hath a peny ordinary for his paines. When any dieth, they haue ordinary women mourners, that come to lament for the dead partie: and stand howling ouer the body after a prophane and heathenish manner (sometimes in the house, sometimes bringing the body into the back-side, asking him what he wanted, and what he meant to die. They bury their dead, as the party vsed to goe, with coat, hose, bootes, hat, and the rest of his apparell.

Many other vaine and superstitious Ceremonies they haue, which were long and tedious to report. By these it may appeare how farre they are fallen from the true knowledge, and practice of Christian Religion, hauing exchanged the Word of God for their vaine Traditions, and brought all to externall and ridiculous Ceremonies, without any regard of Spirit and Truth, which God requireth in his true worship.

Chap. 16. Of the Emperours domesticke, or priuate behauior.

THe Emperours priuate behauiour, so much as may be, or is meet to bee knowne, is after this manner. Hee riseth commonly about foure a clock in the morning. After his apparrelling and washing, in commeth his ghostly Father, or Priest of his chamber, which is named in their tongue, *Otetz Duhouna*, with his Crosse in his hand, wherewith he blesseth him, laying it first on his forehead, then vpon his cheekes, or sides of his face, and then offereth him the end of it to kisse. This done, the Clerke of the Crosse (called *Chresby Deyack Profery*) bringeth into

into his Chamber, a painted Image, representing the Saint for that day; for euery day with them hath his *seuerall Saint*, as it were the Patrone for that day. This hee placeth among the rest of his Image Gods, wherewithall his Chamber is decked, as thicke almost as the wall can beare, with Lampes and Waxe-candles burning before them. They are very costly and gorgeously decked with Pearle and Precious Stone. This Image being placed before him, the Emperour beginneth to crosse himselfe after the *Russe* manner; first, on the fore-head, then on both sides of his brest, with *Aspody Pomeluy, Pomeluy mena hospody, sacroy mena gresnick, Syhodestna:* which is as much to say, as, *Helpe me, O Lord my God, Lord comfort me, defend and keepe me a Sinner from doing euill, &c.* This he directeth towards the *Image*, or *Saint for that day*, whom hee nameth in his Prayer, together with our Lady (whom they call *Prochestie*) Saint *Nicholas*, or some other, to whom he beareth most deuotion, bowing himselfe prostrate vnto them, with knocking his head to the very ground. Thus he continueth the space of a quarter of an houre or thereabouts. His priuate Prayer.

Then commeth againe the Ghostly Father or Chamber Priest, with a Siluer Bowle full of *Holy-water*, which they call in *Russe*, *Sweta Voda*, and a sprinkle of Basill (as they call it) in his hand: and so all to besprinkleth first the Image Gods, and then the Emperour. This Holy-water is brought fresh euery day from the Monasteries, farre and neere sent to the Emperour from the Abbot or Prior, in the name of the Saint, that is Patrone of that Monastery, as a speciall token of good will from him.

These Deuotions being ended, he sendeth into the Empresse, to aske whether she hath rested in health, &c. And after a little pawses goeth himselfe to salute her in a middle Roome betwixt both their chambers. The Empresse lyeth a-part from him, and keepeth not one chamber, nor Table with the Emperour ordinarily, saue vpon the Eue of their Lents, or common Fasts: what time she is his ordinary Gheſt at Bed and Boord. After their meeting in the morning, they goe together to their priuate Church or Chappell, where is said or sung a morning Seruice (called *Zautrana*) of an houre long or thereabouts. From the Church hee returneth home, and sitteth him downe in a great chamber, to be seene and saluted by his Nobilitie, such as are in fauour about the Court. If he haue to say to any of them, or they to him, then is the time. And this is ordinary, except his health, or some other occasion alter the custome. The Emperour giueth presence euery morning.

About nine in the morning, he goeth to another Church within his Castle: where is sung by Priests, and Choristers, the high Seruice (called *Obeadna*, or *Complin*) which commonly lasteth two houres: the Emperour in the meane-time talking commonly with some of his Councell, Nobilitie, or Captaynes, which haue to say to him, or he to them. And the Councell likewise conferre together among themselues, as if they were in their Councel-house. This ended, he returneth home, and recreateth himselfe vntill it be Dinner time.

He is serued at his Table on this manner. First, euery Dish (as it is deliuered at the Dresser) is tasted by the Cooke, in the presence of the high Steward, or his Deputie. And so is receiued by the Gentlemen-wayters (called *Shilshey*) and by them carryed vp to the Emperours Table, the high Steward or his Deputie going before. There it is receiued by the Sewer (called *Erastnoy*) who giueth a taste of euery Dish to the Taster, and so placeth it before the Emperour. The number of his Dishes for his ordinary Seruice, is about seuenty: dressed somewhat grosly, with much Garlike, and Salt, much after the *Dutch* manner. When hee exceedeth vpon some occasion of the day, or entertainment of some Ambassadour, hee hath many more Dishes. The Seruice is sent vp by two Dishes at a time, or three at the most, that he may eate it warme, first the baked, then the Roast meats, and last the Broths. In his dining chamber is another Table: where sit the chiefe of his Nobility that are about his Court, and his Ghostly Father, or Chapleine. On the one side of the chamber standeth a Cubboord, or Table of Plate, very faire and rich, with a great Cisterne of Copper by it, full of Ice and Snow, wherein stand the Pots that serue for that meale. The Taster holdeth the cup that he drinketh in all Dinner time, and deliuereth it vnto him with a say, when he calleth for it. The manner is to make many Dishes out of the Seruice after it is set on the Table, and to send them to such Noblemen and Officers as the Emperour liketh best. And this is counted a great fauour and honour. The Emperors Seruice at his Table.

After dinner he layeth him down to rest, where commonly he taketh three houres sleep, except he employ one of the houres to bathing, or boxing: And this custome for sleeping after Dinner, is an ordinary matter with him, as withall the *Russes*. After his sleep, he goeth to Euen-song (called *Vecherna*) and thence returning, for the most part recreateth himselfe with the Empresse till Supper time, with Iesters and Dwarfes, men and women, that tumble before him, and sing many Songs after the *Russe* manner. This is his common recreation betwixt meales that he most delights in. One other speciall recreation, is the fight with wild Beares, which are caught in Pits or Nets, and are kept in barred Cages for that purpose, against the Emperour bee disposed to see the pastime. The fight with the Beare is on this sort. The man is turned into a Circle walled round about, where hee is to quite himselfe so well as hee can: for there is no way to flye out. When the Beare is turned loose, he commeth vpon him with open mouth; if at the first push he misse his ayme, so that the Beare come within him, hee is in great danger. But the wilde Beare Beare bayting.

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being very scarce, hath this quality, that giueth aduantage to the Hunter. His manner is, when he assayleth a man, to rise vp right on his two hinder-legs, and so to come roaring with open-mouth vpon him. And if the Hunter then can push right into the very brest of him betwixt his fore-legs (as commonly he will not misse) resting the other end of their Boare-speare at the side of his foot, and so keeping the Pike still towards the face of the Beare, hee speedeth him commonly at one blow. But many times these Hunters come short, and are either slaine, or miserably torne with the Teeth and Talents of the fierce Beast. If the partie quite himselfe well in this fight with the Beare, he is carried to drinke at the Emperours Seller doore: where he drinketh himselfe drunke for the honour of *Hospodare*. And this is his Reward for aduenturing his life, for the Emperours pleasure. To maintayne this pastime, the Emperour hath certayne Huntsmen that are appointed for that purpose to take the wild Beare. This is his recreation commonly on the holy dayes. Sometimes hee spendeth his time in looking vpon his Gold-smithes and Iewellers, Taylors, Embroyderers, Painters, and such like, and so goeth to his Supper. When it draweth towards Bed-time, his Priest saith certayne Prayers: and then the Emperour blesseth and crosseth himselfe, as in the morning for a quarter of an houre or thereabouts, and so goeth to his Bed.

Emperour *Theodore* described.

The Emperour that now is (called *Theodore Iuanowich*) is for his person of a meane stature, some-what low and grosse, of a sallow complexion, and inclining to the Dropsie, Hawke-nosed, vnsteady in his pase, by reason of some weakenesse of his limmes, heauy and vnactiue, yet commonly smiling almost to a laughter. For qualitie otherwise, simple and slow witted, but very gentle, and of an easie nature, quiet, mercifull, of no martiall disposition, nor greatly apt for matter of Policie, very Superstitious, and infinite that way. Besides his priuate Deuotions at

Pilgrimage.

home, he goeth euery weeke commonly on Pilgrimage, to some Monasterie or other that is neerest hand. He is of thirtie foure yeeres old, or thereabouts, and hath reigned almost the space of six yeeres.

Chap. 27. Of the Emperors priuate, or houshold Officers.

THe chiefe Officers of the Emperours houshold, are these which follow. The first, is the Office of the *Boiaren Conesheua*, or Master of the Horse. Which contayneth no more then is expressed by the name, that is, to be Ouer-seer of the Horse, and not *Magister Equitum*, or Master of the Horsemen. For he appointeth other for that Seruice, as occasion doth require (as before was said.) He that beareth that Office at this time, is *Borris Federowich Godonoe*, Brother to the Empresse. Of Horse for Seruice in his Warres (besides other for his ordinary vses) he hath to the number of 10000. which are kept about *Mosko*.

Master of the Horse.

The Lord Steward.

The next is the Lord Steward of his houshold at this time, one *Gregorie Vasilowich Godonoe*.

The Lord Treasurer.

The third, is his Treasurer, that keepeth all his Moneyes, Iewels, Plate, &c. now called *Stepan Vasilowich Godonoe*.

Comptroller.

The fourth, his Comptroller, now *Andreas Petrowich Clesinine*.

Chamberlaine

The fift, his Chamberlaine. He that attendeth that Office at this time, is called *Esteoma Besabroza Pastelnischay*.

Tasters.

The sixt, his Tasters, now *Theodore Alexandrowich*, and *Iuan Vasilowich Godonoe*.

Harbengers.

The seuenth, his Harbengers, which are three Noblemen, and diuers other Gentlemen that do the Office vnder them. These are his ordinary Officers, and Offices of the chiefest account.

Gentlemen of the Chamber.

Of Gentlemen, beside that wait about his Chamber, and Person (called *Shilsey Strapsey*) there are two hundred, all Noblemens Sonnes.

The Guard.

His ordinary Guard is two thousand *Hagbutters*, ready with their Peeces charged, and their Match lighted, with other necessary Furniture, continually day and night: which come not within the house, but waite without in the Court or Yard where the Emperour is abiding. In night time there lodgeth next to his Bed-chamber, the chiefe Chamberlaine, with one or two more of best trust about him. A second chamber off, there lodge six other of like account, for their trust and faithfulnesse. In the third chamber lye certayne

Groomes.

young Gentlemen, of these two hundred, called *Shilsey Strapsey*, that take their turne by forties euery night. There are Groomes besides that watch in their course, and lye at euery gate and doore of the Court, called *Estopnick*.

The *Hag-butters* or Gunners, whereof there are two thousand (as was said before) watch about the Emperours Lodging, or Bed-chamber, by course two hundred and fiftie euery night, and two hundred and fiftie more in the Court-yard, and about the Treasure-house. His Court or house at the *Mosko*, is made Castle-wise, walled about with great store of faire Ordnance planted vpon the wall, and contayneth a great breadth of ground within it, with many dwelling houses. Which are appointed for such as are knowne to be sure, and trustie to the Emperour.

Chap. 28. Of the priuate behauiour, or qualitie of the *Russe* people.

THe priuate behauiour and qualitie of the *Russe* people, may partly be vnderstood by that which hath beene sayd, concerning the publike State and vsage of the Countrey. As touching the naturall habit of their bodies, they are for the most part of a large size, and of very fleshly bodies: accounting it a grace to be somewhat grosse and burley, and therefore they nourish and spread their Beards, to haue them long and broad. But for the most part they are very vnweldy, and vnactiue withall. Which may bee thought to come partly of the Climate, and the numbnesse which they get by the cold in Winter, and partly of their Dyet that standeth

Constitution of their bodies.

most

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moſt of Roots, Onions, Garlike, Cabbage, and ſuch like things that breed groſſe humours, which they vſe to eate alone, and with their other meates.

Their Dyet is rather much, then curious. At their Meales they beginne commonly with a *Chark*, or ſmall cup of *Aqua-vitæ* (which they call *Ruſſe* Wine) and then drinke not till towards the end of their Meales, taking it in largely, and all together with kiſſing one another at euery pledge. And therefore after Dinner there is no talking with them, but euery man goeth to his bench to take his after-noones ſleepe, which is as ordinary with them as their nights reſt. When they exceed, and haue varietie of Diſhes, the firſt are their baked meates (for roaſt meats they vſe little) and then their Broaths or Pottage. To drinke drunke, is an ordinary matter with them euery day in the Weeke. Their common Drinke is *Mead*, the poorer ſort vſe water, and a thin Drinke called *Quaſſe*, which is nothing elſe (as wee ſay) but *water turned out of his wits*, with a little Bran meaſhed with it.

Their Dyet. Drinking and kiſſing. Sleeping.

This Dyet would breed in them many Diſeaſes, but that they vſe Bath-ſtoues, or Hot-houſes in ſtead of all Phyſicke, commonly twice or thrice euery Weeke. All the Winter time, and almoſt the whole Summer, they heate their *Peaches*; which are made like the *Germane* Bath-ſtoues, and their *Potlads* like Ouens, that ſo warme the Houſe, that a ſtranger at the firſt ſhall hardly like of it. Theſe two extremities, ſpecially in the Winter of heate within their Houſes, and of extreame cold without, together with their Dyet, maketh them of a darke and ſallow complexion, their ſkinnes being tanned and parched both with cold and with heat: ſpecially the women, that for the greater part are of farre worſe complexions then the men. Whereof the cauſe I take to be their keeping within the Hot-houſes, and buſying themſelues about the heating, and vſing of their Bath-ſtoues and *Peaches*.

Bath ſtoues.

The *Ruſſe* becauſe that he is vſed to both theſe extremities of heate and of cold, can beare them both a great deale more patiently then ſtrangers can doe. You ſhall ſee them ſometimes (to ſeaſon their bodies) come out of their Bath-ſtoues all on a froth, and fuming as hote almoſt as a Pigge at a Spit, and preſently to leape into the Riuer ſtarke naked, or to powre cold water all ouer their bodies, and that in the coldeſt of all the Winter time. The women to mend the bad hue of their ſkinnes, vſe to paint their faces with white and redde colours, ſo viſibly that euery man may perceiue it. Which is made no matter, becauſe it is common, and liked well by their Husbands: who make their Wiues and Daughters an ordinary allowance to buy them colours to paint their faces withall, and delight themſelues much to ſee them of foule women to become ſuch faire Images. This parcheth the ſkinne, and helpeth to deforme them when their painting is of.

Extremities. Women-dawbers.

They apparell themſelues after the *Greeke* manner. The Noblemans attyre is on this faſhion. Firſt, a *Taffia*, or little night cap on his head, that coureth little more then his crowne, commonly very rich, wrought of Silke and Gold Thread, and ſet with Pearle and Precious Stone. His head he keepeth thauen cloſe to the very ſkin, except he be in ſome diſpleaſure with the Emperour. Then he ſuffereth his haire to grow and hang downe vpon his ſhoulders, couering his face as vgly and deformedly as he can. Ouer the *Taffia* he weareth a wide Cap of blacke Foxe (which they account for the beſt Furre) with a *Tiara*, or long Bonnet put within it, ſtanding vp like a *Perſian* or *Babylonian* Hat. About his necke (which is ſeene all bare) is a Coller ſet with Pearle and Precious Stone, about three or foure-fingers broad. Next ouer his ſhirt (which is curiouſly wrought, becauſe hee ſtrippeth himſelfe into it in the Sommer-time, while hee is within the houſe) is a *Shepon*, or light Garment of Silke made downe to the knees, buttoned before; and then a *Caftan* or a cloſe Coat buttoned, and girt to him with a *Perſian* Girdle, whereat he hangs his Kniues and Spoone. This commonly is of Cloth of Gold, and hangeth downe as low as his ankles. Ouer that he weareth a looſe Garment of ſome rich Silke, furred and faced about with ſome Gold Lace, called a *Ferrii*. Another ouer that of Chamblet, or like Stuffe called an *Alkaben*, ſleeued and hanging low, and the Cape commonly brooched, and ſet all with Pearle. When he goeth abroad, he caſteth ouer all theſe (which are but ſleight, though they ſeeme to be many) another Garment called an *Honoratkey*, like to the *Alkaben*, ſaue that it is made without a Coller for the necke. And this is commonly of fine Cloth, or Camels haire. His Buskins (which hee weareth in ſtead of Hoſe, with Linnen Folles vnder them, in ſtead of Boot-hoſe) are made of a *Perſian* Leather called *Saphian*, Embroydered with Pearle. His vpper ſtocks commonly are of Cloth of Gold. When he goeth abroad, hee mounteth on Horſe-backe, though it bee but to the next doore: which is the manner alſo of the *Boiarskey*, or Gentlemen.

The Noblemans attyre.

The *Boiarskey*, or Gentlemans attyre is of the ſame faſhion, but differeth in Stuffe: and yet he will haue his *Caftan* or Vnder-coat ſometimes of Cloth of Gold, the reſt of Cloth of Silke.

The Gentlemans apparell.

The Noble woman (called *Chyna Boiarſhena*) weareth on her head, firſt a Caull of ſome ſoft Silke (which is commonly called Red) and ouer it a Fruntlet, called *Obroſa*, of white colour. Ouer that her Cap (made after the Coife-faſhion of Cloth of Gold) called *Shapka Zempska*, edged with ſome rich Furre, and ſet with Pearle and Stone. Though they haue of late begun to diſdaine Embroydering with Pearle about their Caps, becauſe the *Diacks*, and ſome Merchants Wiues haue taken vp the faſhion. In their eares they weare Earerings (which they call

The Noblewomans attire.

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Sargee) of two Inches or more compaſſe, the matter of Gold ſet with Rubies, or Saphires, or ſome like Precious Stone. In Sommer they goe often with Kerchiefs of fine white Lawne, or Cambricke, faſtned vnder the chinne, with two long Taffels pendent. The Kerchiefe ſpotted and ſet thicke with rich Pearle. When they ride or goe abroad in raynie weather, they weare white Hats with coloured bands (called *Stapa Zempskoy.)* About their neckes they weare Collers of three or foure-fingers broad, ſet with rich Pearle and Precious Stone. Their vpper Garment is a looſe Gowne called *Opoſhen*, commonly of Scarlet, with wide looſe ſleeues, hanging downe to the ground buttened before with great Gold Buttons, or at leaſt Siluer and gilt, nigh as bigge as a Wal-nut. Which hath hanging ouer it faſtned vnder the Cap, a large broad Cape of ſome rich Furre, that hangeth downe almoſt to the midſt of their backes. Next vnder the *Opoſken* or vpper Garment, they weare another called a *Leitwick* that is made cloſe before with great wide ſleeues, the cuffe or halfe ſleeue vp to the elbowes, commonly of Cloth of Gold: and vnder that a *Ferris Zemskoy*, which hangeth looſe buttoned throughout to the very foot. On the hand wreſts they weare very faire Bracelets, about two fingers broad of Pearle and Precious Stone. They goe all in Buskins of White, Yellow, Blue, or ſome other coloured Leather, embroydered with Pearle. This is the attyre of the Noble-woman of *Ruſſia*, when ſhee maketh the beſt ſhew of herſelfe. The Gentlewomans apparell may differ in the Stuffe, but is all one for the making or faſhion.

The *Mouſicks* or common mans attire.

As for the poore *Mouſick* and his Wife they goe poorely clad. The man with his *Odnoratkey*, or looſe Gowne to the ſmall of the legge, tyed together with a Lace before, of courſe white or blue cloth, with ſome *Shube* or long Waſt-coat of Furre, or of Sheep-skinne vnder it, and his furred Cap, and Buskins. The poorer ſort of them haue their *Odnoratkey*, or vpper Garment, made of Cowes haire. This is their Winter Habit. In the Sommer time, commonly they weare nothing but their ſhirts on their backes, and Buskins on their legs. The woman goeth in a red or blue Gowne, when ſhe maketh the beſt ſhew, and with ſome warme *Shube* of Furre vnder it in the Winter time. But in the Sommer, nothing but two ſhirts (for ſo they call them) one ouer the other, whether they be within doores, or without. On their heads, they weare Caps of ſome coloured Stuffe, many of Veluet, or of Cloth of Gold: but for the moſt part Kerchiefes. Without Earings of Siluer or ſome other Metall, and her Croſſe about her neck, you ſhall ſee no *Ruſſe* woman, be ſhee Wife, or Maide.

Their wits and capacities.

As touching their behauiour, and qualitie, otherwiſe, they are of reaſonable capacities, if they had thoſe meanes that ſome other Nations haue to trayne vp their wits in good Nurture, and Learning. Which they might borrow of the *Polonians*, and other their Neighbours, but that they refuſe it of a very ſelfe-pride, as accounting their owne faſhions to be farre the beſt. Partly alſo (as I ſaid before) for that their manner of bringing vp (void of all good Learning, and Ciuill behauiour) is thought by their Gouernours moſt agreeable to that State, and their manner of Gouernment. This cauſeth the Emperours to bee very wary for excluding of all Peregrinitie, that might alter their faſhions. Which were leſſe to bee diſliked, if it ſet not a print into the very minds of his people. For as themſelues are very hardly and cruelly dealt with all by their chiefe Magiſtrates, and other Superiours, ſo are they as cruell one againſt another, ſpecially ouer their inferiours, and ſuch as are vnder them. So that the baſeſt and wretchedeſt *Chriſtianos* (as they call him) that ſtoopeth and croucheth like a Dogge to the Gentleman, and licketh vp the duſt that lyeth at his feet, is an intollerable Tyrant, where hee hath the aduantage. By this meanes the whole Countrey is filled with Rapine, and Murder. They make no account of the life of a man. You ſhall haue a man robbed ſometime in the very ſtreets of their Townes, if he goe late in the Euening; and yet no man to come forth out of his doores to reſcue him, though he heare him cry out. I will not ſpeake of the ſtrangeneſſe of the Murders, and other cruelties committed among them, that would ſcarſly be beleeued to be done among men, ſpecially ſuch as profeſſe themſelues *Chriſtians*.

Crueltie of the *Ruſſe* people.

The number of their vagrant and begging poore is almoſt infinite: that are ſo pinched with Famine and extreame need, as that they begge after a violent and deſperate manner, with *Giue me and cut me. Giue me and kill me*; and ſuch like Phraſes. And yet it may be doubted whether is the greater, the Crueltie or Intemperancie that is vſed in that Countrey. I will not ſpeake of it, becauſe it is ſo foule and not to be named. The whole Countrey ouerfloweth with all ſinne of that kind. And no maruell, as hauing no Law to reſtraine Whoredomes, Adulteries, and like vncleanneſſe of life.

Intemperancy.

As for the truth of his word, *as ſome ſay*, the *Ruſſe* neither beleeueth any thing that another man ſpeaketh, nor ſpeaketh any thing himſelfe worthy to bee beleeued. Theſe qualities make them very odious to all their Neighbours, ſpecially to the *Tartars*, that account themſelues to be honeſt and juſt, in compariſon of the *Ruſſe*. It is ſuppoſed by ſome that doe well conſider of the State of both Countries, that the offence they take at the *Ruſſe* Gouernment, and their manner of behauiour, hath beene a great cauſe to keepe the *Tartar* ſtill Heatheniſh, and to miſlike as he doth of the Chriſtian profeſſion.

To

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To the Reader.

I *Thought good here to giue an account of my course. Hauing spent much time in that other* World, *so little known to* This (Tartaria *and* China) *that the parts least known might be made best known: I haue comne neerer home, to* Russia, *and her neighbours, the neerer; or* Chrim Tartars, *the* Samoyeds, *and others; whereof Doctor* Fletchers *Story being so elaborate (where, though the centre bee* Russia, *yet his circumference is more generall) and by men iudicious which haue in those parts enioyed most honourable employment, and exactest intelligence, commended; I haue giuen him the first place. And if some terme bee mollified, or some few things omitted, it is not to defraud Thee of the Historie (which for substance is whole, as by perusall is found) but not to defraud our industrious Countrymen in their merchandizing mysterie, wherein some perhaps would hence seeke occasion of undermining. For like cause I haue giuen the next place to Captaine* Edge, *(the one out gowned Generall by Land, the other in his generall Historie also by Sea) as deserued by his ten yeeres Voyages, and his other Merits. As for the question of* Willoughbies *Land, I list not to dispute it; but I thinke, neither* Hollander *(as is also confessed by the* French *Booke, called, The Historie of* Spitsberghe [a] *on the* Dutch *behalfe) nor any other haue found any such Lands as his Storie describes, but some part of those which now with a generall name wee call,* Greenland *(howsoeuer the makers of Maps and Globes may create Lands and Ilands at pleasure, especially in vnknowne places) and the first setled, ordinary, and orderly Voyages for the Whale-killing, and the most for discouerie in those parts haue beene made by the* English, *their gaynes awakening the* Hollander *to that enterprise, and that also (as elsewhere in the World) by* English *guides. That which I most greeue at in this contention, is the detention of further discouery to the Pole and beyond (where it is not likely to be colder then here, and at the Arctike circle: as in the Red Sea,* Ormus, *and the Countrey about* Balsara *on this side the Tropike, is found greater heat then vnder the Line it selfe) the desire of gayne euery where causing debate, and consequently losse of the best gaine both in Earth and Heauen. Merchants might get the World, and giue vs the World better, if* Charitie *were their* Needle; Grace, *their* Compas; Heauen *their* Hauen, *and if they would take their* height *by obseruing the* Sunne of Righteousnesse *in the* Scripture-astrolabe, *and sounding their depth by a* Leading Faith, *and not by a* Leadden bottomlesse Couetousnesse: *that is,* if they would seeke the Kingdome of Heauen first, all things should bee added; *they should finde World enough in the* Indian, *and Polare Worlds, and wee and they should arriue at better knowledge of the Creator and Creatures. And of all men (that I may a little further answere that Historie of* Spitsberghe) *I would be glad to see agreement betwixt the* English *and* Dutch, *both because I honour that Nation, as hath appeared in this whole worke of Voyages, in which and of which the* Dutch *are so great a part: and because in Region, Religion, Originall Nation, ingenious and ingennous disposition, and (that which here brings both on our Stage) the glory of Nauigation, they are so neere vs, and worthie to be honored. It is true that euery where the* English *hath beene the elder Brother, a Doctor, and Ductor, to the* Hollanders, *in their* Martiall *feats at home, and* Neptunian *exploits abroad, (that I mention not their permitted wealthie fishing on the* English *shoare) whom had they followed with as true and due respect, as with happie successe; quarrels had not so distracted and distorted both sides. I appeale to* Dutch *ingenuitie, if euer they did any thing wholly New (but giue* names) *in remotest Nauigations, without* English *lights.* Columbus *an* Italian *had the honour of finding* America, *and the* Spaniards *the happinesse. But for the North* America, *and the whole Northern New World,* Cabota [b] *borne or bred at least in* England, *was either Actor or Author. For the* Dutch, *I haue shewed, for the compassing of the World, and for the East* Indies *before, that our* Drake, Candish, Mellis, Dauis, Adams, *&c. were their Fore-runners, Pilots, and Guides: Yea, their* New-found Land *Voyages, and all the Northerne coast of* America *were discouered by* Sebastian Cabota, *and other* Englishmen. *I adde their* New Straights *Southwards from those of* Magelane *were discouered before by* Drake, *as in the Map of Sir* Francis Drakes *Voyage presented to Queene* Elizabeth, *still hanging in His Maiesties Gallerie at* White Hall, *neere the Priuie Chamber, and by that Map wherein is* Cabotas *Picture, the first and great* Columbus *for the Northerne World) may be seene. In which Map, the South of the* Magelane Straits *is not a Continent, but many Ilands, and the very same which they haue stiled in their* Straits. Barneuels *Ilands had long before beene named by the most auspicate of Earthly Names, (and let themselues be Iudges, with which the other is as little worthie to be mentioned, as a kind Mother, and an vnkind Traitor. The Name* Elizabeth [c] *is expressed in golden Letters, with a golden Crowne, Garter, and Armes affixed: The words ascribed thereunto are these,* Cum omnes ferè hanc partem Australem Continentem esse putent, pro certo sciant Insulas esse Nauigantibus peruias, earumq; australissimam ELIZABETHAM à D. *Francisco Draco* Inuentore dictam esse. *The same height of* 57. *degrees, and South-easterly situation from the* Magelan *Westerne Mouth giue further euidence. And my learned friend Master* Brigges *told me, that he hath seene this plot of* Drakes *Voyage cut in*

[a] *H. G. A.* in confutation of the *English* assertion for *Willoughby*, sayth, *Il est bien vray que nos Mariniers n'ont trouue au dit lieu de* 72. *degrees aulcun Pays.* 72. in Sir *Hugh Willoughbies* Booke perhaps was mistaken for 77. their figure of 7. and that of 2. in old writing, being very like each other, so that the last 7. with a little touch of the running Pen might appeare. 2. His hand, I am sure, is of the old fashion of that time, as appeares by a Will I haue with his hand, and perhaps all of his hand. Some *English* Maps haue made an Iland in that height where none is: and the *Dutch Willebord* Ilesd (which they say are eight in 73.) haue small likelihood: perhaps Sir *Hugh Willoughbie* might misreckon, by not knowing the variation of the Compas and Sea rules: which I take to be most likely,

and *H. G. A.* confesseth also. [b] *Sebastian Cabota* the *English Columbus*, sonne of *Iohn* a *Venetian*, bred heere, and Discouerer for *Henry* the Seuenth, of *America*; and first Gouernour of the *Moscouie* Companie. * Sir *F. Drake* first finder of the S. Sreights, called *Maires*. [c] In the said Map is Queene *Elizabeths* Picture, with *Neptune* yeelding his Trident, and *Triton* sounding her Fame, with these Verses, *Te Deus æquoreus donat Regina Tridente, Et Triton laudes effat vbique tuas.*

Siluer by a Dutchman (Michael Mercator, *Nephew to* Gerardus) *many yeeres before* Scouten *or* Maire *intended that Voyage. As for* Noua Zemla *by* Stephen Burrough, *and others, long before discouered, they also haue giuen new names, which I enuie not: onely I feare a* væ soli, *and hate ingratitude both ours and theirs. But too much of this. Next to this more generall Discourse shall follow the* Dutch *Northerne Voyages, and the* English *North-easterne: after which wee will take a more complementall leaue of that Continent, and from thence visite the Northerly and North-westerne Discoueries; at once hunting for a New World and a New passage to This.*

CHAP. II.

A briefe Discouerie of the Northerne Discoueries of Seas, Coasts, and Countries, deliuered in order as they were hopefully begunne, and haue euer since happily beene continued by the singular industrie and charge of the Worshipfull Society of Muscouia *Merchants of* London, *with the ten seuerall Voyages of Captaine* THOMAS EDGE *the Authour.*

§. I.

Greenland *first discouered by Sir* HVGH WILLOVGHBIE: *the Voyages of* FROBISHER, PET *and* IACKMAN, DAVIS, *the* Dutch; *First Morse and Whale-killing, with further Discoueries.*

W. Gemeticensis de Ducib. Normann.

THE Northerne parts of the World haue euer beene held to be *Officina Gentium & velut Vagina Nationum*, Natures Shop and Store-house of Men, better furnished then any other part of the Earth, and from whence those notable Inundations came first of the *Cymbrians* and *Teutons*, in the time of the antient *Romans*; and secondly of the *Gothes* and *Vandals* vnder *Attila*, to the confusion of things both Diuine and Humane in all the Southerne parts of *Europe*, as farre as Barbarisme could preuaile against Ciuilitie and Religion. For remedie whereof the Townes alongst the *Baltick* Sea entred into a confederacy vnder the names of the *Hans* Townes, and vndertooke the keeping of those Northerne people, and the securing of these Southerne Kingdomes from any the like ouerflowings, vpon such Priuiledges and Immunities as were granted and agreed vnto them by all the Southerne Princes, and according to such Lawes as were made and prouided for the maintenance and strength of the said *Hans* Townes, amongst which the supreme and fundamentall Lawe was that none of these Nations so secured should haue trade or commerce in any parts beyond the *Baltike* Seas, to the end the barbarous people might not bee enabled thereby to practise or moue against the *Hans* Townes: which was the cause together also with the extremitie of cold, that those Northerne Seas were neuer looked vnto vntill the yeere 1553. At which time the trade of this Kingdome waxing cold and in decay, and the Merchants incited with the fame of the great masse of riches which the *Portugals* and *Spaniards* brought home yeerely from both the *Indies*, entred into a resolution, notwithstanding the prohibition of the *Hans* Law to discouer the Northerne Seas, which so long had beene frozen and shut vp; and to see whether they could not affoord a passage to *Cathay* and the East *Indies*, and accordingly prouided three ships, and sent them forth vnder the command of Sir *Hugh Willoughbie*, Knight, who embarqued himselfe in a ship called, the *Bona Esperança*, Admirall of that Voyage, with *Richard Chancellor* Captaine of the *Edward Bonauenture*, together with a third ship, called the *Bona Confidentia*. These three ships falling downe from *Ratcliffe*, the tenth of May in the foresaid yeere went on their Voyage, and proceeding as farre as the Cape of *Norway*, they were seuered by a tempest. *Chancellor* after he had stayed at Ward-house seuen dayes, expecting the Admirall and the other ships, according to a former appointment vpon any such casualtie, and hearing nothing of them, went on, and discouered the Bay of Saint *Nicolas*, and setled a trade there, which hath continued to these times.

Hans Townes.

Cathay. See *l.* 2. *cap.* 1. of this whole Voyage. 212.

Sir *Hugh Willoughbie* was driuen to the height of 72. * where hee fell vpon an Iland, now knowne by the name of *Willoughbies Land*, and lieth from *Sinam* (vpon the Continent of *Norway* East and by North an hundred and sixtie leagues or thereabouts, from thence he went North and North-west, and within eight dayes after he fell vpon a Land which lay West South-west, and East North-east, betweene 74. and 75. degrees of latitude, and plying Westward along by the

* An errour in the latitude, the Land standeth in 77.

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the Land, he was driuen by the wind to put to Sea againe, vntill the wind came about. Then they made towards the Land againe, and bare with it, but finding that place vnfit for landing, they haled out againe, running along the Land sixteene leagues North-west, where they found a faire Bay, went on Land and found the place inhabited. From thence they put to Sea againe, runne alongst the coast for fortie leagues together, till at length they came to an anchor within two leagues of the shoare, where they landed, and found two or three good Harbours.

Afterwards they entred into the Hauen which ranne vp into the Maine about two leagues, where they remained for the space of a weeke vpon the maine Land. They found Beares, great Deere, Foxes, and other beasts. They sent out three men three dayes iourney to the South-west, and three others also full West, all which returned after diuers dayes trauelling, and found no people nor any likelihood of habitation. And this is that Land which now is called *Greenland*, or King *Iames* his *New-land*, and is knowne to the *Hollanders* by the name of *Spitsbergen*. Sir *Hugh Willoughbie* returned into *Lapland*, where he and his companie were frozen to death, in the Hauen called *Arzina*, neere *Kegor*.

Greenland discouered by Sir *Hugh Willoughbie*. This Voyage was written by Sir *H. Will.* and found in his ship. In Ianuarie after he was aliue, as appeares by a Will of *Gab. Will.* his kinsman, subscribed by Sir *Hug. Willoughbie* which Will I now haue, and keepe as a Relike of that worthie discouerer and first finder of King *Iames* his *New-land*.

The *Muscouia* Merchants hauing thus setled a trade in *Russia*, and being incorporated by the name of, The Merchants of *England*, for the discouerie of new trades, pursued their first resolutions for finding a way to *Cathay* by the North-east, and in the yeere 1556. sent out *Stephen Burrough*, for discouerie of the Riuer *Obb*, who proceeding forwards in that Voyage discouered the Riuer *Pechora*, the Streights of *Vaigats* and *Nouazembla* *; went on shoare vpon the Iland of *Vaigats*, and vpon the North Continent of *Russia*; met with the *Samoeds*, obserued their manner of life, their Religion, their Sacrifices to their rude and ill shaped Idols; and the yeere being spent, returned into *Russia*.

* See *Hackl. V tom. 1. pag. 274.*

The Companie hauing sought for the North-east passage, and finding such difficulties as are mentioned in their particular Iournals, resolued to make triall, if the North-west part could not affoord a passage to the *Indies*, which was the first and maine scope of their Northerne Discoueries. And in the yeere 1576. they sent forth Sir *Martin Frobisher* with two Barkes, who comming into the height of 62. or thereabouts, found a great Inlet, now knowne by the name of *Frobishers Streights*, into which he put himselfe, and sayled sixtie leagues with a mayne Land on each side, and so for that yeere returned. 1576. Sir *M. Frobisher Hakl. tom. 3. 29. & seqq.*

The next yeere following he made a second Voyage to that place, purposely to lade himselfe with a kind of Oare, which the yeere before he had found there, and gaue hope by the colour to yeeld Gold, and being laden with some quantitie, returned.

The yeere following, being 1578. hauing made tryall here of that Oare, and finding it not to fall out according to his expectation, hee was furnished out to proceed in the further discouerie of those Streights, and entring into the same, made way so farre as hee thought fit, and then returned backe, hauing first taken possession thereof in the name of Queene *Elizabeth* of famous memorie, who called the place *Meta incognita*: he brought home some of the Natiues, and left some of his men there. 1578.

In the yeere 1580. the Companie sent out a second Voyage for the discouerie of the Riuer *Obb*, and thence to goe on to *Cathay*; furnishing forth two ships vnder the command of *Arthur Pet*, and *Charles Iackman*, who following their instructions, arriued at *Vaigats*, passed those Streights with a particular obseruation of those Ilands and places therein, plyed along the East part of *Nouazembla*, and the North of *Russia*, and the *Samoeds* Countrey, so farre as the Ice would giue them leaue, and finding no possibilitie of passage by reason of the Ice, returned backe in the latter end of the yeere. By this time the Voyage of Saint *Nicolas* was knowne, and become a beaten trade. And the Companie sent out yeerely thither ten or twelue ships, which returned fraighted with the commodities of that Countrey. 1580. *Pet* and *Iackman. Hak. to. 1. p. 445.*

In the yeere 1583. by the leaue and admittance of the *Moscouia* Companie, Sir *Humfrey Gilbert* went out for the discouerie of the North part of *Terra Florida*, came into the great Riuer called, Saint *Laurence* in *Canada*, tooke possession of the Countrey, setled the gouernment of the fishing there which is so well knowne in these times. 1583. Sir *H. Gilbert Hak. to. 3. p. 143.*

In the yeere 1585. Master *Iohn Danis* was furnished out at *Dartmouth* with two Barkes, for the discouerie of the North-west, came into the height of 66. plyed along the coast, obserued the probabilitie of a passage, and in the end of the yeere returned. 1585. Master *Danis Hak. to. 3. p. 98. & seq.*

In the yeere following, being 1586. hee went on againe in the further discouerie thereof, found a great Inlet betweene 55. and 56. of latitude, which gaue him great hope of a passage, traded with the people there, and so returned. 1586.

In the yeere 1587. hee made a third Voyage to those places, followed his course to the North and North-west, to the Latitude of 67. degrees, hauing the Continent (which hee called *America*) on the West side and *Groineland*, which hee named *Desolation* on the East, and going on the height of 86. degrees, the passage enlarged so that hee could not see the Westerne shoare. Thus he continued in the Latitude of 73. degrees in a great Sea free from Ice, of an vnmeasurable depth, but by the occasion of the departure of two Ships which were in company with him, which 1587.

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which hee left Fiſhing at a place, he returned home. This paſſage continueth the Name and memorie of the firſt Diſcouerer, and is called *Fretum Dauis*. And thus the Diſcouerie of the Northern Seas proceeded on from time to time, by the endeauour and charge of the *Muſcouia* Companie, vntill they had particularly diſcouered the Lands, Coaſts, Ilands, Straights, Hauens, Bayes, Riuers and other places therein, and meaſured euery part thereof, by their often tracing to and fro: Together alſo with the obſeruation of the Commodities and Aduantages, ariſing from euery part of the ſame, continuing euen vnto theſe times to haunt and frequent the parts which they had formerly found out; As by their yeerely Reportaries and Iournals may appeare, and that either without emulation or competition of any other Nation, that euer came into thoſe parts or enterpriſed any Diſcouerie there vntill of late yeeres, as appeares by this that followeth.

Fretum Dauis.

When *Richard Chancelor* had ſetled a trade with *Iohn Vaſilowich* then Emperour of *Ruſſia*, and his Ambaſſadours had beene heere in *England*, to accompliſh matters requiſite for maintenance of the Amitie and Entercourſe made and agreed vpon betweene theſe two Crownes; King *Philip*, Queene *Marie*, Dukes alſo at that time of *Burgundie*, and Soueraignes of all the *Netherlands*, made a grant of Priuiledge vnto the *Muſcouia* Merchants for the ſole Trade of thoſe Seas, prohibiting all others to haunt and frequent the ſame, without ſpeciall Licence and conſent of the ſayd Companie: which grant of Priuiledge was accordingly enioyed without diſturbance or interloping of the *Hollanders*, who out of obedience either to the Prohibition made by their Soueraigne, or for that they durſt not aduenture into theſe Seas, did not any way attempt to bee ſeene or appeare there, either for Diſcouerie or trade of Merchandize, for the ſpace of fiue and twentie yeeres, after the Port of Saint *Nicholas* was firſt Diſcouered and found out by the *Engliſh*. For the Company hauing as is aboue mentioned, made their firſt Diſcouerie in the yeere 1553. there was neuer heard of any *Netherlander* that frequented thoſe Seas, vntill the yeere 1578. At which time they firſt began to come to *Cola*, and within a yeere or two after, one *Iohn de Whale* a *Netherlander*, came to the Bay of Saint *Nicholas*, being drawne thither by the perſwaſion of ſome *Engliſh* for their better meane of Interloping, which was the firſt man of that Nation that euer was ſeene there. And this as is formerly noted was fiue and twentie yeeres after it was Diſcouered by the *Muſcouia* Merchants.

Hak. Tom. 1. pag. 297.

25.

1553.

1578.

25.

Afterwards the *Hollanders* crept in more and more, and in the yeere 1594. they made out foure Ships for Diſcouerie of the North-eaſt paſſage to *China*, the Maſter Pylot whereof was *William Barrents*, theſe came vpon the Coaſt of *Nouazembla* to the Latitude of 77. degrees, drew backe againe towards the Straights of *Vaigats*, and then returned giuing Names vnto ſome places and Promontories vpon that Land.

1594. Theſe Voiages follow.

In the yeere 1595. They ſent out a ſecond Voyage, tracing the way through the Straights of *Vaigats* in the ſame ſteps, as *Pet* and *Iackman* had formerly paſſed, and ſo returned.

1595.

In the yeere 1596. They ſet out a third Voyage with two Ships, the one of which ſhaped her courſe from the Cape of *Norway*, to an Iland in the Latitude of 74. degrees, which wee call *Cherie Iland*, and they call *Beare Iland*, and from thence to *Greenland*, where Sir *Hugh Willoughbie* had beene two and fortie yeeres before, for ſo long time there is betweene the firſt Diſcouerie thereof and the yeere 1596. And from thence to the North-eaſt part of *Nouazembla*, in the Latitude of 76. degrees, where they Wintred and loſt their Ship, and came home with much difficultie.

1596. I haue by me a *French* Storie of *Spitsbergh*, publiſhed 1613 by a *Dutchman* which writeth againſt this *Engliſh* allegation, &c. but hotter arguments then I am willing to anſwer.

In the yeere 1603. *Stephen Bennet* was imployed by the Companie, in a Ship called the *Grace*, to thoſe parts Northwards of the Cape, and was at *Cherie Iland* and killed ſome Sea-horſes, and brought home Lead Oare from thence.

In the yeere 1608. the ſaid fellowſhip ſet foorth a Ship called the *Hope-well*, whereof *William Hudſon* was Maſter, to diſcouer to the Pole, where it appeareth by his Iournall, that hee came to the height of 81. degrees, where he gaue Names to certayne places, vpon the Continent of *Greenland* formerly diſcouered, which continue to this day, namely, *Whale Bay*, and *Hackluit Headland*, and being hindred with Ice, returned home without any further vſe made of the Countrey, and in ranging homewards, hee diſcouered an Iland lying in 71. degrees, which hee named *Hudſons Tutches*.

William Hudſon Diſcouereth to 81. Degrees.
Whale Bay.
Hackluits Headland.
Hudſons Toutches.

Heere it is to bee vnderſtood, that the Companie hauing by often reſort and imployment to thoſe parts, obſerued the great number of Sea-horſes at *Cherie Iland*, and likewiſe the multitude of Whales, that ſhewed themſelues vpon the coaſt of *Greenland*; They firſt applyed themſelues to the killing of the Morces, which they continued from yeere to yeere with a Ship or two yeerely; in which Ships the Companie appointed *Thomas Welden* Commander, and in the yeere 1609. the Companie imployed one *Thomas Edge* their Apprentice, for their Northeren Voyage, and joyned him in Commiſſion with the foreſayd *Welden*. Now the often vſing of *Cherie Iland*, did make the Sea-horſe grow ſcarſe and decay, which made the Companie looke out for further Diſcoueries.

Thomas Welden.
1609.
Thomas Edge the Author.

In the yeere 1610. the Companie ſet out two Ships, *viz.* the *Lioneſſe* for *Cherie Iland*, *Thomas Edge* Commander; and the *Amitie*, for a Northerne Diſcouerie, the Maſter of which Ship was *Ionas Poole*: who in the moneth of May fell with a Land, and called it *Greenland*, this is the

1610. *Ionas Poole* firſt Namer of *Greenland.*

Land

Land that was diſcouered by Sir *Hugh Willoughby* long before, which Ship *Amitie* continued vpon the coaſt of *Greenland*, diſcouering the Harbours and killing of Morces, vntill the moneth of Auguſt, and ſo returned for *England*, hauing gotten about ſome twelue Tunnes of goods, and an Vnicornes * horne.

* See *Baffins* North-weſt Diſcouerie. Vnicorne, a Sea fiſhes Horne.

In the yeere 1611. the Companie ſet foorth two Ships for *Greenland*, the *Marie Margaret* Admirall, burthen one hundred and ſixtie tunnes, *Thomas Edge* Commander; and the *Elizabeth*, burthen ſixtie tunnes, *Ionas Poole* Maſter, well manned and furniſhed with all neceſſarie Prouiſions, they departed from *Blackwall* the twentieth of Aprill, and arriued at the Foreland in *Greenland* in the Latitude of 79. degrees, the twentieth of May following, the Admirall had in her ſix Biskayners expert men for the killing of the Whale: this was the firſt yeere the Companie ſet out for the killing of Whales in *Greenland*, and about the twelfth of Iune the Biskayners killed a ſmall Whale, which yeelded twelue Tunnes of Oyle, being the firſt Oyle that euer was made in *Greenland*. The Companies two Shalops looking about the Harbour for Whales, about the fiue and twentieth of Iune rowing into Sir *Thomas Smith his Bay*, on the Eaſt ſide of the Sound ſaw on the ſhoare great ſtore of Sea-horſes: after they had found the Morſes they preſently rowed vnto the Ship, being in croſſe Road ſeuen leagues off, and acquainted the Captayne what they had found. The Captayne vnderſtanding of it, gaue order to the Maſter, *Stephen Bennet*, that he ſhould take into his Ship fiftie tunnes of emptie Caske, and ſet ſayle with the Ship to goe into *Foule Sound*. The Captayne went preſently away in one Shallop with ſixe men vnto the Sea-morſe, and tooke with him Lances, and comming to them they ſet on them and killed fiue hundred Morſes, and kept one thouſand Morſes liuing on ſhoare, becauſe it is not profitable to kill them all at one time. The next day the Ship being gone vnto the place & well mored where the Morſe were killed, all the men belonging to the Ship went on ſhoare, to worke and make Oyle of the Morſes; and when they had wrought two or three dayes, it fortuned that a ſmall quantitie of Ice came out of *Foule Sound*, and put the Ship from her Moring. The Maſter and ten men being a board of the Ship, let fall their Sheat anchor which brought the Ship vp to ride; the Ice comming vpon her againe, brought her Anchor home and ranne the Ship aſhoare, where ſhee by the Maſters weake Iudgement was caſt away, and all their Bread ſpoyled not fit to eate. The Ship being caſt away without hope of recouerie, the Commander *Thomas Edge* gaue order, that all the Morſe liuing on ſhoare ſhould be let goe into the Sea, and ſo gaue ouer making of Oyle, and preſently haled vp aſhoare all his Shallops and Boates, being fiue, ſetting the Carpenter to trim them, the Saylers to make Sayles and Waſtcloathes for the Boates, fit to ſerue them at Sea. Hauing fitted their Boates as well as they could with the ſmall prouiſion they had, being in number foure ſmall Shallops and the ſhips Boate, they diuided their men into them equally with what prouiſions of victuals they could well carrie, and after they had ſayd Prayers all together on Land; being fiftie men they departed from the place where they loſt their Ship, on the fifteenth of Iuly with the winde Southerly, and rowed thirtie or fortie leagues to the Southward, and then they loſt companie of one Shallop and their ſhips Boate of *Horne Sound*, which two Boates met with a *Hull* Ship, and acquainted him with the loſſe of the *London* Ship, and that ſhee had left on land goods woorth fifteene hundred pounds: So our men carryed the *Hull* Ship into *Foule Sound*, to take in the Companies goods and to kill ſome Sea-horſes for her ſelfe at that place. The Captayne and two other Shallops put from the Coaſt of *Greenland* in the height of 77. ½. Degrees, and ſet their courſe for *Cherie Iland*, which lyeth in 74. Degrees (—) ſometimes Sayling and ſometimes Rowing, and made *Cherie Iland* the nine and twentieth of Iuly, hauing beene in their Shallops at Sea fourteene dayes, and comming into the Iland with a great ſtorme at North-weſt, with much difficultie they landed on the South ſide of the Iland.

First Whales killing. Biſcayners Vſed.

500. Morſes killed.

Shipwracke by Ice.

Hull Ship.

Cherie Iland.

Being on ſhoare, the Captayne ſent three of his Saylers ouer land vnto the North roade, being three miles diſtant from that place, to ſee if the *Elizabeth* was there, and they ſaw a Ship riding in the North roade, and being ouer-joyed they returned backe vnto the Captayne to acquaint him, without ſtaying to ſpeake with any of the Ships companie, and by good hap the Maſter of the *Elizabeth* eſpyed men on the Shoare, being at that time weighing Anchor to ſet ſayle for *England*, vpon which hee ſtayed and ſent the Boate aſhoare to ſee what men they were, and when the men of the *Elizabeth* came aſhoare, they found them to bee men of the *Mary Margaret*, and ſo went aboard vnto the Maſter to acquaint him; whereupon the Maſter cauſed Anchor to bee weighed and went to the South ſide of the Iland, and there tooke in the Captayne, and hee being aboard vnderſtanding what a poore Voyage the *Elizabeth* had made, gaue order to the Maſter to goe for *Greenland*, there to take in ſuch Goods as the ſayd *Edge* had left in *Foule Sound*. They departed from *Cherie Iland* the firſt of Auguſt, and arriued at *Foule Sound* the Fourteenth *Dicto*: where they found two Boates which they had loſt companie of before, and all their men being come thither with a *Hull* Ship which they met with, and brought to that place; which Ship had ſpent all the yeere in *Horne Sound*, and got little goods. The *Elizabeth* being mored, the Captayne gaue order vnto the Maſter to deliuer out of his Ship, all the goods hee had got at *Cherie Iland*, which was Sea-horſe hydes and Blubber, being of little woorth; And to take in the Oyle and Whale-finnes, which were gotten by the *Marie Margarets* companie,

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Ship ouer-set. panie, the Master in vnlading of his Ship brought her so light, that vnfortunatly hee ouer-set her, hauing goods in her worth seuen hundred pounds. This ill chance happening vnto the two *London* Ships, the Captayne of them agreed with *Thomas Marmaduke* Master of the *Hull* Ship, to take in the goods which was saued, at the rate of fiue pounds the Tunne, which was a great rate (notwithstanding they had beene a meanes to get him goods worth fiue hundred pounds for the *Hull* Ship) and vpon the one and twentieth of August, 1611. they departed from *Greenland* in the *Hope-well*, being ninetie nine men in all, and arriued at *Hull* the sixth of September, where the sayd *Edge* tooke out the Companies goods, and Shipped them for *London* by order from the Companie. This yeere, *Edge* in coasting in the Shallops, discouered all the Harbours on the West side of *Greenland*.

§. II.

Dutch, Spanish, Danish *disturbance*; *also by* Hull *men, and by a new Patent, with the succeeding Successe and further Discoueries till this present.*

1612. IN the yeere 1612. the Companie set forth two Ships, *viz.* The *Whale*, burthen one hundred and sixtie Tunnes, and the *Sea-horse*, burthen one hundred and eightie tunnes, vnder the Command of *Iohn Russell*, and *Thomas Edge*, for discouering and killing of the Whale. They discouered that yeere nothing worth writing of, by reason of some falling out betwixt *Russell* and *Edge*; yet they killed that yeere seuenteene Whales, and some Sea-horses, of which they made one hundred and eightie Tunnes of Oyle with much difficultie; as not being experimented in the businesse. This yeere the *Hollanders* (to keepe their wont in following of the *English* steps) came to *Greenland* with one Ship, being brought thither by an *English* man, and not out of any knowledge of their owne Discoueries, but by the direction of one *Allen Sallowes*, a man imployed by the *Muscouia* Companie in the Northerne Seas for the space of twentie yeeres before; who leauing his Country for Debt, was entertayned by the *Hollanders*, and imployed by them to bring them to *Greenland* for their Pylot. At which time being met withall by the Companies Ships, they were commanded to depart, and forbidden to haunt or frequent those parts any more by mee *Thomas Edge*. There was also a *Spanish* Ship brought thither, by one *Nicholas Woodcocke*, this yeere, a man formerly imployed by the sayd Companie; which *Spanish* Ship made a full Voyage in *Green-harbour*. But *Woodcocke* at his returne into *England*, being complained of by the Companie, was Imprisoned in the *Gatehouse* and *Tower*, sixteene Moneths, for carrying the *Spanish* Ship thither.

Hollanders. *Allen Sallowes.* *Spanish* Ship. *Woodcocke* Imprisoned.

1613. In the yeere 1613. the Companie set out for *Greenland* seuen sayle of Ships, vnder the Command of *Beniamin Ioseph*, and *Thomas Edge*, the Ships departed from *Grauesend* the six and twentieth of Aprill, and arriued in *Greenland* the fourteenth of May. This yeere the *English* had the Kings Patent vnder the broad Seale of *England*, to forbid all Strangers and others, but the *Muscouia* Companie to vse the Coast of *Greenland*. The *English* met with fifteene sayle of great Ships, two of them were *Dutch* Ships, the rest were *French*, *Spanish*, and of the Archdukes, besides foure *English* Interlopers. The Companies Ships forced them all from the Coast of *Greenland*, not suffering any of them to make a Voyage; they tooke from the two *Dutch* Ships certayne goods, but in going to take it, they neglected their owne voyage, which was damnified thereby to the value of three or foure thousand pounds. For their Ships came home dead Fraight two or three hundred Tunnes by that meanes. This yeere was *Hope Iland* and other Ilands discouered, to the Eastward by the Companie.

Beniamin Ioseph. Fifteene ships Interlopers. *Hope Iland.*

1614 In the yeere following, which was 1614. the Companie set out for *Greenland*, thirteene great Ships and two Pinnasses, vnder the Command of *Beniamin Ioseph*, and *Thomas Edge*, all which Ships were well appointed with all manner of Artillerie for defence, and other necessaries for the making of their Voyage and for Discouerie. This yeere the *Hollanders* set out for *Greenland* eighteene great Ships, whereof foure of them were of the States men of Warre, Ships with thirtie pieces of Ordnance a piece. This yeere the *Dutch* stayed and fished for the Whale perforce, they were farre stronger then the *English*, which was a cause that the *English* Ships came home halfe laden, and the *Dutch* with a poore Voyage. This yeere the Companie Discouered vnto the Northwards of *Greenland*, as farre as 80. Degrees odde Minuts, in the Ship *Thomas-en*, as by her daily Iournall doth appeare at large; in which Ship was imployed *Thomas Sherwin*, and *William Baffin*, being the second Voyage they were imployed into those parts. And some Ilands to the Eastwards of *Greenland*, were Discouered by foure Ships imployed in that seruice, as by their Iournall more at large appeareth.

Thirteen ships and two Pinnasses armed. Eighteene *Dutch* ships. 80. Degrees discouered. *Sherwin* and *Baffin.*

1615. In the yeere 1615. the Companie set out for *Greenland*, two sayle of great Ships and two Pinnasses, vnder the Command of *Beniamin Ioseph*, and *Thomas Edge*, who following their Instructions, arriued vpon the Coast of *Greenland* the sixth of Iune, which they found to bee much pestered

pestered with Ice, and being foggie weather, they runne into the Ice, so farre, that they were fast in it fourteene dayes before they could cleare themselues of it. This yeere also the *Hollanders* set out fourteene sayle of ships, whereof three of them were *States* Men of warre of great force; they killed Whales in *Horn-sound*, *Bel-sound*, and *Faire-hauen*, and stayed vpon the coast of *Greenland* perforce, as they did the former yeere; whereby the *English* came home halfe laden. This yeere also the King of *Denmarke* sent vnto *Greenland* three of his ships, Men of warre, to demand a toll of the *English*; but they had none payd them: for they fell with the Foreland in 79. degrees, where Captaine *Edge* was, and he denyed payment of any toll, alledging that the Countrey of *Greenland* belonged to the King of *England*. These were the first *Danish* ships that euer came to *Greenland*, who had for their Pilot one *Iames Vaden*, an *Englishman* to bring them thither.

Fast in Ice, in Iune fourteene dayes.

King of *Denmarke* demands Toll.

Vn. *English* *English* to serue *Dutch*, *Spanish*, *Dane*, against their owne.

In the yeere 1616. the Company set out for *Greenland* eight Sayle of great ships, and two Pinnasses vnder the command of *Thomas Edge*, who following his course, arriued in *Greenland* about the fourth of Iune, hauing formerly appointed all his ships for their seuerall Harbours, for their making of their Voyage vpon the Whale, and hauing in euery Harbour a sufficient number of expert men, and all prouisions fitting for such a Voyage. This yeere it pleased God to blesse them by their labours, that they full laded all their ships with Oyle, and left an ouer-plus in the Countrey, which their ships could not take in. They imployed this yeere a small Pinnasse vnto the East-ward, which discouered the East-ward part of *Greenland*, Namely, the Iland called now *Edges* Iland, and other Ilands lying to the North-wards as farre as seuentie eight degrees, this Pinnasse was some twentie tunnes, and had twelue men in her, who killed one thousand Sea-horses on *Edges* Iland, and brought all their Teeth home for *London*. This was the first yeere that euer the Company full laded all their ships sent to *Greenland*, and this yeere they made twelue or thirteene hundred tunnes of Oyle in *Greenland* by the fourteenth of August. All the ships arriued in safety in the Riuer of *Thames*, in the moneth of September. The *Hollanders* had this yeere in *Greenland* foure ships, and those kept together in odde places, not easily to bee found, and made a poore Voyage.

1616.

Edges Iland.

In the yeare 1617. the Company set out for *Greenland* fourteene Sayle of ships, and their two Pinnasses furnished and manned with a sufficient number of men and all other prouisions fitting for that Voyage, vnder the command of *Thomas Edge*. They departed from *Graues-end*, about the foure and twentieth of Aprill, and arriued vpon the Coast of *Greenland*, the eight and twentieth of May all in safety.

1617.

At our first comming vpon the Coast this yeere, I met with a *Dutch* shippe of two hundred tunnes, which I commanded aboard, the Captaynes name was *Cocke*, who told mee there were ten Sayle of *Dutch* vpon the Coast, and two men of Warre, and that he came to make a Voyage vpon the Whale. I shewed him the Kings Commission, and commanded him by vertue thereof to depart from the Coast, willing him to acquaint the rest of his Countrey-men with it. And further, I told him that if I met with him or any *Dutch* ships heereafter, I would take from them what they had gotten, and thus hauing entertayned him aboord with me courteously, I let him goe without taking any prouisions from him. At his departure from mee, hee promised hee would but stay to meet with two of his Consorts, which hee had lost company with the day before, and then hee would directly goe for *Flushing*, and acquaint his Merchants, that the *English* Captayne would not suffer him to stay vpon the Coast of *Greenland*; but it seemeth at his meeting with his Consorts, they agreed altogether to goe into *Horne-sound*, and there they killed some few Whales which they saued in Blubber. I vnderstanding of it, gaue order to my Vice-admirall when he was laden, that he should goe into *Horne-sound*, and put the *Flemmings* from thence, and take what they had gotten, which he did accordingly: but the goods he tooke from the *Dutch* ships, were not worth to the *English* twentie pounds, for it was but Blubber and Finnes, which they had no need of, in regard they had killed as many Whales as would lade their ships, and more then they could carry or saue. This yeere the *English* made nineteene hundred tunnes of Oyle in *Greenland*, and all their ships arriued at home in the moneths of August and September in safetie. They also employed a ship of sixtie tunnes, with twenty men in her, who discouered to the Eastward of *Greenland*, as farre to the North-wards as seuentie nine degrees, and an Iland which he named *Witches* Iland, and diuers other Ilands as by the Map appeareth, and killed store of Sea-horses there, and then came into *Bel-sound*: where hee found his lading of Oyle, left by the Captayne which he tooke in. This yeere the *Hull* men set a small ship or two to the East-wards of *Greenland*, for the *Hull* men still followed the steps of the *Londoners*, and in a yeere or two called it their Discouery, which is false and vntrue, as by Oath in the Admiraltie doth appeare. The *Dutch* likewise practise the same course.

Witches Iland.

Hull men.

In the yeere 1618. some difference hauing passed betweene the *English* and some *Zelanders*, the yeere before, in King *Iames* his *Newland*, alias *Greenland* (which *Zelanders* were neuer in those parts before, and vpon promise of the present departure) were permitted to passe else-where with their prouisions which they had, and comming to *Cherrie* Iland, and meeting with one *English* Interloper of *Hull*, namely *Marmaduke*, he animated the said *Zelanders* to returne back for

1618.

Zelanders.

Marmaduke.

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for *Greenland*, alleaging vnto them, that the Companies ſhips were in each ſeuerall Harbour buſied about their Voyage, and that none would ſtirre from his Harbours to moleſt them, and that they being three ſhips of force, might returne to a Harbour in that Countrey, called *Hornſound*, and there make a Voyage perforce, which the ſaid *Zelanders* did attempt, and there manned out diuers Shallops, hauing many *Biskainers*, and killed ſtore of Whales, ſetting thoſe *Engliſh* at nought. Whereupon Captayne *Thomas Edge*, chiefe Commander of the *Engliſh* Fleet, hauing laden thoſe ſhips that were in Harbour with him, and preſently ſent for *William Hely*, his Vice-admirall, giuing him order (who was not then full laden, but in good forwardneſſe) to fit the ſhip he was in, and goe to *Horne-ſound* afore-ſaid, and put the ſaid *Zelanders* from thence: which the ſaid *Hely* preſently put in execution. But before his comming thither, the *Zelanders* had notice by an *Engliſh* Surgeon, that if they did not depart, the *Engliſh* Vice-admiral would come preſently and force them from thence. Whereupon the *Zelanders* laded all the goods they had in two ſhips, and ſent them away before the comming of the *Engliſh* Vice-admirall, leauing one ſhip behind, with certaine caske of Blubber, and two Whales and an halfe vncut vp, in a brauado to trye if the *Engliſh* would meddle with them or not, which ſaid ſhip and goods there left, were ſurprized by the ſaid *Engliſh* Vice-admirall; the goods detayned to the Companies vſe; and the ſhip reſtored there to the *Zelanders*; which ſhip hauing in her ten caſt Peeces, and ſixtie men, and hauing intelligence of one of the Companies ſhips, at that time laden in the Countrey with one hundred and eightie tunnes of Oyle, the *Zelander* gaue out he would lie in waite and take that ſhip of the Companies and her lading, and carrie her to *Zeland*. For preuention whereof, the ſaid Vice-admirall tooke ſixe Peeces of Ordnance, and ſome Powder from the ſhip of *Zeland*, which were in *England* reſtored to the owners.

In which ſaid yeere 1618. the *Zelanders* ſending ouer for reſtitution of the goods taken from them. A new Company commixt of *Engliſh*, *Scottiſh* and *Zelanders*, through the meanes of one Sir *Iohn Cunningham* Knight, procured a grant for ſetting forth of ſhipping to thoſe parts, which might vtterly haue ouerthrowne and ſpoiled the trade of the firſt diſcoueries thereof: and to that end diuers of the chiefe men were hired by the new Company that had been ſeruants to the firſt diſcouerie, and much ſhipping and prouiſions agreed for. Whereupon there was an agreement, that the Eaſt *India* Aduenturers ſhould ioyne ſtocke with the *Moſcouia* Aduenturers, and be one ioynt Companie for that trade of King *Iames* his *Newland*. The *Scottiſh* Companies Patent thereupon diſſolued, to the *Moſcouia* Companies great trouble and coſt, in taking of all the prouiſions they had beſpoken, and paying ready money for the ſame, hauing no vſe thereof, but great part ſpoyled, and came to little good, and in ioyning vnfortunately with the Eaſt *India* Companie, in which yeere, and the next yeere after, their Voyages proued very ill, and they were loſers, and much vexed and croſſed in their proceedings, to the great diſ-heartning and detriment of the *Moſcouia* Companie: yet that yeere 1618. they ſet forth thirteene ſhips and two Pinnaſſes, vnder the command of the ſaid Captaine *Thomas Edge*, who arriuing vpon the coaſt of King *Iames* his *Newland*, in the beginning of Iune ſeparated themſelues to ſeuerall Harbours for accompliſhing of their Voyages, the moſt part being ſhips of no force. Preſently after in all Harbours where the *Engliſh* were, arriued great ſtore of ſhips of *Zeland*, in warlike manner, being ſhips of great force, who continued in the ſame Harbours amongſt the *Engliſh*, ſetting two boats to the *Engliſh* one, with *Biskainers*, with a full purpoſe to driue the *Engliſh* from their Harbours, and to reuenge the iniurie (as they termed it) done them the yeere before: and for that the *Scottiſh* Patent was diſſolued; wherein many *Flemmings* were to be intereſted. And to that purpoſe towards the latter end of Iuly, ten Saile of the ſaid *Zelanders*, being at a Harbour called the *Foreland*, where the ſaid *William Heley*, Vice-admirall of the *Engliſh* Fleet that yeere, was in the ſhip *Pleaſure*, Maſter *Robert Salmon*, with one *Engliſh* ſhip and a Pinnaſſe there of no force, ſet vpon the ſaid *Engliſh* Vice-admirall, threatning, if hee would not yeeld preſently, to diſpoyle him of ſhip and goods, not permitting to take his men aboord. And with two of their chiefeſt ſhips layd the *Engliſh* Vice-admirall aboord, there being but ſeuen *Engliſh* aboord the ſhip, which they detayned for foure and twentie houres, the *Zelanders* not daring to enter, making many brauadoes and attempts, thinking to make the *Engliſh* to yeeld, and ſtand to their mercy, which was refuſed. And thereupon fiue of thoſe *Zelanders* ſhips; namely, the *Fortune* of *Camphire*, burthen foure hundred tunnes, with eighteene caſt Peeces, beſides braſſe Baſes and Murtherers, Captaine *Hubreght Corneliſſon*; the *Saint Peter* of *Fluſhing*, burthen three hundred tunnes, with eighteene caſt Peeces, Captaine *Cornelius Cooke*; the *Salamander* of *Fluſhing*, two hundred tunnes, fourteene caſt Peeces, Captaine *Adrian Peterſon*; the *Cat* of *Delph Hauen*, with ſixteene caſt Peeces, *Abraham Leuerſtick* being Captaine and Generall of the *Zelanders*, and *William Iohnſon* of *Milliwerth*, in a ſhip with fourteene caſt Peeces: all which, after much conference paſſed betwixt the ſaid *Zelanders* and *William Hely*: which ſaid *Zelanders* gaue out many vnciuill ſpeeches againſt the Kings Maieſtie, not eſteeming his Commiſſion; alledging that there was good law in *Flanders* for what they did. And on Sunday the nineteenth of Iuly, 1618. did forcibly ſet vpon the ſaid *Engliſh* Vice-admirall, fiue together plying their great Ordnance, ſmall Shot, and Murderers, ſeeking what in them lay to kill and ſpoile all the *Engliſh*

Sir *Iohn Cunningham.*

East *India* Aduenturers ioyne.

Dutch aſſault the *Engliſh*.

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English that were aboord: who resisted their force, and in spite of all their opposers set sayle, saluting them with their Ordnance, and maintayning fight against them till their Sayles were shot downe, some of their chiefe men slaine, others hurt, and their ship forced either to anchor, or run ashoare. The *Zelanders* vsed the *English* very vnkindly, rifling their ship of all their goods, and taking away all their munition and artillery, not leauing any goods ashoare, but burning vp the Caske, not permitting the *English* to take in fresh water, but shot their Boat thorow in going ashoare, and minding, as they protested and swore vnto the said *William Hely*, that they would take and ransacke all the *English* ships in the Countrey, and carrie the *English* Captaine to *Zeland*: hauing as they said, that yeere in those parts 23. sayle of well appointed ships, onely to ouerthrow all the *English*, all which were to meet in *Scotland* outward bound. After the surprising of the said *English* Vice-admirall, all the rest of the *English* ships being dispersed farre asunder, could not ioyne together, being in all places hindred by the *Flemmings*: and by that meanes the *English* Voyage vtterly ouerthrowne, to the extraordinary great losse and charge of the Companie, the most part of their ships returning home without any goods.

The next yeere 1619. the said *Moscouia* and East *India* Companies set out nine ships, and two Pinnasses, vnder the command of the said Captaine *Edge*, in which yeere, diuers *Hollanders* being in the Northermost Harbour in the Countrey, employing great quantitie of Boats in chasing the Whale there, off into the Sea, put them by their vsuall course, so that the Companies ships, being fiue of the nine, in the two Northermost Harbours, were disappointed of their Voyage in those Harbours; and thinking to better it in the other Harbours; the foresaid *William Heley* sending a Shallop with ten men in her, with Letters to the said Captaine *Edge*, of their ill successe to the Northwards, the said Shallop was cast away, and all the men lost: and the said Captaine being laden, sent a Pinnasse to the said *Heley* in August, aduertising him of his departure, thinking all the ships to the Northward had been laden, wishing them to haste home. By meanes of which Shallops casting away, the Voyage was greatly hindred to the Companies exceeding great losse; in that the *Hollanders* did as then bring ouer great quantitie of Whale-oyle, and sold it at vnder rates, so that the Companie was forced to keepe theirs on their hands twelue moneths, and sell it afterwards at a very small price, and lost one ship in her returne homewards neere *Yarmouth*: which did so much dishearten the said Companie, that they dissolued againe, and thought verily to haue aduentured no more thither (their successe those two yeeres past, in which the East *India* Companie ioyned with them was so bad, that any that would buy their prouision might enioy the benefit of the Trade there.) At which time, the worthie and famous Merchants Aduenturers; namely, *Ralph Freeman*, *Beniamin Deicrowe*, *George Strowd*, with Captaine *Thomas Edge*, all brethren of the *Moscouia* Companie, pitying the down-fall of so worthie a Trafficke, in which yeerely so many poore Land-men receiued great comfort, and breeding of Mariners, at their owne charge compounded with the said Companies, and tooke that Trade into their hands. In which yeere 1620. they set out seuen sayle of ships, vnder the command of *William Goodlad*, and the said *William Heley*; in which said yeere, by reason of great store of *Flemmings* and *Danes* in the foresaid Northermost Harbours, their ships had ill successe to the Northwards, and were forced to passe from Harbour to Harbour to seeke to make a Voyage, but could not, and so returned home halfe laden, with seuen hundred tunnes of Oyle. 1619. 1620.

The next yeere 1621. the foresaid Aduenturers hired, and set forth eight ships, seuen for the Whale Voyage, and one to the South-eastwards vpon Discouerie, vnder the command aforesaid, which yeere in one of their chiefest Harbours their Voyage was ouerthrowne, by reason of the foresaid *Flemmings* and *Danes*, being to the Northward, as aforesaid, putting the Whale by her course, and in all places in the Countrey generally disheartned, and out of hope to haue made any Voyage that yeere, whereby to haue earned their bread. Yet it pleased God afterwards in some Harbours, Whales hitting in, a Voyage was performed, and 1100. tunnes of Oyle brought home, to the great encouragement of the said Aduenturers: otherwise that Trade had beene vtterly ouerthrowne. 1621.

The yeere following 1622. the said Aduenturers at their owne charge set forth nine ships, vnder the command aforesaid, and therein employed diuers Land-men; many of which afterwards proue good Sea-men, and are fit for any Sea seruice. Eight of which ships were appointed to make their Voyage vpon the Whale, and one to goe on discouerie to the South-eastwards. But ill successe happening, one of their greatest ships of burthen, whereof *Iohn Masson* was Master, hauing in her two hundred tuns of Caske, Coppers, and diuers prouisions, was vnfortunatly cast away against a piece of Ice, vpon the coast of King *Iames Newland*, foure leagues from the shoare, in which ship perished nine and twentie men, and the remainder being three and twenty, were by the prouidence of the Almightie miraculously saued in a Shallop, coasting thirtie leagues afterwards to meet with some other ships to find some succour, hauing neither bread nor drinke, nor any meanes whereby to get any food: and so remayned three dayes in extreme cold weather, being in a small Boat ready to bee swallowed vp of euery waue, but that God prouided better for them. Many of which people their hands and feet rotted off, being frozen, and they died 1622. Shipwracke.

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died in the Countrey. The reſt of the ſhips returned home laden, bringing in them 1300. tuns of Oyle, yet the foreſaid chiefe Harbour could not performe their full lading there, by reaſon of the *Flemmings* and *Danes* being to the Northwards, as aforeſaid, which doth yeerely hinder the Companies ſhips from making a Voyage.

§. III.

The Deſcription of the ſeuerall ſorts of Whales, with the manner of killing them: Whereto is added the Deſcription of Greenland.

THe Whale is a Fiſh or Sea-beaſt of a huge bigneſſe, about ſixtie fiue * foot long, and thirtie fiue foot thicke, his head is a third part of all his bodies quantitie, his ſpacious mouth contayning a very great tongue, and all his finnes, which we call Whale finnes. Theſe finnes are faſtned or rooted in his vpper chap, and ſpread ouer his tongue on both ſides his mouth, being in number about two hundred and fiftie on one ſide, and as many on the other ſide. The longeſt finnes are placed in the midſt of his mouth, and the reſt doe ſhorten by their proportionable degrees, backward and forwards, from ten or eleuen foot long to foure inches in length, his eyes are not much bigger then an Oxes eyes, his body is in faſhion almoſt round forwards, growing on ſtill narrower towards his tayle from his bellie, his tayle is about twentie foot broad, and of a tough ſolid ſubſtance, which we vſe for blockes to chop the *Blubber* on (which yeelds Oyle) and of like nature are his two ſwimming finnes (and they grow forward on him.)

* The ordinarie growne Whale.

Finnes.

Small eyes. Some kinds haue greater. *Stow* mentions one taken on *Tenet* ſhoare, the eye of which was a Cart-loade, a man might ſtand in the hole vpright: The like wee may gheſſe of the throat, &c. Nature being herein luxuriant, and diuerſified.

This creature commeth oftentimes aboue water, ſpouting eight or nine times before he goeth downe againe, whereby he may be deſcried two or three leagues off. Then our Whale-killers preſently rowe forth from the place where they ſtand to watch for him, making what haſte they can to meet him: but commonly before they come neere him, he will be gone downe againe, and continue a good while before he riſeth; ſo that ſometimes they rowe paſt him. Yet are they very circumſpect, euer looking round where they may eſpie him riſen, or diſcerne his way vnder water, which they call his *Walke*. When he is vp and the Shallops neere him, they rowe towards him very reſolutely, as if they would force the Shallop vpon him, if hee went downe vnder water: but the Harponyre, who ſtandeth vp in the head of the Boat, darteth his Harping-iron at the Whale with both his hands, ſo ſoone as he commeth within his reach; wherwith the Whale being ſtrucken, preſently deſcendeth to the bottome, and therefore doe they reare out a rope of two hundred fathome, which is faſtned to the Harping-iron, and lieth coyled in the Boat: And they let him haue as much of the rope as reacheth to the bottome, and when they perceiue him riſing they hale in the rope to get neere him, and when the Whale commeth vp aboue water, then do the men lance him with their lances, either out of one Shallop or the other; for moſt commonly there bee two Shallops about the killing of one Whale. In lancing him they ſtrike neere to the finnes he ſwimmeth withall, and as lowe vnder water neere his bellie as conueniently they can: but when he is lanced, he friskes and ſtrikes with his tayle ſo forcibly, that many times when hee hitteth a Shallop hee ſplitteth her in pieces; ſo that the men are relieued and taken in by another Shallop: and ſometimes he ſtriketh ſo fully vpon them, that ſome of the men are either maymed, or killed with his ſtroke. Therefore they who vndertake this buſineſſe which is the principall thing in the Voyage, muſt not onely bee bold and reſolute, but alſo diſcreet and wary; otherwiſe their raſh forwardneſſe may preuent them of their expected conqueſt; conſidering they haue no ſhield to withſtand the offended beaſt their enemy, but onely by a heedfull warineſſe to auoide the receiuing of his dangerous ſtroke. Swimming is alſo requiſite for a Whale-killer to be expert in, for it may be a meanes to ſaue his life, when he hath loſt his Boat, and another is not neere preſently to helpe him.

You may ſee this Story of the Whale-killing preſented liuely in the Map, which Captaine *Edge* hath liberally added to this Relation.

The Whale hauing receiued his deadly wound, then he ſpouteth bloud (whereas formerly he caſt forth water) and his ſtrength beginneth to fayle him; but before he dieth, hee will ſometimes draw the Shallop three or foure miles from the place where he was firſt ſtricken: and as he is a dying, he turneth his bellie vpwards, which lieth vppermoſt being dead. Then they faſten a rope to his tayle, and with the Shallops, one made faſt to another, they towe him towards the ſhip with his tayle foremoſt. Then doe they lay him croſſe the ſterne of the ſhip, where he is cut vp in this manner; two or three men in a Boat or Shallop come cloſe to the ſide of the Whale, and hold the Boat faſt there with a Boat-hooke; and another ſtanding either in the Boat, or moſt commonly vpon the Whale, cutteth the fat (which we call Blubber) in ſquare pieces with a cutting Knife, three or foure foot long. Then to race it from the fleſh, there is a Crane or Capſten placed purpoſely vpon the poope of the ſhip, from whence there deſcendeth a rope with a hooke in it; this hooke is made to take hold on a piece of Blubber: and as the men winde the Capſten, ſo the cutter with his long knife looſeth the fat from the fleſh, euen as if the lard of a Swine

Swine were to be cut off from the leane. When a piece is in order cut off, then let they lower the Crane, and let downe the Blubber to flote vpon the water, and make a hole in some part of it, putting a rope thorow it; and so they proceed to cut off more, fastning ten or twentie pieces together to bee towed a shoare at one time, being made fast to the sterne of a Boat or Shallop. These pieces being thus brought vnto the shoare side, they are drawne by one and one vpon the shoare with an high Crane, or carried vp by two men on a Barrow vnto a Stage, there to be cut into small pieces about a foot long, but thin: then it is carried vnto the choppers by two boyes, with two little hand-hookes, taking in each hand a piece, and so they put it into half-tubs which stand behind the choppers, out of which the choppers take it vp; who stand at the side of a boat which is raised of an equall height fit for the furnace. And the boat being fitted with all things necessarie for the choppers, they place the chopping blockes, which they make of the Whales tayle, and the Blubber is layd ready for them, as they vse it, in small pieces vpon the boord whereon they stand. Then the choppers take it vp with hand-hookes, and lay it on their blockes, and chop it in thin pieces (the thinner he cuts it, the better it is) and when it is chopped, they put it off the blocke downe into the Shallop, with a short Paddle made like a Colerake: and thus doe sixe or eight men stand chopping on the one side of the boat, and on the other side of the boat about two or three yards distant are the Furnaces and Coppers placed and heated. Then betweene the chopping boat and the Coppers, is layd a broad thicke planke, on which standeth a hogshead, which contayneth as much as is put into the Copper, at one time for one boyling, and the tub being emptied, is made to slide vnto the chopping boat againe, being there filled with a copper ladle againe, and put into another Copper. When it is boyled enough, the small pieces of *Blubber*, which wee call *Fritters*, will looke browne as if they were fried. Then are they taken out with copper ladles, and some of the Oyle also with them, and put into a Barrow made close to dreyne the Oyle, which standeth ouer another Shallop, that is set on the back-side of the Furnace to receiue the Oyle in, and as soone as the Fritters are taken cleane out of the Copper, then presently is the tub of small Blubber emptied into the Copper againe to be also boyled.

The Boat into which the hot Oyle is put out of the Coppers, is euer kept halfe full of water, which doth not onely coole the Oyle before it runne into the Caske, but also is a cleanser of it from drosse, which descendeth to the bottome of the Boat. Out of the Oyle-boat doth the Oyle runne thirtie or fortie yards in Troughs or Gutters, and so into Buts or Hogsheads, which being filled, is rolled off to coole, and another Caske layd to fill, and when there is any quantitie of Oyle made, it is carried aboord the ship in rafts. In this manner is the Oyle saued and prepared.

Whale Finnes.

Now concerning the Whale Finnes, the Whales head being cut off from the body (as hee floteth at the sterne of the ship where hee is cut vp) is towed by a Boat as neere the shoare as it will come: but it is aground in twelue or thirteene foot water, then by crabes which are placed on land it is drawne on land, at seuerall times when the water is at highest, so neere the dry shoare, that men at a lowe water with their Boats on, cut off the Blubber and Finnes, which by the crabes are drawne on shoare, and the Finnes are with Axes, one seuered from another, and being made cleane, are packed vp by fiftie in a bundle, and so shipped.

Eight kinds of Whales known.

There are eight seuerall kinds of Whales, and differing the one from the other in goodnesse, quantitie and qualitie.

1. *Grand bay* Whale.

The first sort of Whale is called the *Grand-bay*, taking his name from *Grand-bay* in *Newfoundland*, as hauing there beene first killed: he is blacke of colour, with a smooth skinne, and white vnderneath the chaps. This Whale is the best for Oyle and Finnes of all the rest (and doth yeeld most the elder it growes.) This sort of Whale doth yeeld about an hundred hogsheads of Oyle, and some fiue hundred Finnes.

2. *Sarda.*

The second sort of Whale is called *Sarda*, of the same colour as the former, but somewhat lesser, and the Finnes likewise lesser, and yeelds in Oyle according to his bignesse, sometimes seuentie hogsheads, or eightie hogsheads. This Whale hath naturally growing vpon his backe, white things like vnto Barnacles.

3. *Trumpa.*

The third sort of Whale is called *Trumpa*, being as long as the first, but thicker forwards, of colour more gray then the former, hauing but one spoute in his head, and the rest haue all two; he hath in his mouth teeth about a span long, and as thicke as a mans wrist, but no finnes; his head is bigger then the two former, and in proportion farre bigger then his bodie. In the head of this Whale is the Permesitie, which lieth there in a hole like a Well. This is the Whale that is supposed to yeeld the Ambergreese; There taken about fortie hogsheads of Oyle besides the Permesitie.

Spermaceti.

4. *Otta Sotta.*

The fourth sort of Whale is called *Otta Sotta*, and is of the same colour of the *Trumpa*, hauing finnes in his mouth all white, but not aboue halfe a yard long, being thicker then the *Trumpa*, but not so long: he yeelds the best Oyle, but not aboue thirtie hogsheads.

5. *Gibarta.*

The fift sort of Whale is called *Gibarta*, of colour blacke like the two first, sauing that it hath standing vpon the top of his backe, a finne halfe a yard long. This Whale is as bigge

as the firſt; his fins little or nothing worth, being not aboue halfe a yard long: and hee yeeldeth about twelue hogſheads of Oyle, all which his backe yeelds; as for his bellie it yeelds nothing at all.

6. *Sedeua.* The ſixt ſort is called *Sedeua*, being of a whitly colour, and bigger then any of the former, the finnes not aboue one foot long, and he yeelds little or no Oyle.

7. *Sedeua Negro.* The ſeuenth is called *Sedeua Negro*, of colour blacke, with a bumpe on his backe; this Whale yeelds neither Oyle, finnes, nor teeth, and yet he is of a great bigneſſe.

8. *Sewria.* The eight ſort is called *Sewria*, of colour as white as ſnow, of the bigneſſe of a Wherrie, he yeelds not aboue one hogſhead or two of Oyle, nor any finnes, and is good meate to be eaten.

The deſcription of Greenland.

Antiphraſtical appellation. I haue found this deſcription of *Greenland*, with other notes, written by *Ro. Fotherby.*

Greenland is a place in Nature nothing like vnto the Name: for certainly there is no place in the World, yet knowne and diſcouered that is leſſe greene then it. It is couered with ſnow, both the Mountaines and the lower Lands, till about the beginning of Iune, being very Mountainous, and beareth neither graſſe nor tree, ſaue onely ſuch as grow vpon the Moores and heathie grounds, in the North parts of *England*, which we call *Heath*, or *Ling*. This groweth when the ſnow melteth, and when the ground beginneth to be vncouered. And on this doe the Deere feed in the Summer time, and become very fat therewithall in a moneths ſpace, but how they liue in the Winter time it is not eaſily to be imagined. For ſeeing at the end of May wee find the ground all couered with ſnow, it is very like, that in the time of Winter there is no part bare, where any thing can grow; eſpecially during the time that the Sunne is altogether depreſſed vnder the horizon, which in the latitude of 77. degrees, continueth from the eighteenth of October till the fourth of Februarie. This Countrey by all probabilities hath neuer been inhabited by any people; notwithſtanding, I thinke men might liue there, carrying thither good ſtore of prouiſion of victuals, and other things neceſſary againſt the cold, which perhaps will be vehement in the Winter time, by the former reaſons; namely, becauſe the Sunne remayneth ſo long vnder the Horizon.

Deere.

Neuertheleſſe, there will not be any continuance of darkneſſe, becauſe the Sunne in his greateſt declination will be but 10. degrees vnder the Horizon, at this time of his being in the South of the Meridian in the former latitude of 77. degrees, which is once in foure and twentie houres; and therefore the time of their Noone will bee much lighter then our Night here in *England*, when the dayes are at the longeſt; for then is the Sunne 15. degrees vnder the Horizon at midnight, and yet the greateſt darkneſſe is but like twi-light. And although it bee a generall ſaying, and a common receiued opinion, that the further North the greater cold, yet experience teacheth, that it is not alwaies true. For at *Moſco*, and thereabouts in the Winter time, there is extreme froſts and cold weather, inſomuch that oftentimes men are brought home dead, being ſtarued with cold; and many haue their noſes and eares cauſed to fall off, through the extremity of the piercing aire: yet at *Edenborrow*, which is more Northerly by one degree and an halfe, and in all places neere vnto it the aire is temperate, and the cold tolerable, the ſnow neuer lying any long time on the ground after it is fallen. Notwithſtanding, wee haue ſnow remayning all the yeere long in diuers places of *England*, but the reaſon of this is, becauſe the aire is euer warmeſt neere vnto the Sea ſhoare, (as *Edenborrow* ſtandeth) and contrariwiſe the cold is moſt vehement in places which are fartheſt remote from the Sea, as *Moſco* is ſituated.

Yet in *China* euen neere the Sea, and farre neerer the Sun, betwixt 30. and 40. the Winters are extreme. *R. Foth.*

All the Creatures that appeare vnto vs vpon the Land, are Deere, Beares, and Foxes, and ſundrie ſorts of wilde Fowle, as Cuthbert Duckes, Willockes, Stints, Sea-pigeons, Sea-parrets, Gulls, Noddies, &c. *The Author addes a diſcourſe of ſending condemned men to inhabite there, with diuers proiects for their ſeruice there, for the further diſcouerie how beſt to bee effected, for ſuch things as are moſt neceſſary for this employment of Whale-killing, &c. but becauſe experience hath giuen beſt inſtructions already, and deſtructions muſt otherwiſe be preuented, I haue forborne to detayne the Reader in thoſe (otherwiſe iudicious) ſpeculations.*

The Southermoſt part of *Greenland* ſtands in 76. degrees 30. minutes, which wee call, *Point Looke out*, and we haue diſcouered all the Weſt ſide of the Land as farre vnto the Northwards as 80. degrees odde minutes: in which compaſſe wee haue already experience of ſixe or eight good Harbours for the killing of the Whale; and on the Eaſt ſide we haue diſcouered as farre as 78. degrees, finding diuers Ilands, great and ſmall, yeelding good Harbours, and ſtore of Whales, and Sea-horſes; and for a further diſcouery on the Eaſt ſide, I am perſwaded it had beene farre greater, if the *Dutch* had not ſo diſturbed vs in our proceedings, as alſo the *Hull-men*, who euer practiſed to follow our ſteps, after the diſcouerie within one yeere or two: as by our Maſters Iournall more at large may appeare. The beſt actions haue their hindrances and croſſes, and ſo hath this had; for, the *Dutch* haue beene a bane to this Trade and Diſcouerie: The *Hull-men* haue done ſome bad ſeruice in this Action, for they were the firſt that carried the *Dutch* to the *Tutches*, as by *Winendens* Oath and Iournall appeares, they were alſo a cauſe of that bad Voyage,

to

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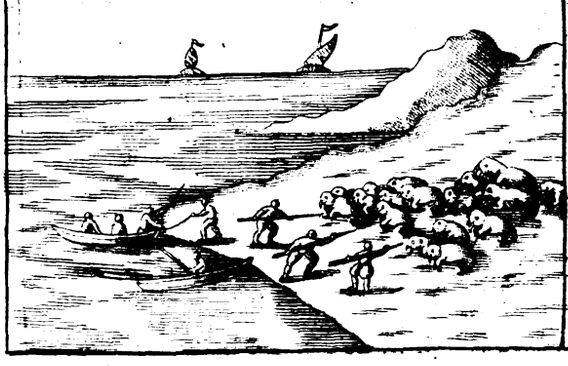
A Whale is ordinarly about 60 foote longe

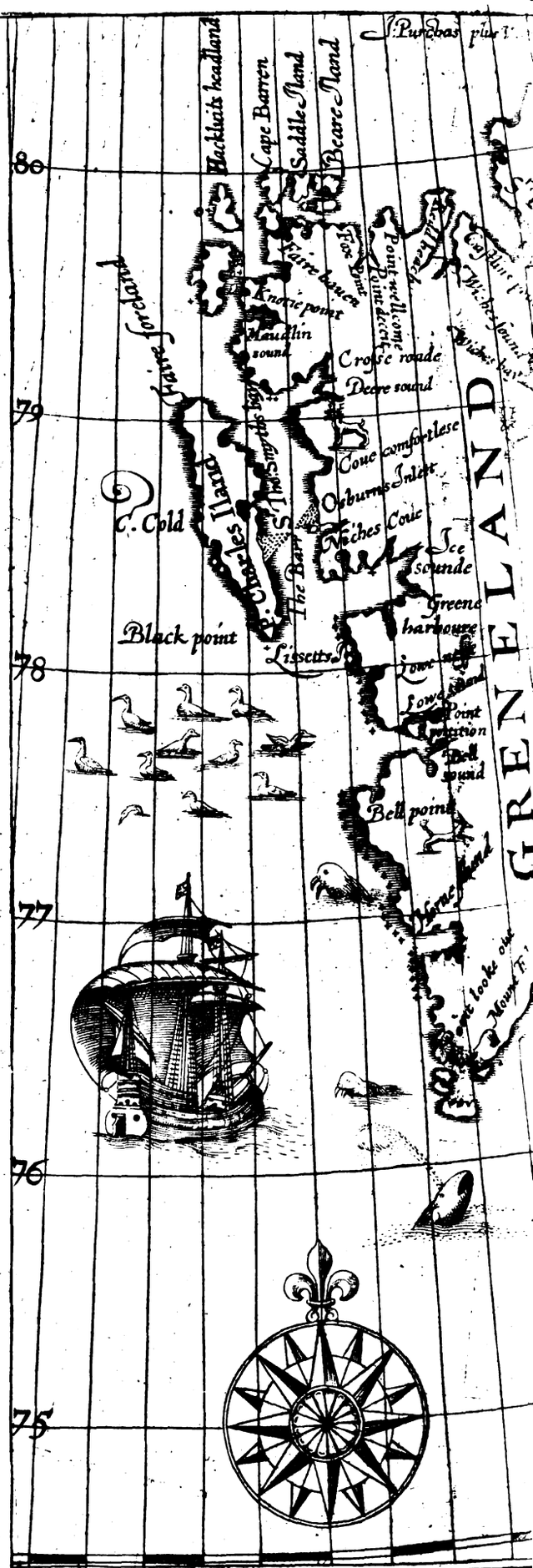
When the whale comes aboue water ye shallop rowes towards him and being within reach of him the harpoiner darts his harpingiron at him out of both his hands and being fast they lance him to death

The whale is cut up as hee lyes floting crosse the stearne of a shipp the blubber is cut from the flesh by peeces 3 or 4 foote long and being raised is rowed on shore towards the coopers

They place 2 or 3 coopers on a roe and ye chopping boat on the one side and the cooling boate on the other side to receiue ye oyle of ye coopers, the chopt blubber being boyled is taken out of the coopers and put in wicker haskets or barowes throwg wch the oyle is dreaned and runes into ye cooler w is ½ full of water out of wch it is conveied by troughs into buts or hogsheads

The manner of killing ye Seamatees





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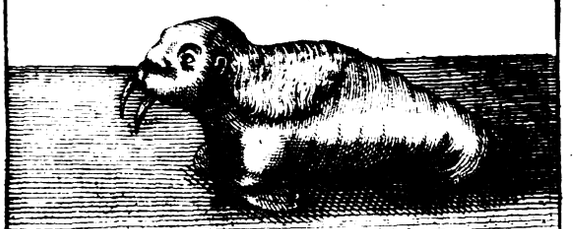
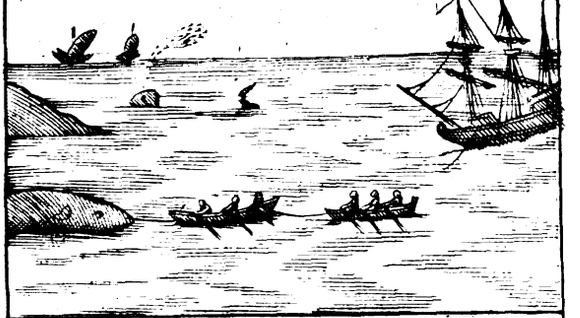
The Seamorce is in quantity as bigg as an oxe

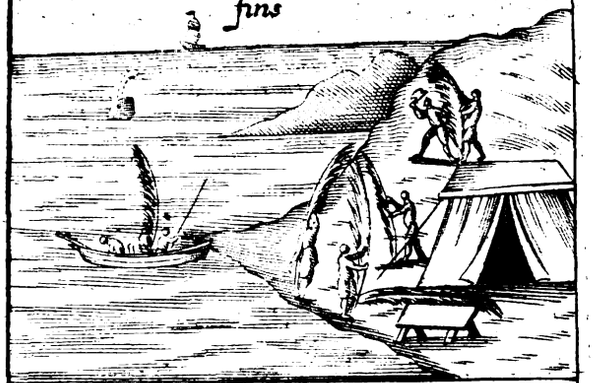


When the whale is killed hee is in this manner towed to the shipps by twoe or three shallops made fast one to another.

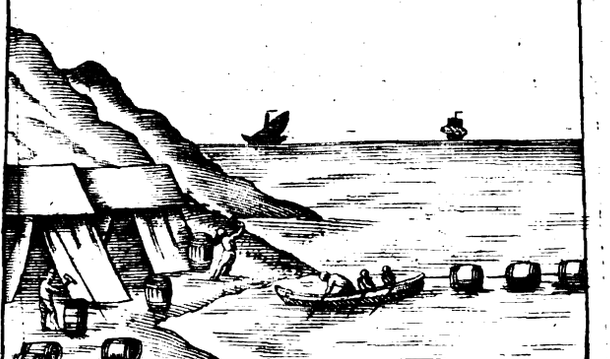


The peeces of blubber are towed to the shore side by a shallop and drawne on shore by a crane or caried by twoe menn on a barrowe to ye twoe cutters wch cutts them the breadth of a trencher and very thine & by twoe boys are caried to ye handbooks to ye choppers

Thus they make cleane and scrape ye whale fins



A tent and Coopers at worke



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to vs in 1618. in that they animated the *Flemmings* to come backe to *Greenland* againe, as appeareth in this Iournall, in the yeere 1617. they haue done some other ill seruices against vs as well as the *Dutch*, but in regard they are our Countrey-men, I will omit and wish their amendment, and pray to God to send a good and further Discouery to bee made in these Northerne parts. *Amen.*

READER, I present thee here three admirable Voyages of Discouery made by the Dutch, *no whit enuying their due prayse, but honouring their worthy Acts and Arts. They haue formerly beene published in* Dutch, *and translated by* W. Philip. *I haue heere abbreuiated them, as my vse is with others, to auoid prolixitie. The* Dutch *themselues* * *write that after the* English Russian *Trade, one* Oliuer Bunell *moued with hope of gaine, went from* Enckhuysen *to* Pechora, *where he lost all by shipwracke, hauing discouered* Coltinsarca *in* Noua Zemla. *These Nauigations of the* English, *and that of* Bunell, *and the hopes of* China *and* Cathay, *caused the States Generall to send forth two shippes vnder the command of* Hugo Linschoten, *to the Streights of* Wey-gates, *and two others vnder* William Bernards, *by the perswasion of* P. Plancius *to goe right Northwards from* Noua Zemla. Linschot *went fiftie miles beyond the Streights, the Northerly winds, and late season forcing him backe.* Bernards *Iournall here followeth, of that and his two later Voyages, the two later written by one employed therein.*

* *Prolegomena ad Hudsoni Detect. edit. Amstelodami per Hes. Gerard.* 1611.

CHAP. III.

The first Nauigation of WILLIAM BARENTS, alias BERNARDS *into the North Seas; Written by* GERAT de VEER.

IT is a most certayne and an assured Assertion, that nothing doth more benefit and further the Common-wealth (specially these Countryes) then the art and knowledge of Nauigation, in regard that such Countreyes and Nations as are strong and mightie at Sea, haue the meanes and ready way to draw, fetch, and bring vnto them for their mayntenance, all the principallest commodities and fruits of the Earth.

In these Nauigations we must not be dismayed if some mislike, or if we cannot perfect a Discouery in the first, second, or third Voyage. *Alexander Magnus* (after he had wonne all *Grecia*, and from thence entred into little and great *Asia*; and comming to the farthest parts of *India*, there found some difficultie to passe) said, If wee had not gone forward, and persisted in our intent, which other men esteemed and held to be impossible, we had stil remayned and stayed in the entry of *Cicilia*, where as now we haue ouer-runne and past through all those large and spacious Countreyes: for nothing is found and effected all at one time, neyther is any thing that is put in practice, presently brought to an end. To the which end, *Cicero* wisely saith; God hath giuen vs some things, and not all things, that our Successors also might haue some-what to doe. Therefore we must not leaue off, nor stay our pretence in the middle of our proceedings, as long as there is any commoditie to be hoped, and in time to bee obtayned: for that the greatest and richest Treasures are hardliest to be found. I thought good to set downe, in regard that I haue vndertaken to describe the three Voyages made into the North Seas, in three yeeres, one after the other; behind *Norway*, and along and about *Muscouia*, towards the Kingdome of *Cathaia*, and *China*: whereof, the two last, I my selfe holpe to effect; and yet brought them not to the desired end that we well hoped.

A thing not continued, cannot bee effected. All things are effected in conuenient time.

First, to shew our diligent, and most toylesome labour and paines taken, to find out the right course; which we could not bring to passe, as wee well hoped, wished, and desired, and possible might haue found it, by crossing the Seas, if we had taken the right course; if the Ice & the shortnesse of time, and bad crosses had not hindered vs. We haue assuredly found, that the onely and most hinderance to our Voyage, was the Ice that we found about *Noua Zembla*, vnder 73. 74. 75. and 76. degrees; and not so much vpon the Sea betweene both the Lands: whereby it appeareth, that not the neerenesse of the North-pole, but the Ice that commeth in and out from the *Tartarian* Sea, about *Noua Zembla*, caused vs to feele the greatest cold. Therefore in regard that the neerenesse of the Pole was not the cause of the great cold that wee felt, if wee had had the meanes to haue held our appointed and intended course into the North-east, we had peraduenture found some entrance: which course wee could not hold from *Noua Zembla*, because that there we entred amongst great store of Ice; and how it was about *Noua Zembla*, we could not tel, before we had sought it; and when we had sought it, we could not then alter our course, although also it is vncertayn, what we should haue done, if we had continued in our North-east course, because it is not yet found out. But it is true, that in the Countrey lying vnder 80. degrees, (which we esteeme to be *Greenland*) there is both Leaues and Grasse to be seene: Wherein, such Beasts

The first finding is hard, but the second attempt is easier.

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as feed of Leaues and Graſſe (as Harts, Hinds, and ſuch like beaſts liue, whereas to the contrary in *Noua Zembla*, there groweth neyther Leaues nor Graſſe, and there are no beaſts therein but ſuch as eate fleſh, as Beares and Foxes, &c. Although *Noua Zembla* lyeth 4.5. and 6. degrees more Southerly from the Pole, then the other Land aforeſaid. It is alſo manifeſt, that vpon the South and North-ſide of the Line of the Sunne on both ſides, betweene both the Tropicks, vnder 23. degrees and an halfe, yet it is as hot, as it is right vnder the Line. What wonder then ſhould it be, that about the North-pole alſo, and as many degrees on both ſides, it ſhould not be colder then right vnder the Pole? It was not the Sea, nor the neereneſſe vnto the Pole, but the Ice about the Land, that let and hindered vs (as I ſaid before) for that aſſoone as we made from the Land, and put more into the Sea, although it was much further Northward, preſently we felt more warmth, and in that opinion our Pilot *William Barents* dyed, who notwithſtanding the fearefull and intolerable cold that he indured, yet he was not diſcouraged, but offered to lay wagers with diuers of vs, that by Gods helpe, hee would bring that pretended Voyage to an end, if he held his courſe North-eaſt from the North Cape. But I will leaue that, and ſhew you of the three Voyages aforeſaid, begunne and ſet forth by the permiſſion and furtherance of the Generall States of the vnited Prouinces, and of Prince *Maurice*, as Admirall of the Sea, and the rich Towne of *Amſterdam*.

A compariſon of the heate vnder the line, with the cold vnder the North Pole.

The reſolute intent and opinions of *William Barents*.

Firſt, you muſt vnderſtand, that in *Anno* 1594. there was foure ſhips ſet forth out of the vnited Prouinces, whereof two were of *Amſterdam*; one of *Zelandt*, and one of *Enckhuyſen*, that were appointed to ſayle into the North Seas, to diſcouer the Kingdomes of *Cathaia*, and *China*; Northward from *Norway*, *Muſcouia*, and about *Tartaria*, whereof *William Barents*, a notable skilfull and wiſe Pilot, was Commander ouer the ſhips of *Amſterdam*, and with them vpon Whit-ſunday, departed from *Amſterdam*, and went to the *Texell*.

Iune 5.

Vpon the fifth of Iune they ſayled out of the *Texel*, and hauing a good wind and faire weather, vpon the three and twentieth of Iune, they arriued at *Kilduin* in *Muſcouia*, which for that it is a place well knowne and a common Voyage, I will make no further deſcription thereof. The nine and twentieth of Iune, at foure of the clocke in the after-noone, they ſet ſayle out of *Kilduin*.

The particulars beeing knowne to many of our Mariners, I omit.

The fourth of Iuly they ſaw *Noua Zembla*, lying South-eaſt and by Eaſt ſix or ſeuen miles from them, where they had blacke durtie ground at one hundred and fiue fathome. *William Barents* tooke the height of the Sunne with his Croſſe-ſtaffe, when it was at the loweſt, that is betweene North North-eaſt, and Eaſt and by North, and found it to be eleuated aboue the Horizon ſix degrees and $\frac{1}{3}$. part, his declination being 22. degrees and 55. minutes, from whence ſubſtracting the aforeſaid height, there reſteth ſixteenth degrees and 35. minutes, which being ſubſtracted from 90. degrees, there reſteth 73. degrees and 25. minutes. Then they woond Eaſtward and ſayled fiue miles, Eaſt and by South, and Eaſt South-eaſt, and paſt by a long point of Land that lay out into the Sea, which they named *Langenes*, and hard by that point Eaſt-ward, there was a great Bay, where they went a Land with their Boat, but found no people. From *Langenes* to Cape *Bapo*, Eaſt North-eaſt it is foure miles. From Cape *Bapo* to the Weſt point of *Lombſbay* North-eaſt and by North are fiue miles, and betweene them both there are two Creeks. *Lombſbay* is a great wide Bay, on the Weſt-ſide thereof hauing a faire Hauen, ſix, ſeuen, or eight fathome deepe, blacke ſand, there they went on ſhoare with their Boat, and vpon the ſhoare placed a Beacon, made of an old Maſt which they found there; calling the Bay *Lombſbay*, becauſe of a certayne kind of Beares ſo called, which they found there in great abundance. The Eaſt point of *Lombſbay*, is a long narrow point, and by it there lyeth an Iland, and from that long point to Sea-ward in, there is a great Creeke. This *Lombſbay* lyeth vnder 74. degrees and $\frac{1}{3}$. part. From *Lombſbay* to the point of the *Admirals* Iland, they ſayled ſix or ſeuen miles, North-eaſt and by North. The *Admirals* Iland is not very faire on the Eaſt-ſide, but a farre off very flat, ſo that you muſt ſhunne it long before you come at it, it is alſo very vneuen, for at one caſting of the Lead they had ten fathome deepe, and preſently at another caſting of the Lead they had but ſix fathome, and preſently after that againe ten, eleuen, and twelue fathome, the ſtreame running hard againſt the Flats.

Langenes.

Lombsbay.

Admirals Iland

Cape *Negro*. *Black point*.

From the Eaſt-end of the *Admirals* Iland, to Cape *Negro*, that is the *Blacke point*, they ſayled about fiue or ſix miles, Eaſt North-eaſt, and a mile without the *Blacke point* it is ſeuenty fathome deepe, the ground ſlimy, as vpon *Pamphius*, right Eaſt-ward of the *Blacke point*, there are two ſharpe pointed Hils in the Creeke, that are eaſie to be knowne. The ſixt of Iuly, the Sunne being North, they come right before the *Blacke point* with faire weather, this *Blacke point* lyeth vnder 75. degrees and 20. minutes. From the *Blacke point* to *Williams* Iland, they ſayled ſeuen or eight miles, Eaſt North-eaſt, and betweene them both about halfe a mile, there lay a ſmall Iland.

Williams Iland.

The ſeuenth of Iuly they ſayled from *Williams* Iland, and then *William Barents* tooke the height of the Sunne, with his Croſſe-ſtaffe, and found it to be eleuated aboue the Horizon in the South-weſt and by South 53. degrees and 6. minutes, his declination being 22. degrees and 49. minutes, which being added to 53. degrees and 6. minutes, make 75. degrees and 55. minutes. This is the right height of the Pole of the ſaid Iland. In this Iland they found great ſtore of

Drift-

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Driftwood, and many Sea-horſes being a kind of fiſh that keepeth in the Sea, hauing very great teeth, which at this day are vſed in ſtead of Iuory or Elephants Teeth, there alſo is a good Road for ſhips, at ewelue and thirteene fathome deepe againſt all winds, except it bee Weſt South-weſt, and Weſt-winds, and there they found a piece of a *Ruſſia* ſhip, and that day they had the wind East North-east, miſtie weather. Sea-horſes, or Morſes.

The ninth of Iuly they entred into *Beeren-fort*, vpon the Road vnder *Williams* Iland, and there they found a white Beare, which they perceiuing, preſently entred into their Boat, and ſhot her into the bodie with a Musket, but the Beare ſhewed moſt wonderfull ſtrength, which almoſt is not to be found in any beaſt, for no man euer heard the like to bee done by any Lion or cruell beaſt whatſoeuer: for notwithſtanding that ſhe was ſhot into the bodie, yet ſhe leapt vp, and ſwamme in the water, the men that were in the Boat rowing after her, caſt a Rope about her necke, and by that meanes drew her at the ſterne of the Boat, for that not hauing ſeene the like Beare before, they thought to haue carryed her aliue in the ſhip, and to haue ſhewed her for a ſtrange wonder in *Holland*; but ſhe vſed ſuch force, that they were glad that they were rid of her, and contented themſelues with her skinne only, for ſhee made ſuch a noyſe, and ſtroue in ſuch ſort, that it was admirable, wherewith they let her reſt and gaue her more ſcope, with the Rope that they held her by, and ſo drew her in that ſort after them, by that meanes to wearie her: meane-time, *William Barents* made neerer to her, but the Beare ſwamme to the Boat, and with her fore-feet got hold of the ſterne thereof, which *William Barents* perceiuing, ſaid, ſhe will there reſt her ſelfe, but ſhe had another meaning, for ſhe vſed ſuch force, that at laſt ſhe had gotten halfe her body into the Boat, wherewith the men were ſo abaſhed, that they ranne into the further end of the Boat, and thought verily to haue beene ſpoyled by her, but by a ſtrange meanes they were deliuered from her, for that the Rope that was about her necke, caught hold vpon the hooke of the Ruther, whereby the Beare could get no further, but ſo was held backe, and hanging in that manner, one of the men boldly ſtept forth from the end of the Scute, and thruſt her into the bodie with a halfe-pike; and therewith ſhee fell downe into the water, and ſo they rowed forward with her to the ſhippe, drawing her after them, till ſhee was in a manner dead, wherewith they killed her out-right, and hauing flayed her, brought the skin to *Amſterdam*. *Beeren-fort* white Beare, terrible.

The twentieth of Iuly, they ſayled out of *Beeren-fort* from *Williams* Iland, and the ſame day in the morning got to the Iland of *Croſſes*, and there went on Land with their Pinnaſſe, and found the Iland to be barren, and full of Cliffes and Rocks, in it there was a ſmall Hauen, whereinto they rowed with their Boat. This Iland is about halfe a mile long, and reacheth East and Weſt; on the Weſt end it hath a banke, about a third part of a mile long, and at the East end alſo another banke, vpon this Iland there ſtandeth two great Croſſes, the Iland lyeth about two long miles from the firme Land, and vnder the East-end thereof there is a good Road, at ſixe and twentie fathome ſoft ground; and ſomewhat cloſer to the Iland on the Strand, at nine fathome ſandie ground. Iland of *Croſſes*

From the Iland of *Croſſes* to the point of Cape *Naſſaw*, they ſayled East, and East and by North about eight miles: it is a long flat point which you muſt be carefull to ſhunne, for thereabouts at ſeuen fathome there were flats or ſhoales, very farre from the Land; it lyeth almoſt vnder 76. degrees and a halfe. From the Weſt end of *Williams* Iland, to the Iland with the *Croſſes* is three miles, the courſe North. From *Naſſaw* point they ſayled East and by South, and East South-east fiue miles, and then they thought that they ſaw Land in North-east, and by East, and ſayled towards it fiue miles North-east to deſcrie it, thinking it to bee another Land, that lay Northward from *Nona Zembla*, but it began to blow ſo hard out of the Weſt, that they were forced to take in their Marſaile, and yet the wind roſe in ſuch manner, that they were forced to take in all their Sayles, and the Sea went ſo hollow, that they were conſtrayned to driue ſixteene houres together, without ſayle, eight or nine miles East North-east. Cape *Naſſaw*.

The eleuenth of Iuly their Boat was by a great waue of the Sea ſunke to the ground, and by that meanes they loſt it, and after that they draue without ſayles fiue miles, East and by South; at laſt the Sunne being almoſt South-east, the wind came about to the North-weſt, and then the weather began ſomewhat to cleere vp, but yet it was very miſtie. Then they hoyſed vp their ſayles againe and ſayled foure miles till night, that the Sunne was North and by East, and there they had ſixtie fathome deepe, muddie ground, and then they ſaw certayne flakes of Ice, at which time vpon the twelfth of Iuly they woond Weſt, and held North-weſt, and ſayled about a mile with miſtie weather, and a North-weſt wind, and ſayled vp and downe Weſt South-weſt three or foure miles, to ſee if they could find their Boat againe: after that they woond againe with the wind, and ſayled foure miles South-east, till the Sunne was South-weſt, and then they were cloſe by the Land of *Nona Zembla*, that lay East and by North, and Weſt and by South; from thence they woond ouer againe till noone, and ſayled three miles, North and by Weſt, and then till the Sunne was North-weſt, they held North-weſt and by North three miles, then they woond East-ward and ſayled foure or fiue miles North-east and by East.

The thirteenth of Iuly at night, they found great ſtore of Ice, as much as they could deſcry out of the top, that lay as if it had beene a plaine field of Ice, then they woond Weſtward ouer from the Ice.

The

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The seuenteenth of Iuly, *William Barents* tooke the height of the Sunne with his *Astrolabium*, and then they were vnder 77. degrees and a ¼. of the Pole, and sayled Southward six miles, and perceiued the firme Land, lying South from them. Then they sayled till the nineteenth of Iuly in the morning, West South-west sixe or seuen miles, with a North-west winde, and mistie weather, and after that South-west and South-west and by West seuen miles, the Sunne being 77. degrees 5. minutes lesse. Then they sayled two miles South-west, and were close by the land of *Noua Zembla*, about Cape *Nassaw*.

The fiue and twentieth of Iuly, they were so inclosed about with flakes of Ice, that out of the top they could not discerne any thing beyond it, and sought to get through the Ice, but they could not passe beyond it. At night, they tooke the height of the Sunne, when it was at the lowest betweene North and North-east, and North-east and by North, it being eleuated aboue the Horizon 6. degrees, and ¼. his Declination being 19. degrees 50. minutes, now take 6. degrees ¼. from 19. degrees and 50. minutes, and there resteth 13. degrees 5. minutes, which substracted from 90. there resteth 77. degrees lesse 5. minutes.

The sixe and twentieth of Iuly in the morning, they sayled sixe miles South South-east, till the Sunne was South-west, and then South-east sixe miles, and were within a mile of the land of *Noua Zembla*, and came againe to Cape *Trust*.

Cape *Trust*.

The eight and twentieth of Iuly, the height of the Sun being taken at noone with the *Astrolabium*, it was found to be eleuated aboue the Horizon 57. degrees and 6. minutes, her Declination being 19. degrees and 18. minutes, which in all is 76. degrees and 24. minutes, they being then about foure miles from the land of *Noua Zembla*, that lay all couered ouer with Snow, the weather being cleare, and the winde East.

The nine and twentieth of Iuly, the height of the Sun being taken with the Crosse-staffe, *Astrolabium* & Quadrant, they found it to be eleuated aboue the Horizon 32. degrees, her declination being 19. degrees, which substracted from 32. there resteth 13. degrees of the Equator, which being substracted from 90. there rested 77. degrees, and then the nearest North point of *Noua Zembla*, called the *Ice point*, lay right East from them. There they found certaine Stones that glistered like gold, which for that cause they named Gold-stones, and there also they had a faire Bay with sandie ground.

Ice point.
Gold Stones.

Vpon the same day they woond Southward againe, and sayled South-east two miles betweene the Land and the Ice, and after that from the *Ice point* East, and to the Southward sixe miles to the Ilands of *Orange*; and there they laboured forward betweene the Land and the Ice, with faire still weather, and vpon the one and thirtieth of Iuly got to the Ilands of *Orange*. And there went to one of those Ilands, where they found about two hundred Walrushen, or Sea-horses, lying vpon the shoare to bast themselues in the Sunne. This Sea-horse is a wonderfull strong Monster of the Sea, much bigger then an Oxe, which keepes continually in the Seas, hauing a skin like a Sea-calfe or Seale, with very short hayre, mouthed like a Lion, and many times they lye vpon the Ice; they are hardly killed vnlesse you strike them just vpon the forehead, it hath foure Feet, but no Eares, and commonly it hath one or two young ones at a time. And when the Fisher-men chance to finde them vpon a flake of Ice with their young ones, shee casteth her young ones before her into the water, and then takes them in her Armes, and so plungeth vp and downe with them, and when shee will reuenge her-selfe vpon the Boates, or make resistance against them, then she casts her youug ones from her againe, and with all her force goeth towards the Boate (whereby our men were once in no small danger, for that the Sea-horse had almost stricken her teeth into the sterne of their Boate) thinking to ouer-throw it, but by meanes of the great crie that the men made, she was afraid, and swomme away againe, and tooke her young ones againe in her armes. They haue two teeth sticking out of their mouthes, on each side one, each being about halfe an Ell long, and are esteemed to bee as good as any Iuorie or Elephants teeth, specially in *Muscouia*, *Tartaria*, and thereabouts where they are knowne, for they are as white, hard, and euen as Iuorie.

Orange Ilands.

Morses described.

The Sea-horses that lay bathing themselues vpon the Land, our men supposing that they could not defend themselues being out of the water, went on shoare to assaile them, and fought with them, to get their Teeth that are so rich, but they brake all their Hatchets, Cuttle-axes, and Pikes in pieces, and could not kill one of them, but strucke some of their Teeth out of their mouthes, which they tooke with them: and when they could get nothing against them by fighting, they agreed to goe aboord the Ship, to fetch some of their great Ordnance, to shoot at them therewith; but it began to blow so hard, that it rent the Ice into great pieces, so that they were forced not to doe it, and therewith they found a great white Beare that slept, which they shot into the bodie, but shee ranne away, and entred into the water; the men following her with their Boate, and killed her out-right, and then drew her vpon the Ice, and so sticking a halfe-pike vpright, bound her fast vnto it, thinking to fetch her when they came back againe, to shoot at the Sea-horses with their Ordnance, but for that it began more and more to blow, and the Ice therewith brake in peeces, they did nothing at all.

After that, *William Barents* finding that hee could hardly get through, to accomplish and end his

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his pretended Voyage, his men alſo beginning to bee wearie, and would ſayle no further, they all together agreed to returne backe againe, to meet with the other Ships that had taken their courſe to the *Wey-gates*, or the Straights of *Naſſaw*, to know what Diſcoueries they had made there. The firſt of Auguſt they turned their courſe to ſayle backe againe from the Ilands of *Orange*; There *William Barents* tooke the height of the Sunne, it being vnder 71. degrees and $\frac{1}{2}$. and there they found a great Creeke, which *William Barents* judged to bee the place where *Oliuer Brunel* had beene before, called *Coſtincſarch*. From the *Blacke* Iland they ſayled South, and South and by East to another ſmall point three miles, on which point there ſtood a Croſſe, and therefore they called it the *Croſſe-point*, there alſo was a flat Bay and low water, fiue, ſix, or ſeuen fadome deepe ſoft ground. From *Croſſe-point* they ſayled along by the land South South-eaſt foure miles, and then came to another ſmall point, which behind it had a great Creeke, that reached Eaſtward: This point they called the fifth point, or Saint *Laurence* point. From the fifth point they ſayled to the *Sconce* point three miles, South South-eaſt, and there lay a long blacke Rocke cloſe by the land, whereon there ſtood a Croſſe; then they entred into the Ice againe, and put inward to the Sea becauſe of the Ice. Their intent was to ſayle along the coaſt of *Nona Zembla* to the *Wey-gates*, but by reaſon that the Ice met them, they woond Weſtward, and from the ninth of Auguſt in the Eeuening, till the tenth of Auguſt in the Morning, ſayled Weſt and by North eleuen miles, and after that foure miles Weſt North-weſt, and North-weſt and by Weſt, the winde being North; in the Morning they woond Eaſtward againe, and ſayled vntill Eeuening ten miles Eaſt, and Eaſt and by South; after that Eaſt, and Eaſt and by North foure miles, and there they ſaw land, and were againſt a great Creeke, where with their Boate they went on land, and there found a faire Hauen fiue fathome deepe, ſandie ground. This Creeke on the North ſide hath three blacke points, and about the three points lyeth the road, but you muſt keepe ſomewhat from the third point, for it is ſtonie, and betweene the ſecond and third point there is another faire Bay, for North-weſt, North, and North-eaſt windes, blacke ſandie ground. This Bay they called Saint *Laurence* Bay, and there they tooke the height of the Sunne, which was 70. degrees and $\frac{1}{4}$.

There returne backe againe.

Oliuer Brunell.

Blacke Iland.

Croſſe-point.

Saint *Laurence* Bay.

From Saint *Laurence* Bay, South South-eaſt two miles to *Sconce* point, there lay along blacke Rocke cloſe by the land, whereon there ſtood a Croſſe, there they went on Land with their Boat, and perceiued that ſome men had beene there, and that they were fled to ſaue themſelues, for there they found ſixe Sackes with Rye-meale buried in the ground, and a heape of ſtones by the Croſſe, and a Bullet for a great Piece, and thereabouts alſo there ſtood another Croſſe, with three Houſes made of wood, after the North Countrey manner: and in the houſes they found many barrels of Pike-ſtaues, whereby they conjectured, that there they vſed to take Salmons, and by them ſtood fiue or ſix Coffins, by Graues, with dead mens bones, the Coffins ſtanding vpon the ground all filled vp with ſtones; there alſo lay a broken *Ruſſia* ſhip, the Keele thereof being fortie foure foot long, but they could ſee no man on the Land: it is a faire Hauen for all windes, which they called the *Meale-hauen*, becauſe of the Meale that they found there. From the blacke Rocke or Cliffe with the Croſſe, two miles South South-eaſt, there lay a low Iland a little into the Sea; from whence they ſayled nine or ten miles South South-eaſt, there the height of the Sunne was 70. degrees and 50. minutes, when it was South South-weſt. From that Iland they ſayled along by the Land foure miles South-eaſt and by South, there they came to two Ilands, whereof the vttermoſt lay a mile from the Land: thoſe Ilands they called Saint *Clara*.

Sconce point.

Then they entred into the Ice againe, and woond inward to the Sea in the wind, and ſayled from the Iland vntill Eeuening, Weſt South-weſt foure miles, the wind being North-weſt; that Eeuening it was very miſtie, and then they had eightie fathome deepe.

Then againe they ſayled South-weſt and by Weſt, and Weſt South-weſt three miles, there they had ſeuentie fathome deepe, and ſo ſayled till the thirteenth of Auguſt in the morning, South-weſt and by Weſt foure miles, two houres before they had ground at fiftie ſixe fathome, and in the morning at fortie fiue fathome, ſoft muddie ground: Then they woond from the land and ſayled North, and North and by Eaſt foure miles, from thence they woond to land againe, and ſayled till the fourteene of Auguſt, fiue or ſixe miles South-weſt, ſayling cloſe by the land, which (as they gheſſe) was the Iland of *Colgoyen*.

Colgoyen.

Auguſt the fifteenth, the Sun being South-weſt, *William Barents* tooke the height thereof, and found it to bee eleuated aboue the Horizon 35. degrees, his Declination being 14. degrees and $\frac{1}{4}$. ſo that as there wanted 55. degrees of 90. which 55. and 14. degrees $\frac{1}{4}$. being both added together, made 69. Degrees 15. Minutes, which was the height of the Pole in that place, the wind being North-weſt, then they ſayled two miles more Eaſtward, and came to the Ilands called *Matſloe* and *Delgoy*, and there in the morning they met with the other Ships of their companie, being of *Zelandt* and *Enck-huyſen*, that came out of *Wey-gates* the ſame day, there they ſhewed each other where they had beene, and how farre each of them had ſayled and diſcouered.

Matſloe and *Delgoy*. They meet with their companie.

The Ship of *Enck-huyſen* had paſt the Straights of *Wey-gates*, and ſaid, that at the end of *Wey-gates* hee had found a large Sea, and that they had ſayled fiftie or ſixtie miles further Eaſtward, and were of opinion that they had beene about the Riuer *Obi*, that commeth out of *Tartaria*, and that the Land of *Tartaria* reacheth North-eaſtward againe from thence, whereby they thought

that

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that they were not farre from Cape *Tabin*, which is the point of *Tartaria*, that reacheth towards the Kingdome of *Cathai*, North-east and then Southward, and so thinking that they had Discouered enough for that time, and that it was too late in the yeere to sayle any further, as also that their Commission was to discouer the scituation, and to come home againe before Winter, they turned againe towards the *Wey-gates*, and came to an Iland about fiue miles great, lying South-east from *Wey-gates* on the *Tartarian* side, and called it the *States* Iland, there they found many Stones that were of Christall Mountayne, being a kind of Diamond.

States Iland.

When they were met together, as I sayd before, they made signes of joy, discharging some of their Ordnance, and were merrie, the other Ships thinking that *William Barents* had sayled round about *Noua Zembla*, and had come backe againe through the *Wey-gates* : and after they had shewed each other what they had done, and made signes of joy for their meeting, they set their course to turne backe againe for *Holland*, and vpon the sixteenth of August they went vnder the Ilands of *Masloe* and *Delgoy*, and put into the road, because the wind was North-west, and lay till the eighteenth of August. Then they set sayle, and came to the *Texel* the sixteenth of September.

Chap. IIII.

A briefe Declaration of Barents *his second Nauigation, made in* Anno 1595. *behinde* Norway, Muscouia, *and* Tartaria, *written by* Gerat de Veer.

THe foure Ships aforesaid, being returned home about Harueſt-time, in *Anno* 1594. they were in good hope that the Voyage aforesaid would bee done, by passing along the Straights of *Wey-gates*, and specially by the report made by the two Ships of *Zelandt*, and *Enck-huysen*, wherein *Iohn Huygben* of *Linschoten* was Committee, who declared the manner of their trauell in such sort, that the Generall *States* and Prince *Maurice* resolued, in the beginning of the next yeere to prepare certayne Ships, not onely (as they went before) to discouer the passage, but to send certayn Wares and Merchandizes thither, wherein the Merchants might lade what Wares they would, with certaine Factors to sell the said Wares, in such places as they should arriue, neither paying Fraight nor Custome. *Peter Plantius* a learned Cosmographer, being a great furtherer and setter forward of this Voyage, and was their chiefe Instructer therein, setting downe the scituation of the Coasts of *Tartaria*, *Cathaia*, & *China* ; but how they lye it is not yet sufficiently Discouered, for that the courses and rules by him set downe, were not fully effected, by meanes of some inconueniences that fell out, which by reason of the shortnesse of time could not bee holpen.

In *Anno* 1595. the Generall *States* of the vnited Prouinces, and Prince *Maurice*, caused seuen Ships to bee prepared to sayle through the *Wey-gates*, or the Straights of *Nassaw*, to the Kingdome of *Cathaia* and *China* : two out of *Amsterdam*, two out of *Zelandt*, two out of *Enck-huysen*, and one out of *Rotterdam* : sixe of them laden with diuers kindes of Wares, Merchandizes, and with Money and Factors, to sell the said Wares ; the seuenth being a Pinnasse, that had Commission, when the other Ships were past about the Cape *de Tabin* (which is the furthest point of *Tartaria*) or so farre, that they might sayle forth Southward, without any let or hinderance of the Ice, to turne backe againe, and to bring newes thereof : and I being in *William Barents* Ship that was our chiefe Pilot, and *Iames Hemskerke* chiefe Factor, thought good to write downe the same in order, as it is hereafter declared, as I did the first Voyage, according to the course and stretching of the Land as it lyeth.

Iames Hemskerke famous for the *Gibralter* exploit.

First, after we had beene mustered at *Amsterdam*, and euery man taken an Oath, that was then purposely ministred vnto vs ; vpon the eighteene of Iune wee sayled to the *Texel*, from thence to put to Sea, with other Ships that were appointed to meet vs at a certayne day ; and so to begin our Voyage in the name of God. The second of Iuly wee set sayle out of the *Texel*. The fifth of August, the North Cape lay about two miles East from vs, and when the Sunne was North-west, the *Mother and her Daughters* lay Southward from vs foure miles.

The seuenteenth, wee saw great store of Ice, all along the Coast of *Noua Zembla*, and casting out the Lead, had 75. fathom soft ground. After that we held diuers courses because of the Ice, and sayled South-east and by East, & South South-east, for the space of eighteene miles, till the eighteenth of August, when the Sunne was East, and then we cast out the lead againe, and found 30. fathome soft ground, and within two houres after that, fathome, red sand, with small shelles : three Glasses after that we had ground at twentie fathome, red sand, with blacke shels, as before : then wee saw two Ilands, which they of *Enck-huysen* gaue the names of Prince *Maurice*, and his Brother, which lay from vs South-east three miles, being low Land, and then wee sayled eight miles, till the Sun was South. Then we sayled East, and oftentimes casting out the lead, we found twentie,

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twentie, nineteene, eighteene, and ſeuenteene fathome deep, good ground mixed with black ſhels, and ſaw the *Wey-gates* (the Sunne being Weſt) which lay Eaſt North-eaſt from vs about fiue miles, and after that we ſayled about eight miles.

Then we ſayled vnder 70. degrees, vntill we came to the *Wey-gates*, moſt part through broken Ice, and when we got to *Wey-gates*, we caſt out our Lead, and for a long time found thirteene and fourteene fathome, ſoft ground, mixed with blacke ſhels, not long after that we caſt out the Lead and found ten fathome deepe, the wind being North, and we forced to hold ſtifly aloofe, in regard of the great quantitie of Ice, till about mid-night, then were forced to wind Northward, becauſe of certaine Rocks that lay on the Southſide of *Wey-gates*, right before vs, about a mile and a halfe, hauing ten fathome deepe: then we changed our courſe, and ſayled Weſt North-weſt for the ſpace of foure Glaſſes, after that we woond about againe Eaſt, and Eaſt and by South, and ſo entred into *VVey-gates*, and as wee went in, wee caſt out the Lead, and found ſeuen fathome deepe, little more or leſſe, till the nineteenth of Auguſt, and then the Sunne being South-eaſt, we entred into the *VVey-gates*, in the Road, the wind being North. The right Channell betweene the *Image* point and the *Samuters* Land was full of Ice, ſo that it was not well to bee paſt thorow, and ſo we went into the Road (which we called the *Traen* Bay, becauſe we found ſtore of Traen-oyle there; this is a good Bay for the courſe of the Ice, and good almoſt for all winds, and we may ſayle ſo farre into it as we will, at foure, fiue, and three fathome, good Anchor-ground, on the Eaſt ſide it is deepe water.

Image point. *Samoyeds* land. *Traen* Bay.

The twentieth of Auguſt, the height of the Sunne being taken with the Croſſe-ſtaffe, wee found that it was eleuated aboue the Horizon 69. degrees 21. minutes, when it was South-weſt and by South, being at the higheſt, or before it beganne to deſcend. The one and twentieth of Auguſt, we went on Land within the *VVey-gates* with foure and fiftie men, to ſee the ſituation of the Countrey, and being two miles within the Land we found many *Vel-werck*, Traen, and ſuch like Wares, and diuers foot-ſteps of men, and Deere; whereby wee perceiued that ſome men dwelt there abouts, or elſe vſed to come thither. And to aſſure vs the more thereof, wee might perceiue it by the great number of Images, which we found there vpon the Image or *Beelthooke*, (ſo called by vs) in great abundance, whereof ten dayes after wee were better informed by the *Samuters* and the *Ruſſians*, when wee ſpake with them. And when wee entred further into the Land, we vſed all the meanes we could, to ſee if we could find any houſes or men, by whom we might be informed of the ſituation of the Sea there abouts, whereof afterward we had better intelligence by the *Samuters*; that told vs, that there are certayne men dwelling on the *VVey-gates*, and vpon *Nona Zembla*, but we could neither find men, houſes, nor any other things, ſo that to haue better information, wee went with ſome of our men further South-eaſt into the Land; towards the Sea-ſide, and as we went, we found a path-way made with mens feet in the Moſſe or Marſh-ground, about halfe knee deepe, for that going ſo deepe we felt hard ground vnder our feet, which at the deepeſt was no higher then our ſhooes, and as we went forward to the Sea-coaſt, we were exceeding glad, thinking that we had ſeene a paſſage open, where we might get through, becauſe we ſaw ſo little Ice there: and in the Euening entring into our ſhip againe, we ſhewed them that newes. Meane-time, our Maſter had ſent out a Boat to ſee if the *Tartarian* Sea was open, but it could not get into the Sea becauſe of the Ice, yet they rowed to the *Croſſe*-point, and there let the Boat lye, and went ouer the Land to the Weſt point, and there perceiued that the Ice in the *Tartarian* Sea, lay full vpon the *Ruſſian* Coaſts, and in the mouth of *VVey-gates*.

They goe on Land. Images.

The three and twentieth of Auguſt we found a *Lodgie*, or Boat of *Pitzore*, which was ſewed together with Baſt or Ropes, that had beene Northward to ſeeke for ſome Sea-horſes Teeth, Traen, and Geeſe, which they fetcht with their Boat, to lade in certaine ſhippes that were to come out of *Ruſſia* through *VVey-gates*. Which ſhips they ſaid (when they ſpake with vs) were to ſayle into the *Tartarian* Sea, by the Riuer of *Oby*, to a place called *Vgolita* in *Tartaria*, there to ſtay all Winter, as they vſed to doe euery yeere: and told vs that it would yet bee nine or ten Weekes ere it began to freeze in that place, and that when it once beganne to freeze, it would freeze ſo hard, that as then men might go ouer the Sea into *Tartaria* (along vpon the Ice) which they called *Mermare*.

The foure and twentieth of Auguſt in the morning betimes, we went on board of the *Lodgie*, to haue further information and inſtruction of the Sea, on the Eaſtſide of *VVey-gates*, and they gaue vs good inſtruction, ſuch as you haue heard.

The fiue and twentieth of Auguſt we went againe to the *Lodgie*, and in friendly manner ſpake with them, we for our parts offering them friendſhip; and then they gaue vs eight fat Geeſe, that lay in the bottome of their Boat: we deſired that one or two of them would goe with vs aboard our ſhip, and they willingly went with vs to the number of ſeuen; and being in our ſhip, they wondred much at the greatneſſe and furniture of our ſhip: and after they had ſeene and looked into it in euery place, we ſet Fiſh, Butter and Cheeſe before them to eate, but they refuſed it; ſaying, that that day was a Faſting day with them, but at laſt when they ſaw ſome of our Pickled Herrings, they eate them both heads, tayles, skinnes, and guts, and hauing eaten thereof,

we

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we gaue them a ſmall Firkin of Herrings, for the which they gaue vs great thankes, knowing not what friendſhip they ſhould doe vs to requite our courteſie, and wee brought them with our Pinnaſſe into the *Traen* Bay. About Noone we hoyſed vp our Anchors with a Weſt North-weſt wind; the courſe or ſtretching of *VVey-gates*, is Eaſt to *Cruis* point, and then North-eaſt to the *Twiſt* point, and ſomewhat more Eaſterly: From thence the Land of *Wey-gates*, reacheth North North-eaſt, and North and by Eaſt, and then North, and ſomewhat Weſterly; wee ſayled North-eaſt and Eaſtward two miles, by the *Twiſt* point, but then we were compelled to ſaile backe againe, becauſe of the great ſtore of Ice, and tooke our courſe to our Road aforeſaid: and ſayling backe againe we found a good place by the *Croſſe* point, to anchor in that night. The ſix and twentieth of Auguſt in the morning we hoyſed Anchor, and put out our fork-ſaile, and ſo ſailed to our old Road, and there to ſtay for a more conuenient time.

They ſpeake with *Samoyeds.*

The eight and twentie, nine and twentie, and thirtieth of Auguſt till the one and thirtieth, the wind for the moſt part was South-weſt, and *VVilliam Barents* our Captaine ſailed to the South-ſide of *VVey-gates*, and there went on Land, where we found certaine Wildmen (called *Samoyters*) and yet not altogether wilde, for they being twentie in number, ſtaid and ſpake with our men, being but nine together, about a mile within the Land, our men not thinking to find any men there (for that we had at other times beene on Land in the *VVey-gates*, and ſaw none) at laſt, it being miſtie weather, they perceiued men, fiue and fiue in a company, and wee were hard by them before we knew it: then our Interpretour went alone towards them to ſpeake with them; which they perceiuing, ſent one towards vs, who comming almoſt to our men, tooke an Arrow out of his Quiuer, offering to ſhoot at him; wherewith our Interpretor, being without Armes, was afraid, and cryed vnto him, ſaying (in *Ruſſian* ſpeech;) *Shoote not, we are friends:* which the other hearing, caſt his Bow and Arrowes to the ground, therewith giuing him to vnderſtand that he was well content to ſpeake with our man: which done, our man called to him once againe, and ſaid: *We are friends:* whereunto he made anſwere and ſaid; then you are welcome: and ſaluting one the other, bended both their heads downe towards the ground, after the *Ruſſian* manner: this done, our Interpretor queſtioned with him, about the ſituation and ſtretching of the Sea Eaſt-ward through the Streights of *Wey-gates*; whereof he gaue vs good inſtruction, ſaying: that when they ſhould haue paſt a point of land about fiue daies ſailing from thence, ſhewing North-eaſtward; that after that, there is a great Sea (ſhewing towards the South-eaſt vpward,) ſaying, that he knew it very well, for that one had beene there that was ſent thither by their King with certaine Souldiers, whereof he had beene Captaine.

Sea open.

Samoyeds apparell.

The manner of their Apparell is, like as we vſe to paint Wildmen, but they are not wilde; for they are of reaſonable judgement: they are apparelled in Harts skinnes from the head to the feet, vnleſſe it be the principalleſt of them, which are apparelled, whether they be men or women, like vnto the reſt, as aforeſaid, vnleſſe it be on their heads, which they couer with certaine coloured Cloth lined with Furre: the reſt weare Caps of Harts or Bucks skinnes, the rough ſide outwards, which ſtand cloſe to their heads, and are very fit. They weare long Haire, which they pleate and fold, and let it hang downe vpon their backes. They are (for the moſt part all) ſhort and low of ſtature, with broad flat faces, ſmall eyes, ſhort legs, their knees ſtanding outwards; and are very quicke to goe and leape. They truſt not Strangers; for although that wee ſhewed them all the courteſie and friendſhip that wee could, yet they truſted vs not much: which wee perceiued hereby, that as vpon the firſt of September wee went againe on Land to them, and that one of our men deſired to ſee one of their Bowes: they refuſed it, making a ſigne that they would not doe it. Hee that they called their King, had Centinels ſtanding abroad, to ſee what was done in the Countrey, and what was bought and ſold: At laſt, one of our men went neerer to one of the Centinels, to ſpeake with him, and offered him great friendſhip, according to their accuſtomed manner, withall giuing him a Bisket; which he with great thankes tooke, and preſently eate it; and while hee eate it, hee ſtill lookt diligently about him on all ſides what was done.

Haire, perſon, ſtature.

Their King.

Their Sleds.

Their Sleds ſtood alwayes readie with one or two Harts in them, that runne ſo ſwiftly with one or two men in them, that our Horſes are not able to follow them. One of our men ſhot a Musket towards the Sea, wherewith they were in ſo great feare, that they ranne and leapt like mad men: yet at laſt, they ſatisfied themſelues, when they perceiued that it was not maliciouſly done to hurt them: and we told them by our Interpretor, that we vſed our Peeces in ſtead of Bowes; whereat they wondered, becauſe of the great blow and noyſe that it gaue and made: and to ſhew them what wee could doe therewith, one of our men tooke a flat ſtone about halfe a handfull broad, and ſet it vpon a Hill a good way off from him: which they perceiuing, and thinking that we meant ſome-what thereby, fiftie or ſixtie of them gathered round about vs; and yet ſome-what farre off, wherewith hee that had the Peece, ſhot it off, and with the Bullet ſmote the ſtone in ſunder: whereat they wondred much more then before.

Departure.

After that, wee tooke our leaues one of the other, with great friendſhip on both ſides; and when we were in our Pinnaſſe, wee all put off our Hats, and bowed our heads vnto them, ſounding our Trumpet: They (in their manner) ſaluting vs alſo, and then went to their Sleds againe.

And

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And after they were gone from vs, and were ſomewhat within the Land, one of them came riding to the ſhoare, to fetch a rough-hewed Image, that our men had taken off the ſhoare, and carryed into their Boate: and when hee was in our Boate, and perceiued the Image, he made vs a ſigne that wee had not done well to take away that Image: Which we beholding, gaue it to him againe: Which when hee had receiued, he placed it vpon a Hill right by the Sea ſide, and tooke it not with him, but ſent a Sled to fetch it from thence: and as farre as wee could perceiue, they eſteemed that Image to be their God; for that right ouer againſt that place in the *Wey-gates*, which wee called *Beelthooke*, we found certayne hundreds of ſuch carued Images, all rough about the Heads, being ſomewhat round, and in the middle, hauing a little hill in ſtead of a Noſe; and about the Noſe two cuts, in place of Eyes; and vnder the Noſe a cut, in place of a Mouth. Before the Images, wee found great ſtore of Aſhes, and bones of Harts: whereby it is to bee ſuppoſed, that there they offered vnto them.

Image.

Hundreds of ill ſhapen Images.

The ſecond of September, a little before Sunne riſing, wee put forth an Anchor to get out, for that the winde as then blew South South-weſt; it being good weather to get out, and ill weather to lye ſtill: for wee lay vnder a low Banke. The Admirall and Vice-admirall ſeeing vs making out, began alſo to hoyſe their Anchors, and to ſet ſayle. When wee put out our Focke-ſayle, the Sunne was Eaſt and by South: and then wee ſayled to the *Croſſe*-point, and there wee caſt Anchor to ſtay for the Vice-admirals Pinnaſſe; which with much labour and paines, in time got out of the Ice, by often caſting out of their Anchor: and in the Eeuening ſhee got to vs: in the Morning about two houres before Sunne riſing we ſet ſayle, and by Sunne riſing, wee got within a mile Eaſtward of the *Twiſt*-point, and ſayled Northward ſixe miles, till the Sunne was South. Then wee were forced to wind about, becauſe of the great quantitie of Ice, and the Myſt that then fell, at which time the winde blew ſo vncertayne, that we could hold no courſe, but were forced continually to winde and turne about, by reaſon of the Ice, and the vnconſtantneſſe of the winde, together with myſt, ſo that our courſe was vncertayne, and wee ſuppoſed that we had ſayled Southward vp towards the *Samuters* Countrey, and then held our courſe South-weſt, till the watchers were North-weſt from vs; then we came to the point of the *States* Iland, lying Eaſtward about a Muſket ſhot from the land, hauing 13. fathom deepe.

The fourth of September, wee hoyſed Anchor becauſe of the Ice, and ſayled betweene the firme Land and the *States* Iland, where we lay cloſe by the *States* Iland at foure and fiue fathom deepe, and made our Ship faſt with a Cable caſt on the ſhoare, and there wee were ſafe from the courſe of the Ice, and diuers times went on land to get Hares, whereof there were many in that Iland. The ſixth of September, ſome of our men went on ſhoare vpon the firme land to ſeeke for Stones, which are a kinde of Diamond, whereof there are many alſo in the *States* Iland: and while they were ſeeking the Stones, two of our men lying together in one place, a great leane white Beare came ſuddenly ſtealing out, and caught one of them faſt by the necke, who not knowing what it was that tooke him by the necke, cryed out and ſayd; *Who is that that pulls mee ſo by the necke*? wherewith the other that lay not farre from him; lifted vp his head to ſee who it was, and perceiuing it to bee a monſtrous Beare, cryed out and ſayd, Oh Mate! it is a Beare, and therewith preſently roſe vp and ranne away.

States-Iland.

A Beare kills two men.

The Beare at the firſt falling vpon the man, bit his head in ſunder, and ſuckt out his blood, wherewith the reſt of the men that were on the Land, being about twentie in number, ranne preſently thither, either to ſaue the man, or elſe to driue the Beare from the dead body: and hauing charged their Pieces and bent their Pikes, ſet vpon her, that ſtill was deuouring the man, but perceiuing them to come towards her, fiercely and cruelly ranne at them, and got another of them out from the Companie which ſhee tore in pieces, wherwith all the reſt ranne away.

Her ſtoutneſſe.

We perceiuing out of our Ship and Pinnaſſe, that our men ranne to the Sea-ſide to ſaue themſelues, with all ſpeed entred into our Boates, and rowed as faſt wee could to the ſhoare to relieue our men. Where being on Land, we beheld the cruell ſpectacles of our two dead men, that had beene ſo cruelly killed and torne in pieces by the Beare, wee ſeeing that, incouraged our men to goe backe againe with vs, and with Pieces, Curtelaxes, and Halfe-pikes, to ſet vpon the Beare, but they would not all agree thereunto: ſome of them ſaying, our men are already dead, and we ſhall get the Beare well enough, though we oppoſe not our ſelues into ſo open danger, if wee might ſaue our fellowes liues, then wee would make haſte, but now we need not make ſch ſpeed, but take her at an aduantage, with moſt ſecuritie for our ſelues, for we haue to doe with a cruell, fierce, and rauenous Beaſt. Whereupon three of our men went forward, the Beare ſtill deuouring her prey, not once fearing the number of our men, and yet they were thirtie at the leaſt: the three that went forward in that ſort, were *Corneſius Iacobſon*, Maſter of *William Barents* ſhip, *William Gyſen*, Pylot of the Pinnaſſe, and *Hans van Nuſſen*, *William Barents* Purſer: and after that the ſayd Maſter and Pylot had ſhot three times and miſt, the Purſer ſtepping ſomewhat further forward, and ſeeing the Beare to be within the length of a ſhot, preſently leuelled his Piece, and diſcharging it at the Beare, ſhot her into the head betweene both the eyes, and yet ſhe held the man ſtill faſt by the necke, and lifted vp her head with the man in her mouth, but ſhee began ſomwhat to ſtagger, wherewith the Purſer and a *Scottiſh*-man drew out their Curtelaxes,

They kill the Beare.

and ſtrooke at her ſo hard, that their Curtelaxes burſt, and yet ſhe would not leaue the man, at laſt *William Geyſen* went to them, and with all his might ſtrooke the Beare vpon the ſnout with his Piece, at which time the Beare fell to the ground, making a great noyſe, and *William Geyſen* leaping vpon her cut her throat. The ſeuenth of September, wee buried the dead bodies of our men in the *States* Iland, and hauing flayed the Beare, carryed her Skin to *Amſterdam*.

The ninth of September, we ſet ſayle from the *States* Iland, but the Ice came in ſo thicke and with ſuch force, that we could not get through, ſo that at Eeuening we came backe againe to the *States* Iland, the winde being Weſterly. There the Admirall and the Pinnaſſe of *Rotterdam*, fell on ground by certayne Rockes, but got off againe without any hurt.

The tenth of September, we ſayled againe from the *States* Iland towards the *Wey-gates*, and ſent two Boates into the Sea, to certifie vs what ſtore of Ice was abroad: and that Eeuening wee came all together into *Wey-gates*, and Anchored by the *Twiſt*-point. The eleuenth of September in the Morning, we ſayled againe into the *Tartarian* Sea, but we fell into great ſtore of Ice, ſo that we ſayled backe againe to the *Wey-gates*, and Anchored by the *Croſſe*-point, and about midnight we ſaw a *Ruſſian Lodgie*, that ſayled from the *Beelt*-point towards the *Samoiers* Land. The thirteenth of September, the Sunne being South, there began a great ſtorme to blow out of the South South-weſt, the weather being miſtie, melancholy, and ſnowie, and the ſtorme increaſing more and more, we draue through.

Twiſt-point.

The fourteenth of September, the weather began to bee ſomewhat clearer, the winde being North-weſt, and the ſtorme blowing ſtiffe out of the *Tartarian* Sea, but at Eeuening it was faire weather, and then the wind blew North-eaſt, the ſame day our men went on the other ſide of *Wey-gates*, on the firme land, to take the depth of the Channell, and entred into the Bough behind the Ilands, where there ſtood a little Houſe made of wood, and a great fall of water into the land. The ſame Morning we hoyſed vp our Anchor, thinking once againe to try what wee could doe to further our Voyage, but our Admirall being of another minde, lay ſtill till the fifteenth of September. The ſame day in the Morning, the winde draue in from the Eaſt-end of the *Wey-gates*, whereby we were forced preſently to hoyſe Anchors, and the ſame day ſayled out from the Weſt-end of the *Wey-gates*, with all our Fleet, and made homewards againe, and that day paſt by the Ilands called *Matfloe* and *Delgoy*, and that night we ſayled twelue miles, North-weſt and by Weſt, till Saturday in the morning, and then the winde fell North-eaſt, and it began to Snow. We ſaw the point of *Candynaes*, lying South-eaſt from vs, and then wee had ſeuen and twentie fathom deepe, red ſand with blacke ſhels.

* *Matfloe* and *Delgoy*.

The nine and twentieth of September, in the Eeuening entred into *Ward-houſe*, and there we ſtayed till the tenth of October. And that day we ſet ſayle out of *Ward-houſe*, and vpon the eighteenth of Nouember, we arriued in the *Maes*.

Chap. V.

The third Voyage Northward to the Kingdomes of Cathaia, *and* China, *in* Anno 1596. *Written by* Gerat de Veer.

§. I.

What happened to them at Sea, before they came to build their Houſe.

After that the ſeuen Ships (as I ſaid before) were returned backe againe from their North Voyage, with leſſe benefit then was expected, the Generall *States* of the Vnited Prouinces conſulted together, to ſend certayne Ships thither againe, a third time, to ſee if they might bring the ſaid Voyage to a good end, if it were poſſible to bee done: but after much Conſultation had, they could not agree thereon; yet they were content to cauſe a Proclamation to be made, that if any, either Townes, or Merchants, were diſpoſed to venture to make further ſearch that way, at their owne charges, if the Voyage were accompliſhed, and that thereby it might be made apparant, that the ſayd paſſage was to be ſayled, they were content to giue them a good reward, in the Countries behalfe, naming a certayne ſumme of money. Whereupon in the beginning of this yeere, there was two Ships rigged and ſet forth by the Towne of *Amſterdam*, to ſayle that Voyage, the men therein being taken vp vpon two Conditions: *viz.* What they ſhould haue if the Voyage were not accompliſhed, and what they ſhould haue if they got through, and brought the Voyage to an end, promiſing them a good reward if they could effect it, thereby to encourage the men, taking vp as many vnmarried men as they could, that they might not bee diſſwaded by meanes of their Wiues and Children to leaue off the Voyage. Vpon theſe Conditions, thoſe

two

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two Ships were ready to set sayle in the beginning of May. In the one, *Iacob Heemskerke Hendrickson*, was Master and Factor for the Wares and Merchandizes; and *Williams Barents* chiefe Pylot. In the other, *Iohn Cornelison Ryp*, was both Master and Factor for the goods that the Merchants had laden in her.

The fifth of May, all the men in both the Ships were Mustered, and vpon the tenth of May, they sayled from *Amsterdam*, and the thirteenth of May got to the *Vlie*. The thirtieth of May we had a good winde, and sayled North-east, and wee tooke the height of the Sunne with our Crosse-staffe, and found that it was eleuated aboue the Horizon 47. degrees and 42. minutes, his Declination was 21. degrees and 42. minutes, so that the height of the Pole was 69. degrees and 24. minutes.

The first of Iune we had no night, and the second of Iune we had the winde contrarie, but vpon the fourth of Iune we had a good winde, out of the West North-west, and sayled North-east. And when the Sunne was about South South-east, wee saw a strange sight in the Element: for on each side of the Sunne there was another Sunne, and two Raine-bowes, that past cleane thorow the three Sunnes, and then two Raine-bowes more, the one compassing round about the Sunnes, and the other crosse thorow the great rundle; the great rundle standing with the vttermost point, eleuated aboue the Horizon 28. degrees: at noone the Sunne being at the highest, the height thereof was measured, and wee found by the *Astrolabium*, that it was eleuated aboue the Horizon 48. degrees and 43. minutes, his Declination was 22. degrees and 17. minutes, the which being added to 48. degrees 43. minutes, it was found that wee were vnder 71. degrees of the height of the Pole.

Iune. Three Sunnes and foure Rain-bowes. The like hath beene seene in *England* about the time this worke entred the Presse.

Iohn Cornelis ship held aloofe from vs, and would not keepe with vs, and would hold no course but North North-east, for they alledged, that if wee went any more Easterly, that then we should enter into the *Wey-gates*, but wee being not able to perswade them, altered our course one point of the Compasse, to meet them, and sayled North-east and by North, and should otherwise haue sayled North-east, and somewhat more East.

The fifth, wee saw the first Ice, which we wondered at, at the first, thinking that it had beene white Swannes, for one of our men walking in the Fore-decke, on a sudden began to cry out with a loud voyce, and said; that hee saw white Swannes: which wee that were vnder Hatches hearing, presently came vp, and perceiued that it was Ice that came driuing from the great heape, showing like Swannes, it being then about Eeuening, at midnight we sayled through it, and the Sunne was about a degree eleuated aboue the Horizon in the North.

Ice.

The sixth, about foure of the clocke in the after-noone, wee entred againe into the Ice, which was so strong that we could not passe through it, and sayled South-west and by West, till eight Glasses were runne out, after that we kept on our course North, North-east, and sayled along by the Ice.

The seuenth, we tooke the height of the Sunne, and found that it was eleuated aboue the Horizon 38. degrees and 38. minutes, his Declination being 22. degrees 38. minutes; which being taken from 38. degrees 38. minutes, wee found the Pole to bee 74. degrees; there we found so great store of Ice, that it was admirable: and we sayled along through it, as if we had past betweene two Lands. The water being as greene as Grasse, and we supposed that we were not farre from *Greenland*, and the longer we sayled, the more and thicker Ice we found. The eight of Iune, we came to so great a heape of Ice, that we could not sayle through it.

Greene water.

The ninth of Iune, we found the Iland that lay vnder 74. degrees and 30. minutes, and as we gheest, it was about fiue miles long. The tenth, we put out our Boate, and therewith eight of our men went on Land, and as we past by *Iohn Cornelisons* ship, eight of his men also came into our Boat, whereof one was the Pilot. Then *William Barents* asked him, whether we were not too much Westward, but hee would not acknowledge it: whereupon there passed many words betweene them, for *William Barents* sayd, he would proue it to bee so, as in truth it was. The eleuenth, going on Land, we found great store of Sea-Mewes Egges vpon the shoare, and in that Iland we were in great danger of our liues: for that going vp a great Hill of Snow, when wee should come downe againe, we thought we should all haue broken our neckes, it was so slipperie, but we sate vpon the Snow and slid downe, which was very dangerous for vs, to breake both our armes and legges, for that at the foot of the Hill there was many Rockes, which we were likely to haue fallen vpon, yet by Gods helpe we got safely downe againe. Meane time *William Barents* sate in the Boate, and saw vs slide downe, and was in greater feare then we, to behold vs in that danger. In the said Iland, we found the varying of our Compasse, which was 13. degrees, so that it differed a whole point at the least: after that wee rowed aboord *Iohn Cornelisons* ship, and there we eate our Egges.

Beares, or *Cherie*-Iland.

Egges.

Danger escaped.

Variation of the Compasse.

The twelfth in the morning, we saw a white Beare, which wee rowed after with our Boate, thinking to cast a Rope about her necke; but when we were neere her, she was so great, that we durst not doe it, but rowed backe againe to our Ship to fetch more men and our Armes, and so made to her againe with Muskets, Harquebusses, Halberts, and Hatchets. *Iohn Cornelisons* men comming also with their Boate to helpe vs; and so being well furnished of men and weapons,

Great white Beare.

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Fight with her.

we rowed with both our Boates vnto the Beare, and fought with her while foure Glasses were runne out, for our Weapons could doe her little hurt: and amongst the rest of the blowes that we gaue her, one of our men strooke her into the backe with an Axe, which stucke fast in her backe, and yet shee swamme away with it; but we rowed after her, and at last we cut her head in sunder with an Axe, wherewith she dyed: and then wee brought her into *Iohn Cornelisons* ship, where we flayed her, and found her Skinne to bee twelue foot long: which done, we eate some of her flesh; but wee brookt it not well. This Iland we called the *Beare*-Iland.

Beares skin 12. foot long.

The thirteenth we left the Iland, and sayled North, and somewhat Easterly, the winde being West, and South-west, and made good way: so that when the Sunne was North, wee ghest that we had sayled sixteene miles Northward from that Iland.

The fourteenth, when the Sunne was North, we cast out our Lead one hundred and thirteene fathome deepe, but found no ground, and so sayled forward till the fifteenth of Iune, when the Sunne was South-east, with mistie and drisling weather, and sayled North, and North and by East: about Eeuening it cleared vp, and then we saw a great thing driuing in the Sea, which we thought had beene a Ship: but passing along by it, we perceiued it to bee a dead Whale, that stunke monstrously; and on it there sate a great number of Sea-mewes: At that time, wee had sayled twentie miles.

Dead Whale.

The sixteenth, with the like speed we sayled North and by East, with mistie weather; and as we sayled, we heard the Ice before we saw it: but after, when it cleared vp, we saw it, and then woond off from it, when as we ghest we had sayled thirtie miles. The seuenteenth and eighteenth, we saw great store of Ice, and sayled along by it, vntill we came to the point, which we could not reach, for that the wind was South-east, which was right against vs, & the point of Ice lay Southward from vs: yet wee lauered a great while to get beyond it, but we could not doe it. The nineteenth, we saw Land againe, then we tooke the height of the Sun, and found that it was eleuated aboue the Horizon 33. degrees and 37. minutes: her Declination being 23. degrees and 26. minutes: which taken from the sayd 33. degrees and 37. minutes, wee found that we were vnder 80. degrees and 11. minutes: which was the height of the Pole there. This Land was very great, and we sayled Westward along by it, till we were vnder 79. degrees and a halfe, where we found a good road, and could not get neare to the Land, because the winde blew North-east, which was right off from the Land: the Bay reacheth right North and South into the Sea.

80. Degrees and 11 minuts.

Another fight with a white Beare.

The twentie one, we cast out our Anchor, at eighteene fathome before the Land; and then we and *Iohn Cornelisons* men, rowed on the West-side of the Land, and there fetched Balast: and when we got on boord againe with our Balast, we saw a white Beare that swamme towards our ship; whereupon we left off our worke, and entering into the Boate with *Iohn Cornelisons* men, rowed after her, and crossing her in the way, droue her from the Land, wherewith she swamme further into the Sea, and we followed her; and for that our Boate could not make good way after her, we manned our Scute also, the better to follow her: but shee swam a mile into the Sea; yet we followed her with the most part of all our men of both Ships in three Boats, and strooke oftentimes at her, cutting and hewing her, so that all our Armes were most broken in pieces. During our fight with her, shee strooke her Clawes so hard in our Boate, that the signes thereof were seene in it; but as hap was, it was in the fore-head of our Boate: for if it had beene in the middle thereof, she had (peraduenture) ouer-throwne it, they haue such force in their Clawes: At last, after we had fought long with her, and made her wearie with our three Boates that kept about her, we ouercame her and killed her: which done, we brought her into our ship, and flayed her: her Skinne being thirteene foot long. After that, we rowed with our Scute, about a mile inward to the Land, where there was a good Hauen, and good Anchor ground, on the East-side being sandie, there wee cast out our Lead, and found sixteene fathom deepe, and after that, ten, and twelue fathome, and rowing further, we found that on the East-side there was two Ilands, that reached Eastward into the Sea: on the West-side also there was a great Creeke or Riuer, which shewed also like an Iland. Then we rowed to the Iland that lay in the middle, and there we found many Red Geese-egges, which we saw sitting vpon their Nests, and droue them from them, and they flying away, cryed, red, red, red: and as they sate we killed one Goose dead with a stone, which we dresst and eate, and at least sixtie Egges, that wee tooke with vs aboord the ship, and vpon the two and twentieth of Iune, we went aboord our ship againe.

Beares skin 13. foot long.

Red Geese Egges.

Red Geese breed their young Geese, vnder 80. Degrees in *Greenland*.

Those Geese were of a perfit Red colour, such as come into *Holland* about *Weiringen*, and euerie yeere are there taken in abundance, but till this time it was neuer knowne where they hatcht their Egges, so that some men haue taken vpon them to write, that they sit vpon Trees in *Scotland*, that hang ouer the Water, and such Egges as fall from them downe into the Water become young Geese, and swim there out of the water; but those that fall vpon the Land burst in sunder, and are lost: but this is now found to bee contrary, and it is not to be wondred at, that no man could tell where they breed their Egges, for that no man that euer wee knew, had euer beene vnder 80. Degrees: nor that Land vnder 80. degrees, was neuer set downe in any Card, much lesse the red Geese that breed therein.

Fable of Barnacles.

Note.

It is heere also to bee noted, that although that in this land which we esteeme to be *Greenland*,

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land, lying vnder 80. Degrees, and more, there groweth Leaues and Graſſe, and that there are ſuch Beaſts therein as eate graſſe, as Harts, Buckes, and ſuch like beaſts as liue thereon, yet in *Noua Zembla* vnder 76. Degrees, there groweth neither Leaues nor Graſſe, nor any Beaſts that eate graſſe or leaues liue therein; but ſuch Beaſts as eate Fleſh, as Beares and Foxes: and yet this Land lyeth full 4. Degrees from the North Pole, further then *Greenland* aforeſayd doth.

The three and twentieth, wee hoyſted Anchor againe, and ſayled North-weſtward into the Sea; but could get no further, by reaſon of the Ice; and ſo we came to the ſame place againe where we had layne, and caſt Anchor at eighteene fathome: and at Eeuening being at Anchor, the Sunne being North-eaſt, and ſomewhat more Eaſtward, wee tooke the height thereof, and found it to be eleuated aboue the Horizon 13. degrees and 10. minutes, his Declination being 23. degrees and 28. minutes: which ſubſtracted from the height aforeſaid, reſteth 10. degrees and 18. minutes, which being ſubſtracted from 90. degrees, then the height of the Pole there was 79. degrees and 42. minutes.

After that, we hoyſted Anchor againe, and ſayled along by the Weſt ſide of the Land, and then our men went on Land, to ſee how much the Needle of the Compaſſe varyed: Meane time there came a great white Beare ſwimming towards the Ship, and would haue climbed vp into it, if we had not made a noyſe; and with that wee ſhot at her with a Piece, but ſhe left the ſhip, and ſwam to the Land, where our men were: which we perceiuing, ſayled with our ſhip towards the Land, and gaue a great ſhout; wherewith our men thought that wee had fallen on a Rocke with our Ship, which made them much abaſhed; and therewith the Beare alſo being afraid, ſwamme off againe from the Land, and left our men, which made vs glad: for our men had no Weapons about them. Touching the varying of the Compaſſe, for the which cauſe our men went on Land, to trie the certaintie thereof: it was found to differ 16. Degrees.

Beare aſſaulted them.

Variation of the Compaſſe 16. Degrees.

The fiue and twentieth of Iune, we hoyſted Anchor againe, and ſayled along by the Land, and went South, and South South-weſt, with a North North-eaſt winde, vnder 79. degrees. There we found a great Creeke or Riuer, whereinto we ſayled ten miles at the leaſt, holding our courſe Southward; but we perceiued that there we could not get through: there we caſt out our Lead, and for the moſt part found 10. fathom deepe, but we were conſtrained to lauere out again, for the winde was Northerly, and almoſt full North, and we perceiued that it reached to the firme land, which we ſuppoſed to bee *Low-land*, for that wee could not ſee it any thing farre, and therefore we ſayled ſo neere vnto it, till that we might ſee it, and then we were forced to lauere, and vpon the ſeuen and twentieth of Iune we got out againe.

The eight and twentieth, we got beyond the point that lay on the Weſt ſide, where there was ſo great a number of Birds, that they flew againſt our Sayles, and wee ſayled ten miles Southward, and after that Weſt, to ſhun the Ice. The nine and twentieth, wee ſayled South-eaſt and ſomewhat more Eaſterly, along by the Land, till we were vnder 76. degrees and 50. minutes, for we were forced to put off from the Land, becauſe of the Ice. The thirtieth of Iune, wee ſayled South, and ſomewhat Eaſt, and then we tooke the height of the Sunne, and found that it was eleuated aboue the Horizon 38. degrees and 20. minutes, his Declination was 23. degrees and 20. minuts, which being taken from the former height, it was found that we were vnder 75. degrees.

Store of Birds.

The firſt of Iuly wee ſaw the *Beare*-Iland againe, and then *Iohn Corneliſon* and his Officers came aboord our ſhip, to ſpeake with vs about altering our courſe, but wee being of a contrary opinion, it was agreed that we ſhould follow on our courſe, and hee his: which was, that he (according to his deſire) ſhould ſayle vnto 80. Degrees againe: for he was of opinion, that there he ſhould finde a paſſage through, on the Eaſt ſide of the Land that lay vnder 80. Degrees. And vpon that agreement we left each other, they ſayling Northward, and wee Southward, becauſe of the Ice, the winde being Eaſt South-eaſt.

Iuly. *Cherie*-Iland.

They part companie.

The ſecond, we ſayled Eaſtward, and were vnder 74. degrees, hauing the wind North North-weſt, and then wee woond ouer another Bough, with an Eaſt North-eaſt winde, and ſayled Northward. In the Eeuening the Sunne being about North-weſt and by North, we woond about againe (becauſe of the Ice) with an Eaſt winde, and ſayled South South-eaſt, and about Eaſt South-eaſt, and then we woond about againe (becauſe of the Ice) and the Sunne being South South-weſt, we woond about againe, and ſayled North-eaſt. The third, we were vnder 74. degrees, hauing a South-eaſt and by Eaſt winde, and ſayled North-eaſt and by North: after that wee woond about againe with a South winde, and ſayled Eaſt South-eaſt, till the Sunne was North-weſt, then the winde began to be ſomewhat larger.

The eight, wee had a good North-weſt winde, and ſayled Eaſt and by North, with an indifferent cold gale of wind, and got vnder 72. degrees and 15. minutes. The ninth of Iuly, we went Eaſt and by North, the wind being Weſt. The tenth of Iuly, the Sunne being South South-weſt, we caſt out our Lead, and had ground at one hundred and ſixtie fathome, the wind being North-eaſt and by North, and we ſayled Eaſt and by South, vnder 72. degrees. The eleuenth, we found 70. fathome deepe, and ſaw no Ice, then wee gheſt that we were right South and North from *Dandinaes*, that is the Eaſt-point of the White-ſea, that lay Southward from vs, and had ſandie ground, and the banke ſtretched Northward into the Sea, ſo that we were out of doubt that we

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were vpon the banke of the White Sea, for wee had found no ſandie ground all the Coaſt along, but onely that banke. Then the wind being Eaſt and by South, we ſailed South, and South and by Eaſt, vnder 72. degrees, and after that, we had a South South-eaſt Wind, and ſayled North-eaſt to get ouer the Banke.

The thirteenth of Iuly, we ſayled Eaſt with a North North-eaſt wind: then wee tooke the height of the Sunne, and found it to be eleuated aboue the Horizon 54. degrees and 38. minutes, his declination was 21. degrees and 54. minutes, which taken from the height aforeſaid, the height of the Pole was found to bee 73. degrees, and then againe wee found Ice, but not very much, and we were of opinion, that we were by *Willoughbies* Land. The fourteenth, we ſayled North-eaſt, the wind being North North-weſt, and in that ſort ſayled about a dinner time, along through the Ice, and in the middle thereof we caſt out our Lead, and had ninety fathome deepe, in the next quarter wee caſt out our Lead againe, and had an hundred fathome deepe, and we ſayled ſo farre into the Ice, that wee could goe no further: for wee could ſee no place where it opened, but were forced (with great labour and paine) to lauere out of it againe, the wind blowing Weſt, and we were then vnder 74. degrees and 10. minutes:

Willoughbies Land conceited from ſome Maps.

The fifteenth, we draue through the middle of the Ice with a calme, and caſting out our Lead, had an hundred fathome deepe, at which time the wind being Eaſt, wee ſayled Weſt. The ſixteenth, we got out of the Ice, and ſaw a great Beare lying vpon it, that leaped into the water when ſhee ſaw vs: Wee made towards her with our ſhip, which ſhee perceiuing got vp vpon the Ice againe, wherewith wee ſhot once at her. Then wee ſayled Eaſt South-eaſt, and ſaw no Ice, gheſſing that we were not farre from *Noua Zembla*, becauſe we ſaw the Beare there vpon the Ice, at which time we caſt out our Lead, and found an hundred fathome deepe.

The ſeuenteenth, we tooke the height of the Sunne, and it was eleuated aboue the Horizon 37. degrees and 55. minutes, his declination was 21. degrees and 15. minutes, which taken from the height aforeſaid, the height of the Pole was 74. degrees and 40. minutes: and when the Sunne was in the South, we ſaw the Land of *Noua Zembla*, which was about *Lemſbay*: I was the firſt that eſpied it. Then we altered our courſe, and ſayled North-eaſt and by North, and hoyſed vp all our ſayles, except the Fore-ſayle and the Leſſen. The eighteenth, wee ſaw the Land againe, being vnder 75. degrees, and ſayled North-eaſt and by North, with a North-weſt wind, and we gate aboue the point of the *Admirals* Iland, and ſayled Eaſt North-eaſt, with a Weſt Wind, the Land reaching North-eaſt and by North. The nineteenth, wee came to the *Croſſe* Iland, and could get no further, by reaſon of the Ice, for there the Ice lay ſtill cloſe vpon the Land, at which time the wind was Weſt, and blew right vpon the Land, and it lay vnder 76. degrees and 20. minutes. There ſtood two Croſſes vpon the Land, whereof it had the Name.

Noua Zembla.

Admirals Iland.

Croſſe Iland in 76. degrees 20. minutes.

The twentieth, we anchored vnder the Iland, for we could get no further for the Ice. There we put out our Boat, and with eight men rowed on Land, and went to one of the Croſſes, where we reſted vs a while to goe to the next Croſſe, but being in the way wee ſaw two Beares by the other Croſſe, at which time we had no weapons at all about vs. The Beares roſe vp vpon their hinder feet to ſee vs (for they ſmell further then they ſee) and for that they ſmelt vs: therefore they roſe vpright, and came towards vs, wherewith we were not a little abaſhed, in ſuch ſort that we had little luſt to laugh, and in all haſte went to our Boat againe, ſtill looking behind vs, to ſee if they followed vs, thinking to get into the Boat, and ſo put off from the Land: but the Maſter ſtayed vs, ſaying, hee that firſt beginnes to runne away, I will thruſt this Hake-ſtaffe (which he then held in his hand) into his ribs; for it is better for vs (ſaid hee) to ſtay all together, and ſee if we can make them afraid with whooping and hollowing; and ſo we went ſoftly towards the Boat, and got away, glad that we had eſcaped their clawes, and that we had the leaſure to tell our fellowes thereof.

Two Beares. Their ſent.

The one and twentieth we tooke the height of the Sunne, and found that it was eleuated aboue the Horizon 35. degrees and 15. minutes, his declination was 21. degrees, which being taken from the height aforeſaid, there reſted 14. degrees, which ſubſtracted from 90. degrees, then the height of the Pole was found to be 76. degrees and 15. minutes, then we found the variation of the Compaſſe to bee 26. degrees. The ſame day two of our men went againe to the Croſſe, and found no Beares to trouble vs, and wee followed them with our Armes, fearing leaſt wee might meet any by chance, and when we came to the ſecond Croſſe, we found the foot-ſteps of two Beares, and ſaw how long they had followed vs, which was one hundred foot-ſteps at the leaſt, that way that we had beene the day before. The two and twentieth being Munday, wee ſet vp another Croſſe, and made our Marke thereon: and lay there before the Croſſe Iland, till the fourth of Auguſt, meane time we waſht and whited our Linnen on the ſhoare.

Variation 26. degrees, perhaps 16.

The thirtieth, the Sunne being North, there came a Beare ſo neere to our ſhip, that we might hit her with a ſtone, and we ſhot her into the foot with a Piece, wherewith ſhee ranne halting away. The one and thirtieth of Iuly, the Sunne being Eaſt North-eaſt, ſeuen of our men killed a Beare, and flayed her, and caſt her bodie into the Sea. The ſame day at noone (by our Inſtrument) we found the variation of the Needle of the Compaſſe to be 17. degrees.

The

The firſt of Auguſt we ſaw a white Beare, but ſhe ran away from vs. The fourth, we got out of the Ice, to the other ſide of the Iland, and anchored there: where, with great labour and much paine, we fetched a Boat full of ſtones from the Land. The fifth, wee ſet ſayle againe towards Ice-point, with an Eaſt Wind, and ſayled South South-eaſt, and then North North-eaſt, and ſaw no Ice by the Land, by the which we lauered. The ſixth, we gate about the point of *Naſſaw*, and ſayled forward Eaſt, and Eaſt and by South, along by the Land. Auguſt. Point *Naſſaw.*

The ſeuenth, we had a Weſt South-weſt Wind, and ſayled along by the Land, South-eaſt, and South-eaſt and by Eaſt, and ſaw but a little Ice, and then paſt by the *Truſt*-point, which we had much longed for: at Eeuening we had an Eaſt Wind, with miſtie Weather, ſo that we were forced to make our ſhip faſt to a piece of Ice, that was at leaſt thirtie ſixe fathome deepe vnder the water, and more then ſixteene fathome aboue the water: which in all was two and fifty fathome thick, for it lay faſt vpon ground, the which was thirtie ſixe fathome deepe. The eight in the morning we had an Eaſt Wind, with miſtie Weather. *Truſt*-point. Ice 52. fathom deepe.

The ninth, lying ſtill faſt to the great piece of Ice, it ſnowed hard, and it was miſtie weather, and when the Sunne was South, we went vpon the Hatches (for we alwayes held watch) where as the Maſter walked along the ſhip, he heard a beaſt ſnuffe with his noſe, and looking ouer-boord, he ſaw a great Beare hard by the ſhip, where hee cryed out, *a Beare, a Beare*; and with that all our men came vp from vnder Hatches, and ſaw a great Beare hard by our Boat, ſeeking to get into it, but we giuing a great ſhout, ſhe was afraid, and ſwamme away, but preſently came backe againe, and went behind a great piece of Ice, whereunto we had made our ſhip faſt, and climbed vpon it, and boldly came towards our ſhip to enter into it: but we had torne our Scute Sayle in the ſhip, and lay with foure Peeces before at the Boot-ſprit, and ſhot her in the bodie: and with that, ſhee ranne away; but it ſnowed ſo faſt that wee could not ſee whither ſhee went: but wee gheſt that ſhee lay behind a high Hoouell; whereof there were many vpon the piece of Ice. Snow. Beares aſſault.

The tenth, being Saturday, the Ice began mightily to breake, and then wee firſt perceiued that the great piece of Ice whereunto we had made our ſhip faſt, lay on the ground; for the reſt of the Ice draue along by it, wherewith wee were in great feare that wee ſhould bee compaſſed about with the Ice, and therefore we vſed all the diligence and meanes that we could to get from thence, for we were in great doubt: and being vnder ſayle, wee ſayled vpon the Ice, becauſe it was all broken vnder vs, and got to another piece of Ice; whereunto we made our ſhip faſt againe with our Sheate Anchor, which we made faſt vpon it; and there we lay till Eeuening: and when we had ſupped, in the firſt quarter, the ſaid piece of Ice began on a ſudden to burſt and rend in pieces, ſo fearefully that it was admirable; for with one great cracke it burſt into foure hundred pieces at the leaſt: we lying faſt to it, weighed our Cable, and got off from it, vnder the water it was ten fathome deepe, and lay vpon the ground, and two fathome aboue the Water; and it made a fearefull noyſe both vnder and aboue the Water when it burſt, and ſpread it ſelfe abroad on all ſides. And being with great feare, gotten from that piece of Ice, wee came to another piece, that was ſix fathome deepe vnder the Water: to which wee made a Rope faſt on both ſides. Then wee ſaw another great piece of Ice, not farre from vs, lying faſt in the Sea, that was as ſharpe aboue, as it had beene a Tower; whereunto wee rowed: and caſting out our Lead, we found that it lay twentie fathome deepe, faſt on the ground vnder the Water, and twelue fathome aboue the Water. Icie thunder.

The eleuenth being Sunday, we rowed to another piece of Ice, and caſt out our Lead, and found that it lay eighteene fathome deepe faſt to the ground vnder the Water, and ten fathome aboue the water. The twelfth, wee ſayled neere vnder the Land, the better to ſhunne the Ice, for the great flakes that draue in the Sea, were many fathome deepe vnder the Water, and we were better defended from them being at foure and fiue fathome Water, and there ranne a great current of water from the Hill. There we made our ſhip faſt againe to a piece of Ice, and called that point, *The ſmall Ice point.*

The thirteenth in the morning, there came a Beare from the Eaſt point of the Land, cloſe to our ſhip, and one of our men with a Peece ſhot at her, and brake one of her legs, but ſhe crept vp the Hill with her three feet, and we following her, killed her, and hauing flayed her, brought the skinne aboord the ſhip. From thence wee ſet ſayle, with a little gale of Winde, and were forced to lauere, but after, that it began to blow more out of the South, and South South-eaſt. Beare killed.

The fifteenth, we came to the Iland of *Orange*, where we were incloſed with the Ice, hard by a great piece of Ice where we were in great danger to loſe our ſhip, but with great labour and much paine, we got to the Iland, the Wind being South-eaſt, whereby we were conſtrayned to turne our ſhip, and while we were buſied thereabouts, and made ſuch noyſe, a Beare that lay there and ſlept, awaked, and came towards vs to the ſhip, ſo that wee were forced to leaue our Worke about turning of the ſhip, and to defend our ſelues againſt the Beare, and ſhot her into the bodie, wherewith ſhe ranne away to the other ſide of the Iland, and ſwamme into the water, and got vp vpon a piece of Ice, where ſhe lay ſtill, but we comming after her to the piece of Ice where ſhe lay, when ſhe ſaw vs, ſhe leapt into the water, and ſwamme to the Land: but we got betweene her and the Land, and ſtrooke her on the head with a Hatchet, but as often as wee *Orange* Iland.

ſtrooke

ſtrooke at her with the Hatchet, ſhe duckt vnder the water, whereby wee had much to doe before we could kill her: after ſhe was dead we flayed her on the Land, and tooke the skinne aboord with vs, and after that, turned our ſhippe to a great piece of Ice, and made it faſt thereunto.

The ſixteenth, ten of our men entring into one Boat, rowed to the firme Land of *Noua Zembla*, and drew the Boat vp vpon the Ice, which done, we went vp a high Hill, to ſee the ſituation of the Land, and found that it reached South-eaſt, and South South-eaſt, and then againe South, which wee diſliked, for that it lay ſo much Southward: but when wee ſaw open water South-eaſt, and Eaſt South-eaſt, we were much comforted againe, thinking that we had wonne our Voyage and knew not how we ſhould get ſoone enough aboord, to certifie *William Barents* thereof.

The eighteenth, we made preparation to ſet ſayle, but it was all in vaine: for wee had almoſt loſt our Sheat Anchor, and two new Ropes, and with much loſt labour got to the place againe from whence wee came: for the ſtreame ranne with a mightie current, and the Ice draue very ſtrongly vpon the Cables, along by the ſhip, ſo that we were in feare that wee ſhould loſe all the Cable that was without the ſhip, which was two hundred fathome at the leaſt, but God prouided well for vs, ſo that in the end, we got to the place againe from whence we put out.

Point *Deſire*. The nineteenth it was indifferent good weather, the Wind blowing South-weſt, the Ice ſtill driuing, and wee ſet ſayle with an indifferent gale of Wind, and paſt by the point of *Deſire*, whereby we were once againe in good hope, and when we had gotten aboue the point, we ſailed South-eaſt into the Sea-ward, foure miles, but then againe wee entred into more Ice, whereby wee were conſtrayned to turne backe againe, and ſayled North-weſt vntill we came to the Land againe, which reacheth from the point of *Deſire*, to the head point, South and by Weſt ſix miles: from the head point to *Fluſhingers* head, it reacheth South-weſt, which are three miles one from the other: from the *Fluſhingers* head, it reacheth into the Sea, Eaſt South-eaſt, and from *Fluſhingers* head to the point of the Iland, it reacheth South-weſt, and by South, and South-weſt three miles: and from the Iland point, to the point of the Ice Hauen, the Land reacheth Weſt South-weſt foure miles: from the Ice Hauens point to the fal of Water, or the ſtreame Bay, and the low Land, it reacheth Weſt and by South, and Eaſt and by North ſeuen miles: from thence the Land reacheth Eaſt and Weſt.

The one and twentieth, we ſayled a great way into the Ice Hauen, and that night anchored therein: next day the ſtreame going exreame hard Eaſtward, wee haled out againe from thence, and ſayled againe to the Iland point, but for that it was miſty Weather, comming to a piece of Ice, wee made the ſhip faſt thereunto, becauſe the Wind beganne to blow hard South-weſt and South South-weſt. There we went vp vpon the Ice, and wondred much thereat, it was ſuch manner of Ice: For on the top it was full of Earth, and there wee found aboue fortie Egges, and it was not like other Ice, for it was of a perfect Azure colour like to the Skies, whereby there grew great contention in words amongſt our men, ſome ſaying that it was Ice, others that it was frozen Land: for it lay vnreaſonable high aboue the Water, it was at leaſt eighteene fathom vnder the water cloſe to the ground, and ten fathome aboue the water: there wee ſtayed all that ſtorme, the Wind being South-weſt and by Weſt. The three and twentieth, wee ſayled againe from the Ice, South-eaſtward into the Sea, but entred preſently into it againe, and woond about to the Ice Hauen. The next day it blew hard North North-weſt, and the Ice came mightily driuing in, whereby we were in a manner compaſſed about therewith, and withall the Wind beganne more and more to riſe, and the Ice ſtill draue harder and harder, ſo that the pinne of the Rother, and the Rother were ſhorne in pieces, and our Boat was ſhorne in pieces betweene the ſhip and the Ice, we expecting nothing elſe, but that the ſhip alſo would be preſt and cruſht in pieces with the Ice.

Earth on the top of Azure Ice.

Boat broken with Ice.

The fiue and twentieth, the Weather began to be better, and we tooke great paines, and beſtowed much labour to get the Ice, wherewith we were ſo incloſed, to goe from vs, but what meanes ſoeuer we vſed it was all in vaine, but when the Sunne was South-weſt, the Ice began to driue out againe with the ſtreame, and we thought to ſaile Southward about *Noua Zembla*, to the Streights of *Mergates*, ſeeing we could there find no paſſage. Wee hauing paſt *Noua Zembla*, were of opinion that our labour was all in vaine, and that we could not get through, and ſo agreed to goe that way home againe; but comming to the *Streame Bay*, wee were forced to goe backe againe, becauſe of the Ice which lay ſo faſt thereabouts, and the ſame night alſo it froze, that wee could hardly get through there, with the little wind that we had, the Wind then being North.

The ſix and twentieth, there blew a reaſonable gale of Wind, at which time wee determined to ſayle backe to the *point of Deſire*, and ſo home againe, ſeeing that wee could not get through the *Wergats*, although we vſed all the meanes and induſtry wee could to get forward, but when we had paſt by the *Ice Hauen*, the Ice began to driue with ſuch force, that wee were incloſed round about therewith, and yet we ſought all the meanes we could to get out, but it was all in vaine: and at that time we had like to haue loſt three men that were vpon the Ice to make way for the ſhip, if the Ice had held the courſe it went, but as we draue backe againe, and that the

Incloſed with Ice.

Ice

Ice also whereon our men stood, in like sort draue, they being nimble, as the ship draue by them, one of them caught hold of the beak head, another vpon the shrouds, and the third vpon the great brase that hung out behind, and so by great aduenture by the hold that they tooke, they got safe into the ship againe, for which they thanked God with all their hearts: for it was much likelier that they should rather haue beene carried away with the Ice, but God, by the nimblenesse of their hands, deliuered them out of that danger which was a pitifull thing to behold, although it fell out for the best, for if they had not beene nimble, they had surely dyed for it. The same day in the euening, wee got to the West-side of the *Ice Hauen*, where wee were forced in great cold, pouertie, miserie, and griefe, to stay all that Winter, the winde then beeing East North-east. Escape of three men.

The seuen and twentieth, the Ice draue round about the ship, and yet it was good weather, at which time we went on Land, and being there it began to blow South-east, with a reasonable gale, and then the Ice came with great force before the bough, and draue the ship vp foure foot high before, and behind it seemed as if the keele lay on the ground, so that it seemed that the ship would be ouerthrowne in the place, whereupon they that were in the ship, put out the Boat, therewith to saue their liues, and withall put out a flagge to make a signe to vs, to come aboard: which we perceiuing, and beholding the ship to be lifted vp in that sort, made all the haste we could to get aboord, thinking that the ship was burst in pieces, but comming vnto it, we found it to be in better case then we thought it had beene. Ship lifted vp, and beset with Ice.

The eight and twentieth, we got some of the Ice from it, and the ship beganne to sit vpright againe, but before it was fully vpright, as *William Barents* and the other Pilot went forward to the bough to see how the ship lay, and how much it was risen; and while they were busie vpon their knees and elbowes to measure how much it was, the ship burst out of the Ice with such a noise, and so great a cracke, that they thought verily that they were all cast away, knowing not how to saue themselues. Another danger.

The nine and twentieth, the ship lying vpright againe, wee vsed all the meanes wee could, with Iron hookes and other instruments, to breake the flakes of Ice that lay one heaped vpon the other, but all in vaine; so that we determined to commit our selues to the mercy of God, and to attend aide from him, for that the Ice draue not away in any such sort that it could helpe vs. The thirtieth, the Ice began to driue together one vpon the other with greater force then before, and bare against the ship with a boystrous South-west winde, and a great snow, so that all the whole ship was borne vp and enclosed, whereby all that was both about it and in it, began to cracke, so that it seemed to burst in an hundred pieces, which was most fearefull both to see and heare, and made all the haire of our heads to rise vpright with feare: and after that, the ship (by the Ice on both sides that ioyned and got vnder the same) was driuen so vpright, in such sort, as if it had beene lifted vp with a Wrench or Vice.

The one and thirtieth of August, by force of the Ice, the ship was driuen vp foure or fiue foot high at the beake head, and the hinder part thereof lay in a clift of Ice, whereby wee thought that the Rother would bee freed from the force of the flakes of Ice, but notwithstanding, it brake in pieces staffe and all: and if that the hinder part of the ship had beene in the Ice that draue, as well as the fore part was, then all the ship would haue beene driuen wholly vpon the Ice, or possibly haue runne on ground, and for that cause wee were in great feare, and set our Scutes and our Boat out vpon the Ice, if need were, to saue our selues, but within foure houres after, the Ice draue away of it selfe, wherewith wee were exceeding glad, as if wee had saued our liues, for that the ship was then on flote againe, and vpon that we made a new Rother and a Staffe, and hung the Rother out vpon the hookes, that if we chanced to bee borne vpon the Ice againe, as we had beene, it might so be freed from it. Rother broken

The first of September being Sunday, while we were at prayer, the Ice began to gather together againe, so that the ship was lifted vp two foot at the least, but the Ice brake not. The same euening the Ice continued in that sort still driuing and gathering together, so that we made preparation to draw our Scute and the Boat ouer the Ice vpon the Land, the wind then blowing South-east. The second, it snowed hard with a North-east wind, and the ship began to rise vp higher vpon the Ice, at which time the Ice burst and crackt with great force, so that wee were of opinion to carrie our Scute on Land in that foule weather, with thirteene barrels of Bread, and two hogsheads of Wine, to sustaine our selues if need were. September.

The third, it blew hard but snowed not so much, the wind being North North-east, at which time we began to be loose from the Ice, whereunto wee lay fast, so that the Scheck broke from the Steuen, but the plankes wherewith the ship was lined, held the Scheck fast, and made it hang on, but the Boutloose and a new Cable (if we had fallen vpon the Ice) brake by forcible pressing of the Ice, but held fast againe in the Ice, and yet the ship was staunch; which was wonder, in regard that the Ice draue so hard, and in great heapes, as big as the Salt-hils that are in *Spaine*, and within a Harquebusse shot of the ship, betweene the which wee lay in great feare and anguish.

The fourth, the weather began to cleare vp, and we saw the Sunne, but it was very cold, the wind

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wind being North-eaſt we being forced to lie ſtill. The fift, it was faire Sun-ſhine weather, and very calme, and at euening when we had ſupped, the Ice compaſſed about vs againe, and wee were hard encloſed therewith, the ſhip beginning to lie vpon the one ſide, and leaked ſore, but by Gods grace it became ſtaunch againe, wherewith we were wholly in feare to loſe the ſhip, it was in ſo great danger: at which time wee tooke counſell together, and carried our old ſocke Sayle, with Powder, Lead, Peeces, Muskets, and other furniture on Land, to make a Tent about our Scute that we had drawne vpon the Land, and at that time we carried ſome Bread, and Wine on Land alſo, with ſome Timber, therewith to mend our Boat, that it might ſerue vs in time of need.

The ſixt, it was indifferent faire Sea-weather, and Sun-ſhine, the wind being Weſt, whereby we were ſomewhat comforted, hoping that the Ice would driue away, and that wee might get from thence againe. The ſeuenth, it was indifferent weather againe, but we perceiued no opening of the water, but to the contrary, it lay hard encloſed with Ice, and no water at all about the ſhip, no not ſo much as a bucket full. The ſame day, fiue of our men went on Land, but two of them came backe againe, the other three went forward about two miles into the Land, and there found a Riuer of ſweet water, where alſo they found great ſtore of Wood that had beene driuen thither, and there they found the footſteps of Harts and Hinds, as they thought, for they were clouen footed, ſome greater footed then others, which made them iudge them to be ſo.

Riuer of freſh water, and Wood.

The eight, it blew hard Eaſt North-eaſt, which was a right contrary wind to doe vs any good, touching the carrying away of the Ice, ſo that we were ſtill faſter in the Ice, which put vs in no ſmall diſcomfort. The ninth, it blew North-eaſt, with a little ſnow, whereby our ſhip was wholly encloſed with Ice, for the wind draue the Ice hard againſt it, ſo that we lay three or foure foot deepe in the Ice, and our Sheck in the after Steuen, brake in pieces, and the ſhip began to be ſomewhat looſe before, but yet it was not much hurt. In the night time, two Beares came cloſe to our ſhip ſide, but we ſounded our Trumpet, and ſhot at them, but hit them not, becauſe it was darke, and they ranne away. The tenth, the weather was ſomewhat better, becauſe the wind blew not ſo hard, and yet all one wind.

The eleuenth, it was calme weather, and eight of vs went on Land, euery man armed, to ſee if that were true as our other three companions had ſaid, that there lay Wood about the Riuer, for that ſeeing we had ſo long woond and turned about, ſometime in the Ice, and then againe got out, and thereby were compelled to alter our courſe, and at laſt ſaw that we could not get out of the Ice, but rather became faſter, and could not looſe our ſhip, as at other times we had done, as alſo that it began to be Winter, we tooke counſell together what we were beſt to doe, according to the time, that we might winter there, and attend ſuch aduenture as God would ſend vs: and after we had debated vpon the matter (to keepe and defend our ſelues both from the cold, and wilde beaſts) we determined to build a houſe vpon the Land, to keepe vs therein as well as wee could, and ſo to commit our ſelues vnto the tuition of God, and to that end we went further into the Land, to find out the conuenienteſt place in our opinions, to raiſe our houſe vpon, and yet we had not much ſtuffe to make it withall, in regard that there grew no trees, nor any other thing in that Countrey conuenient to build it withall: but wee leauing no occaſion vnſought, as our men went abroad to view the Countrey, and to ſee what good fortune might happen vnto vs, at laſt we found an vnexpected comfort in our need, which was, that we found certaine trees roots and all, (as our three companions had ſaid before) which had beene driuen vpon the ſhoare, either from *Tartaria*, *Muſcouia*, or elſe where; for there was none growing vpon that Land, wherewith (as if God had purpoſely ſent them vnto vs) we were much comforted, being in good hope that God would ſhew vs ſome further fauour: for that Wood ſerued vs not onely to build our houſe, but alſo to burne, and ſerue vs all the Winter long, otherwiſe without all doubt, we had died there miſerably with extreme cold.

Ship faſtned in Ice.

They determine to winter there.

How God in our extremeſt need, when we were forced to lie all the Winter vpon the Land, ſent vs Wood to make vs a houſe, and to ſerue vs to burne in the cold Winter.

The twelfth, it was calme weather, and then our men went vnto the other ſide of the Land, to ſee if they could find any Wood neerer vnto vs, but there was none. The thirteenth, it was calme but very miſty weather, ſo that we could doe nothing, becauſe it was dangerous for vs to goe into the Land, in regard that we could not ſee the wilde Beares, and yet they could ſmell vs, for they ſmell better then they ſee. The fourteenth, it was cleare Sun-ſhine weather, but very cold, and then we went into the Land, and layed the Wood in heapes one vpon the other, that it might not bee couered ouer with the Snow, and from thence meant to carrie it to the place where we intended to build our houſe.

Three Beares.

The fifteenth in the morning, as one of our men held watch, we ſaw three Beares, whereof the one lay ſtill behind a piece of Ice, the other two came cloſe to the ſhip; which wee perceiuing, made our Peeces ready to ſhoot at them, at which time there ſtood a Tub full of Beefe vpon the Ice, which lay in the water to be ſeaſoned, for that cloſe by the ſhip there was no water: one of the Beares went vnto it, and put in his head to take out a piece of the Beefe, but ſhe fared therewith as the Dog did with the Pudding, for as ſhe was ſnatching at the Beefe, ſhee was ſhot into the head, wherewith ſhe fell downe dead, and neuer ſtirred: the other Beare ſtood ſtill, and looked vpon her fellow, and when ſhee had ſtood a good while, ſhee ſmelt her fellow,

and

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and perceiuing that ſhe was dead, ſhee ran away, but wee tooke Halberts and other Armes with vs, and followed her, and at laſt ſhe came againe towards vs, and we prepared our ſelues to withſtand her, wherewith ſhe roſe vp vpon her hinder feet, thinking to rampe at vs, but while ſhee reared her ſelfe vp, one of our men ſhot her into the bellie, and with that ſhe fell vpon her fore-feet againe, and roaring as loud as ſhe could, ran away. Then we tooke the dead Beare, and ript her bellie open; and taking out her guts, we ſet her vpon her fore-feet, that ſo ſhe might freeze as ſhee ſtood, intending to carrie her with vs into *Holland*, if wee might get our ſhip looſe, and when we had ſet the Beare vpon her foure feet, we began to make a Sled, thereon to draw the Wood to the place where we went to build our houſe, at that time it froze two fingers thicke in the ſalt water, and it was exceeding cold, the wind blowing North-eaſt.

It freezeth in the ſalt water two fingers thicke in a night.

The ſixteenth, the Sunne ſhone, but towards the euening it was miſty, the wind being Eaſterly, at which time we went to fetch Wood with our Sleds, and then wee drew foure beames aboue a mile vpon the Ice and the Snow, that night againe it froze aboue two fingers thicke. The ſeuenteenth, thirteene of vs went where the Wood lay with our Sleds, and ſo drew fiue and fiue in a Sled, and the other three helped to lift the Wood behind, to make vs draw the better, and with more eaſe, and in that manner we drew Wood twice a day, and laid it on a heape by the place where we meant to build our houſe.

The three and twentieth, wee fetcht more Wood to build our houſe, which wee did twice a day, but it grew to be miſty and ſtill weather againe, the wind blowing Eaſt, and Eaſt North-eaſt, that day our Carpenter being of *Purmerlant* died, as wee came aboord about euening. The foure and twentieth, we buried him vnder the ſedges, in the clift of a hill, hard by the water, for we could not dig vp the earth, by reaſon of the great froſt and cold, and that day wee went twice with our Sleds to fetch Wood.

The fiue and twentieth, it was darke wether, the wind blowing Weſt, & Weſt South-weſt, and South-weſt, and the Ice began ſomwhat to open, and driue away; but it continued not long, for that hauing driuen about the length of the ſhot of a great Peece, it lay three fathoms deepe vpon the ground: and where we lay the Ice draue not, for we lay in the middle of the Ice; but if we had layne in the mayne Sea, we would haue hoyſed ſayle, although it was then late in the yeere. The ſame day we rayſed vp the principles of our houſe, and began to worke hard thereon, but if the ſhip had beene looſe, we would haue left our building, and haue made our after Steuen of our ſhip, that we might haue beene ready to ſayle away if it had beene poſſible.

Houſe builded.

The ſixe and twentieth, wee had a Weſt wind and an open Sea, but our ſhip lay faſt, wherewith we were not a little grieued, but it was Gods will, which we moſt patiently bare, and wee began to make vp our houſe, part of our men fetched Wood to burne, the reſt played the Carpenters: and were buſie about the houſe, as then we were ſixteene men in all, for our Carpenter was dead, and of our ſixteene men there was ſtill one or other ſicke. The ſeuen and twentieth, it blew hard North-eaſt, and it froze ſo hard, that as we put a nayle into our mouthes (as when men worke Carpenters worke they vſe to doe) there would Ice hang thereon when we tooke it out againe, and make the bloud follow: the ſame day there came an old Beare and a young one towards vs, as we were going to our houſe, being all together (for we durſt not goe alone) which we thought to ſhoot at, but ſhe ran away, at which time the Ice came forcibly driuing in, and it was faire Sun-ſhine weather, but ſo extreme cold, that we could hardly worke, but extremity forced vs thereunto.

Hard and violent froſt.

The eight and twentieth, it was faire weather, and the Sunne ſhone, the Wind being Weſt and very calme, the Sea as then being open, but our ſhip lay faſt in the Ice and ſtirred not; the ſame day there came a Beare to the ſhip, but when ſhe eſpyed vs, ſhe ranne away, and we made as much haſte as wee could to build our Houſe. The nine and twentieth in the morning, the Wind was Weſt, and after-noone it blew Northerly, and then wee ſaw three Beares betweene vs and the Houſe, an old one and two young; but we notwithſtanding drew our goods from the ſhip to the Houſe, and ſo got before the Beares, and yet they followed vs: neuertheleſſe, we would not ſhun the way for them, but hollowed out as loud as we could, thinking that they would haue gone away, but they would not once goe out of their foot-path, but got before vs, wherewith we and they that were at the houſe, made a great noyſe, which made the Beares run away, and we were not a little glad thereof. The thirtieth the Wind was Eaſt, and Eaſt South-eaſt, and all that night and the next day it ſnowed ſo faſt, that our men could fetch no Wood, it lay ſo cloſe and high one vpon the other: then wee made a great fire without the Houſe, therewith to thaw the ground, that ſo we might lay it about the Houſe, that it might bee the cloſer; but it was all loſt labour, for the Earth was ſo hard, and frozen ſo deepe into the ground, that wee could not thaw it, and it would haue coſt vs too much Wood, and therefore wee were forced to leaue off that labour.

Ground not to be thawed.

§. II.

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§. II.

Their cold, comfortleſſe, darke and dreadfull Winter: the Sunnes abſence, Moones light, Sunnes vnexpected returne with miraculous ſpeed. Of Beares, Foxes, and many many Wonders.

THe firſt of October, the Wind blew ſtiffe North-eaſt, and after-noone it blew North, with a great ſtorme, and drift of Snow, whereby wee could hardly goe in the Wind, and a man could hardly draw his breath, the Snow draue ſo hard in our faces, at which time we could not ſee two ſhips length from vs. The ſecond before noone, the Sunne ſhone, and after noone it was cloudie againe, and it ſnew, but the vveather was ſtill, the Wind being North, and then South, and vvee ſet vp our Houſe, and vpon it wee placed a May-pole made of frozen Snow.

May-pole of Snow.

The third before noone, it was calme Sun-ſhine vveather, but ſo cold, that it was hard to bee indured, and after-noone it blew hard out of the Weſt, vvith ſo great extreme cold, that if it had continued, we ſhould haue beene forced to leaue our vvorke. The fourth, the Wind was Weſt, and after-noone North, with great ſtore of Snow, vvhereby vve could not vvorke: at that time vve brought our Anchor vpon the Ice to lye the faſter, vvhen vvee lay but an Arrovv ſhot from the Water, the Ice was ſo much driuen away.

The fifth it blevv hard North-weſt, and the Sea vvas very open and vvithout Ice, as farre as vve could diſcerne, but vve lay ſtill frozen as vve did before, and our ſhip lay two or three foot deepe in the Ice, and vvee could not perceiue otherwiſe, but that vvee lay faſt vpon the ground, and then it vvas three fathome and a halfe deepe. The ſame day vve brake vp the lower deck of the fore-part of our ſhip, and vvith thoſe Deales vve couered our Houſes, and made it ſlope ouer head, that the Water might runne off, at vvhich time it vvas very cold. The ſixth, it blew hard Weſt South-weſt, but towards Eeuening, Weſt North-weſt, with a great Snow, that wee could hardly thruſt our heads out of the doore, by reaſon of the great cold. The ſeuenth, it was indifferent good weather, but yet very cold, and wee calked our Houſe, and brake the ground about it at the foot thereof: that day the Wind went round about the Compaſſe.

Extreme Snow

The eight, all the night before it blew ſo hard, and the ſame day alſo, and ſnowed ſo faſt, that we ſhould haue ſmothered, if we had gone out into the Ayre; and to ſpeake truth, it had not beene poſſible for any man to haue gone one ſhips length, though his life had layen thereon: for it was not poſſible for vs to goe out of the Houſe or ſhip. The ninth, the Wind ſtill continued North, and blew and ſnowed hard, all that day the Wind as then blowing from the Land, ſo that all that day we were forced to ſtay in the ſhip, the weather was ſo foule.

Hence it may ſeeme, that the courſe of the Tides and Sea is from the North.

The tenth, the weather was ſomewhat fairer, and the Wind calmer, and blew South-weſt, and Weſt, and South-weſt, and that time the Water flowed two foote higher then ordinary, which we gheſt to proceed from the firſt North-wind, which as then had blowne. The ſame day the weather began to be ſomewhat better, ſo that we began to go out of our ſhip againe: and as one of our men went out, he chanced to meet a Beare, and was almoſt at him before hee knew it, but preſently he ranne backe againe towards the ſhip, and the Beare after him; but the Beare comming to the place where before we had killed another Beare, and ſet her vpright, and there let her freeze (which was couered ouer with Ice, and yet one of her pawes reached about it) ſhee ſtood ſtill, whereby our man got before her, and climbed vp into the ſhip, in great feare, crying, *A Beare, a Beare*; which we hearing, came aboue Hatches to looke on her, and to ſhoot at her, but we could not ſee her, by meanes of the exceeding great ſmoke, that had ſo ſore tormented vs (while we lay vnder Hatches) in the foule weather which we would not haue indured for any money, but by reaſon of the cold and ſnowie weather, wee were conſtrayned to doe it, if wee would ſaue our liues, for aloft in the ſhip we muſt vndoubtedly haue died: the Beare ſtayed not long there, but ranne away, the Wind then being North-eaſt. The ſame day about Eeuening, it was faire weather, and we went out of our ſhip to the Houſe, and carried the greateſt part of our Bread thither.

The eleuenth, it was calme waether, the Wind being South, and ſomewhat warme, and then we carried our Wine and other Victuals on Land: and as we were hoyſing the Wine ouer-boord, there came a Beare towards our ſhip, that had layen behind a piece of Ice, and it ſeemed that we had waked her with the noyſe we made: for wee had ſeene her lye there, but wee thought her to be a piece of Ice; but as ſhe came neere vs, we ſhot at her, and ſhe ranne away, ſo we proceeded in our worke. The twelfth, it blew North, and ſomewhat Weſterly, and then halfe of our men kept in the Houſe, and that was the firſt time that we lay in it, but wee indured great cold, becauſe our Cabins were not made; and beſides that wee had not Clothes enough, and we could keepe no fire becauſe our Chimney was not made, whereby it ſmoked exceedingly.

The thirteenth, the Wind was North and North-weſt, and it began againe to blow hard, and then

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then three of vs went aboord the ship, and laded a Sled with Beere, but when wee had laden it, thinking to goe to our House with it, suddenly there rose such a Wind, and so great a storme and cold, that wee were forced to goe into the ship againe, because wee were not able to stay without, and wee could not get the Beere into the ship againe, but were forced to let it stand without vpon the Sled: being in the ship, wee indured extreame cold, because wee had but a few clothes in it.

The fourteenth, as wee came out of the ship, wee found the Barrell of Beere standing vpon the Sled, but it was fast frozen at the heads, yet by reason of the great cold, the Beere that purged out, froze as hard vpon the side of the Barrell as if it had bene glued thereon, and in that sort wee drew it to our House, and set the Barrell an end, and dranke it first vp, but wee were forced to melt the Beere, for there was scant any vnfrozen Beere in the Barrell, but in that thicke Yeast that was vnfrozen lay the strength of the Beere, so that it was too strong to drinke alone, and that which was frozen tasted like water, and being melted we mixt one with the other, and so dranke it, but it had neither strength nor taste. Beere melted.

The fifteenth, the Wind blew North and East, and East South-east, that day we made place to set vp our doore, and shoueled the Snow away. The eighteenth, the Wind blew hard East South-east, and then we fetched our Bread out of the Scute which wee had drawne vp vpon the Land, and the Wine also which as then was not much frozen, and yet it had layne sixe Weekes therein, and not withstanding that it had oftentimes frozen very hard. The same day wee saw another Beare, and then the Sea was so couered ouer with Ice, that wee could see no open water. Sea couered with Ice.

The nineteenth, the Wind blew North-east, and then there was but two men and a Boy in the ship, at which time there came a Beare that sought forcibly to get into the ship, although the two men shot at her with pieces of Wood, and yet she ventured vpon them, whereby they were in an extreame feare, each of them seeking to saue themselues, the two men leapt into the Ballast, and the Boy climbed into the foot Mast top, to saue their liues, meane time, some of our men shot at her with a Musket, and then shee ranne away. The twentieth, it was calme Sunne-shine weather, and then againe wee saw the Sea open, at which time wee went on boord to fetch the rest of our Beere out of the ship, where wee found some of the Barrels frozen in pieces, and the Iron hoopes that were vpon the Iosam Barrels were also frozen in pieces. Beare assaults the ship. Barrels and Iron hoopes broken with Ice.

The two and twentieth, the Winde blew coldly, and very stiffe North-east, with so great a Snow, that wee could not get out of our doores. The three and twentieth, it was calme weather, and the Winde blew North-east, then wee went aboord our ship, to see if the rest of our men would come home to the House; but wee feared that it would blow hard againe, and therefore durst not stirre with the sicke man, but let him lye still that day, for hee was very weake.

The foure and twentieth, the rest of our men beeing eight persons, came to the House, and drew the sicke man vpon a Sled, and then with great labour and paine, wee drew our Boat home to our House, and turned the bottome thereof vpwards, that when time serued vs (if God saued our liues in the Winter time) wee might vse it: and after that, perceiuing that the ship lay fast, and that there was nothing lesse to be expected then the opening of the water, wee put our Anchor into the ship againe, because it should not be couered ouer and lost in the Snow, that in the Spring time wee might vse it: for we alwayes trusted in God that hee would deliuer vs from thence towards Summer time, eyther one way or other. The Sunne, when we might see it best and highest, began to be very low, and we vsed all the speed we could to fetch all things with Sleds out of our ship into our House, not onely meate and drinke, but all other necessaries, at which time the Wind was North. All come to the House.

The fiue and twentieth, wee fetcht all things that were necessary for the furnishing of our Scute and our Boate: and when we had laden the last Sled, and stood readie to draw it to the House, our Master looked about him and saw three Beares behind the ship that were comming towards vs, whereupon hee cryed out aloud to feare them away, and wee presently leaped forth to defend our selues as well as we could: and, as good fortune was, there lay two Halberds vpon the Sled, whereof the Master tooke one, and I the other, and made resistance against them as well as we could; but the rest of our men ranne to saue themselues in the ship, and as they ranne, one of them fell into a Clift of Ice, which grieued vs much: for we thought verily that the Beares would haue ranne vnto him, to deuoure him, but God defended him: for the Beares still made towardes the ship after the men that ranne thither to saue themselues. Meane time, wee and the man that fell into the Clift of Ice, tooke our aduantage, and got into the ship on the other side, which the Beares perceiuing, they came fiercely towards vs, that had no other Armes to defend vs withall, but onely the two Halberds, which wee doubting would not bee sufficient, wee still gaue them worke to doe by throwing Billets and other things at them, and euery time we threw, they ranne after them as a Dogge vseth to doe at a Stone that is cast at him. Meane time, wee sent a man Fight with Beares.

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downe vnder Hatches to ſtrike Fire, and another to fetch Pikes, but wee could get no Fire, and ſo wee had no meanes to ſhoote: at the laſt, as the Beares came fiercely vpon vs, wee ſtrooke one of them with a Halberd vpon the Snowt, wherewith ſhee gaue backe, when ſhee felt her ſelfe hurt, and went away, which the other two that were not ſo great as ſhee, perceiuing, ranne away: and wee thanked God that wee were ſo well deliuered from them, and ſo drew our Sled quietly to our Houſe, and there ſhewed our men what had happened vnto vs.

The ſixe and twentieth, the Wind was North, and North North-weſt, with indifferent faire weather: then wee ſaw open Water hard by the Land, but wee perceiued the Ice to driue in the Sea, ſtill towards the ſhip. The ſeuen and twentieth, the Wind blew North-eaſt, and it ſnowed ſo faſt, that wee could not worke without the doore. That day our men killed a White Foxe, which they flead: and after they had roſted it, ate thereof, which taſted like Conies fleſh: the ſame day we ſet vp our Dyall, and made the Clocke ſtrike, and wee hung vp a Lampe to burne in the night time, wherein we vſed the fat of the Beare which wee melt, and burnt in the Lampe.

White Foxe.

Beares fat for Lampe.

The nine and twentieth, the Wind ſtill blew North-eaſt, and then wee fetched Segges from the Sea-ſide, and layd them vpon the Sayle that was ſpread vpon our Houſe, that it might bee ſo much the cloſer and warmer: for the Deales were not driuen cloſe together, and the foule weather would not permit vs to doe it. The thirtieth, the Winde yet continued North-eaſt, and the Sunne was full aboue the Earth, a little aboue the Horizon. The one and thirtieth, the Winde ſtill blew North-eaſt, with great ſtore of Snow, whereby wee durſt not looke out of doores.

The firſt of Nouember, the Wind ſtill continued North-eaſt, and then wee ſaw the Moone riſe in the Eaſt when it beganne to bee darke, and the Sunne was no higher aboue the Horizon then we could well ſee it, and yet that day we ſaw it not, becauſe of the cloſe weather, and the great Snow that fell, and it was extreame cold, ſo that we could not goe out of the Houſe.

Nouember.

Sun & Moone.

The ſecond, the Wind blew Weſt, and ſomewhat South, but in the Euening it blew North, with calme weather, and that day we ſaw the Sunne riſe South South-eaſt, and it went downe South South-weſt, but it was not full aboue the Earth, but paſſed in the Horizon along by the Earth: and the ſame day one of our men killed a Fox with a Hatcher, which was flayed, roaſted and eaten. Before the Sunne began to decline, wee ſaw no Foxes, and then the Beares vſed to goe from vs.

Sun riſeth South South-eaſt, and goeth downe South South-weſt, not full aboue the Earth.

Foxes ſucceed Beares.

The third, the Wind blew North-weſt with calme weather, and the Sunne roſe South and by Eaſt, and ſomewhat more Southerly, and went downe South and by Weſt, and ſomewhat more Southerly; and then we could ſee nothing but the vpper part of the Sunne aboue the Horizon, and yet the Land where wee were, was as high as the Maſt of our ſhip, then wee tooke the height of the Sunne, it being in the eleuenth degree, and fortie eight minutes of *Scorpio*, his Declination being fifteene degrees and twentie foure minutes, on the South-ſide of the Equinoctiall Line.

The fourth, it was calme weather, but then wee ſaw the Sunne no more, for it was no longer aboue the Horizon, then our Chirurgion made a Bath (to bathe vs in) of a Wine-pipe, wherein wee entred one after the other, and it did vs much good; and was a great meanes of our health. The ſame day wee tooke a White Foxe, that oftentimes came abroad, not as they vſed at other times: for that when the Beares left vs at the ſetting of the Sunne, and came not againe before it roſe, the Foxe to the contrarie came abroad when they were gone.

They ſee the Sun no more after the third of Nouember, *Stilo nouo*, or our Octob. 24.

The fifth, the Winde was North, and ſomewhat Weſt, and then wee ſaw open water vpon the Sea, but our ſhippe lay ſtill faſt in the Ice, and when the Sunne had left vs, wee ſaw the Moone continuall both day and night, and neuer went downe when it was in the higheſt degree. The ſixt, the Winde was North-weſt, ſtill weather, and then our men fetcht a Sled full of Fire-wood, but by reaſon that the Sunne was not ſeene, it was very darke weather.

Moone continually ſeene in the Sunnes abſence.

The ſeuenth, it was darke weather, and very ſtill, the Winde Weſt, at which time wee could hardly diſcerne the Day from the Night, ſpecially becauſe at that time our Clocke ſtood ſtill, and by that meanes wee knew not when it was day, although it was day, and our men roſe not out of their Cabins all that day; but onely to make water, and therefore they knew not whether the light they ſaw, was the light of the day or of the Moone; whereupon, they were of ſeuerall opinions, ſome ſaying, it was the light of the day, the others of the night: but as wee tooke good regard thereunto, wee found it to bee the light of the day about twelue of the clocke at noone.

Darkneſſe.

The eight, it was ſtill weather, the Winde blowing South, and South-weſt. The ſame day our men fetcht another Sled of Fire-wood, and then alſo wee tooke a White Foxe, and ſaw open water in the Sea. The ſame day wee ſhared our Bread amongſt vs, each man hauing foure pound and tenne ounces, for his allowance in eight dayes, ſo that then we

Bread ſhared and Beere.

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we were eight dayes eating a Barrell of Bread, whereas before wee ate it vp in fiue or ſix dayes: we had no need to ſhare our fleſh and fiſh, for we had more ſtore thereof; but drinke failed vs, and therefore we were forced to ſhare that alſo: but our beſt Beere was for the moſt part wholy without any ſtrength, ſo that it had no ſauour at all: and beſides all this, there was a great deale of it ſpilt. The ninth; the Wind blew North-eaſt, and ſomewhat more Northerly, and then we had not much day light, but it was altogether darke. The tenth, it was calme weather, the Wind North-weſt, and then our men went into the ſhip to ſee how it lay, and wee ſaw that there was a great deale of water in it, ſo that the ballaſt was couered ouer with water, but that it was frozen, and ſo might not bee pumpt out. The eleuenth, it was indifferent weather, the Wind North-weſt. The ſame day we made a round thing of Cable yarne, and like to a Net, to catch Foxes withall, that wee might get them into the Houſe, and it was made like a Trap, which fell vpon the Foxes as they came vnder it, and that day we caught one.

Beere ſtrength leſſe with ſtoſt.

Ship ballaſt couered with water.

Fox-trap.

The twelfth, the Wind blew Eaſt, with a little light: that day wee began to ſhare our Wine, euery man had two Glaſſes a day, but commonly our Drinke was water, which we melted out of Snow, which we gathered without the Houſe. The thirteenth, it was foule weather, with great Snow, the Wind Eaſt. The fourteenth, it was faire cleere weather, with a cleere Skie full of Starres, and an Eaſt-wind. The fifteenth, it was darke weather, the Wind North-eaſt, with a vading light. The ſixteenth, it was weather with a temperate Ayre, and an Eaſt-wind. The ſeuenteenth, it was darke weather, and a cloſe Ayre, the Wind Eaſt. The eighteenth, it was foule weather, the wind South-eaſt: then the Maſter cut vp a packe of courſe Clothes, and diuided it amongſt our men that needed it, therewith to defend vs better from the cold. The nineteenth, it was foule weather, with an Eaſt-wind, and then the Chiſt with Linnen was opened, and diuided amongſt the men for ſhift, for they had need of them, for then our onely care was to find all the meanes we could to defend our bodie from the cold. The twentieth, it was faire ſtill weather, the Wind Eaſterly, then wee waſht our ſheets, but it was ſo cold, that when wee had waſht and wrung them, they preſently froze ſo ſtiffe, that although wee layed them by a great fire, the ſide that lay next the fire thawed, but the other ſide was hard frozen, ſo that wee ſhould ſooner haue torne them in ſunder then haue opened them, whereby wee were forced to put them into the ſeething water againe to thaw them, it was ſo exceeding cold. The one and twentieth, it was indifferent weather with a North-eaſt wind, then we agreed that euery man ſhould take his turne to cleaue Wood, thereby to eaſe our Cooke, that had more then worke enough to doe twice a day to dreſſe meate, and to melt Snow for our Drinke, but our Maſter and the Pilot were exempted from that Worke.

Wine ſhared.

Drinke water.

Ill waſhing.

The two and twentieth, the Wind was South-eaſt, it was faire weather, then wee had but ſeuenteene Cheeſes, whereof one we ate amongſt vs, and the reſt were diuided to euery man one for his portion, which they might eate when he liſt. The three and twentieth, it was indifferent good weather, the Wind South-eaſt, and as we perceiued that the Fox vſed to come oftner, and more then they were wont, to take them the better, wee made certaine Trappes of thicke Planckes, whereon wee laid ſtones, and round about them placed pieces of ſhards faſt in the ground, that they might not digge vnder them, and ſo got ſome of the Foxes. The foure and twentieth, it was foule weather, and the Wind North-eaſt, and then wee prepared our ſelues to goe into the Bath, for ſome of vs were not very well at eaſe, and ſo foure of vs went into it, and when we came out, our Surgeon gaue vs a Purgation, which did vs much good, and that day we tooke foure Foxes. The fiue and twentieth, it was faire cleere weather, the Wind Weſt; and that day we tooke two Foxes with Springs that we had purpoſely ſet vp.

Bathing and purging.

The ſix and twentieth, it was foule weather, and a great ſtorme with a South-weſt Wind, and great ſtore of Snow, whereby wee were ſo cloſed vp in the Houſe, that wee could not goe out, but were forced to eaſe our ſelues within the Houſe. The ſeuen and twentieth, it was faire cleere weather, the Wind South-weſt, and then we made more Spinges to get Foxes, for it ſtood vs vpon to doe it, becauſe they ſerued vs for meate, as if God had ſent them purpoſely for vs, for we had not much meate. The eight and twentieth of Nouember, it was foule ſtormie weather, and the Winde blew hard out of the North, and it ſnew hard, whereby wee were ſhut vp againe in our Houſe, the Snow lay ſo cloſed before the doores.

The nine and twentieth, it was faire cleere weather, and a good Ayre: the Wind Northerly, and we found meanes to open our doore by ſhoueling away the Snow, whereby wee got one of our doores open, and going out, wee found all our Traps and Springes cleane couered ouer with Snow, which wee made cleane, and ſet them vp againe to take Foxes: and that day wee tooke one, which as then ſerued vs not onely for meate, but of the skinnes wee made Caps to weare vpon our heads, wherewith to keepe them warme from the extreame cold. The thirtieth, it was faire cleere weather, the Wind Weſt, and ſix of vs went to the ſhip, all well prouided of Armes to ſee how it lay: and when wee went vnder the fore Decke, wee tooke a Foxe aliue in the ſhip.

Store of Snow.

Fox-skin-caps.

The firſt of December, it was foule weather with a South-weſt Wind, and great ſtore of Snow, whereby we were once againe ſtopt vp in the Houſe, and by that meanes there was ſo

December.

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Lye ſtill in Cabins.

great a ſmoake in the Houſe, that we could hardly make fire, and ſo were forced to lye all day in our Cabins, but the Cooke was forced to make fire to dreſſe our meate. The ſecond, it was ſtill foule weather, whereby wee were forced to keepe ſtill in the Houſe, and yet wee could hardly ſit by the fire, becauſe of the ſmoake, and therefore ſtayed ſtill in our Cabins, and then we heated ſtones, which we put in our Cabins to warme our feet, for that both the cold and the ſmoake were vnſupportable.

Stones heated to heat them. Cold and Smoake.

Ice cracking noyſe.

The third, we had the like weather, at which time as we lay in our Cabins, wee might heare the Ice cracke in the Sea, and yet it was at the leaſt halfe a mile from vs, which made a huge noyſe, and we were of opinion, that as then the great Hils of Ice which wee had ſeene in the Sea, in Summer time, brake one from the other, and for that during thoſe two or three dayes, because of the extreame ſmoake, we made not ſo much fire as we commonly vſed to doe, it froze ſo ſore within the Houſe, that the Wals and the Roofe thereof were frozen two fingers thick with Ice, and alſo in our Cabins where we lay all thoſe three dayes, while wee could not goe out: by reaſon of the foule weather, we ſet vp the Glaſſe of twelue houres, and when it was runne out, wee ſet it vp againe, ſtill watching it leſt wee ſhould miſſe our time. For the cold was ſo great, that our Clocke was frozen, and might not goe, although we hung more waight on it then before.

Ice in the Houſe.

Clock frozen.

Doore digged open.

The fourth, it was faire cleere weather, the Wind North-eaſt, and then we began euery man by turne to digge open our doores that were cloſed vp with Snow, for we ſaw that it would be often to doe, and therefore we agreed to worke by turnes, no man excepted but the Maſter and the Pilot. The fifth, it was faire weather with an Eaſt-wind, and then we made our Springes cleane againe to take Foxes. The ſixt, it was foule weather againe, with an Eaſterly Wind, and extreame cold, almoſt not to bee indured, whereupon wee lookt pittifully one vpon the other, being in great feare, that if the extreamitie of the cold grew to bee more and more, wee ſhould all dye there with cold, for that what fire ſoeuer we made, it would not warme vs, yea, and our Sacke which is ſo hot, was frozen very hard, ſo that when wee were euery man to haue his part, we were forced to melt it in the fire, which wee ſhared euery ſecond day about halfe a pint for a man, wherewith we were forced to ſuſtayne our ſelues, and at other times wee dranke water, which agreed not well with the cold, and we needed not to coole it with Snow or Ice, but we were forced to melt it out of the Snow.

Cold ſtronger then fire and Sacke.

The ſeuenth, it was ſtill foule weather, and we had a great ſtorme with a North-eaſt Wind, which brought an extreame cold with it, at which time wee knew not what to doe, and while we ſate conſulting together, what were beſt for vs to doe, one of our companions gaue vs counſell to burne ſome of the Sea-coales that we had brought out of the ſhip, which would caſt a great heate and continue long, and ſo at Eeuening we made a great fire thereof, which caſt a great heat: at which time wee were very carefull to keepe it in: for that the heate beeing ſo great a comfort vnto vs, we tooke care how to make it continue long: whereupon wee agreed to ſtop vp all the doores and the Chimney, thereby to keepe in the heate, and ſo went into our Cabins to ſleepe, well comforted with the heate, and ſo lay a great while talking together; but at laſt we were taken with a great ſwounding and dazeling in our heads, yet ſome more then other ſome, which we firſt perceiued by a ſicke man, and therefore the leſſe able to beare it, and found our ſelues to be very ill at eaſe, ſo that ſome of vs that were ſtrongeſt, ſtart out of their Cabins, and firſt opened the Chimney, and then the doores, but he that opened the doore fell downe in a ſwound vpon the Snow, which I hearing, as lying in my Cabin next to the doore, ſtart vp, and caſting Vinegar in his face, recouered him againe, and ſo he roſe vp: and when the doores were open, we all recouered our healths againe, by reaſon of the cold Ayre, and ſo the cold which before had beene ſo great an Enemy vnto vs, was then the onely reliefe that wee had, otherwiſe without doubt, we had dyed in a ſudden ſwound, after that the Maſter, when we were come to our ſelues againe, gaue euery one of vs a little Wine to comfort our hearts.

Sea-coale fire.

Swounding & ſtifling by the Cole-vapour and cloſeneſſe.

Benefit of cold

The eight, it was foule weather, the winde Northerly, very ſharpe and cold, but we durſt lay no more coales on, as wee did the day before, for that our misfortune had taught vs, that to ſhunne one danger we ſhould not runne into another. The ninth, it was faire cleare weather, the skie full of Starres, then we ſet our doore wide open, which before was faſt cloſed vp with Snow, and made our Springes ready to take Foxes. The tenth, it was ſtill faire Star-light weather, the winde North-eaſt: then wee tooke two Foxes, which were good meate for vs, for as then our victuals began to bee ſcant, and the cold ſtill increaſed, whereunto their Skinnes ſerued vs for a good defence. The eleuenth, it was faire weather, and a cleere ayre but very cold, which hee that felt not would not beleeue, for our Shooes froze as hard as hornes vpon our feete, and within they were white frozen, ſo that we could not weare our ſhooes, but were forced to make great Pattents, the vpper part being Sheepe-skinnes, which we put on ouer three or foure payre of Sockes, and ſo went in them to keepe our feet warme.

Shooes on feet frozen within. They weare no ſhooes.

The twelfth, it was faire cleere weather with a North-weſt winde, but extreame cold, ſo that our Houſe walls and Cabbins were frozen a finger thicke; yea, and the Cloathes vpon our backes were white ouer with Froſt, and although ſome of vs were of opinion, that wee ſhould lay

Clothes on their backes frozen.

lay more coles vpon the fire to warme vs, and that we should let the chimney stand open, yet we durst not doe it, fearing the like danger we had escaped. The thirteenth, it was faire cleere weather, with an East winde: then we tooke another Foxe, and tooke great paines about preparing and dressing of our Springes, with no small trouble, for that if wee stayed too long without the doores, there arose blisters vpon our Faces and our Eares. *Cold blisters.* The fourteenth, it was faire weather, the winde North-east, and the skie full of starres, then we tooke the height of the right shoulder of the *Rens*, when it was South South-west, and somewhat more Westerly (and then it was at the highest in our Compasse) and it was eleuated aboue the Horizon 20. degrees and 28. minutes, his Declination being 6. degrees and 18. minutes, on the North-side of the line, which Declination being taken out of the height aforesayd, there rested 14. degrees, which being taken out of 90. degrees, then the height of the Pole was 76. degrees.

The fifteenth, it was still faire weather, the winde East: that day wee tooke two Foxes, and saw the Moone rise East South-east, when it was sixe and twentie dayes old, in the signe of *Scorpio*. The sixteenth, it was faire cleere weather, the winde East: at that time wee had no more Wood in the house, but had burnt it all: but round about our house there lay some couered ouer with Snow, which with great paine and labour we were forced to digge out, and so shouell away the Snow, and so brought it into the house, which wee did by turnes, two and two together, wherein we were forced to vse great speed, for wee could not long endure without the House, because of the extreame cold, although we wore the Foxes skinnes about our heads, and double apparell vpon our backes. *Extreame and terrible freezing.*

The seuenteenth, the winde still held North-east, with faire weather and so great Frosts, that wee were of opinion, that if there stood a Barrell full of water without the doore, it would in one night freeze from the top to the bottome. The eighteenth, the winde still held North-east, with faire weather: then seuen of vs went out vnto the Ship to see how it lay, and being vnder the decke, thinking to finde a Foxe there, we sought all the holes but we found none; but when we entred into the Cabbin and had stricken fire to see in what case the ship was, and whether the water rose higher in it, there wee found a Foxe, which we tooke and carryed it home, and eate it, and then we found that in eighteene dayes absence (for it was so long since we had beene there) the water was risen about a finger high, but yet it was all Ice, for it froze as fast as it came in, and the vessels which wee had brought with vs full of fresh water out of *Holland*, were frozen to the ground.

The nineteenth, it was faire weather, the winde being South: then we put each other in good comfort, that the Sunne was then almost halfe ouer, and ready to come to vs againe, which wee sore longed for, it being a weary time for vs to bee without the Sunne, and to want the greatest comfort that God sendeth vnto man heere vpon the earth, and that which rejoyceth euery liuing thing. *Sunnes comfort.* The twentieth, before noone it was faire cleere weather, and then we had taken a Foxe, but towards Eeuening, there rose such a storme in the South-west, with so great a snow, that all the house was inclosed therewith. *House inclosed with snow.* The one and twentieth, it was faire cleere weather, with a North-east winde, then we made our doore cleane againe, and made a way to goe out, and clensed our Traps for the Foxes, which did vs great pleasure when we tooke them, for they seemed as daintie as Venison vnto vs. The two and twentieth, it was foule weather, with great store of snow, the winde South-west, which stopt vp our doore againe, and wee were forced to digge it open againe, which was almost euery day to doe. The three and twentieth, it was foule weather, the wind South-west, with great store of snow, but wee were in good comfort that the Sunne would come againe to vs, for as we ghest, that day hee was in *Tropicus Capricorni*, which is the furthest Signe that the Sunne passeth on the South-side of the line, and from thence it turneth Northward againe. *Sun in Tropicus Capricorni. 24. Decem. Stilo nouo.* The foure and twentieth, being Christmasse Eeuen, it was faire weather, then wee opened our doore againe, and saw much open water in the Sea: for we had heard the Ice cracke and driue: although it was not day, yet we could see so farre. Towards Eeuening it blew hard out of the North-east, with great store of Snow, so that all the passage that wee had made open before, was stopt vp againe. *Cold Christmasse.* The fiue and twentieth, being Christmasse day, it was foule weather, with a North-west winde, and yet though it was foule weather, we heard the Foxes runne ouer our House, wherewith some of our men sayd, it was an ill signe; and while we sate disputing why it should bee an ill signe, some of our men made answer, that it was an ill signe because wee could not take them, to put them into the Pot or roast them, for that had beene a very good signe for vs. *Ill signe indeed.*

The sixe and twentieth, it was foule weather, the winde North-west, and it was so cold that we could not warme vs, although wee vsed all the meanes we could with great fires, good store of cloathes, and with hot stones and billets, layd vpon our feete and vpon our bodies, as we lay in our Cabbins; but notwithstanding all this, in the morning our Cabbins were frozen, which made vs behold one the other with sad countenance, but yet wee comforted our selues againe as well as we could, that the Sunne was then as low as it could goe, and that it now began to come to vs againe, and we found it to bee true: for that *the Dayes beginning to lengthen, the Cold began to strengthen*, but hope put vs in good comfort, and eased our paine. *Cold inuincible.* The seuen and twentieth, it

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was ſtill foule weather, with a North-weſt wind, ſo that as then wee had not beene out in three dayes together, nor durſt not thruſt our heads out of doores, and within the houſe it was ſo extreame cold, that as we ſate before a great Fire, and ſeemed to burne on the fore-ſide, we froze behind at our backes, and were all white as the Countrey-men vſe to bee, when they come in at the gates of the Towne in *Holland* with their Sleds, and haue gone all night.

Burne before, freeze behind.

The eight and twentieth, it was ſtill foule weather with a Weſt wind, but about Eeuening it began to cleere vp, at which time one of our men made a hole open at one of our doores, and went out to ſee what newes abroad, but found it ſo hard weather that hee ſtayed not long, and told vs that it had ſnowed ſo much, that the Snow lay higher then our houſe, and that if he had ſtayed out longer, his eares would vndoubtedly haue beene frozen off. The nine and twentieth, it was calme weather, and a pleaſant ayre, the wind being Southward: that day, he, whoſe turne it was, opened the doore, and digged a hole through the Snow, where we went out of the houſe vpon ſteps, as if it had beene out of a Celler, at leaſt ſeuen or eight ſteps high, each ſtep a foote from the other, and then we made cleane our Springes for the Foxes, whereof for certaine dayes we had not taken any: and as we made them cleane, one of our men found a dead Foxe in one of them, that was frozen as hard as a ſtone, which he brought into the houſe, and thawed it before the fire, and after flaying it, ſome of our men eate it. The thirtieth, it was foule weather againe, with a ſtorme out of the Weſt, and great ſtore of Snow, ſo that all the labour and paine that we had taken the day before to make ſteps to goe out of our houſe, and to cleanſe our Springes, was all in vaine, for it was all couered ouer with Snow againe, higher then it was before. The one and thirtieth, it was ſtill foule weather, with a ſtorme out of the North-weſt, whereby we were ſo faſt ſhut vp into the houſe, as if wee had beene priſoners, and it was ſo extreame cold, that the fire almoſt caſt no heate: for as we put our feet to the fire, we burnt our hoſe before we could feele the heate, ſo that we had worke enough to doe to patch our hoſe: and which is more, if we had not ſooner ſmelt, then felt them, we ſhould haue burnt them ere we had knowne it.

Snow higher then the houſe

Snow-ſteps.

Fire conquered, heat ſmelt before felt.

After that with great cold, danger, and diſeaſe, wee had brought this yeere vnto an end, we entred into the yeere of our Lord God 1597. the beginning whereof, was in the ſame manner as the end of *Anno* 1596. had beene, for the weather continued as cold, foule, and Snowie, as it was before, ſo that vpon the firſt of Ianuary wee were incloſed in the Houſe, the winde then being Weſt: at the ſame time wee agreed to ſhare our Wine euery man a ſmall meaſure full, and that but once in two dayes: and as we were in great care and feare that it would bee long before we ſhould get out from thence, (and we hauing but ſmall hope therein) ſome of vs ſpared to drinke wine as long as we could, that if we ſhould ſtay long there, we might drinke it at our need. The ſecond, it blew hard with a Weſt wind, and a great ſtorme with both Snow and Froſt, ſo that in foure or fiue dayes, we durſt not put our heads out of the doores, and as then by reaſon of the great cold, we had almoſt burnt all our Wood; notwithſtanding, we durſt not goe out to fetch more wood, becauſe it froze ſo hard, and there was no being without the doore, but ſeeking about we found ſome peeces of wood that lay ouer the doore, which we cloue, and withall cloue the blockes whereon we vſed to beate our Stock-fiſh, and ſo holpe our ſelues ſo well as we could. The third, it was all one weather, and we had little wood to burne. The fourth, it was ſtill foule ſtormie weather, with much Snow and great cold, the winde South-weſt, and we were forced to keepe in the houſe: and to know where the wind blew, we thruſt a halfe-pike out at the Chimney with a little cloath or feather vpon it, but as ſoone as wee thruſt it out, it was preſently frozen as hard as a peece of wood, and could not goe about nor ſtirre with the wind.

An. Dom. 1597.

Ianuary.

Vane.

The fifth, it was ſomewhat ſtill and calme weather: then wee digged our doore open againe, that we might goe out, and carrie out all the filth that had beene made, during the time of our being ſhut in the houſe; and made euery thing handſome, and fetched in Wood which we cleft, and it was all our dayes worke to further our ſelues as much as we could, fearing leaſt we ſhould be ſhut vp againe: and as there were three doores in our portall, and for that our houſe lay couered ouer in Snow, wee tooke the middle doore thereof away, and digged a great hole in the ſnow, that lay without the houſe, like to a ſide of a vault, wherein we might goe to eaſe our ſelues, and caſt other filth into it: and when we had taken paines all day, we remembred our ſelues that it was Twelfth Eeuen, and then we prayed our Maſter that we might be merrie that night, and ſayd, that we were content to ſpend ſome of the Wine that night which we had ſpared, and which was our ſhare euery ſecond day, and whereof for certayne dayes wee had not drunke, and ſo that night we made merrie, and drunke to the *three Kings*, and therewith we had two pound of Meale, whereof wee made pan-cakes with Oyle, and euery man a white Bisket, which we ſopt in Wine: and ſo ſuppoſing that we were in our owne Countrey, and amongſt our friends, it comforted vs as well as if we had made a great banquet in our owne houſe: and we alſo made tickets, and our Gunner was King of *Noua Zembla*, which is at leaſt two hundred miles long, and lyeth betweene two Seas.

Three Kings of *Cullen*.

King of *Noua Zembla*.

The ſixt, it was faire weather, the wind North-eaſt, then wee went out and cleanſed our Traps to take Foxes, which were our Veniſon, and we digged a hole in the Snow, where our fire-

wood

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wood lay, and left it cloſe aboue like a vault; and from thence fetched out our Wood as we needed it. The ſeuenth, it was foule weather againe, with a North-weſt wind, and ſome Snow, and very cold, which put vs in great feare to be ſhut vp in the houſe againe. The eight, it was faire weather againe, the wind North: then wee made our Springes ready to get more Veniſon: which wee longed for, and then wee might ſee and marke day-light, which then began to encreaſe, that the Sunne as then began to come towards vs againe, which put vs in no little comfort. *Day-light eſpied.*

The ninth, it was foule weather, with a North-weſt wind, but not ſo hard weather as it had beene before, ſo that we might goe out of the doore to make cleane our Springes. The tenth, it was faire weather with a North wind: then ſeuen of vs went to our ſhip well armed, which we found in the ſame ſtate wee left it in, and in it wee ſaw many footſteps of Beares, both great and ſmall, whereby it ſeemed that there had beene more then one or two Beares therein; and as we went vnder hatches, we ſtrooke fire, and lighted a Candle, and found that the water was riſen a foot higher in the ſhip. The eleuenth, it was faire weather, the wind North-eaſt, and the cold began to be ſomewhat leſſe, ſo that as then we were bold to goe out of the doores, and went about a quarter of a mile to a Hill, from thence we fetched certaine ſtones, which we layd in the fire, therewith to warme vs in our Cabins. *Beares in the ſhip.*

The twelfth, it was cleare weather, the wind North-weſt: that euening it was very cleare, and the skie full of Starres, then wee tooke the height of *Oculus Tauri*, which is a bright and well knowne Starre, and we found it to be eleuated aboue the Horizon 29. degrees and 54. minutes, her declination being 15. degrees 54. minutes on the North ſide of the Line. This declination being ſubtracted from the height aforeſaid, then there reſted 14. degrees, which ſubtracted from 90. degrees, then the height of the Pole was 76. degrees, and ſo by meaſuring the height of that Starre, and ſome others, wee gheſſed that the Sunne was in the like height, and that we were there vnder 76. degrees, and rather higher then lower. *Oculus Tauri.*

The thirteenth, it was faire ſtill weather, the wind Weſterly, and then wee perceiued that day-light began more and more to encreaſe, and we went out and caſt Bullets at the bale of the Flag-ſtaffe, which before we could not ſee when it turned about. The fourteenth, it was faire weather and a cleare light, the wind Weſterly, and that day we tooke a Foxe. The fifteenth, it was faire cleere weather, with a Weſt wind, and ſixe of vs went aboord the ſhip, where wee found the Bolck-vanger (which the laſt time that we were in the ſhip, wee ſtucke in a hole in the fore decke, to take Foxes) pulled out of the hole, and lay in the middle of the ſhip, and all torne in pieces by the Beares, as we perceiued by their footſteps.

The ſixteenth, it was faire weather, the wind Northerly, and then we went now and then out of the houſe to ſtretch out our ioynts and our limbs with going and running, that we might not become lame, and about noone time we ſaw a *certaine redneſſe in the skie*, as a ſhew or meſſenger of the Sunne that began to come towards vs. The ſeuenteenth, it was cleare weather with a North wind, and then ſtill more and more wee perceiued that the Sunne began to come neerer vnto vs, for the day was ſomewhat warmer, ſo that when we had a good fire, there fell great pieces of Ice downe from the walls of our houſe, and the Ice melted in our Cabins, and the water dropped downe, which was not ſo before, how great ſoeuer our fire was; but that night it was cold againe. *Aurora* bluſheth to lie ſo long in bed. Cold relenteth

The eighteenth, it was faire cleare weather, with a South-eaſt wind, then our Wood began to conſume, and ſo we agreed to burne ſome of our Sea-coles, and not to ſtop vp the Chimney, and then we ſhould not need to feare any hurt, which we did, and found no diſeaſe thereby, but we thought it better for vs to keepe the Coles, and to burne our Wood more ſparingly, for that the Coles would ſerue vs better when we ſhould ſayle home in our open Scute.

The one and twentieth, it was faire weather, with a Weſt wind: at that time taking of Foxes began to fayle vs, which was a ſigne that the Beares would come againe, as not long after we found it to be true, for as long as the Beares ſtay away, the Foxes came abroad, and not much before the Beares come abroad, the Foxes were but little ſeene.

The two and twentieth, it was faire weather with a Weſt wind: then we went out againe to caſt the Bullet, and perceiued that day-light began to appeare, whereby ſome of vs ſaid, that the Sunne would ſoone appeare vnto vs, but *William Barents* to the contrary ſaid, that it was yet two weekes too ſoone. The three and twentieth, it was faire calme weather, with a South-weſt wind: then foure of vs went to the ſhip, and comforted each other, giuing God thankes that the hardeſt time of the Winter was paſt, being in good hope that we ſhould liue to talke of thoſe things at home in our owne Countrey: and when we were in the ſhip, we found that the water roſe higher and higher in it, and ſo each of vs taking a Biſket or two with vs, wee went home againe.

The foure and twentieth, it was faire cleare weather, with a Weſt wind: then I, and *Iacob Heemskerke*, and another with vs went to the Sea-ſide, on the South ſide of *Noua Zembla*, where contrary to our expectation, I firſt ſaw the edge of the Sunne, wherewith wee went ſpeedily home againe, to tell *William Barents*, and the reſt of our companions that ioyfull newes: but *William* *Sunne appeareth againe, Ian. 24.*

William Barents being a wise and well experienced Pilot, would not beleeue it, esteeming it to be about fourteene dayes too soone for the Sunne to shine in that part of the World; but we earnestly affirmed the contrarie, and said, that we had seene the Sunne.

The fiue and twentieth, and sixe and twentieth, it was misty, and close weather, so that wee could not see any thing: then they that layed the contrary wager with vs, thought that they had won: but vpon the seuen and twentieth day it was cleare weather, and then wee saw the Sunne in his full roundnesse aboue the Horizon, whereby it manifestly appeared that wee had seene it vpon the foure and twentieth day of Ianuary. And as we were of diuers opinions touching the same, and that wee said, it was cleane contrary to the opinions of all old and new Writers; yea, and contrary to the nature and roundnesse both of Heauen and Earth; some of vs said, that seeing in long time there had beene no day, that it might be that we had ouerslept our selues, whereof we were better assured: but concerning the thing in it selfe, seeing God is wonderfull in all his workes, we will referre that to his almightie power, and leaue it vnto others to dispute of, but for that no man shall thinke vs to be in doubt thereof, if wee should let this passe without discoursing vpon it, therefore we will make some declaration thereof, whereby we may assure our selues that we kept good reckoning.

Sun fully seen.

How the Sun which they had lost the 4. of Nouember did appeare to them againe vpon the 24. of Ianuary, which was very strange, and contrary to all learned mens opinions.

You must vnderstand, that when we first saw the Sun, it was in the fift degr. and 25. min. of *Aquarius*, and it should haue staid according to our first ghessing, till it had entred into the 16. deg. and 27. min. of *Aquarius*, before he should haue shewed there vnto vs, in the height of 76. deg. Which we striuing and contending about it amongst our selues, could not be satisfied, but wondred thereat, and some amongst vs were of opinion, that we had mistaken our selues, which neuertheless we could not be perswaded vnto, for that euery day without fayle, wee noted what had past, and also had vsed our Clocke continually, and when that was frozen, wee vsed our Houre-glasse of twelue houres long, whereupon wee argued with our selues, in diuers wise, to know how we should finde out that difference, and leaue the trueth of the time, which to trie, wee agreed to looke into the *Ephemerides* made by *Iosephus Schala*, Printed in *Venice*, for the yeeres of our Lord 1589. till *A.* 1600. and we found therein, that vpon the foure and twentieth day of Ianuary, (when the Sun first appeared vnto vs) that at *Venice* the Clocke being one in the night time, the Moone and *Iupiter* were in coniunction, whereupon we sought to know when the same coniunction should be ouer or about the house where wee then were, and at last wee found that the foure and twentieth day of Ianuary was the same day whereon the coniunction aforesaid happened in *Venice*, at one of the clocke in the night, and with vs in the morning, when the Sunne was in the East: for we saw manifestly that the two Planets aforesaid approached neere vnto each other, vntill such time as the Moone and *Iupiter* stood one iust ouer the other, both in the signe of *Taurus*, and that was at sixe of the clocke in the morning, at which time the Moone and *Iupiter* were found by our Compasse, to be in coniunction ouer our house, in the North and by East point, and the South part of the Compasse was South South-west, and there we had it right South, the Moone being eight dayes old, whereby it appeareth, that the Sunne and the Moone were eight points different, and this was about sixe of the clocke in the morning: this place differeth from *Venice* fiue houres in longitude, whereby we may ghesse how much we were neerer East then the Citie of *Venice*, which was fiue houres, each houre being 15. degrees, which is in all 75. degrees, that we were more Easterly then *Venice*, by all which it is manifestly to be seene, that wee had not fayled in our account, and that also wee had found our right longitude, by the two Planets aforesaid, for the Towne of *Venice* lieth vnder 37. degrees and 25. minutes in longitude, and her declination is 46. degrees and 5. minutes, whereby it followeth that our place of *Noua Zembla*, lieth vnder 112. degrees and 25. minutes in longitude, and the height of the Pole 76. degrees, and so you haue the right longitude and latitude, but from the vttermost point of *Noua Zembla* to the point of Cape *de Tabin*, the vttermost point of *Tartaria*, where it windeth Southward, the longitude differeth 60. degrees; but you must vnderstand, that the degrees are not so great as they are vnder the Equinctiall Line, for right vnder the Line a degree is fifteene miles, but when you leaue the Line, either Northward or Southward, then the degrees in longitude doe lessen, so that the neerer that a man is to the North or South Pole, so much the degrees are lesse: so that vnder the 75. degrees Northward, where we wintred, the degrees are but three miles and two third parts; whereby it is to be marked, that we had but 60. degrees to saile to the said Cape *de Tabin*, which is, 220. miles, so the said Cape lieth in 172. degrees in longitude as it is thought: and being aboue it, it seemeth that we should be in the Streight of *Anian*, where we may sayle boldly into the South, as the Land reacheth. Now what further instructions are to be had to know, where wee lost the Sunne vnder the said 76. degrees vpon the fourth of Nouember, and saw it againe vpon the foure and twentieth of Ianuary: I leaue that to be described, by such as make profession thereof, it sufficeth vs to haue shewed, that it failed vs not to appeare at the ordinary time.

Difference of longitude betwixt *Venice* and their wintring place.

Note for deg. of longitude.

The fiue and twentieth of Ianuary, it was darke cloudy weather, the wind Westerly, so that the seeing of the Sunne the day before, was againe doubted of, and then many wagers were layd, and we still looked out to see if the Sunne appeared, the same day we saw a Beare, (which

Beare returne with the Sun.

our

as long as the Sunne appeared not vnto vs we saw not) comming out of the South-west towards our house, but when we shouted at her she came no neerer, but went away again. The six & twentieth, it was faire cleare weather, but in the Horizon there hung a white or darke cloude, whereby we could not see the Sunne, vvhereupon the rest of our companions, thought that we had mistaken our selues vpon the foure and twentieth day, and that the Sunne appeared not vnto vs, and mocked vs, but vve were resolute in our former affirmation, that vve had seene the Sunne, but not in the full roundnesse: That Eeuening the Sicke man that was amongst vs, was very vveake, and felt himselfe to bee extreame sicke, for he had layne long time, and vve comforted him as well as vve might, and gaue him the best admonition that vve could, but hee dyed not long after midnight. Sicke man dieth.

The twentie seuen it was faire cleare weather, with a South-west wind, then in the morning we digged a hole in the snow hard by the house, but it was still so extreame cold, that we could not stay long at worke, and so wee digged by turnes, euery man a little while, and then went to the fire, and another went and supplied his place, till at last wee digged seuen foot depth where wee went to burie the dead man, after that when we had read certaine Chapters, and sung some Psalmes, wee all went out and buried the man, which done we went in and brake our fasts, and while we were at meate, and discoursed amongst our selues, touching the great quantitie of snow that continually fell in that place, wee said that if it fell out, that our house should bee closed vp againe with snow, wee would finde the meanes to climbe out at the chimney, whereupon our Master went to trie if hee could climbe vp through the chimney, and so get out, and while hee was climbing one of our men went forth of the doore, to see if the Master were out or not, who standing vpon the snow, saw the Sunne, and called vs all out, wherewith we all went forth, and saw the Sun in his full roundnesse, a little aboue the Horizon, and then it was without all doubt, that wee had seene the Sunne vpon the foure and twentieth of Ianuary, which made vs all glad, and we gaue God heartie thankes, for his grace shewed vnto vs, that that glorious light appeared vnto vs againe. The Sunne.

The eight and twentieth, it was faire weather, with a West wind, then we went out many times to exercise our selues, by going, running, casting of the ball, (for then we might see a good way from vs) and to refresh our ioynts, for wee had long time sitten dull, whereby many of vs were very loose. The nine and twentieth, it was foule weather, with great store of snow, the wind North-west, whereby the house was closed vp againe with snow. The thirtieth, it was darke weather, with an East wind; and we made a hole through the doore, but wee shoueled not the snow very farre from the portall, for that as soone as we saw what weather it was, wee had no desire to goe abroad. The one and thirtieth, it was faire calme weather, with an East wind, then we made the doore cleane, and shoueled away the snow, and threw it vpon the house, and went out, and wee saw the Sunne shine cleere, which comforted vs, meane time we saw a Beare, that came towards our house, but wee went softly in, and watched for her till shee came neerer, and as soone as she was hard by we shot at her, but she ran away againe. Beare.

The first of February, being Candlemasse Eeue, it was boisterous weather, with a great storme, and good store of snow, whereby the house was closed vp againe with snow, and we were constrained to stay within doors, the wind then being north-west. The second it was foule weather, and as then the Sunne had not rid vs of all the foule weather, whereby wee were somewhat discomforted, for that being in good hope of better weather wee had not made so great prouision of wood as we did before. The third, it was faire weather, with an East wind, but very mystie, whereby wee could not see the Sunne, which made vs somewhat melancholy, to see so great a myst, and rather more then we had had in the Winter time, and then we digged our doore open againe, and fetched the wood that lay without about the doore into the house, which we were forced with great paine and labour to dig out of the snow. The fourth, it was foule weather, with great store of snow, the wind being South-west, and then wee were close vp againe with snow, but then wee tooke not so much paines as we did before, to dig open the doore, but when we had occasion to goe out we climbed out at the chimney, and eased our selues, and went in againe the same way. February.

The fifth, it was still foule weather, the wind being East, with great store of snow, whereby wee were shut vp againe into the house, and had no other way to get out but by the chimney, and those that could not climbe out, were faine to helpe themselues within as wel as they could. The sixth, it was still foule stormy weather, with store of snow, and we still went out at the chimney, (and troubled not our selues with the doore,) for some of vs made it an easie matter to climbe out at the chimney. The seuenth, it was still foule weather, with much snow, and a South-west wind, and we thereby forced to keep the house, which grieued vs more then when the Sun shined not, for that hauing seene it, and felt the heate thereof, yet wee were forced not to inioy it. The eight, it began to be fairer weather, the wind being South-west, then wee saw the Sun rise South, South-east, and went downe South South-west, by the Compasse that we had made of Lead, and placed according to the Meridian of that place, but by our common Compasse it differed two points. The ninth, it was faire cleere weather, the wind South-west, but as then wee could not see They goe out at the chimney.

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ſee the Sunne, becauſe it was cloſe weather in the South, where the Sunne ſhould goe downe.

Heat of the Sunne. The tenth, it was faire cleare weather, ſo that wee could not tell where the wind blew, and then we began to feele ſome heat of the Sun, but in the Eeuening it began to blow ſomewhat cold out of the weſt.

The eleuenth, it was faire weather, the wind South, that day about noone, there came a Beare towards our houſe, and wee watched her with our Muskets, but ſhee came not ſo neere as wee could reach her, the ſame night wee heard ſome Foxes ſtirring, which ſince the Beares began to come abroad againe we had not much ſeene. The twelfth, it was cleere weather and very calme, the winde South-weſt, then we made our Traps cleane againe, meane-time there came a great Beare towards our houſe, which made vs all goe in, and wee leuelled at her with our Muskets, and as ſhee came right before our doore, we ſhot her into the breſt, cleane through the heart, the bullet paſſing through her body, and went out againe at her tayle, and was as flatte as a Counter,

Beare ſlaine. the Beare feeling the blow, leapt backwards, and ranne twentie or thirtie foot from the houſe, and there lay downe, wherewith wee leapt all out of the houſe, and ranne to her, and found her ſtill aliue, and when ſhe ſaw vs, ſhee rear'd vp her head, as if ſhe would gladly haue done vs ſome miſchiefe, but we truſted her not, for that we had tryed their ſtrength ſufficiently before, and therefore wee ſhot her twice into the body againe, and therewith ſhee dyed: Then we ript vp her

100. Pound of fat taken out of a Beare, vſefull for Lamps. belly, and taking out her guttes, drew her home to the Houſe where we flayed her, and tooke at leaſt one hundred pound of fat out of her belly, which wee molt and burned in our Lampe. This Greaſe did vs great good ſeruice, for by that meanes we ſtill kept a Lampe burning all night long, which before wee could not doe, for want of Greaſe, and euery man had meanes to burne a Lampe in his Cabbin, for ſuch neceſſaries as hee had to doe. The Beares skinne vvas nine foot long, and ſeuen foot broad.

The thirteenth, it was faire cleere vveather with a hard Weſt winde, at whith time we had more light in our houſe by burning of Lampes, whereby we had meanes to paſſe the time away, by reading and other exerciſes, which before (when we could not diſtinguiſh Day from Night, by reaſon of the darkeneſſe, and had not Lamps continually burning) vvee could not doe. The foureteenth, it was faire cleere weather, with a hard Weſt wind before noone, but after noone, it was ſtill weather, then fiue of vs went to the Ship to ſee how it lay, and found the water to increaſe in it, but not much. The fifteenth, it was foule weather, with a great ſtorme out of the South-weſt, with great ſtore of Snow, whereby the Houſe was cloſed vp againe, that Night the Foxes came to deuoure the dead body of the Beare, vvhereby we were in great feare, that all the Beares thereabouts would come thither, and therefore wee agreed, as ſoone as we could to get out of the houſe to burie the dead Beare deepe vnder the Snow.

The ſixteenth of February, it was foule weather, with great ſtore of Snow and a South-weſt vvind, that day was Shroue-tueſday, then wee made our ſelues ſomewhat merrie in our great griefe and trouble, and euery one of vs dranke a draught of Wine.

The nineteenth, it vvas faire cleere vveather, vvith a South-weſt winde, then we tooke the height of the Sunne, vvhich in long time before vvee could not doe, becauſe the Horizon vvas not cleere; as alſo for that it mounted not ſo high, nor gaue not ſo much ſhadow, as vve vvere to haue in our *Aſtrolabium*, and therefore vve made an Inſtrument that was halfe round, at the one end hauing 90. degrees marked thereon, vvhereon we hung a thread vvith a Plumet of Lead, as the vvater Compaſſes haue, and therewith vve tooke the height of the Sunne, when it was at the higheſt, and found that it vvas 3. degrees eleuated aboue the Horizon, his Declination 11. degrees and 16. minutes, which being added to the height aforeſayd, made 14. degrees and 16. minutes, vvhich ſubſtracted from 90. degrees, there reſted 75. degrees and 44. minutes for the height of the Pole, but the aforeſayd 3. degrees of height, being taken at the loweſt ſide of the Sunne, the 16. minutes might well be added to the height of the Pole, and ſo it was iuſt 76. degrees, as we had meaſured it before. The twentieth, it was foule weather, with great ſtore of Snow, the vvind South-weſt, vvhereby vve vvere ſhut vp againe in the houſe.

The two and twentieth, it vvas cleere faire vveather, vvith a South-weſt vvind, then vve made ready a Sled to fetch more Wood, for need compelled vs thereunto; for as they ſay, hunger drieueth the Wolfe out of his denne, and eleuen of vs went together, all well appointed with our Armes, but comming to the place where we ſhould haue the Wood, we could not come by it, by reaſon it lay ſo deepe vnder the Snow, whereby of neceſſitie we were compelled to goe further, where with great labour and trouble we got ſome: but as vve returned backe againe therewith, it was ſo ſore labour vnto vs, that we were almoſt out of comfort, for that by reaſon of the long cold and trouble that we had indured, vve vvere become ſo vveake and feeble, that vve had little ſtrength, and we began to bee in doubt, that we ſhould not recouer our ſtrengths againe, and ſhould not be able to fetch any more Wood, and ſo we ſhould haue dyed with cold, but the preſent neceſſitie and the hope wee had of better weather, increaſed our forces, and made vs doe more then our ſtrengths afforded, and when we came neere to our houſe, we ſaw much open vvater in the Sea, which in long time we had not ſeene, which alſo put vs in good comfort, that things would bee better.

The

The fiue and twentieth, it was foule weather againe, and much Snow, with a North winde, whereby we were cloſed vp with Snow againe, and could not get out of our Houſe.

The eight and twentieth of February, it was ſtill weather, with a South-weſt wind, then ten of vs went and fetched another Sled full of Wood, with no leſſe paine and labour then wee did before, for one of our companions could not helpe vs, becauſe that the firſt joynt of one of his great Toes was frozen off, and ſo hee could doe nothing.

The firſt of March, it was faire ſtill weather, the wind Weſt but very cold, and we were forced to ſpare our Wood, becauſe it was ſo great labour for vs to fetch it, ſo that when it was day, we exerciſed our ſelues as much as we might, with running, going, and leaping, and to them that lay in their Cabins, wee gaue hot ſtones to warme them, and towards night we made a good fire, which we were forced to endure. The ſecond, it was cold cleere weather, with a Weſt wind, the ſame day we tooke the height of the Sunne, and found that it was eleuated aboue the Horizon 6. degrees and 48. minutes, and his Declination was 7. degrees and 12. minutes, which ſubſtracted from 90. degrees, reſteth 76. degrees for the height of the Pole. The third, it was faire weather with a Weſt wind, at which time our Sicke men were ſomewhat better, and ſate vpright in their Cabins, to doe ſome thing to paſſe the time away, but after they found that they were too ready to ſtirre before their times. The fourth, it was faire weather, with a Weſt wind, the ſame day there came a Beare to our Houſe, whom we watcht with our Pieces, as wee did before, and ſhot at her, and hit her, but ſhee runne away, at that time fiue of vs went to our Ship, where we found that the Beares had made worke, and had opened our Cookes cupbord, that was couered ouer with ſnow, thinking to finde ſome thing in it, and had drawne it out of the Ship where we found it. March.

The ſeuenth, it was ſtill foule weather and as great a winde, ſo that wee were ſhut vp in our Houſe, and they that would goe out, muſt climbe vp through the Chimney, which was a common thing with vs, and ſtill we ſaw more open water in the Sea, and about the Land, whereby wee were in doubt that the Ship in that foule weather, and driuing of the Ice, would bee looſe (for as then the Ice draue) while we were ſhut vp in our Houſe, and wee ſhould haue no meanes to helpe it. The eight, it was ſtill foule vveather, with a South-weſt ſtorme, and great ſtore of Snow, whereby vve could ſee no Ice in the North-eaſt, nor round about in the Sea, whereby vve were of opinion, that North-eaſt from vs there was a great Sea. The ninth, it was foule vveather, but not ſo foule as the day before, and leſſe ſnow, and then vve could ſee further from vs, and perceiue that the vvater vvas open in the North-eaſt, but not from vs towards *Tartaria*, for there vve could ſtill ſee Ice in the *Tartarian* Sea, otherwiſe called the Ice Sea, ſo that vve vvere of opinion, that there it was not very wide, for vvhen it was cleere vveather, vve thought many times that wee ſaw the Land and ſhewed it to our companions, South and South-eaſt from our houſe, like a hilly Land, as land commonly ſhoweth it ſelfe, when we ſee it. Note.

The eleuenth, it was cold, but faire Sun-ſhine vveather, the vvind North-eaſt, then we tooke the height of the Sunne vvith our *Aſtrolabium*, and found it to bee eleuated aboue the Horizon 10. degrees and 19. minutes, his Declination was 3. degrees and 41. minutes, which being added to the height aforeſayd, made 14. degrees, which ſubſtracted from 90. degrees, there reſteth 76. degrees for the height of the Pole. Then twelue of vs went to the place where wee vſed to goe, to fetch a Sled of Wood, but ſtill vve had more paine and labour therewith, becauſe we were vveaker, and when we came home vvith it, and were very vvearie, we prayed the Maſter to giue each of vs a draught of Wine, which hee did, vvherewith we were ſomewhat releeued and comforted, and after that were the willinger to labour, vvhich vvas vnſupportable for vs, if meere extremitie had not compelled vs thereunto, ſaying oftentimes one vnto the other, That if the Wood vvere to be bought for Money, we would giue all our Earnings or Wages for it.

The twelfth, it was foule weather, the Winde North-eaſt, then the Ice came mightily driuing in, which the South-weſt Wind had beene driuen out, and it was then as cold, as it had bin before in the coldeſt time of Winter.

The fifteenth, it was faire vveather, the Wind North, that day wee opened our doore to goe out, but the cold rather increaſed then diminiſhed, and was bitterer then before it had beene.

The ſixteenth, it vvas faire cleere weather, but extreame cold with a North Wind, which put vs to great extreamitie, for that vve had almoſt taken our leaues of the cold, and then it began to come againe. This continued till the one and twentieth.

The one and twentieth, it vvas faire weather, but ſtill very cold, the Wind North, the ſame day the Sunne entred into *Aries* in the Equinoctiall Line, and at noone vvee tooke the height of the Sunne, and found it to be eleuated 14. degrees aboue the Horizon, but for that the Sunne was in the middle Line, and of the like diſtance from both the Tropickes, there was no declination, neither on the South nor North ſide, and ſo the 14. degrees aforeſayd being ſubſtracted from 90. degrees, there reſted 76. degrees for the height of the Pole. The ſame day, we made ſhooes of Felt or Rugge, which we drew vpon our feete, for vve could not goe in our ſhooes, by reaſon of the great cold, for the ſhooes on our feet vvere as hard as hornes, and then vve fetcht a ſled-full *Sol in Aries.* Shooes of Felt and Rugge.

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Sled full of Wood home to our house, with sore and extreame labour, and with extremitie of cold which we indured, as if March meant to bid vs farewell, for our hope and comfort was, that the cold could not still continue in that force, but that at length the strength thereof would bee broken.

The three and twentieth, it was very foule weather, with infernall bitter cold, the wind North-east, so that we were forced to make more fire, as we had beene at other times, for then it was as cold as euer it had beene, and it froze very hard in the floore and vpon the walls of our house. The foure and twentieth, it was alike cold, with great store of snow, and a North wind, whereby we were once againe shut vp into the house, and then the Coles serued vs well, which before by reason of our bad vsing of them, we disliked of. The sixe and twentieth, it was faire cleare weather, and very calme, then we digd our selues out of the house again, and went out, and then we fetcht another Sled of Wood, for the great cold had made vs burne vp all that we had.

The eight and twentieth, it was faire weather, the wind South-west, whereby the Ice draue away very fast. The same day, sixe of vs went aboord the ship to see how it lay, and found it still in one sort; but we perceiued that the Beares had kept an euill fauoured house therein.

Aprill. The second of Aprill, it was faire weather, the wind North-east and very calme, then wee tooke the height of the Sunne, and found it to be eleuated aboue the Horizon 18. degrees and 40. minutes, his declination being 4. degrees and 40. minutes, which being substracted from the height aforesaid, there rested 14. degrees, which taken from 90. degrees, the height of the Pole was 76. degrees.

Beare assault the house. The sixt, it was still foule weather, with a stiffe North-west wind, that night there came a Beare to our house, and we did the best we could to shoot at her, but because it was moist weather, and the cocke foisty, our Peece would not giue fire, wherewith the Beare came boldly toward the house, and came downe the staires close to the doore, seeking to breake into the house, but our Master held the doore fast to, and being in great haste and feare, could not barre it with the piece of Wood that wee vsed thereunto; but the Beare seeing that the doore was shut, shee went backe againe, and within two houres after shee came againe, and went round about and vpon the top of the house, and made such a roaring, that it was fearefull to heare, and at last got to the chimney, and made such worke there, that wee thought shee would haue broken it downe, and tore the sayle that was made fast about it in many pieces, with a great and fearefull noise, but for that it was night, we made no resistance against her, because wee could not see her, at last she went away and left vs.

The fourteenth, it was faire cleare weather, with a West wind, then we saw greater hills of Ice round about the ship, then euer we had seene before, which was a fearefull thing to behold, and much to be wondred at, that the ship was not smitten in pieces. The fifteenth, it was faire calme weather with a North wind, then seuen of vs went aboord the ship, to see in what case it was, and found it to be all in one sort, and as wee came backe againe, there came a great Beare toward vs, against whom we began to make defence, but she perceiuing that, made away from vs,

Beares Den. and we went to the place from whence shee came to see her Den, where we found a great hole made in the Ice, about a mans length in depth, the entrie thereof being very narrow, and within wide, there we thrust in our Pikes to feele if there was any thing within it, but perceiuing it was empty, one of our men crept into it, but not too farre, for it was fearefull to behold, after that we went along by the Sea-side, and there we saw, that in the end of March, and the beginning of Aprill, the Ice was in such wonderful manner risen and piled vp one vpon the other, that it was wonderfull, in such manner as if there had beene whole Townes made of Ice, with Towres and Bulwarkes round about them.

The sixteenth, it was foule weather, the wind North-west, whereby the Ice began somewhat to breake. The seuenteenth, it was faire cleare weather, with a South-west wind, and then seuen of vs went to the ship, and there we saw open water in the Sea, and then wee went ouer the Ice-hills as well as we could, to the water, for in sixe or seuen moneths we had not gone so neere vnto it, and when we got to the water, there we saw a little bird swimming therein, but as soone as it espied vs, it diued vnder the water, which we tooke for a signe, that there was more open water in the Sea then there had beene before, and that the time approached that the water would open.

The eighteenth of Aprill, it was faire weather, the wind South-west, then wee tooke the height of the Sunne, and it was eleuated aboue the Horizon 25. degrees and 10. minutes, his declination 11. degrees and 12. minutes, which being taken from the height aforesaid, there rested 13. degrees and 58. minutes, which substracted from 90. degrees, the height of the Pole was found to be 75. degrees 58. minutes; then eleuen of vs went with a Sled to fetch more Wood, and brought it to the house, in the night there came another Beare vpon our house, which we hearing, went all out with our Armes, but the Beare ran away.

The eight and twentieth, it was faire weather, with a North wind, then we tooke the height of the Sunne againe, and found it to bee eleuateed 28. degrees and 8. minutes, his declination 14. degrees and 8. minutes, which substracted from 90. degrees, there rested 76. degrees for the height

height of the Pole. The nine and twentieth, it was faire weather, with a South-west wind, then we played at Colfe, both to the ship, and from thence againe homewards, to exercise our selues. The thirtieth, it was faire weather, the wind South-west, then in the night wee could see the Sunne in the North (when it was in the highest) iust aboue the Horizon, so that from that time wee saw the Sunne both night and day.

§. III.

Their preparation to goe from thence: they depart in a Boat and Scute both open, and come to Cola, 1143. *miles. Their many dangers by Beares, Ice, Famine, Scorbute, in the way.*

THE first of May, it was faire weather with a West wind, then wee sod our last flesh, which for a long time we had spared, and it was still very good, and the last morsell tasted as well as the first, and we found no fault therein, but onely that it would last no longer. The second, it was foule weather, with a storme out of the South-west, whereby the Sea was almost cleare of Ice, and then wee beganne to speake about getting from thence, for we had kept house long enough there. The third, it was still foule weather, with a South-west wind, whereby the Ice began wholly to driue away, but it lay fast about the ship, and when our best meate, as flesh, and other things beganne to faile vs, which was our greatest sustenance, and that it behooued vs to be somewhat strong, to sustaine the labour that wee were to vndergoe, when we went from thence, the Master shared the rest of the Bacon amongst vs, which was a small Barrell with salt Bacon in pickle, whereof euery one of vs had two ounces a day, which continued for the space of three weekes, and then it was eaten vp. May.

The fourth, it was indifferent faire weather, the wind South-west, that day fiue of vs went to the ship, and found it lying still as fast in the Ice as it did before, for about the middle of March it was but seuenty fiue paces from the open water, and then it was fiue hundred paces from the water, and enclosed round about with high hills of Ice, which put vs in no small feare, how wee should bring our Scute and our Boat through or ouer that way into the water, when wee went to leaue that place. That night there came a Beare to our house, but as soone as shee heard vs make a noyse, she ranne away againe, one of our men that climbed vp in the Chimney, saw when shee ranne away, so that it seemed that as then they were afraid of vs, and durst not bee so bold to set vpon vs, as they were at the first. The fift, it was faire weather, with some snow, the wind East, that Eeuening, and at night wee saw the Sunne when it was at the lowest, a good way aboue the Earth. The sixt, it was faire cleare weather, with a great South-west wind, whereby we saw the Sea open both in the East and in the West, which made our men exceeding glad, longing sore to be gone from thence. The seuenth, it was foule weather, and snew hard, with a North wind, whereby we were closed vp againe in our house.

The tenth, it was faire weather with a North-west wind, that night the Sunne by our common Compasse being North North-east, and at the lowest, we tooke the height thereof, and it was eleuated 3. degrees and 45. minutes, his declination was 17. degrees and 45. minutes, from whence taking the height aforesaid, there rested 14. degrees, which substracted from 90. degrees, there rested 76. degrees for the height of the Pole.

The fourteenth, wee fetcht our last Sled with fire-wood, and still ware our shooes made of Rugge on our feet.

The fiue and twentieth, it was faire weather, with an East wind, then at noone time wee tooke the height of the Sunne, that was eleuated aboue the Horizon 34. degrees and 46. minutes, his declination 20. degrees and 46. minutes, which taken from the height aforesaid, there rested 14. degrees, which taken from 90. degrees, rested 76. degrees for the height of the Pole.

The sixe and twentieth, it was faire weather, with a great North-east wind, whereby the Ice came in againe. The seuen and twentieth, it was foule weather, with a great North-east wind, which draue the Ice mightily in againe, whereupon the Master, at the motion of the companie, willed vs to make preparation to be gone.

The nine and twentieth in the morning, it was reasonable faire weather, with a West wind, then ten of vs went vnto the Seute to bring it to the house to dresse it, and make it ready to sayle, but wee found it deepe hidden vnder the snow, and were fayne with great payne and labour to digge it out, but when wee had gotten it out of the snow, and thought to draw it to the house, wee could not doe it, because wee were too weake, wherewith wee became wholly out of heart, doubting that wee should not bee able to goe forward with our labour, but the Master encouraging vs, bade vs striue to doe more then wee were able; saying, that both our liues and our well-fare consisted therein: and that if wee could not get the Scute from thence, and make it ready, then hee said wee must dwell there as Burgers of *Nona Zembla*, and make our Graues in that place: but there wanted no good-will in vs but onely strength, Burgers of *Nona Zembla*.

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which made vs for that time to leaue off worke and let the Scute lie ſtill, which was no ſmall griefe vnto vs, and trouble to thinke what were beſt for vs to doe; but after noone being thus comfortleſſe come home, wee tooke hearts againe, and determined to turne the Boat that lay by the houſe with her keele vpwards, and to amend it, that it might bee the fitter to carrie vs ouer the Sea, for wee made full account that we had a long troubleſome Voyage in hand, wherein wee might haue many croſſes, and wherein wee ſhould not bee ſufficiently prouided for all things neceſſarie, although wee tooke neuer ſo much care, and while wee were buſie about our worke, there came a great Beare vnto vs, wherewith wee went into our houſe, and ſtood to watch her in our three doores, with Harquebuſſes, and one ſtood in the Chimney with a Muſket, this Beare came boldlier vnto vs then euer any had done before, for ſhee came to the neather ſtep that went to one of our doores, and the man that ſtood in the doore ſaw her not, becauſe hee looked towards the other doore, but they that ſtood within ſaw her, and in great feare called to him, wherewith he turned about, and although he was in a maze, he ſhot at her, and the Bullet paſt cleane through her body, whereupon ſhe ranne away. Yet it was a fearefull thing to ſee, for the Beare was almoſt vpon him before hee ſaw her, ſo that if the Peece had fayled to giue fire (as oftentimes they doe) it had coſt him his life, and it may bee, that the Beare would haue gotten into the houſe. The Beare being gone ſomewhat from the houſe lay downe, wherewith wee went all armed and killed her out right, and when wee had ript open her bellie: we found a piece of a Bucke therein, with haire, skinne and all, which not long before ſhee had torne and deuoured.

Bucke.

The one and thirtieth of May, it was faire weather, but ſomewhat colder then before, the wind being South-weſt, whereby the Ice draue away, and we wrought hard about our Boat, but when wee were in the chiefeſt part of worke, there came another Beare, as if they had ſmelt that wee would be gone, and that therefore they deſired to taſte a piece of ſome of vs, for that was the third day, one after the other, that they ſet ſo fiercely vpon vs, ſo that wee were forced to leaue our worke, and goe into the houſe, and ſhee followed vs, but we ſtood with our Peeces to watch her, and ſhot three Peeces at her, two from our doores, and one out of the Chimney, which all three hit her: but her death did vs more hurt then her life, for after we ript her belly, we dreſt her Liuer and eate it, which in the taſte liked vs well, but it made vs all ſicke, ſpecially three that were exceeding ſicke, and wee verily thought that wee ſhould haue loſt them, for all their skins came off, from the foot to the head, but yet they recouered againe.

Beares Liuer venomous.

Iune.

The third of Iune, in the morning it was faire cleare weather the wind Weſt, and then wee were ſomewhat better, and tooke great paines with the Boat, that at laſt we got it ready, after we had wrought ſixe dayes vpon it: about Eeuening it began to blow hard, and therewith the water was very open, which put vs in good comfort that our deliuerance would ſoone follow, and that we ſhould once get out of that deſolate and fearefull place.

The fourth, it was faire cleare weather, and indifferent warme, and about the South-eaſt Sunne, eleuen of vs went to our Scute where it then lay, and drew it to the ſhip, at which time the labour ſeemed lighter vnto vs then it did before, when wee tooke it in hand and were forced to leaue it off againe. The reaſon thereof was, the opinion that wee had that the ſnow as then lay harder vpon the ground, and ſo was become ſtronger; and it may be that our courages were better, to ſee that the time gaue vs open water, and that our hope was that wee ſhould get from thence; and ſo three of our men ſtayed by the Scute to build her to our minds: and for that it was a Herring Scute, which are made narrow behind, therefore they ſawed it off behind, and made it a broad ſtearne: and better to brooke the Seas, they built it alſo ſomewhat higher, and dreſt it vp as well as they could, the reſt of our men were buſie in the houſe to make all other things ready for our Voyage, and that day drew two Sleds with victuals and other goods vnto the ſhip, that lay about halfe way betweene the houſe and the open water, that after they might haue ſo much the ſhorter way, to carrie the goods vnto the water ſide, when wee ſhould goe away: at which time all the labour and paines that wee tooke, ſeemed light and eaſie vnto vs, becauſe of the hope that wee had to get out of that wilde Deſart, irkeſome, fearefull, and cold Countrey.

The fift, it was foule weather, with great ſtore of haile and ſnow, the wind Weſt, which made an open water, but as then we could doe nothing without the houſe, but within we made all things ready, as Sayles, Oares, Maſts, Sprit, Rother, Swerd, and all other neceſſarie things. The ſixt, in the morning it was faire weather, the wind North-eaſt, then wee went with our Carpenters to the ſhip, to build vp our Scute, and carried two ſleds full of goods into the ſhip, both victuals and Merchandiſe, with other things, which wee meant to take with vs; after that there roſe very foule weather in the South-weſt, with ſnow, haile, and raine, which wee in long time had not had, whereby the Carpenters were forced to leaue their worke, and goe home to the houſe with vs, whereby alſo we could not be drie, becauſe wee had taken off the Deales, therewith to amend our Boat and our Scute, there lay but a ſayle ouer it, which would not hold out the water, and the way that lay full of ſnow began to be ſoft, ſo that wee left off our ſhooes made of Rugge and Felt, and put on our Leather ſhooes.

The

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The eight, it was faire weather, and wee drew the wares to the ship, which wee had packed and made ready, and the Carpenters made ready the Scute, so that the same euening it was almost done, the same day all our men went to draw our Boat to the ship, and made ropes to draw withall, such as wee vse to draw with in Scutes, which wee cast ouer our shoulders, and held fast with all our hands, and so drew both with our hands and our shoulders, which gaue vs more force, and specially the desire and great pleasure wee tooke to worke at that time, made vs stronger.

The tenth, wee carried foure Sleds of goods into the ship, the wind then being variable, and at euening it was Northerly, and wee were busie in the house to make all things ready, the Wine that was left we put into little vessels, that so wee might diuide it into both our vessels, and that as wee were enclosed by the Ice, (which wee well knew would happen vnto vs) wee might easilier cast the goods vpon the Ice, both out and into the Scutes, as time and place serued vs. The eleuenth, it was foule weather, and it blew hard North North-west, so that all that day we could doe nothing, and we were in great feare left the storme would carrie the Ice and the ship both away together, (which might well haue come to passe) then wee should haue beene in greater miserie then euer wee were, for that our goods both victuals and others, were then all in the ship, but God prouided so well for vs, that it fell not out so vnfortunatly. The twelfth, it was indifferent faire weather, then we went with Hatchets, Halberds, Shouels, and other instruments, to make the way plaine, where we should draw the Scute and the Boat to the water side, along the way that lay full of knobs and hills of Ice, where wee wrought sore with our Hatchets and other instruments, and while we were in the chiefest of our worke, there came a great leane Beare out of the Sea vpon the Ice towards vs, which we iudged to come out of *Tartaria:* for we had seene of them twenty or thirty miles within the Sea, and for that wee had no Muskets, but onely one, which our Surgeon carried, I ranne in great haste towards the ship to fetch one or two, which the Beare perceiuing ranne after mee, and was very likely to haue ouer taken me, but our companie seeing that, left their worke and ranne after her, which made the Beare turne towards them, and left me, but when she ran towards them, she was shot into the body by the Surgeon, and ranne away; but because the Ice was so vneuen and hilly, she could not goe farre, but being by vs ouertaken, we killed her out right, and smote her teeth out of her head, while she was yet liuing. Beare slayne.

The thirteenth, it was faire weather, then the Master and the Carpenters went to the ship, and there made the Scute and the Boat ready, so that there rested nothing as then, but onely to bring it downe to the water side, the Master and those that were with him, seeing that it was open water, and a good West wind, came backe to the house againe, and there hee spake vnto *William Barents* (that had beene long sicke) and shewed him, that he thought it good, (seeing it was a fit time) to goe from thence, and so willed the companie to driue the Boat and the Scute downe to the water side, and in the name of God to beginne our Voyage, to sayle from *Noua Zembla*: then *William Barents* wrote a Letter, which he put in a Muskets charge, and hanged it vp in the Chimney, shewing how he came out of *Holland*, to sayle to the Kingdome of *China*, and what had happened vnto vs being there on Land, with all our crosses, that if any man chanced to come thither, they might know what had happened vnto vs, and how we had beene forced in our extremitie to make that house, and had dwelt ten moneths therein, and for that wee were put to Sea in two small open Boats, and to vndertake a dangerous and aduenturous Voyage in hand, the Master wrote two Letters, which most of vs subscribed vnto, signifying how wee had stayed there vpon the Land in great trouble and miserie, in hope that our ship would bee freed from the Ice, and that we should sayle away with it againe, and how it fell out to the contrary, and that the ship lay fast in the Ice, so that in the end the time passing away, and our victuals beginning to faile vs, we were forced for the sauing of our owne liues, to leaue the ship, and to sayle away in our open Boats, and so to commit our selues into the hands of God. Which done, he put into each of our Scutes a Letter, that if wee chanced to lose one another, or that by stormes or any other misaduenture we happened to be cast away, that then by the Scute that escaped, men might know how we left each other, and so hauing finished all things as we determined, we drew the Boat to the water side, and left a man in it, and went and fetcht the Scute, and after that eleuen Sleds with goods, as Victuals, with some Wine that yet remayned, and the Merchants goods, which we preserued as well as we could, *viz.* sixe packes with fine woollen Cloth, a Chest of Linnen, two packets with Veluet, two small Chests with Money, two Dri-fats with mens Clothes and other things, thirteene Barrels of Bread, a Barrell of Cheese, a flitch of Bacon, two Runlets of Oyle, sixe small Runlets of Wine, two Runlets of Vineger, with other packes belonging to the Saylers, so that when they lay all together vpon a heape, a man would haue iudged that they would not haue gone into the Scutes, which being all put into them, we went to the house, and first drew *William Barents* vpon a Sled to the place where our Scutes lay, and after that we fetcht *Claes Adrianson*, both of them hauing beene long sicke, and so we entred into the Scutes, and diuided our selues into each of them alike, and put into either of them a sicke man, then the Master caused both the Scutes to lie close one by the other, They depart.

The Letter is omitted. It was ſubſcribed by *Iacob Hemſkerke, Peter Peterſon Vos*, Maſter *Hans Vos, Laurence Williamſon, Peter Corneliſon, Iohn Remarſon, William Barents, Gerrat de Veer, Leonard Hendrickſon, Iacob Iohnſon Schedam, Iacob Iohnſon Sterenburg.*

Orange Iland.

Open Scutes.

and there we ſubſcribed to the Letters which he had written, and ſo committing our ſelues to the will and mercy of God, with a Weſt North-weſt wind, and an indifferent open water, we ſet ſayle and put to Sea.

The fourteenth of Iune in the morning, the Sunne Eaſterly, wee put off from the Land of *Noua Zembla*, and the faſt Ice thereunto adioyning, with our Boat and our Scute, hauing a Weſt wind, and ſayled Eaſt North-eaſt all that day to the Ilands point, which was fiue miles, but our firſt beginning was not very good, for we entred faſt into the Ice againe, which there lay very hard and faſt, which put vs into no ſmall feare and trouble, and being there, foure of vs went on Land, to know the ſituation thereof, and there we tooke many Birds, which wee kild with ſtones vpon the clifts.

The ſixteenth, we ſet ſayle againe, and got to the Iland of *Orange*, with a South wind, which is eight miles diſtant from the Point of *Deſire*, there we went on Land with two ſmall Barrels, and a Kettle, to melt ſnow, and to put the water into the Barrels, as alſo to ſeeke for Birds and Egges, to make meate for our ſicke men. We put to the Sea againe with a South-eaſt wind and drowſie miſeling weather, whereby we were all dankiſh and wet, for wee had no ſhelter in our open Scutes, and ſayled Weſt, and Weſt and by South, to the *Ice-point*, and wee made our Scutes faſt to a great piece of Ice, and there eate ſomewhat, but the weather was ſtill fouler and fouler, ſo that we were once againe encloſed with Ice, and forced to ſtay there.

The ſeuenteenth in the morning, when we had broken our faſts, the Ice came ſo faſt vpon vs that it made our haires ſtare vpright vpon our heads, it was ſo fearefull to behold: by which meanes we could not make faſt our Scutes, ſo that we thought verily that it was a fore-ſhewing of our laſt ende, for wee draue away ſo hard with the Ice, and were ſo ſore preſt betweene a flake of Ice, that we thought verily the Scutes would burſt in a hundred pieces, at laſt, being in this diſcomfort, and extreme neceſſitie, the Maſter ſaid, if we could take hold with a rope vpon the faſt Ice, we might therewith draw the Scute vp, and ſo get it out of the great drift of Ice, but as this counſell was good, yet it was ſo full of danger, that it was the hazard of his life that ſhould take vpon him to doe it, and without doing it, was it moſt certaine, that it would coſt vs all our liues: this counſell as I ſaid was good, but no man (like to the tale of the Mice) durſt hang the Bell about the Cats necke, fearing to bee drowned, yet neceſſitie required to haue it done, and the moſt danger made vs chooſe the leaſt, ſo that being in that perplexitie, I being the lighteſt of all our companie, tooke on me to faſten a rope vpon the faſt Ice, and ſo creeping from one piece of driuing Ice to another, by Gods helpe got to the faſt Ice, where I made a rope faſt to a high howell, and they that were in the Scute, drew it thereby vnto the ſaid faſt Ice, and then one man alone could draw more then all of them could haue done before, and when we had gotten thither, in all haſte wee tooke our ſicke men out, and layed them vpon the Ice, laying clothes and other things vnder them, and then tooke all our goods out of the Scutes, and ſo drew them vpon the Ice, whereby for that time we were deliuered from that great danger, making account that we had eſcaped out of deaths clawes, as it was moſt true.

Dangerous attempt to draw the Boat ouer the Ice.

The eighteenth, we repaired and amended our Scutes againe, being much bruiſed and cruſhed with the racking of the Ice, and were forced to driue all the nayles faſt againe and to piece many things about them, God ſending vs Wood, wherewith we molt our Pitch, and did all other things that belonged thereunto, that done, ſome of vs went vpon the Land to ſeeke for Egges, which the ſicke men longed for, but we could finde none, but we found foure Birds, not without great danger of our liues, betweene the Ice and the firme Land, wherein wee often fell, and were in no ſmall danger.

The nineteenth, it was indifferent weather, the wind North-weſt, and Weſt South-weſt, but we were ſtill ſhut vp in the Ice, and ſaw no opening, which made vs thinke that there would be our laſt abode, and that we ſhould neuer get from thence.

W. Barents dieth.

The twentieth, *Claes Adrianſon* and *William Barents* died, the death of *William Barents* put vs in no ſmall diſcomfort, as being the chiefe Guide, and onely Pilot on whom wee repoſed our ſelues, next vnder God.

The two and twentieth in the morning, it blew a good gale out of the South-eaſt, and then the Sea was reaſonable open, but we were forced to draw our Scutes ouer the Ice to get vnto it, which was great paine and labour vnto vs; for, firſt we were forced to draw our Scutes ouer a piece of Ice of fifty paces long, and there put them into the water, and then againe to draw them vp vpon other Ice, and after drew them at the leaſt an hundred paces more ouer the Ice, before we could bring them to a good place where we might eaſily get out, and being gotten vnto the open water we committed our ſelues to God, and ſet ſayle the Sun being about Eaſt North-eaſt, with an indifferent gale of wind out of the South, and South South-eaſt, and ſayled Weſt, and Weſt and by South, till the Sunne was South, and then we were round about encloſed with Ice againe, and could not get out, but were forced to lie ſtill, but not long after the Ice opened againe like to a ſluce, and we paſt through it and ſet ſayle againe, and ſo ſayled along by the Land, but were preſently encloſed with Ice, but being in hope of opening againe, meane time wee eate ſomewhat, for the Ice went not away as it did before: after that wee vſed all the meanes wee could

Encloſed again with Ice:

and againe.

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could to breake it, but all in vayne, and yet a good while after, the Ice opened againe, and we got out, and ſayled along by the Land, Weſt and by South, with a South vvind.

The three and twentieth, wee ſayled ſtill forward Weſt and by South, till the Sunne was South-eaſt, and got to the *Truſt-point*, which is diſtant from the *Ice-point* fiue and twentie miles, and then could goe no furtheer, becauſe the Ice lay ſo hard and ſo cloſe together, and yet it was faire weather: the ſame day we tooke the height of the Sunne with the *Aſtrolabium*, and alſo with our Aſtronomicall Ring, and found his height to be 37. degrees, and his Declination 23. degrees and 30. minutes, which taken from the height aforeſayd, there reſted 13. degrees and 30. minutes, which ſubſtracted out of 90. degrees, the height of the Pole was 76. degrees and 30. minutes, and it was faire Sun-ſhine weather, and yet it was not ſo ſtrong as to melt the Snow, that we might haue water to drinke, ſo that wee ſet all our Tinne platters and other things full of Snow to melt, and ſo molt it, and put ſnow in our mouthes, to melt it downe into our throates, but all was not enough, ſo that we were compelled to endure great thirſt.

Truſt-point.

Extreame cold

From the Low-land, *to the* Streame *Bay, the courſe Eaſt and Weſt, foure miles. From the* Streame *Bay, to the* Ice-hauen *point, the courſe Eaſt and by North, foure miles. From the* Ice-hauen *point, to the* Ilands *point, the courſe Eaſt North-eaſt, fiue miles. From the* Ilands *point, to the* Fluſhingers *point, the courſe North-eaſt and by Eaſt, three miles. From the* Fluſhingers *point, to the* Head *point, the courſe North-eaſt, foure miles. From the* Head *point, to the point of* Deſire, *the courſe South and North, ſixe miles. From the point of* Deſire, *to the Iland of* Orange, *North-weſt, eight miles. From the Ilands of* Orange, *to the* Ice *point, the courſe Weſt, and Weſt and by South, fiue miles. From the* Ice *point, to the point of* Truſt, *the courſe Weſt and by South, fiue and twentie miles. From the point of* Truſt, *to* Naſſawes *point, the courſe Weſt, and Weſt and by North, ten miles. From the* Naſſaw *point, to the Eaſt end of the* Croſſe *Iland, the courſe Weſt and by North, eight miles. From the Eaſt end of the* Croſſe *Iland, to* Williams *Iland, the courſe Weſt and by South, three miles. From* Williams *Iland, to the* Blacke *point, the courſe Weſt South-weſt, ſixe miles. From the* Blacke *point, to the Eaſt end of the* Admirable *Iland, the courſe Weſt South-weſt, ſeuen miles. From the Eaſt to the Weſt point of the* Admirable *Iland, the courſe Weſt South-weſt, fiue miles. From the Weſt point of the* Admirable *Iland, to Cape* Planto, *the courſe South-weſt and by Weſt, ten miles. From Cape* de Planto, *to* Lombſ-bay, *the courſe Weſt South-weſt, eight miles. From* Lombſ-bay, *to the* Staues *point, the courſe Weſt South-weſt, ten miles. From the* Staues *point, to* Langeneſſe, *the courſe South-weſt and by South, fourteene miles. From* Langeneſſe, *to Cape* de Cant, *the courſe South-weſt and by South, ſixe miles. From Cape* de Cant, *to the point with the* Blacke *clifts, the courſe South and by Weſt, foure miles. From the point with the* Blacke *clifts, to the* Blacke *Iland, the courſe South South-eaſt, three miles. From the* Blacke *Iland, to* Conſtint-ſarke, *the courſe Eaſt and Weſt, two miles. From* Conſtint-ſarke, *to the* Croſſe *point, the courſe South South-eaſt, fiue miles. From* Croſſe *point, to Saint* Laurence *Bay, the courſe South South-eaſt, ſixe miles. From Saint* Laurence *Bay, to* Mel-hauen, *the courſe South-eaſt, ſixe miles. From* Mel-hauen *to the two Ilands, the courſe South South-eaſt, ſixe miles. From the two Ilands, where we croſt ouer to the* Ruſſia *Coaſt, to the Ilands of* Matſloe *and* Delgoy, *the courſe South-weſt, thirtie miles. From* Matſloe *and* Delgoy, *to the Creeke where we ſayled the compaſſe round about, and came to the ſame place againe, two and twentie miles. From that Creeke, to* Colgoy, *the courſe Weſt North-weſt, eighteene miles. From* Colgoy, *to the Eaſt point of* Camdenas, *the courſe Weſt North-weſt, twentie miles. From the Eaſt point of* Camdenas, *to the Weſt ſide of the* White Sea, *the courſe Weſt North-weſt, fortie miles. From the Weſt point of the* White Sea, *to the ſeuen* Ilands, *the courſe North-weſt fourteene miles. From the ſeuen* Ilands, *to the VVeſt end of* Kilduin, *the courſe North-weſt, twentie miles. From the VVeſt end of* Kilduin, *to the place where* Iohn Cornelis *came vnto vs, the courſe North-weſt and by VVeſt, ſeuen miles. From thence to* Cola, *the courſe VVeſt Southerly, eighteene miles.*

The ſtretching of the Land from the houſe where we wintred, along by the North-ſide of *Noua Zembla*, to the Straights of *Wey-gats*, where we paſt ouer to the Coaſt of *Ruſſia*, and ouer the entrie of the white Sea to *Cola*, according to the Card here inſuing.

So that wee ſayled in the two open Scutes, ſometimes in the Ice, then ouer the Ice, and through the Sea, three hundred and eightie one miles Flemiſh, *which is one thouſand one hundred fortie and three miles* Engliſh.

The foure and twentieth of Iune, the Sunne being Eaſterly, we rowed heere and there in the Ice, to ſee where we might beſt goe out, but wee ſaw no opening, but when the Sunne was South, we got into the Sea, for the which we thanked God moſt heartily, that hee had ſent vs an vnexpected opening, and then we ſayled with an Eaſt winde, and went luſtily forward, ſo that we made our account to get aboue the point of *Naſſawes* cloſe by the land, and wee could eaſily ſee the point of *Naſſawes*, and made our account to bee about three miles from it.

The ſixe and twentieth, it ſtill blew hard out of the South, and broke the Ice whereunto we were faſt in pieces, and we thereby draue into the Sea, and could get no more to the faſt Ice, whereby we were in a thouſand dangers to bee all caſt away, and driuing in that ſort in the Sea, wee rowed as much as we could, but we could not get neere vnto the Land, therefore we hoyſed vp our Focke, and ſo made vp with our ſayle, but our Fock-maſt brake twice in peeces, and then it was worſe for vs then before, and notwithſtanding that there blew a great gale of Wind, yet we were forced to hoyſe vp our great Sayle, but the winde blew ſo hard into it, that if wee

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had not presently taken it in againe, we had sunke in the Sea, or else our Boate would haue been filled with water, for the water began to leape ouer-boord, and wee were a good way in the Sea, at which time the waues went so hollow, that it was most fearefull, and wee thereby saw nothing but death before our eyes, and euery twinckling of an eye looked when wee should sinke. But God that had deliuered vs out of so many dangers of Death, holpe vs once againe, and contrary to our expectations, sent vs a North-west wind, and so with great danger wee got to the fast Ice againe, when we were deliuered out of that danger, and knew not where our other Scute was, wee sayled one mile along by the fast Ice, but found it not, whereby we were wholly out of heart, and in great feare that they were drowned, at which time it was mystie weather, and so sayling along, and hearing no newes of our other Scute, we shot off a Musket, which they hearing shot off another, but yet we could not see each other, meane time approching neerer to each other, and the weather waxing somewhat cleerer, as wee and they shot once againe, we saw the smoake of their Piece, and at last we met together againe, and saw them lye fast, betweene driuing and fast Ice, and when we got neere vnto them, we went ouer the Ice, and holpe them to vnlade the goods out of their Scute, and drew it ouer the Ice, and with much paine and trouble brought it into the open water againe, and while they were fast in the Ice, wee found some Wood vpon the Land by the Sea side, and when we lay by each other, we sod some Bread and Water together, and eat it vp warme, which did vs much good.

The eight and twentieth, when the Sunne was in the East, wee layd all our goods vpon the Ice, and then drew the Scutes vpon the Ice also, because we were so hardly prest on all sides, with the Ice, and the wind came out of the Sea vpon the Land, and therefore wee were in feare to be wholly inclosed with the Ice, and should not be able to get out thereof againe, and being vpon the Ice, we layd sayles ouer our Scutes, and lay downe to rest, appointing one of our men to keepe watch, and when the Sunne was North, there came three Beares towards our Scutes, where-

Three Beares. with hee that kept the Watch cryed, *three Beares, three Beares,* at which noyse wee leapt out of our Boates with our Muskets, that were laden with hayle-shot to shoote at Birds, and had no time to discharge them, and therefore shot at them therewith, and although that kinde of shot could not hurt them much, yet they ranne away, and in the meane time they gaue vs leasure to lade our Muskets with bullets, and by that meanes wee shot one of the three dead, which the other two perceiuing ranne away, but within two houres after they came againe, but when they were almost at vs and heard vs make a noyse, they ranne away, at which time the winde was West, and West and by North, which made the Ice driue with great force into the East.

One Beare carryeth another in his mouth and eat it. The nine and twentieth of Iune, the Sunne being South South-west, the two Beares came againe to the place where the dead Beare lay, where one of them tooke the dead Beare in his mouth, and went a great way with it ouer the rugged Ice, and then began to eate it, which vve perceiuing shot a Musket at her, but she hearing the noyse thereof ranne away, and let the dead Beare lye, then foure of vs went thither, and saw that in so short time she had eaten almost the halfe of her, we tooke the dead Beare and layd it vpon a high heape of Ice, that we might see it out of our Scute, that if the Beare came againe we might shoot at her, at which time we try-

Strong Beare. ed the great strength of the Beare, that carryed the dead Beare as lightly in her mouth, as if it had beene nothing, whereas wee foure had enough to doe to carry away the halfe dead Beare betweene vs.

Iuly. The first of Iuly, it was indifferent faire vveather, with a West North-west wind, and in the Morning the Sunne being East, there came a Beare from the driuing Ice towards vs, and swam ouer the water to the fast Ice whereon we lay, but when she heard vs, she came no neerer but ran away, and when the Sunne was South-east, the Ice came so fast in towards vs, that all the Ice whereon we lay with our Scutes and our goods, brake and ran one peece vpon another, whereby vve were in no small feare, for at that time most of our goods fell into the water, but wee with great diligence drew our Scutes further vpon the Ice towards the Land, where vve thought to be better defended from the driuing of the Ice, and as we went to fetch our goods, we fell into the greatest trouble that euer we had before, for that wee endured so great danger in the sauing thereof, that as we layd hold vpon one peece thereof, the rest sunke downe with the Ice, and many times the Ice brake vnder our owne feete, vvhereby we were wholly discomforted, and in a manner cleane out of all hope, expecting no issue thereof, in such sort that our trouble at that time surmounted all our former cares and impeachments, and vvhen wee thought to draw vp our Boates vpon the Ice, the Ice brake vnder vs, and we were carryed away vvith the Scute, and all by the driuing Ice, and when vve thought to saue the goods, the Ice brake vnder our feet, and with that the Scute brake in many places, especially that which wee had mended, as the Mast, the mast planke, and almost all the Scute, wherein one of our men that vvas sicke, and a Chest of money lay, which we with great danger of our liues got out from it, for as we were doing it, the Ice that was vnder our feet draue from vs, and slid vpon other Ice, vvhereby we were in danger to burst both our armes and our legges, at vvhich time, thinking that wee had beene cleane quit of our Scute, vve beheld each other in pittifull manner, knowing not vvhat vve should doe, our liues depending thereon, but God made so good prouision for vs, that the peeces of Ice draue from each

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each other, wherewith we ranne in great haste vnto the Scute, and drew it to vs againe in such case as it was, and laid it vpon the fast Ice by the Boate, where it was in more securitie, which put vs vnto an exceeding and great and dangerous labour, from the time that the Sunne was South-east, vntill it was West South-west, and in all that time wee rested not, which made vs extreame wearie, and wholy out of comfort, for that it troubled vs sore, and it was much more fearefull vnto vs, then at that time when *William Barents* dyed, for there we were almost drowned, and that day we lost (which was sunke in the Sea) two Barrels of Bread, a Chist with Linnen Cloth, a Dry Fat with the Saylors Clothes, our Astronomicall Ring, a packe of Scarlet Cloth, a Rundlet of Oyle, and some Cheeses, and a Rundlet of Wine, which bouged with the Ice so that there was not any thing thereof saued.

The fourth, it was so faire cleere weather, that from the time we were first in *Nova Zembla*, we had not the like. The fifth, it was faire weather, the Wind West, South-west, the same day dyed *Iohn Franson* of *Harlem*.

The seuenth, it was faire weather with some Raine, the Winde West, South-west, and at Euening VVest, and by North, then we went to the open water, and there killed thirteene Birds, which we tooke vpon a piece of driuing Ice, and laid them vpon the fast Ice.

The ninth, in the morning, the Ice began to driue, whereby we got open water on the Land side, and then also the fast Ice whereon we lay, beganne to driue whereupon the Master and the men went to fetch the Packe and the Chist, that stood vpon the Ice, to put them into the Scute, and then drew the Scutes to the water, at least three hundred and fortie paces, which was hard for vs to doe, in regard that the labour was great, and we very weake, and when the Sunne was South South-east we set sayle with an East-wind, but when the Sunne was West, we were forced to make towards the fast Ice againe, because thereabouts it was not yet gone, the Winde being South, and came right from the Land, whereby wee were in good hope that it would driue away, and that we should proceed in our Voyage. The tenth, from the time that the Sunne was East North-east, till it was East, we tooke great paines and labour to get through the Ice, and at last we got through, and rowed forth, vntill we happened to fall betweene two great flakes of Ice that closed one with the other, so that we could not get through, but were forced to draw the Scutes vpon them, and to vnlade the goods, and then to draw them ouer to the open water on the other side, and then we must goe fetch the goods also to the same place, being at least one hundred paces long, and when we were in open water againe, we rowed forward as well as we could, but we had not rowed long, before wee fell betweene two great flakes of Ice, that came driuing one against the other, but by Gods helpe, and our speedy rowing, we got from betweene them, before they closed vp, and being through we had a hard West Winde, right in our Teeth, so that of force we were constrayned to make towards the fast Ice that lay by the shoare.

The eleuenth, in the morning as we sate fast vpon the Ice, the Sunne being North-east, there came a great Beare out of the water running towards vs, but we watcht for her with three Muskets, and when she came within thirtie paces of vs, wee shot all the three Muskets at her, and killed her out-right, so that she stirred not a foot, and we might see the fat runne out at the holes of her skinne, that was shot in with the Muskets, swimme vpon the water like Oyle, and so driuing dead vpon the water, we went vpon a flake of Ice to her, and putting a Rope about her necke, drew her vp vpon the Ice, and smit out her Teeth, at which time we measured her bodie, and found it to be eight foot thicke, then we had a West Wind with close weather, but when the Sunne was South it began to cleere vp, then three of our men went to the Iland that lay before vs, and being there, they saw the *Crosse* Iland, lying West-ward from them, and went thither to see if that Summer there had beene any *Russian* there, and went thither vpon the fast Ice, that lay betweene the two Ilands, and being in the Iland, they could not perceiue that any man had beene in it since wee were there, there they got seuentie Egges, but when they had them, they knew not wherein to carrie them, at last one of them put off his Breeches, and tying them fast below, they carried them betweene two of them, and the third bare the Musket: and so came to vs againe, after they had beene twelue houres out, which put vs no small feare to thinke what was become of them, they told vs that they had many times gone vp to the knees in water, vpon the Ice betweene both the Ilands: and it was at least sixe mile to and fro, that they had gone, which made vs wonder how they could indure it, seeing we were all so weake. With the Egges that they had brought, wee were all well comforted, and fared like Lords, so that we found some reliefe in our great miserie, and then wee shared our last Wine amongst vs, whereof euery one had three Glasses.

Huge Beare.

The twelfth, in the morning, when the Sunne was East, the Wind began to blow East, and East North-east, with mystie weather, and at Euening sixe of our men went into the Land, to seeke certayne stones, and found some, but none of the best sort, and comming backe againe, eyther of them brought some Wood. The thirteenth, it was a faire day, then seuen of our men went to the firme Land to seeke for more stones, and found some, at which time the VVind was South-east. The fourteenth, it was faire vveather, with a good South VVind, and then the Ice began to driue from the Land, whereby wee were in good hope to haue an open water, but the

Wind

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Wind turning Weſterly againe, it lay ſtill, when the Sunne was South-weſt, three of our men vvent to the next Iland that lay before vs, and there ſhot a *Bercheynet*, which they brought to the Scute, and gaue it amongſt vs, for all our goods vvere common.

The ſixteenth, there came a Beare from the firme Land, that came very neere vnto vs, by reaſon that it was as vvhite as Snow, vvhereby at firſt vve could not diſcerne it to be a Beare, becauſe it ſhewed ſo like the ſnow, but by her ſtirring at laſt we perceiued her, and as ſhe came neere vnto vs, vve ſhot at her and hit her, but ſhee ranne away: that morning the Wind was VVeſt, and after that againe, Eaſt North-eaſt with cloſe weather. The ſeuenteenth, about the South South-eaſt Sunne, fiue of our men went againe to the neereſt Iland, to ſee if there appeared any open water, for our long ſtaying there was no ſmall griefe vnto vs, perceiuing not how wee ſhould get from thence, who being halfe way thither, they found a Beare lying behind a piece of Ice, which the day before had beene ſhot by vs, but ſhee hearing vs went away, but one of our men following her with a Boat-hooke, thruſt her into the skinne, wherewith the Beare roſe vp vpon her hinder feet, and as the man thruſt at her againe, ſhe ſtrooke the Iron of the Boat-hooke in pieces, wherewith the man fell downe vpon his buttockes, which our other two men ſeeing, two of them ſhot the Beare into the bodie, and with that ſhe ranne away, but the other man went after her with his broken ſtaffe, and ſtrooke the Beare vpon the backe, wherewith the Beare turned about againſt the man three times one after the other, and then the other two came to her and ſhot her into the bodie againe, wherewith ſhee ſat downe vpon her buttockes, and could ſcant runne any further, and then they ſhot once againe, wherewith ſhee fell downe, and they ſmote her Teeth out of her head: all that day the Winde was North-eaſt, and Eaſt North-eaſt.

The eighteenth, about the Eaſt Sun, three of our men went vp vpon the higheſt part of the land to ſee if there was any open water in the Sea, at which time they ſaw much open water, but it was ſo far from the land, that they were almoſt out of comfort, becauſe it lay ſo far from the land, and the faſt Ice, being of opinion that we ſhould not be able to draw the Scutes and the goods ſo farre thither, becauſe our ſtrengthes ſtill beganne to decreaſe: and the ſore labour and paine that we were forced to indure more and more increaſed, and comming to our Scutes, they brought vs that newes, but we being compelled thereunto by neceſſitie abandoned all wearineſſe and faintheartedneſſe, and determined with our ſelues to bring the Boats and the goods to the water ſide, and to row vnto that Ice, where wee muſt paſſe ouer to get to the open water, and when wee got to it, wee vnladed our Scutes, and drew them firſt ouer the Ice to the open water, and after that the goods; it beeing at the leaſt one thouſand paces, then wee ſet ſayle, till the Sunne was Weſt and by South; and preſently fell amongſt the Ice againe, where wee were forced to draw vp the Scutes againe vpon the Ice, and beeing vpon it, wee could ſee the *Croſſe* Iland, which wee gheſt to bee about a mile from vs, the Wind then being Eaſt, and Eaſt North-eaſt.

The nineteenth, lying in that manner vpon the Ice, about the Eaſt Sunne, ſeuen of our men went to the *Croſſe* Iland, and being there they ſaw great ſtore of open water in the Weſt, wherewith they much reioyced, and made as great haſte as they could to get to the Scutes againe, but before they came away they got 100. Egges, and brought them away with them, and comming to the Scutes, they ſhewed vs that they had ſeene as much open water in the Sea as they could diſcerne, being in good hope, that that would be the laſt time that they ſhould draw the Scutes ouer the Ice, and that it ſhould bee no more meaſured by vs, and in that ſort put vs in good comfort, whereupon we made ſpeed to dreſſe our Egges, and ſhared them amongſt vs, and preſently the Sunne being South South-weſt we fell to worke, to make all things ready to bring the Scutes to the water, which were to be drawne at leaſt two hundred paces ouer the Ice, which wee did with a good courage, becauſe we were in good hope that it would be the laſt time, and getting to the water, we put to Sea with Gods helpe, with an Eaſt, and Eaſt North-eaſt Wind, and a good gale, ſo that with the Weſt Sunne, we paſt by the *Croſſe* Iland, which is diſtant from *Cape de Naſſawes* ten miles, and preſently after that the Ice left vs, and wee got cleere out of it, yet wee ſaw ſome in the Sea, but it troubled vs not, and ſo wee held our courſe Weſt and by South, with a good gale of Wind out of the Eaſt, and Eaſt North-eaſt, ſo that wee gheſt that betweene euery meale-tyde we ſayled eighteene miles.

The twentieth, hauing ſtill a good gale about the South-eaſt Sunne, wee paſt along by the *Blacke Point*, which is twelue miles diſtant from the *Croſſe* Iland, and ſayled Weſt South-weſt, and about the Eeuening with the Weſt Sunne, we ſaw the *Admirals* Iland, and about the North Sunne paſt along by it, which is diſtant from the *Blacke Point* eight miles, and paſſing along by it, we ſaw about two hundred Sea-horſes, lying vpon a flake of Ice, and wee ſayled cloſe by them, and draue them from thence, which had almoſt coſt vs deere, for they beeing mightie ſtrong fiſhes, and of great force, ſwamme towards vs, (as if they would be reuenged on vs for the deſpight that we had done them (round about our Scutes) with a great noyſe, as if they would haue deuoured vs, but we eſcaped from them, by reaſon that we had a good gale of Wind, yet it was not wiſely done of vs to wake ſleeping Wolues. The one and twentieth, we paſt by Cape

Admirals Iland.

Plancio,

Plancio, about the East North-east Sunne, which lyeth West South-west eight miles from the *Admirals* Iland, and with the good gale that we had about the South-west Sunne, we sayled by *Langenes*; nine miles from Cape *Plancio*: there the Land reacheth most South-west, and we had a good North-east wind. Cape *Plancio*. *Langenes*.

The two and twentieth, we hauing so good a gale of wind when wee came to *Cape de Cant*, there we went on land to seeke for some Birds and Egges, but we found none, so we sayled forwards, but after that about the South Sunne we saw a Clift that was full of Birds, thither wee sayled and casting stones at them, we killed two and twentie Birds, and got fifteene Egges, which one of our men fetcht from the Clift, and if we would haue stayed there any longer, wee might haue taken a hundred or two hundred Birds at least, but because the Master was somewhat further into Sea-ward then we, and stayed for vs, and for that wee would not loose that faire fore-wind, we sayled forwards along by the Land, and about the South-west Sunne, wee came to another point, where wee got a hundred twentie and fiue Birds, which wee tooke with our hands out of their Nests, and some wee killed with stones, and made them fall downe into the water, for it is a thing certayne that those Birds neuer vsed to see men, and that no man had euer sought or vsed to take them, for else they would haue flowne away, and that they feared no bodie, but the Foxes and other wild beasts, that could not climbe vp the high Clifts, and that therefore they had made their Nests thereon, where they were out of feare of any beasts comming vnto them, for we were in no small danger of breaking of our legges and armes, especially as we came downe againe, because the Clift was so high and so steepe, those Birds had euery one but one Egge in their Nests, and that lay vpon the bare Clift without any straw or other thing vnder them, which is to be wondred at, to thinke how they could breed their young ones in so great cold, but it is to be thought and beleeued, that they therefore sit but vpon one Egge, that so the heate which they giue in breeding so many, may be wholly giuen vnto one Egge. Cape *Cant*. Strange Birds breeding in strong cold.

The foure and twentieth, it was faire weather, but the winde still Northerly, whereby wee were forced to lye still, and about noone we tooke the height of the Sunne with our *Astrolabium*, and found it to be eleuated aboue the Horizon 37. degrees and 20. minutes, his declination 20. degrees and 10. minutes which substracted from the height aforesaid rested 17. degrees and 10. minutes, which taken from 90. degrees, the height of the Pole was 73. degrees and 10. minutes, and for that we lay still there, some of our men went oftentimes on Land to seeke stones, and found some that were as good as euer any that we found.

The seuen and twentieth, wee had sayled from *Cape de Cant*, along by *Constinsarke*, to the *Crosse Point*, twentie miles, our course South South-east, the Wind North-west.

The eight and twentieth, it was faire weather with a North-east wind, then we sayled along by the Land, and with the South-west Sunne, got before Saint *Laurence* Bay, or *Sconce* Point, and sayled South South-east six miles, and being there, wee found two *Russians Lodgies*, or ships beyond the Point, wherewith we were not a little comforted, to thinke that we were come to the place where we found men, but were in some doubt of them, because they were so many, for at that time we saw at least thirtie men, and knew not what they were, there with much paine and labour we got to Land, which they perceiuing, left off their worke, and came towards vs, but without any Armes, and we also went on shoare, as many as were well, for diuers of vs were very ill at ease, and weake by reason of a great scouring in their bodies, and when wee met together, wee saluted each other in friendly wise, they after theirs, and wee after our manner, and when we were met, both they and wee lookt each other stedfastly in the face, for that some of them knew vs, and wee them, to bee the same men which the yeere before, when wee past through the *Wey-gates* had beene in our ship: at which time wee perceiued that they were abasht and wondred at vs, to remember that at that time wee were so well furnished with a great ship, that was exceedingly prouided of all things necessary, and then to see vs so leane and bare, with so small Scutes in that Countrey: and amongst them there were two, that in friendly manner clapt the Master and me vpon the shoulder, as knowing vs since that Voyage: for there was none of all our men that was as then in that Voyage, but we two only, and asked vs for our *Crable*, meaning our ship, and we shewed them by signes as well as we could (for we had no Interpreter) that we had lost our ship in the Ice, wherewith they said, *Crable pro pal* (which wee vnderstood to bee, *Haue you lost your ship?*) and we made answere, *Crable pro pal*, which was as much as to say, That we had lost our ship, and many more words we could not vse, because we vnderstood not each other, then they made shew to be sorrie for our losse, and to be grieued that we the yeere before had beene there with so many ships, and then to see vs in so simple manner, and made vs signes that then they had drunke Wine in our ship, and asked vs what drinke wee had now, wherewith one of our men went into the Scute and drew some water, and let them taste thereof, but they shak't their heads, and said, *No dobbre* (that is, It is not good) then our Master went neerer vnto them, and shewed them his mouth, to giue them to vnderstand that we were troubled with a loosenesse in our bellies, and to know if they could giue vs any counsell to helpe it, but they thought wee made shew that wee had great hunger wherewith one of them went vnto their Lodging, and fetcht a round Rie Loafe, weighing about eight pounds, with some Two *Russian Lodies* or *Lodgies*.

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ſome ſmored Fowles which we accepted thankfully, and gaue them in exchange halfe a doozen of Muſchuyt, then our Maſter led two of the chiefe of them with him into his Scute, and gaue them ſome of the Wine that we had, being almoſt a Gallon, for it was ſo neere out: and while we ſtayed there, we were very familiar with them, and went to the place where they lay, and ſod ſome of our Miſchuyt with water by their fire, that we might eat ſome warme thing downe into our bodies, and wee were much comforted to ſee the *Ruſſians* for that in thirteene moneths time, that we departed from *Iohn Cornelſon*, we had not ſeene any man, but onely monſterous and cruell wild Beares.

The nine and twentieth, it was reaſonable faire weather, and that morning the *Ruſſians* beganne to make preparation to bee gone, and to ſet ſayle: at which time they digged certayne Barrels with Trayne Oyle out of the ſieges which they had buried there, and put it into their ſhips.

No Raine. The thirtieth, lying at Anchor, the Wind ſtill blew North-weſt, with great ſtore of Raine, and a ſore ſtorme, ſo that although we had couered our Scutes with our Sayles, yet we could not lye dry, which was an vnaccuſtomed thing vnto vs: for wee had had no Raine in long time before, and yet we were forced to ſtay there all that day.

The one and thirtieth, in the morning, about the North-eaſt Sunne, wee rowed from that Iland to another Iland, whereon there ſtood two Croſſes, wee thought that ſome men had layne there about Trade of Merchandize, as the other *Ruſſians* that wee ſaw before had done, but wee found no man there, the Wind as then beeing North-weſt, whereby the Ice draue ſtill towards the *Wey-gates*: there to our great good wee went on Land, for in that Iland wee found great ſtore of Leple leaues, which ſerued vs exceeding well, and it ſeemed that God had purpoſely ſent vs thither: for as then wee had many ſicke men, and moſt of vs were ſo troubled with a ſcouring in our bodies, and were thereby become ſo weake, that wee could hardly row, but by meanes of thoſe leaues we were healed thereof: for that as ſoone as we had eaten them, we were preſently eaſed and healed, whereat wee could not chooſe but wonder, and therefore wee gaue God great thankes for that, and for many other his mercies ſhewed vnto vs, by his great and vnexpected aide lent vs, in that our dangerous Voyage: and ſo as I ſaid before, wee eate them by whole handfuls together, becauſe in *Holland* we had heard much ſpoken of their great force, and as then found it to be much more then we expected.

Scuruy-graſſe, or Leple leaues cure their ſcowring and Scorbuticall infirmitie.

Auguſt. The firſt of Auguſt, the Wind blew hard North-weſt, and the Ice that for a while had driuen towards the entry of the *Wey-gates*, ſtayed and draue no more, but the Sea went very hollow, whereby we were forced to remoue our Scutes on the other ſide of the Iland, to defend them from the waues of the Sea, and lying there wee went on Land againe to fetch more Leple leaues, whereby we had beene ſo well holpen, and ſtill more and more recouered our healths, and in ſo ſhort time, that we could not chooſe but wonder thereat, ſo that as then ſome of vs could eate Bisket againe, which not long before they could not doe. The ſecond, it was darke miſtie weather, the Winde ſtill blowing ſtiffe North-weſt, at which time our victuals beganne to decreaſe, for as then wee had nothing but a little Bread and Water, and ſome of vs a little Cheeſe.

The third, about the North Sunne, the weather being ſomewhat better, wee agreed amongſt our ſelues to leaue *Noua Zembla* and to croſſe ouer to *Ruſſia*, and ſo committing our ſelues to God, we ſet ſayle with a North-weſt Wind, and ſayled South South-weſt till the Sunne was Eaſt, and then we entred into Ice againe, which put vs in great feare, and about the South-weſt Sunne got cleere thereof, and entred into the large Sea, where we ſaw Ice, and then what with ſayling and rowing we had made twentie miles, and ſo ſailing forwards wee thought to approch neere vnto the *Ruſſian* Coaſt; but about the North-weſt Sunne we entred into Ice againe, and then it was very cold.

The fourth, about the South-eaſt Sunne, being gotten out of the Ice, we ſayled forward with a North-weſt Wind, and held our courſe Southerly, and when the Sunne was South, at noone time we ſaw the Coaſt of *Ruſſia* lying before vs, whereat we were exceeding glad, and going neerer vnto it, we ſtrooke our ſayles and rowed on Land, and found it to be very low Land, like a bare Strand that might be flowed ouer with the water, there we lay till the Sunne was South-weſt, but perceiuing that there wee could not much further our ſelues, hauing as then ſayled from the Point of *Noua Zembla* (from whence we put off) thither full thirtie miles, wee ſayled forward along by the Coaſt of *Ruſſia*, with an indifferent gale of Winde, and when the Sunne was North, we ſaw another *Ruſſian Iolle* or ſhip, which we ſayled vnto to ſpeake with them, and being hard by them, they came all aboue Hatches, and wee cryed vnto them *Candinaes Candinaes* (whereby we asked if we were about *Candinaes*) but they cryed againe and ſaid, *Pitzora, Pitzora*, (to ſhew vs that wee were there abouts) and for that wee ſayled along by the Coaſt, where it was very dry, ſuppoſing that we held our courſe Weſt and by North, that ſo we might get beyond the Point of *Candinaes*, we were wholy deceiued by our Compaſſe, that ſtood vpon a Chiſt bound with Iron bands which made vs vary at leaſt two Points, whereby we were much more Southerly then wee thought our courſe had beene, and alſo farre more Eaſterly, for wee thought

Pitzora: Compaſſe deceiueth by ill Neighbourhood.

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thought verily that we had not beene farre from *Candinaes*, and wee were three dayes ſayling from it as after we perceiued, and for that we found our ſelues to bee ſo much out of our way, we ſtayed there all night till day appeared.

The twelfth of Auguſt, it was faire weather, at which time the Sunne being Eaſt, wee ſaw a *Ruſſia* Lodgie come towards vs, with all his ſayles vp, wherewith we were not a little comforted, which we perceiuing from the Strand, where we lay with our Scutes, we deſired the Maſter that we might goe vnto him, to ſpeake with him, and to get ſome victuals of them, and to that end we made as much haſte as we could, to launch out our Scutes, and ſayled towards them, and when we got to them, the Maſter went into the Lodgie, to aske them how farre wee had to *Candinaes*, which we could not well learne of them, becauſe wee vnderſtood them not, they held vp their fiue Fingers vnto vs, but we knew not what they meant thereby, but after we perceiued that thereby they would ſhew vs, that there ſtood fiue Croſſes vpon it, and they brought their Compaſſe out and ſhewed vs that it lay North-weſt from vs, which our Compaſſe alſo ſhewed vs, which reckoning alſo we had made: but when we ſaw we could haue no better intelligence from them, the Maſter went further into their Ship, and pointed to a barrell of Fiſh that he ſaw therein, making ſignes to know, whether they would ſell it vnto vs, ſhewing them a peece of eight Rials, which they vnderſtanding gaue vs one hundred and two Fiſhes, with ſome Cakes which they had made of Meale when they ſodde their Fiſh, and about the South Sunne wee left them. *Ruſſian* Compaſſe.

The ſixteenth of Auguſt in the Morning, ſayling forward North-weſt, we perceiued that we were in a Creeke, and ſo made towards the *Ruſſian* Lodgie, which we had ſeene on our ſtarreboord, which at laſt with great labour and much paine wee got vnto, and comming to them about the South-eaſt Sunne, with a hard winde, we asked them how farre we were from *Zembla de Cool* or *Kilduin*, but they ſhooke their heads, and ſhewed vs that wee were on the Eaſt-ſide of *Zembla de Candinaes*.

The ſeuenteenth, lying at Anchor in the Morning at breake of day, wee ſaw a *Ruſſian* Lodgie that came ſayling out of the *white Sea*, to vvhom we rowed, that vve might haue ſome inſtruction from him, and when we boorded him, vvithout asking or ſpeaking vnto him, he gaue vs a loafe of Bread, and by ſignes ſhewed vs as well as he could, that hee had ſeene our Companions, and that there vvas ſeuen men in the Boate, but wee not knowing well what they ſayd, neither yet beleeuing them, they made other ſignes vnto vs, and held vp their ſeuen Fingers, and pointed to our Scute, thereby ſhewing that there was ſo many men in the Boate, and that they had ſold them Bread, Fleſh, Fiſh and other victuals: and while wee ſtayed in their Lodgie, vve ſaw a ſmall Compaſſe therin, which we knew that they had bought of our chiefe Boatſon, which they likewiſe acknowledged. About mid-night wee found a fall of freſh Water, and then we went on Land to fetch ſome, and there alſo wee got ſome Leple-leaues, and as wee thought to row forward, we were forced to ſayle, becauſe the flood was paſt, and ſtill we lookt earneſtly out for the point of *Candinaes*, and the fiue Croſſes, whereof we had beene inſtructed by the *Ruſſians*, but we could not ſee it.

The Eighteenth, in the Morning the Sunne being Eaſt, we puld vp our Stone, (which we vſed in ſteed of an Anchor) and rowed along by the Land, till the Sunne was South, and then we ſaw a point of Land reaching into the Sea, and on it certayne ſignes of Croſſes, which as vve went neerer vnto we ſaw perfectly, and when the Sunne was Weſt, we perceiued that the Land reached Weſt and South-weſt, ſo that thereby we knew it certainely to bee the point of *Candinaes*, lying at the mouth of the *white Sea*, which we were to croſſe, and had long deſired to ſee it. This Point is eaſily to bee knowne, hauing fiue Croſſes ſtanding vpon it, which are perfectly to be diſcerned, and hauing a good North-eaſt vvind (which was not for vs to ſlacke) we ſet forward in the Name of God, and when the Sunne was North-weſt, we paſt the Point, and all that night and the next day ſayled with a good Wind, and all that time rowed but while three Glaſſes were runne out, and the next Night after enſuing, hauing ſtill a good vvind, in the Morning about the Eaſt North-eaſt Sunne, we ſaw Land on the Weſt-ſide of the *white Sea* which we found by the ruſhing of the Sea vpon the Land before we ſaw it, and perceiuing it to bee full of Clifts, and not low ſandie ground with ſome Hills, as it is on the Eaſt-ſide of the *white Sea*, wee aſſured our ſelues that we were on the Weſt-ſide of the *white Sea*, vpon the Coaſt of *Lapland*, for the which we thanked God, that he had helped vs to ſayle ouer the *white Sea* in thirtie houres, it being fortie *Dutch* miles at the leaſt, our courſe being Weſt with a North-eaſt winde. *Lapland*.

The twentieth, we eſpied certayne Croſſes, with Warders vpon them, vvhereby we vnderſtood that it was a good way, and ſo put into it, and being entred a little way within it, we ſaw a great *Ruſſian* Lodgie lying at Anchor, whereunto we rowed as faſt as we could, and there alſo we ſaw certayne Houſes wherein men dwelt, and when wee got to the Lodgie, we made our ſelues faſt vnto it, and caſt our tent ouer the Scute, for as then it began to rayne, then we vvent on land into the Houſes that ſtood vpon the ſhoare, vvhere they ſhewed vs great friendſhip, leading vs into their Stoues and there dryed our wet Cloathes, and then ſeething ſome Fiſh, bade vs ſit downe and eate ſomewhat vvith them. In thoſe little houſes wee found thirteene *Ruſſians*, who *Ruſſian* Houſes.

who euery morning vvent out to Fiſh in the Sea, whereof two of them had charge ouer the reſt, they liued very poorely, and ordinarily eate nothing but Fiſh and Bread: at Eeuening when we prepared our ſelues to goe to our Scute againe, they prayed the Maſter and me to ſtay vvith them in their Houſes, vvhich the Maſter thanked them for, would not doe, but I ſtayed with them all that night: beſides thoſe thirteene Men, there was two *Laplanders* more, and three Women with a Child, that liued very poorely of the ouerpluſſe which the *Ruſſians* gaue them, as a peece of a Fiſh, and ſome fiſhes heads which the *Ruſſians* threw away, and they with great thankfulneſſe tooke them vp, ſo that in reſpect of their pouertie, we thought our ſelues to bee well furniſhed: and yet vve had little enough, but as it ſeemed their ordinary liuing was in that manner, and we were forced to ſtay there, for that the vvind being North-weſt, it was againſt vs.

Laplanders mierable life.

The one and twentieth, wee met our other Companie vvherewith we rejoyced, and ſhewed each other of our proceedings, and how vvee had ſayled too and fro in great neceſſitie and hunger, and yet they had beene in greater neceſſitie and danger then we, and gaue God thankes that hee had preſerued vs aliue, and brought vs together againe, and then we eate ſomething together and dranke of the cleere Water, ſuch as runneth along by *Collen* through the *Rhene*, and then vve agreed that they ſhould come vnto vs, that we might ſayle together.

The two and twentieth, the reſt of our men vvith the Boate came vnto vs, about the Eaſt South-eaſt Sunne, whereat wee much rejoyced, and then we prayed the *Ruſſians* Cooke to bake a ſacke of Meale for vs, and to make it Bread paying him for it, vvhich hee did, and in the meane time, when the Fiſher-men came with their Fiſh out of the Sea, our Maſter bought foure Cods of them, which we ſodde and eate, and vvhile we were at meate, the chiefe of the *Ruſſians* came vnto vs, and perceiuing that we had not much Bread, hee fetched a Loafe and gaue it vs, and although we deſired them to ſit downe and eate ſome meate vvith vs, yet we could by no meanes get them to grant thereunto, becauſe it was their Faſting day, and for that vve had powred Butter and fat into our Fiſh: nor vvee could not get them once to drinke with vs, becauſe our Cup vvas ſomewhat greaſie, they were ſo ſuperſtitious touching their Faſting and Religion, neither would they lend vs any of their Cups to drinke in, leaſt they ſhould likewiſe bee greaſed, at that time the vvind was North-weſt.

Slutterie a faſt breaker.

The foure and twentieth, the wind blew Eaſt, and then the Sunne being Eaſt, we got to the ſeuen Ilands, where we found many Fiſher-men, of whom we enquired after *Cool* and *Kilduin*, and they made ſignes that they lay Weſt from vs, (which we likewiſe gheſt to bee ſo) and withall they ſhewed vs great friendſhip, and caſt a Codde into our Scute, but for that wee had a good gale of vvind, we could not ſtay to pay them for it, but gaue them great thankes, much wondering at their great courteſie, and ſo with a good gale of vvind we arriued before the ſeuen Ilands, when the Sunne was South-weſt, and paſt betweene them and the Land, and there found certayne Fiſher-men that rowed to vs, and asked vs where our Crable (meaning our Ship) was, whereunto we made anſwer, with as much *Ruſſian* language as wee had learned, and ſayd, *Crable pro Pal*, (that is, our Ship is loſt) which they vnderſtanding, ſayd vnto vs, *Cool Brabouſe Crable*, whereby we vnderſtood, that at *Cool* there was certayne *Netherland* Ships, but wee made no great account thereof, becauſe our intent was to ſayle to *Ware-houſe*, fearing leaſt the *Ruſſians* or great Prince of the Countrey would ſtay vs there.

Kilduin.

The fiue and twentieth, ſayling along by the Land with a South-eaſt vvind, about the South Sunne, we had a ſight of *Kilduin*, at which time we held our courſe Weſt North-weſt, and ſayling in that manner betweene *Kilduin* and the firme Land, about the South South-weſt Sunne, we got to the Weſt end of *Kilduin*, and being there looked if we could ſee any Houſes or people therein, and at laſt we ſaw certayne *Ruſſian* Lodgies that lay vpon the Strand, and there finding a conuenient place for vs to Anchor with our Scutes; while wee went to know if any people were to bee found, our Maſter put in with the Land, and there found fiue or ſixe ſmall Houſes, wherein the *Laplanders* dwelt, of whom we asked if that were *Kilduin*, whereunto they made anſwer, and ſhewed vs that it was *Kilduin*, and ſayd, that at *Coola* there lay three *Brabants Crables* or Ships, whereof two were that day to ſet ſayle: wee found a ſmall Houſe vpon the ſhoare, vvherein there was three Men and a great Dogge, which receiued vs very friendly, asking vs of our affaires, and how we got thither, whereunto we made anſwer, and ſhewed them that we had loſt our Ship, and that wee were come thither to ſee if we could get a Ship that would bring vs into *Holland*: whereunto they made vs anſwer as the other *Ruſſians* had done, that there was three Ships at *Coola*, whereof two vvere to ſet ſayle from thence that day, then wee asked them if they would goe with one of our men by Land to *Coola*, to looke for a Ship, wherewith wee might get into *Holland*, and ſayd we would reward them well for their paines, but they excuſed themſelues, and ſayd, that they could not goe from thence, but they ſayd they would bring vs ouer the Hill, vvhere vve ſhould finde certayne *Laplanders* whom they thought would goe vvith vs, as they did: for the Maſter and one of our men going with them ouer the Hill, found certaine *Laplanders* there, vvhereof they got one to goe with our man, promiſing him two Ryals of eight for his paines, and ſo the *Laplander* going vvith him, tooke a Piece on his necke, and our man a Boat-hooke, and about Eeuening they ſet forward, the vvinde as then being Eaſt, and Eaſt North-eaſt.

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The ſixe and twentieth, it vvas faire vveather, the vvind South-eaſt, at vvhich time we drew vp both our Scutes vpon the Land, and tooke all the goods out of them, to make them the lighter; vvhich done, we went to the *Ruſſians* and vvarmed vs, and there dreſſed ſuch meates as wee had, and then againe we began to make two meales a day, vvhen we perceiued that we ſhould euery day finde more people, and vve dranke of their drinke which they call *Quaſſe*, vvhich was made of broken peeces of Bread, and it taſted well: for in long time wee had drunke nothing elſe but Water. Some of our men went further into the Land, and there found blew Berries and bramble Berries, vvhich they plucked and eate, and they did vs much good, for we found that they healed vs of our looſeneſſe, the vvind ſtill blew South-eaſt.

The eight and twentieth, it was indifferent good weather, and then we drew the Scutes vpon the Land againe, that we might take the reſt of the goods out of them, becauſe the wind ſtill blew hard North, and North North-weſt, and hauing drawne the Scutes vp, we ſpred our ſayles vpon them, to ſhelter vs vnder them, for it was ſtill myſtie and raynie weather, much deſiring to heare ſome newes of our man, that was gone to *Coola* with the *Laplander*.

The nine and twentieth, wee ſpyed the *Laplander* comming alone without our man, whereat we wondred, and were ſomewhat in doubt, but when hee came vnto vs, he ſhewed vs a Letter that was writen vnto our Maſter, which he opened before vs, the Contents thereof being, that hee that had written the Letter wondred much at our arriuall in that place, and that long ſince hee verily thought that we had beene all caſt away, being exceeding glad of our happie fortune, and how that he would preſently come vnto vs with victuals, and all other neceſſaries to ſuccour vs withall, we being in no ſmall admiration who it might bee, that ſhewed vs ſo great fauour and friendſhip, could not imagine what he was, for it appeared by the Letter that he knew vs well: and although the Letter was ſubſcribed, by me *Iohn Corneliſon Rip*, yet wee could not bee perſwaded that it was the ſame *Iohn Corneliſon*, who the yeere before had beene ſet out in the other ſhip with vs, & left vs about the *Beare* Iland: for thoſe good newes we payd the *Laplander* his hyer; and beſides that, gaue him Hoſe, Breeches, and other furniture, ſo that hee was apparelled like a *Hollander*: for as then wee thought our ſelues to bee wholly out of danger, and ſo being of good comfort, we layd vs downe to reſt. Heere I cannot chuſe but ſhew you how faſt the *Laplander* went: for when he went to *Coola*, as our Companion told vs, they were two Dayes and two Nights on the way, and yet went apace, and when he came backe againe he was but a Day and a Night comming to vs, which was wonderfull, it being but halfe the time, ſo that we ſayd, and verily thought that hee was halfe a Conjurer, and he brought vs a Partridge, which hee had killed by the way as he went.

The thirtieth, wee ſaw a *Ruſſian* Ioll come rowing with *Iohn Corneliſon*, and our Companion that we had ſent to *Coola*, who being landed, wee receiued and welcommed each other, with great ioy and exceeding gladneſſe, as if either of vs on both ſides had ſeene each other riſe from death to life againe: for we eſteemed him, and hee vs to bee dead long ſince: hee brought vs a Barrell of *Roſwicke* Beere, Wine, *Aqua vite*, Bread, Fleſh, Bacon, Salmon, Suger, and other things, which comforted and relieued vs much, and we rejoyced together for our ſo vnexpected meeting: at that time giuing God great thankes, for his Mercie ſhewed vnto vs.

The firſt of September, in the Morning with the Eaſt Sun, we got to the Weſt-ſide of the Riuer of *Coola*, and entred into it, where we rowed till the Flood was paſt, and then wee caſt the Stones that ſerued vs for Anchors vpon the ground, at a point of Land till the Flood came in againe: and when the Sunne was South, wee ſet ſayle againe with the Flood, and ſo ſayled and rowed till mid-night, and then wee caſt Anchor againe till morning. The ſecond, in the Morning, we rowed vp the Riuer, and as we paſt along wee ſaw ſome Trees on the Riuer ſide, which comforted vs, and made vs glad as if we had then come into a new world, for in all the time that wee had beene out, we had not ſeene any Trees, and when we were by the *Salt Kettles*, which is about three miles from *Coola*, we ſtayed there a while, and made merrie, and then went forward againe, and with the Weſt North-weſt Sunne, got to *Iohn Corneliſons* Ship, wherein we entred and drunke: there wee began to make merrie againe, with the Saylers that were therein, and that had beene in the Voyage with *Iohn Corneliſon* the yeere before, and bad each other welcome: then we rowed forward, and late in the Eeuening got to *Coola*, where ſome of vs went on Land, and ſome ſtayed in the Scutes to looke to the goods: to whom we ſent Milke and other things to comfort and refreſh them, and we were all exceeding glad that God of his mercie had deliuered vs out of ſo many dangers and troubles, and had brought vs thither in ſafetie.

September 1.

Trees a rare ſight.

Coola.

The third, wee vnladed all our goods, and there refreſhed our ſelues after our toyleſome and wearie Iourney, and the great hunger wee had endured, thereby to recouer our healths and ſtrengths againe.

The eleuenth, by leaue and conſent of the *Bayart*, Gouernour of the great Prince of *Moſcouia*, we brought our Scute and our Boate into the Merchants Houſe, and there let them ſtand for a remembrance of our long, farre (and neuer before ſayled way) and that wee had ſayled in thoſe open Scutes, almoſt foure hundred *Dutch* miles, through, and along by the Sea Coaſts to the Towne of *Coola*.

Their Scute and Boat layd vp for a Monument: how much more worthily then the old worlds Argo.

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The seuenteenth of September, *Iohn Cornelison* and our Master being come aboord, the next day about the East Sunne, we set sayle out of the Riuer *Coola*, and with Gods grace put to Sea, to sayle homewards, and being out of the Riuer, wee sayled along by the Land North-west and by North, the winde being South.

Vpon the nine and twentieth of October, wee arriued in the *Mase*, with an East North-east wind, and the next morning got to *Maseland* Sluce, and there going on Land, from thence rowed to *Delfe*, and then to the *Hage*, and from thence to *Harlem*. And vpon the first of Nouember about Noone, got to *Amsterdam*, in the same Clothes that wee wore in *Noua Zembla*, with our Caps furr'd with white Foxes skinnes. The newes thereof being spred abroad in the Towne, it was also carryed to the Princes Court in the *Hage*, at which time the Lord Chancellour of *Denmarke*, Ambassadour for the sayd King, was then at Dinner with Prince *Maurice*: for the which cause we were presently fetcht thither by the Scout, and two of the Burgers of the Towne, and there in the presence of those Ambassadours, and the Burger-masters, wee made rehearsall of our Iourney both forwards and backwards.

I thought good to adde hither for Barents *or* Barentsons *sake, certaine Notes which I haue found (the one Translated, the other Written by him) amongst Master* Hakluyts *Paper.*

This was Written by *William Barentson* in a loose Paper, which was lent mee by the Reuerend *Peter Plantius* in *Amsterdam*, March the seuen and twentieth, 1609.

Intelligence from *Samoyedi.*

THe foure and twentieth of August, Stilo nouo 1595. *wee spake with the* Samoieds, *and asked them how the Land and Sea did lye to the East of* Way-gates. *They sayd after fiue dayes iourney going North-east, wee should come to a great Sea, going South-east. This Sea to the East of* Way-gats, *they sayd was called* Marmoria, *that is to say,* A calme Sea. *And they of* Ward-house *haue told vs the same. I asked them, if at any time of the yeere it was frozen ouer? They sayd it was. And that sometimes they passed it with Sleds. And the first of September* 1595. Stilo nouo, *the* Russes *of the Lodie or Barke affirmed the same; saying, that the Sea is sometimes so Frozen, that the Lodies or Barkes going sometimes to* Gielhsidi *from* Pechora, *are forced there to Winter: which* Gielhsidi *was wonne from the* Tartars, *three yeeres past.*

1595. Barkes going from *Pechora* to *Gielhsidi*: wintering there.

Gielhsidi won from the *Tartars* 1592.

For the Ebbe and Flood there I can finde none; but with the Winde so runneth the streame. The third of September, Stilo nouo, *the winde was South-west, and then I found the water higher, then with the winde at North or North-east. Mine opinion is grounded on Experience, That if there bee a passage, it is small: or else the Sea could not rise with a Southerly Winde. And for the better proofe to know if there were a Flood and Ebbe, the ninth of September*, Stilo nouo, *I went on shoare on the South end of the* States *Iland, where the Crosse standeth, and layd a Stone on the brinke of the Water, to proue whether there were a Tide, and went round about the Iland to shoote at a Hare, and returning, I found the Stone as I left it, and the Water neither higher nor lower; which prooueth as afore, that there is no Flood nor Ebbe.*

1592. No Ebbe nor Floud.

September 9.

CHAP. VI.

A Treatise of IVER BOTY *a* Gronlander, *translated out of the* Norsh *Language into High* Dutch, *in the yeere* 1560. *And after out of High* Dutch *into Low* Dutch, *by* WILLIAM BARENTSON *of* Amsterdam, *who was chiefe Pilot aforesaid. The same Copie in High* Dutch, *is in the hands of* IODOCVS HONDIVS, *which I haue seene. And this was trauslated out of Low* Dutch, *by Master* WILLIAM STERE, *Marchant, in the yeere* 1608. *for the vse of me* HENRIE HVDSON. WILLIAM BARENTSONS *Booke is in the hands of Master* PETER PLANTIVS, *who lent the same vnto me.*

IN primis, it is reported by men of Wisedome and Vnderstanding borne in *Gronland*, That from *Stad* in *Norway* to the East part of *Island*, called *Horn-nesse*, is seuen dayes sayling right West.

Item, men shall know, that betweene *Island* and *Gronland*, lyeth a Riffe called *Gombornse-skare*. There were they wont to haue there passage for *Gronland*. But as they report there is Ice vpon the same Riffe, come out of the long North Bottome, so that we cannot vse the same old Passage as they thinke.

Gombornse-skare. The long North bottom.

Item, from *Long-nesse* on the East side of *Island* to the aboue said *Horn-nesse*, is two dayes sayle to the *Brimstone* Mount.

Item,

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Item, if you goe from *Bergen* in *Norway*, the course is right West, till you bee South of *Rokenesse* in *Island*; and distant from it thirteene miles, or leagues. And with this course you shall come vnder that high Land that lyeth in the East part of *Groneland*, and is called *Swafster*. A day before you come there, you shall haue sight of a high Mount, called *Hnit-sarke*: and betweene *Whitsarke* and *Groneland*, lyeth a Head-land called *Hernoldus Hooke*; and thereby lyeth an Hauen, where the *Norway* Merchants Ships were wont to come: and it is called *Sound* Hauen. *Swafster.* *Whitsarke.* *Hernoldus Hooke.* *Sound* Hauen in *Groneland.*

Item, if a man will sayle from *Island* to *Gronland*, hee shall set his course to *Snofnesse*, which is by West *Rokenesse* thirteene miles or leagues right West, one day and nights sayling, and after South-west to shun the Ice, that lyeth on *Gomborusse-skare*; and after that one day and night North-west. So shall hee with this course fall right with the abouesayd *Swafster*, which is high Land, vnder which lyeth the aforesayd Head-land, called *Hernoldus Hooke*, and the *Sound* Hauen.

Item, the Easter Dorpe of *Groneland* lyeth East from *Hernoldus hooke*, but neere it, and is called *Skagen* Ford, and is a great Village. *Skagen* Ford.

Item, from *Skagen* Ford East, lyeth a Hauen called *Beare* Ford: it is not dwelt in. In the mouth thereof lyeth a Riffe, so that great Ships cannot harbour in it. *Beare* Ford.

Item, there ir great abundance of Whales: and there is a great Fishing for the killing of them there: but not without the Bishops consent, which keepeth the same for the benefit of the Cathedrall Church. In the Hauen is a great *Swalth*: and when the Tide doth runne out, all the Whales doe runne into the sayd *Swalth*. A great fishing for Whales. A great *Swalth*

Item, East of *Beare* Ford, lyeth another Hauen called *Allebeng* Sound: and it is at the mouth narrow, but farther in, very wide: The length whereof is such, that the end thereof is not yet knowne. There runneth no Streame. It lyeth full of little Iles. Fowle and Oxen are there common: and it is playne Land on both sides, growne ouer with greene Grasse. *Allabeng* Sound. Store of Oxen.

Item, East from the Icie Mountayne, lyeth an Hauen called *Fendebother*; so named, because in Saint *Olafes* time there was a Ship cast away, as the speach hath beene in *Groneland*; In which Ship was drowned one of Saint *Olafes* men, with others: and those that were saued did burie those that were drowned, and on their Graues did set great stone Crosses, which wee see at this day. The Icie Mountayne. The Hauen of *Fendebother.* Note.

Item, somwhat more East toward the Icie Mountayne, lyeth a high Land, called *Corse Houghe* vpon which they Hunt white Beares, but not without the Bishops leaue, for it belongeth to the Cathedrall Church. And from thence more Easterly, men see nothing but Ice and Snow, both by land and water. *Corse Houghe.* An hunting of white Beares. More Easterly all Desart.

Now wee shall returne againe to *Hernoldus Hooke*, where we first began to come to the first Towne that lyeth on the East-side of *Hernoldus Hooke*, called *Skagen* Ford: and so we will write the Names of all that lye on the West-side of the Ford or Sound. The Townes from *Hernoldus Hooke* Westward.

Item, West from *Hernoldus Hooke*, lyeth a Dorpe called *Kodosford*, and it is well built: and as you sayle into the Sound, you shall see on the right hand a great Sea and a Marsh: and into this Sea runneth a great streame: and by the Marsh and Sea standeth a great Church, on which the Holy Crosse is drawne, of colour white: it belongeth to *Enelnesse de Hakesong*, and the Land to *Peters Wike*. The Towne of *Godosford.* A great Church with a white Crosse on it. *Peters Wike.*

Item, by *Peters Wike*, lyeth a great Dorpe called *Wartsdale*, by which lyeth a water or Sea of twelue miles or leagues ouer: which is much, in which is much Fish: And to *Peters wike* Church belongeth *Wartsdale Boy* or Towne, and the Villages. *Wartsdale.* *Boy* in the *Norse* tongue signifieth a Towne.

Item, neere this *Boy* or Towne, lyeth a Cloyster or Abbey, in which are Canons Regular, it is Dedicated to Saint *Olafes*, and Saint *Augustines* name. And to it belongeth all the Land to the Sea side, and toward the other side of the Cloyster. A Monasterie.

Item, next *Godosford*, lyeth a Ford called *Rompnes* Ford: And there lyeth a Cloyster of Nuns of Saint *Benedicts* Order. *Rompnes* Ford. A Nunnerie.

Item, this Cloyster to the bottome of the Sea, and to *Wegen Kerke*, was Dedicated to Saint *Olafe* the King. In this Ford lye many small Iles. And to this Cloyster belongeth halfe the Ford and the Church. In this Sound are many warme Waters. In the Winter they are intollerable hot: but in the Summer more moderate; and many Bathing in them are cured of many diseases. *Wegen Kerke.* Hot waters in *Groneland.* A place called *Vose*, belonging to the King.

Item, betweene *Rompnes* and the next Sound, lyeth a great Garden called *Vose*, belonging to the King. There is also a costly Church dedicated to Saint *Nicolas*. This Church had the King before this. Neere it lyeth a Sea of Fresh water, called , in which is great abundance of Fish, without number. And when there falleth much Rayne, that the Waters doe rise therewith, and after fall againe, there remayneth vpon the Land much Fish drie. Saint *Nicolas* Church. *Emestines* Ford. *Southwoders Wicke.*

Item, when you sayle out of *Emestines* Ford, there lyeth an Inlet called *South-woders Wike*: and somewhat higher in the same Sound, and on the same side, lyeth a little Cape called *Bloming*: and beyond that lyeth another Inwike called *Granwike*, and aboue that lyeth a Garden called *Daleth*, which belongeth to the Cathedrall Church. And on the right hand as you sayle out of the same Sound, lyeth a great Wood, which pertayneth to the Church, where they feede all their *Bloming.* *Granwicke.* *Daleth* Garden. A great Wood Oxen, Kine, and Horses.

their Cattell, as Oxen, Kine, and Horſes: And to the Church pertayneth the Sound of *Emeſtnes* Ford. The high Land lying by *Emeſtnes* Ford, is called *The Ramos hayth*: So called, becauſe that on thoſe Hills doe runne many Roe Deere, or Reyne Deere, which they vſe to Hunt, but not without the Biſhops leaue. And on this high Land is the beſt Stone in all *Groneland*. They make thereof Pots, becauſe fire cannot hurt it. And they make of the ſame ſtone Fattes or Ciſternes, that will hold ten or twelue Tunnes of water.

Excellent Stone, that fire cannot hurt.

Item, Weſt from this lyeth another high Land, called *The long high Land*: and by another called whereon are eight great Orchards, all belonging to the Cathedrall Church. But the Tenths thereof they giue to *Warſedall* Church.

Eight great Orchards belonging to the Cathedrall Church.

Item, next to this Sound lyeth another Sound called *Swalſter* Ford, wherin ſtandeth a Church called *Swalſter*. This Church belongeth to all this Sound, and to *Romſe* Ford, lying next it. In this Sound is a great Garden belonging to the King, called Saint *Henleſtate*.

Swalſter Ford.

Item, next to that lyeth *Ericks* Ford, and entring therein lyeth an high Land called *Ericks Houghe*; which pertayneth the one halfe to *Deuers Kerke*, and is the firſt Pariſh Church on *Groneland*, and lyeth on the left hand as you ſayle into *Ericks* Ford: and *Deuers Kerke* belongeth all to *Meydon* Ford, which lyeth North-weſt from *Ericks* Ford.

Ericks Houghe.

Item, farther out then *Ericks* Ford, ſtandeth a Church called *Skogel Kerke*, which belongeth to all *Medford*: And farther in the Sound ſtandeth a Church called *Leaden Kerke*. To this Church belongeth all thereabout to the Sea; and alſo on the other ſide as farre as *Bonſels*. There lyeth alſo a great Orchard called *Grete Lead*, in which the *Guſman* (that is a chiefe or Bayliffe ouer the *Boores*) doth dwell.

Skogel Kerke.

And farther out then *Ericks* Ford, lyeth a Ford or Sound called *Foſſa*, which belongeth to the Cathedrall Church: and the ſayd *Foſſa* Sound lyeth as men ſayle out towards *Ericks* Ford; and to the North of it lye two Villages, the one called *Euer-boy*, and the other *Forther-boy*, becauſe they lye ſo.

Foſſa Sound.

Item, from thence farther North lyeth *Breda* Ford, and after that *Lormont* Ford from that Weſt, and from *Lormont* Ford to the Weſt is *Ice* Dorpe. All theſe are places built, and in them dwell people.

Breda Ford. *Lormut* Ford. *Ice* Dorpe.

Item, from the Eaſter builded Land to the Weſter Dorpe, is twelue miles or leagues: and the reſt is all waſte land. In the Dorpe in the Weſt ſtandeth a Church, which in times paſt belonged to the Cathedrall Church, and the Biſhop did dwell there. But now the *Skerlengers* haue all the Weſt Lands and Dorps. And there are now many Horſes, Oxen, and Kine, but no people neither *Chriſtian* nor *Heathen*; but they were all carryed away by the Enemie, the *Skerlengers*.

The *Skerlengers*. Many Horſes, Oxen, and Kine.

All this before Written was done by one *Iuer Boty* borne in *Groneland*, a principall man in the Biſhops Court: who dwelt there many yeeres, and ſaw and knew all theſe places. He was choſen by the whole Land for Captayne, to goe with Ships to the Weſt land, to driue away their Enemies the *Skerlengers*. But hee comming there, found no people neither Chriſtian nor Heathen, but found there many Sheepe running being wilde, of which Sheepe they tooke with them as many as they could carrie, and with them returned to there Houſes. This before named *Indo Boty* was himſelfe with them.

Iuer Boty the Author.

To the North of the Weſt Land, lyeth a great Wilderneſſe with Clifes or Rockes, called *Hemel Hatsfelt*. Farther can no man ſayle, becauſe there lye many *Swalgen* or Whirle-pooles: and alſo for the Water and the Sea.

A great Wilderneſſe called *Hemel Hatsfelt*, to the North of the Weſt land.

Item, in *Groneland* are many Siluer Hills, and many white Beares with red patches on their heads; and alſo white Hawkes, and all ſorts of Fiſh, as in other Countries.

Mines of Siluer, white Beares, white Hawkes, all ſorts of Fiſh.

Item, there is Marble ſtone of all colours, alſo Zeuell ſtone or the Load ſtone, which the Fire cannot hurt, whereof they make many veſſels, as Pots, and other great veſſels.

Item, in *Groneland* runneth great ſtreames, and there is much Snow and Ice: But it is not ſo cold, as it is in *Iſland* or *Norway*.

Groneland not ſo cold as *Iſeland* or *Norway*.

Item, there grow on the high Hills, Nuts and Acornes, which are as great as Apples, and good to eate. There groweth alſo the beſt Wheate, that can grow in the whole Land.

Fruits.

This Sea Card was found in the Iles of *Fero* or farre, lying betweene *Shot-land* and *Iſland*, in an old reckoning Booke, written aboue one hundred yeeres agoe: out of which this was all taken.

Item, *Punnus* and *Potharſe*, haue inhabited *Iſland* certayne yeeres, and ſometimes haue gone to Sea, and haue had their trade in *Groneland*. Alſo *Punnus* did giue the *Iſlanders* their Lawes, and cauſed them to bee written. Which Lawes doe continue to this day in *Iſland*, and are called by name *Punnus* Lawes.

Punnus and *Potharſe*.

The Courſe from Iſland *to* Groneland.

IF men bee South from the Hauen of *Bred* Ford in *Iſland*, they ſhall ſayle Weſt, till they ſee *Whitſarke* vpon *Groneland*, and then ſayle ſomewhat South-weſt till *Whitſarke* bee North off you, and ſo you need not feare Ice, but may boldly ſayle to *Whitſarke*, and from thence to *Ericks* Hauen.

If

If men be North the Hauen of *Bredford* in *Island*, then sayle South-west, till *Whitsarke* beare North: then sayle to it, and so come to *Ericks* Hauen.

If you see Ice, that commeth out of *Trolebothon*, you shall goe more Southerly, but not too farre South for feare of *Freesland*, for there runneth an hard streame. And it is fifteene miles or leagues from *Freesland*. *Trolebothon.*

Item, *Freesland* lyeth South, and *Island* East from *Gronland*.

Item, From the Ice that hangeth on the Hilles in *Gronland*, commeth a great Fogge, Frost and Cold. And such a Fogge commeth out of the Ice of *Trolebothon*: and it is a great Wilderneſſe. *Trolebothon*, a great Wilderneſſe.

There are Sables, Marternes, Hermelins, or Ermins, White Beares, and White Hawkes, Seales, White and Gray, Gold and Siluer Hills, also Fish dryed and salted, and thousands of Salmons: also store of Losh Hides and other Hides. There are Hares, Foxes, Wolues, Otters, and Veltfrasen. The Commodities of *Gronland*.

Now if it please God they come to *Gronland*, then shall they set but two men on shoare; who shall take with them diuers kindes of Marchandize: and let them deale with good order, and let them bee such as can make good Report, what they there doe see or finde; and let them obserue whether men may there Land or no, with the loue of the Inhabitants. Good counsell for trauelling to *Gronland*.

And I counsaile and charge those that shall Trade for *Gronland*, that they set no more folke on Land, but they keepe men enough to man the Ship. And looke well to the course you hold to *Gronland*, that if those that bee set on shoare bee taken, they may come home againe with Gods helpe. For if shipping returne, they may come home or bee releeued in a yeere and a day. And in your liuing there so demeane your selues to them, that in time you may winne the Countrey and the people.

Remember my Scholler and Clearke, which shall bee there appointed as Commander, that you send those on Land, that will shew themselues diligent Writers, and that they carrie themselues so, that they may learne thereby the State of the Countrey. They shall take with them two Boats and eight Oares, and take Tynder-boxes for fire if there be no Habitation. Also set vp Crosses of Wood or Stone, if need be. Tynder-boxes for fire.

This Note following was found in an old Booke of Accompts, in the Yeere 1596.

IN primis, From *Stad* in *Norway*, standing neere the Latitude of sixtie three Degrees, you shall hold your course due West: and that course will bring you vpon *Swartnesse* in *Gronland*. And in this course is the least streame and least perill of *Swalgen* or *Indrafts*. There is lesse perill this way, then is on the North-side; you shall keepe $\frac{2}{3}$ of the Sea on *Freesland* side, and one third on *Island* side. And if it bee cleere weather, and you haue kept your course right West, you shall see the Mount of *Sneuels Iokul* in the South-west patt of *Island*. And if you haue a storme in the North, you must shunne it as you can, till *Whitsarke* be North of you. Then shall you sayle right with it, and seeke the Land: and you shall finde a good Hauen, called *Ericks* Ford. Courses for *Gronland*. A storme in the North. *Whitsarke*. *Ericks* Ford.

Item, If you bee betweene *Gronland* and *Island*, you may see *Sneuels Iokul* on *Island*, and *Whitsarke* on *Gronland*, if it be cleere weather. Therefore men of experience doe affirme, that it is but thirtie leagues betweene both.

Also if you haue a storme betweene *Gronland* and *Island*, you must haue care you bee not laid on *Freesland* with the streame and Winde; for the streame or Current doth run strong vpon *Freesland*, out of the North.

Also if you haue a storme out of the South, you shall not sayle out of your course, but keepe it as neere as you can possibly, till *Whitsarke* in *Gronland* beare North off you: then sayle toward it, and you shall come into *Ericks* Ford, as it is afore-said in the first Article. A storme in the South.

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CHAP. VII.

A Deſcription of the Countries of Siberia, Samoieda, *and* Tingoeſia: *Together with the Iourneyes leading vnto the ſame Countries toward the Eaſt and North-eaſt, as they are daily frequented by the* Moſcouites.

§. I.

Diſcouerie of Siberia, *and the ſubiecting of the ſame to the* Ruſſes.

The firſt and ſecond Paragraphs were publiſhed in *Latine* by *Heſſell Gerardus An.* 1612. here a little contracted: the laſt I found in M. *Hakluyts* Papers.

THere is in *Moſcouie*, a Kindred called the Sonnes of *Oneeko*, of a ruſticke or baſe deſcent, and firſt ſprung from one *Oneeko* a Husband-man. He being very rich in Lands, dwelt vpon a certaine Riuer called *Wichida*, or *Witſogda*, falling into the Riuer *Duina*, which about one hundred leagues beneath, neere vnto the Caſtle called S. *Michael the Archangel*, which falleth into *the White Sea*. This *Oneeko* being rich (as is ſaid) had alſo many Children, God hauing largely bleſſed and prouided him with plentie of all things. Yet neuertheleſſe, hee had an earneſt deſire and affection, to know what Countreyes were poſſeſſed and inhabited by thoſe people, which yeerely came into *Ruſſia* to trafficke, bringing with them coſtly Furres, and diuers other Merchandizes, much diffring in Language, Apparel, Religion, and Behauiour, calling themſelues *Samoieds*, and by other vnknowne names. Theſe people came euery yeere downe the Riuer *Wichida*, and exchanged their Commodities with the *Ruſſes* and *Moſcouites*, in the Townes of *Oſel* and *Vſtiug*, on the Riuer *Duina*; which at that time were the Receits and chiefe Mart Townes of all kind of Marchandizes, but eſpecially of coſtly Furres. *Oneeko* therefore (as hath beene ſaid) was moſt deſirous to know, from whence theſe people came, or what Countreyes they did inhabit, eaſily conjecturing, That great wealth was there to be gotten; ſince the Furres yeerely brought them amounted to a great ſumme of Money. Wherefore ſecretly hee got acquaintance and conſorted himſelfe with diuers of them, and ſent in their company about tenne or twelue of his owne people into thoſe parts; enjoyning them, that through what Countreyes ſo euer they ſhould trauell, they ſhould make diligent ſearch of euery particular thing therein, and fully obſerue the Manners, Rites, Dwellings, and whole courſe of life of thoſe Nations; that at their returne they might bring from thence perfect knowledge thereof. Which they hauing at length performed, he entertayned them bountifully at their returne, and ſhewed them all fauour, but with eſpeciall charge to keepe ſilence. Hee likewiſe kept all theſe things cloſe to himſelfe, not reueiling them to any man.

Arica or *Oneeko Wichida*. *White Sea* to the North of *Ruſſia*. *Samoieds*. *Oyſel* and *Vſtiug* Mart Townes for the *Samoieds*. The firſt Voyage vnto the *Samoieds* countreyes.

The ſecond Voyage.

And the next yeere following, he ſent thither a greater number of his people, joyning with them certayne of his Kindred and Alliance. Theſe carried with them diuers baſe Marchandize; as ſmall Bels, and other like *Dutch* ſmall Wares; and tooke diligent notice of euery thing in thoſe parts; and after they had paſſed many Deſerts, and diuers great Riuers, they came to the Riuer *Obi*; where making Acquaintance and Friendſhip with the *Samoieds*, they found that Furres were to be had for a ſmall price, and that great wealth was there eaſily to be gotten; and further, that this people had not any Cities, but liued together in Companies, and peaceably, and gouerned by ſome of the ancienteſt among them; that they were lothſome in their feeding, and liued on the fleſh of ſuch beaſts as they tooke: that they had no knowledge of Corne or Bread, were cunning and skilfull Archers, making their Bowes of a gentle and flexible kind of Wood, and that their Arrowes were headed with ſharpened ſtones or fiſh bones: with thoſe they killed wilde beaſts, which are exceeding plentifull in thoſe places: that they ſowed alſo with bones of fiſhes, ſeruing them for Needles; their thred being made of the ſinewes of certaine ſmall beaſts, and ſo they ſew together the Furres, wherewith they cloath themſelues: the Furrie ſide in Summer turned outward, and in Winter inward. That they couered their Houſes with the Skins of Elkes and ſuch like beaſts, little eſteemed among them. Finally, theſe Meſſengers of *Oneeko*, ſearched curiouſly into euery matter, and returned home ſtored with coſtly Furres.

Many Deſerts and diuers great Riuers. Riuer *Obi*. Great wealth to be gotten by the Trade to the Riuer of *Obi*. Conditions of the people. Gouernment. Dyet. No Bread. Shooting. Apparell. Houſes.

Now when as *Oneeko* vnderſtood by their report, that which he ſo much longed to know, he together with certayne others of his Friends, continued his Trafficke into thoſe Countreyes for diuers yeeres together: by meanes whereof the *Oneekos* grew very mightie, and bought great Poſſeſſions in all parts. Thoſe that dwelled neere vnto them beeing ignorant from whence all this wealth aroſe, greatly wondred at it. For the *Oneekos* builded Churches in ſome of their

Great wealth obtayned by continuance of this Voyage.

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Villages. Yea, afterward they erected in the Towne of *Osoil* vpon the *Wichida*, where at that time they dwelt, an exceeding faire Church, which was rayſed from the very foundations of hewen ſtone. Finally, they knew no end of their goods.

Now among the *Ruſſes* it goeth for a common Prouerbe, that *Hee which hath no friends in Court, is ſcarce to be accounted in the number of the liuing*. For moſt commonly it happeneth, that they that excell others in any thing, are preſently enuyed and falſly accuſed in the Princes Court, where if they haue not a friend to ſuccour them, they are forth-with, without hearing the cauſe, oppreſſed; yea, and vtterly ruined. For which cauſe the *Oneekos* beeing growne to much wealth, as is ſaid, got into the fauour of one of the greateſt in the Court, which was *Boris odanoua*, Brother to the Wife of the Emperour *Pheodor Emanowich* then reigning; to whom alſo he ſucceeded in the Empire. Vnto this *Boris* the *Oneekos* determined to reueale the whole matter: who firſt preſenting him with gifts after the cuſtome of the Countrey, prayed him to grant them hearing in a matter, which they had to deliuer for the benefit of the whole Empire. *Boris* preſently liſtning to this Petition, receiued them with extraordinary kindneſſe: and after they had declared vnto him the ſituation of the Countreyes of *Samoiedia*, and *Siberia*, then what they had ſeene and obſerued therein, and how great Riches might thence ariſe vnto the Empire of *Muſcouia*. *Boris* preſently grew into an ardent deſire to ſet forward this buſineſſe, entertayning them as his Children, and gracing them to the vttermoſt of his power, procuring them from the Emperour a moſt ample Priuiledge, by which it was ordayned, That they ſhould for euer enjoy the Lands which they poſſeſſed, and might diſpoſe of them vnto their Heires at their pleaſure. And farther, if it happened they were abiding in the Citie of *Moſcua*, he tooke them into his owne Sled: which among the *Moſcouites* is the greateſt kind of honour, eſpecially being offered by principall Noblemen, ſuch as then was *Boris*, a man of the greateſt power, and in whom the chiefe authoritie of the Empire reſted. *Boris* pondering theſe things attentiuely, ſignified the whole matter to the Emperour, to whom it was very pleaſing; And not ſleeping about the matter, employed therein certayne Captaynes, and Gentlemen of ſmall abilitie of his owne followers: commanding them to prepare themſelues to goe to that Iourney, in company of ſuch as the *Oneekos* ſhould appoint vnto them, and that they ſhould apparell themſelues gallantly, and like vnto Ambaſſadors, adding further certayne Souldiers, and Preſents of ſmall value to be diſtributed among the people, to which they ſhould come: enioyning them further to note diligently all Paſſages, Riuers, High-wayes, Woods, and what elſe they ſhould meete with in their trauell; as alſo to commit to memorie the names of them; that at their returne they might make a faithfull and true report thereof: adding further that they ſhould intreat the people with all courteſie, and that they ſhould ſeeke out ſome conuenient place for building of Caſtles and Fortreſſes, and that in any caſe (if it were poſſible) they ſhould bring backe with them into *Moſcouia*, ſome of the Inhabitants of thoſe Countryes.

L. *Boris*, that *Theodore* Emperour. The *Ruſſes* pronounce *th* as *ph*.

Imperiall priuiledge.

Theſe Meſſengers being ſufficiently furniſhed with all things neceſſary for the Iourney, namely, Apparell, Weapons, Money, and Preſents, departing from the *Moſcua*, not long after came to the Riuer *Wichida*, and to the *Oneekos*: who alſo ſent ſome of their owne people with them. Aſſoone as they were arriued into thoſe parts, they began to performe what was giuen them in charge, ſhewing freely all tokens of courteſie vnto the barbarous people, and carefully obſeruing who were of greateſt authoritie among them, to whom they vſed reuerence and gaue gifts, ſuch as were of ſmall and almoſt no value to themſelues, but which ſeemed ſo precious vnto the other, that when the *Moſcouites* were comming a farre off towards them, they would ſtay for them with great dancings and clapping of their hands, and caſt themſelues downe at the feet of the Giuers, being ſo gallantly attyred, accounting them altogether as Gods. The *Moſcouites* vſing the *Samoieds* for their Interpretors, which had continued certayne yeeres in the Villages of *Moſcouia*, to learne their Language, began to diſcourſe with the *Barbarians* concerning their Emperour of *Moſcouie*, whom they wonderfully extolled, and made him little leſſe then an Earthly God, enterlacing other things with all, whereby thoſe people were ſtirred vp to wiſh that they might behold theſe things with their eyes. Theſe their deſires were pleaſing to the *Moſcouites*, who ſignified that they were likewiſe well contented therewithall: Adding, that they would leaue certayne pledges among them, which during the *Samoieds* abode in *Moſcouia*, might learne their Language: And by this meanes they drew vnto their purpoſe the good will of many of the people on the Weſt-ſide of *Obi*, who of their owne accord ſubjected themſelues to the authoritie of the *Moſcouites*, and ſuffered them to lay a Taxation vpon them, promiſing yeerely of euery head (not excepting the Boyes that were but yet learning to handle the Bow) two skinnes of Sables; which to themſelues were of no value, but eſteemed of the *Moſcouites* as precious as Iewels. Theſe they promiſed to deliuer to ſuch a Treaſurer as the Emperour ſhould ordayne. Neither did they faile to performe the ſame.

The firſt Voyage ſet out by *Boris Godonoua*.

They ſubmit themſelues to the *Moſcouites*.

After this the Meſſengers paſſed ouer the Riuer *Obi*, and trauelled beyond it almoſt two hundred leagues toward the Eaſt and North-eaſt, hauing ſeene by the way many wild beaſts of ſtrong ſhapes, moſt cleere Fountaynes, extraordinary Plants and Trees, pleaſant Woods, and *Samoieds* of diuers ſorts, whereof ſome did ride on *Elkes* or *Loſhes*, other were drawne in Sleds by Raine

Trauaile beyond *Obi*.

Elkes or *Loſhes*.

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Raine Deere. Dogs equal in swiftneſſe to Harts.

Raine Deere, and others alſo were drawne by Dogges, which are equall to Harts for ſwiftneſſe. Finally, many other things in their whole Iourney they met with, not before ſeene, and therefore to be maruelled at: which orderly and truly noted downe, that they might more certainly report the ſame at their returne. And ſo at length taking with them ſome voluntarie *Samoieds*, and leauing there diuers of their owne people to learne their Language, they returned backe into *Moſcouia*; where at their firſt conueniencie they made knowne to *Boris*, and by him vnto the Emperour the whole ſucceſſe of their Voyage.

Samoieds shooting.

They maruelled at the *Samoieds* which were brought vnto them, commanding them to make ſome ſhew of their cunning in ſhooting; which they did ſo perfectly, that almoſt it ſeemed to any man incredible. For taking a piece of Coyne leſſe then our * Pennie, and faſtning it to the ſtocke of a Tree, and then going as farre from the ſame, as they could very hardly diſcerne it, they did euery time that they did ſhoot ſo aſſuredly hit the ſame, that they did not once miſſe it. Where at many of the beholders did aboue meaſure wonder.

* Stiuer.

And on the other ſide, the *Samoieds* as greatly wondred both at the *Moſcouites* manner of liuing and faſhions, as alſo at the ſtatelineſſe of the Citie: neither did they without a certayne terrour behold the Emperour himſelfe, ſo richly attired and mounted either on Horſe-backe, or in his Coach drawne by many Horſes together, and enuironed with ſo many Nobles moſt gallantly adorned. Then with admiration they beheld the Guards furniſhed with their Caliuers, of whom about foure hundred waited on the Emperour at his going abroad. So oft alſo as they heard the ringing of the Bells, which are very many among the *Moſcouites*, and ſaw ſo many faire ſhops, and the reſt of the Cities beautie, they were altogether aſtoniſhed, and thought themſelues to bee in ſome Manſion of the Gods; wiſhing withall, that they were a while among their Countrey-men to tell them of all things. Yea, they reported themſelues to be happie, that they had the fortune to ſerue ſo glorious an Emperour, whom they altogether accounted as a Diuine power. The Meates which the *Moſcouites* did ſet before them, they did greedily eate: whereby it plainely appeared, that the ſame were more pleaſant to their taſte, then the raw fleſh, or fiſh dried in the winde, wherewith they feed themſelues at home. Finally, they promiſed to receiue the Emperour for their Lord; and to perſwade their Countrey-men, inhabiting farre and wide to doe the ſame. They humbly alſo prayed the Emperour to vouchſafe them the fauour, to ſend them certaine Gouernours to rule ouer them, and to whom they might pay the aforeſaid Tribute. Concerning their Idolatrie, there was no ſpeech made thereof, but they were left to their owne cuſtomes. Notwithſtanding, I thinke that the *Chriſtian* Faith would eaſily be ſpred among them, if they had ſufficient and godly Teachers. Neither doubt I but the *Moſcouites* would haue taken order therein, if they had not beene hindred by theſe moſt troubleſome Warres.

Theſe things ſo done as is declared, the *Oneekes* were raiſed to great Honours, and endowed with great Priuiledges, as alſo with Supreme Authoritie ouer many places, adioyning vnto their Lands, enioying Poſſeſſions lying one hundred miles aſunder vpon the Riuers of *Duina*, *Whichida*, and *Suchana*: ſo that they are very mighty and rich, and increaſe daily in greater Honours.

It was further ordayned by the *Moſcouites*, that there ſhould bee places choſen by the Riuer *Oby*, and in the fields adioyning vnto it, fortified by the naturall ſituation for the building of Caſtles thereon, and furniſhing them with Garriſons, and that there ſhould be ſent thither a chiefe Gouernour, principally for further diſcouering the Countrey, and bringing it vnder ſubiection. Theſe things ſo ordayned, did likewiſe take effect. And firſt of all, there were builded

Caſtles builded.

certaine Caſtles encloſed with certaine ſtrong beames, cut out of the Woods thereby, and faſtned one in another in double rewes, filled betweene with earth, and fortified with Garriſons; And ſo great a multitude of men is duely ſent thither, that in ſome places there are Cities aſſembled, conſiſting of *Poles*, *Tartars*, *Ruſſes*, and other Nations mingled together. For, into theſe parts are ſent all that are baniſhed, Murtherers, Traitors, Theeues, and the ſcumme of ſuch as deſerue death: ſome of which are for a time kept in priſon, others enforced to continue there for certaine yeeres, euery one according to the rate of his offence: whereby there are very populous aſſemblies of people growne together, who with the Caſtles already builded, doe almoſt make a pretie Kingdome: Many men of the meane ſort, daily flocking thither, the rather for that they enioy great priuiledges, neither pay any thing for the Lands which they poſſeſſe.

Sinke of bad people.

Siberia and *Siber*.

The whole Countrey is called *Siberia*, the Citie builded therein *Siber*. And in deed at the firſt, the Offenders among the *Moſcouites*, did no leſſe tremble at the name of *Siberia*, then * doe euill perſons in *London*, when they are threatned with New-gate: for they were forth-with ſent away into *Siberia*. But now the often inflicting of that puniſhment is almoſt growne into contempt. But Noblemen and great Perſonages, if at any time they incurre the Princes diſpleaſure, doe as yet very much loath the name of *Siberia*. For many times both themſelues, with their Wiues and Families are ſent away into thoſe parts: where ſome Office is committed vnto them, till the Emperours anger bee aſſwaged, and they called home into *Moſcouia*.

* Then Malefactors of *Amſterdam* at the Priſon, &c.

I will now ſhew the way by which they trauell out of *Moſcouia* into thoſe parts, and that

in

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in the beſt manner that I could get notice thereof. Which whatſoeuer it ſhall ſeeme to bee, I haue not attayned vnto it, without great paines and ready furtherance of ſome friends, which I found in the Court, while I continued in *Ruſſia*: who though they were ready to pleaſure me, and that I had beene very inſtant with them about it, yet with much adoe were brought to communicate this particular Iournall vnto me. For if at any time after, when the land ſhould bee at quiet, it ſhould any way come to light, doubtleſſe it would coſt them all their liues. For ſuch is the diſpoſition of the *Ruſſes*, that they will not indure to haue the ſecrets of their State to bee made knowne.

This Iournall to the North-east was hardly obtayned by ſome friends in Court.

The great danger for imparting this Iourney.

§. II.

A briefe Deſcription of the wayes and Riuers, leading out of Moſcouia *toward the East and North-east into* Siberia, Samoiedia, *and* Tingoeſia, *as they are daily frequented by the* Ruſſes: *with further Diſcoueries towards* Tartaria *and* China.

FRom the Citie *Oſoil* vpon the Riuer *Wichida*, where the *Oneekos* dwell, they goe againſt the ſtreame, vntill they come to *Iauinis*, a little Towne built by the *Ruſſes*, and it is diſtant from *Oſoil* almoſt ſeuenteene dayes iourney. Whither before they come, they paſſe many Riuers and Woods. The Riuer *Wichida* ſpringeth out of the Mountaines of *Iugoria*, which to the South ioyne vpon *Tartaria*, and from thence runne Northwards to the Ocean Sea. Out of the ſame Mountaines iſſueth the Riuer *Petſora*, which falleth into the Ocean Sea on this ſide the Streight of *Waygats*. From *Iauinis*, after three weekes iourney, they come to *Neem*; a Riuer ſo named of the gentle gliding of her ſtreames through the Woods. For *Neem* in *Engliſh* ſignifieth *Still* or *Dumbe*. On this Riuer they proceed about fiue dayes ſpace with their Boats; and then, for that the *Neem* taketh his courſe another way, for ſhortning their iourney, they muſt of force cauſe their ſtuffe to be carried by Land, the ſpace of a league: And ſo they come to the *Wiſera*, a Riuer iſſuing out of certaine Rockes adioyning to the Mountaines of *Iugoria*. Theſe Rockes the *Moſcouites* call *Camenas*. From hence they are carried downe the Riuer *Wiſera*, for the full ſpace of nine dayes, vntill they come to *Soil Camſcoy*, a ſmall Towne builded by the *Moſcouites*, for refreſhing of Trauellers for a ſhort ſpace, which hence forward are to proceed on their Iourney by Land. As for the *Wiſera*, it keeping on his courſe ſomewhat farther, at length falleth into the *Cama*, which paſſing by *Viatcam*, a Towne of *Moſcouia*, falleth into the great Riuer *Rha*, commonly called *Volga*, which entreth with ſeuenty branches into the *Caſpian* Sea, as I haue receiued from eye witneſſes.

Oſoil.

Iauinis 17. daies iourney diſtant from *Oſoil*, againſt the ſtreame.

Iugoria.

Riuer *Petſora.*

Neem Riuer 3. weekes iourney from *Iauinis.*

From *Neem* to *Wiſera* 5. dayes iourney.

From *Wiſera* to *Soil Camſcoy* 9. dayes.

Volga by the *Tartars* called *Etil.*

The Towne of *Soil Camſcoy* is reaſonably inhabited, hauing many Villages round about it. The Inhabitants, for the moſt part are *Ruſſes* or *Tartars*. Here is great ſtore of Cattell, and chiefly of Horſes. Trauellers hauing here ſomewhat refreſhed themſelues, doe lade their carriages on Horſes, and trauell for the moſt part through Mountaines full of Firres, Pines, and other trees of ſtrange ſorts. Betweene theſe Mountaines they paſſe ouer the Riuers *Soiba*, and from thence ouer *Coſna*, both running toward the North-east.

Soil Camſcoy.

The Riuer *Soiba.*

The Riuer *Coſua.*

Now theſe Mountaines are diuided into three parts; whereof the two firſt are paſſed ouer each of them in two dayes, and the third in foure dayes. The firſt part is called *Cooſuinſcoy Camen*: The ſecond *Cirginſcoy Camen*: The third *Poduinſcoy Camen*. And doubtleſſe all theſe mountainous Countries are much different from the other Countries out of which they enter into them. For the Woods vpon them, are fairer and thicker growne with trees, bearing euery where diuers ſorts of Plants. Theſe three Deſarts are frequented by none in a manner but *Tartars*, and *Samoieds*, who onely hunt after thoſe coſtly Furres, which are to pay their tribute to the Emperour of *Moſcouia*. The Mountaines of *Poduinſcoy Camen* are higher then the reſt, and for the moſt part couered with Snow and Cloudes, and therefore difficult for Trauellers to paſſe ouer: but by little and little they haue a gentle deſcent. From thence they come to *Vergateria*, in which Towne they muſt abide vntill the Spring, by reaſon of the Riues *Toera*, which ariſing not farre from thence, is all the reſt of the yeere very ſhallow.

Mountaines in three parts.

Cooſuinſcoy Camen.

Cirginſcoy Camen.

Poduinſcoy Camen.

Vergateria.

Toera Riuer.

But the Spring approaching, when the Snow melts from the hoary Hills, and the Land waters ariſe, it is paſſed ouer with Skiffes and ſmall Boats. *Vergateria* is the firſt Towne of the Countrey of *Siberia*, and was begun to be builded with ſome other Townes within theſe one and twenty yeeres. It is reaſonably full of buildings, and the lands about it are tilled as in *Moſcouia*. Heere there is reſident for the Emperour of *Moſcouia* a Gouernour, which yeerely at the beginning of the Spring, by way of the Riuers doth diſtribute great ſtore of Corne, and Victuals among the Caſtles with Garriſons throughout all *Siberia*: furniſhing alſo in like manner the *Moſcouites*, which remayne beyond the Riuer *Oby*. For in thoſe places the ground is not yet tilled; and the *Samoieds*, as before is ſaid, for the moſt part feed on the fleſh of wilde beaſts.

Vergateria the firſt Towne of *Siberia.*

1590.

Ruſſian Gouernour.

Downe

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Fiue dayes iourney to *Iaphanis*.

Downe the Riuer *Toera*, in fiue dayes they come to *Iaphanis*, a Towne builded and inhabited within theſe two yeeres. Thence againe they paſſe downe the *Toera*, and hauing proceeded two dayes thereon, they are enforced by reaſon of the often windings and turnings of the Riuer, to cut ouer it in certaine places, for ſhortning of the way. In theſe places there now dwell here and there, *Tartars* and *Samoieds*, liuing for the moſt part vpon Cattell and Fiſhing.

Tabab a mighty Riuer 200. leagues from *Toera*. From *Iaphanis* to *Tinna* 12. dayes iourney by ſled.

At length leauing *Toera*, they come to the mighty Riuer *Tabab*, diſtant from *Vergateria* about two hundred leagues. And from thence they proceed farther to *Tinna*, a populous Towne, and builded by thoſe aboue mentioned. But many trauell alſo from *Iaphanis* to *Tinna*, by Sleds in the Winter time, in the ſpace of twelue dayes. And here is vſed much buying and ſelling of coſtly Furres, betweene the *Muſcouites*, *Tartars*, and *Samoieds*. And this is a very conuenient place, for ſuch as determine to ſtay in the Countrey not aboue ſixe moneths. But many doe ſearch the further parts, and trauell farre beyond the *Oby*, toward the Eaſt and South.

Many trauell farre beyond *Oby* toward the Eaſt & South. *Tobolſca* the chiefe Towne of *Siberia*.

From *Tinna* they come to *Tobolſca*, the chiefe of all the Townes of *Siberia*: wherein is the ſeat of the chiefe Gouernour of *Siberia*, and of the *Moſcouites* that are in the ſame. To this place yeerely are brought from the other Townes of the whole Countrey, as well on this ſide, as beyond *Oby* the tributes, which being brought together, and guarded with Souldiers, are after carried into *Moſcouia* to the Emperour. Here alſo the Law is moſt ſeuerely adminiſtred: and all the other Gouernours in *Samoiedia*, and *Siberia*, are bound to obey him onely. In this Citie beſides is the chiefe Market of commodities brought out of *Moſcouia*; the *Tartars* out of the South parts, and almoſt fartheſt parts of *Tartarie*, and men of other Nations repairing thither: who, the farther that the report of theſe Countries reacheth, doe in ſo much the greater number aſſemble thither: whereby there ariſeth great profit to the *Moſcouites*. Furthermore, in diuers places there are Churches and Chappels erected, wherein the *Greeke* Religion is exerciſed, which among the *Ruſſes*, and other Northerne People is moſt vſed, although corrupted with diuers Superſtitions. But howſoeuer, no man is forced againſt his will to their Religion: but certaine gentle meanes are vſed by the *Ruſſes*, by which theſe people are perſwaded and wonne thereunto.

Tobolſca on the Riuer *Yrtis*.

The Citie *Tobolſca* is ſituated on the Riuer *Yrtis*, which with a moſt forcible ſtreame, and as it were another *Danubius*, riſing from the South, taketh his courſe toward the *Oby*, through which it ſeemeth to runne with the ſame courſe. On the other ſide is the Riuer *Tobol*, of which the Citie taketh her name. Into this falleth the Riuer *Taſſa*, which ſeemeth to ſpring from the North-eaſt, and from certaine Mountaines there vpon the Coaſt. On the ſide of this Riuer the *Moſcouites* haue of late builded a Towne, called *Pohemy*, inhabited with dwellers drawne out of *Siberia*, for no other cauſe, but that it is enuironed with an exceeding fertile ſoyle, as alſo with very pleaſant Woods, wherein diuers ſorts of wilde beaſts doe breed, as Panthers, Ounces, Foxes, Sables, and Marterns. Now *Pohemy* is diſtant from *Tobolſca*, about two weekes Iourney toward the North-eaſt. *Yrtis* with almoſt the like diſtance from *Tobolſca*, falleth into the *Oby*. And at the mouth of it was builded a Towne, called *Olſcoygorod*, but afterward razed downe by commandement of the Gouernour of *Siberia*: The cauſe whereof was not then knowne: which notwithſtanding I gueſſe to haue been either the extremity of the cold, or that the Towne ſtood rer vnto the Sea then they thought fit, and feared leſt ſome inconuenience might grow thereby. for which cauſe about fiftie leagues aboue that razed Towne, they builded another vpon an Iland of the Riuer *Oby*, called *Zergolta*. From hence ſayling vp the Riuer, they vſe ſmall ſayles, either becauſe winds blow faintly, or for the highneſſe of the ſhoare: ſo that, though the *Oby* bee almoſt euery where very broad; notwithſtanding, they drew their Boats in it with ropes, altogether after the ſame ſort that they trauell vp the Riuers of *Moſcouia*.

Tobol Riuer. *Taſſa* Riuer. *Pohemy* a Towne. *Yrtis* Riuer. *Olſcoygorod* razed. *Zergolta* a town builded in an Iland of the Riuer *Oby*.

Noxinſcoy Caſtle 200. leagues aboue *Zergolta*.

Two hundred leagues aboue *Zergolta*, they came to *Noxinſcoi*, a Caſtle builded thirteene yeers agoe, at which time the Gouernour ſent certaine men thither out of *Siberia*, to ſeeke out Countries profitable for mankind, and fit to build Townes in. Wherefore at that time they builded this Caſtle, and furniſhed it with a certaine Garriſon, in a very pleaſant, wholſome, warme, and fertile ſoyle, and wherein were great ſtore of Beaſts and Fowles of rare kinds. The very Caſtle being ſituated toward the South-eaſt, by little and little grew to be a Citie. The Inhabitants whereof were enioyned to proceed by degrees into further and more temperate Countries, and to trafficke truely in euery place, and courteouſly and kindly to entreat all people that they met withall: whereby at length they might more largely extend the Dominion, and ſpread abroad the *Ruſſian* Name. Wherefore flocking thither in great numbers, and piercing into the Inland foure hundred leagues, they found goodly Countries, but not inhabited. And whereas ten yeeres paſt, hauing ſayled two hundred leagues vp the Riuer *Oby*, they lighted vpon a Countrey very fruitfull and pleaſant, which was very temperate, and free from all diſcommodities, and the Winters very ſhort, and in a manner none at all. They tooke occaſion thereupon to returne into *Siberia*, & to ſend word of theſe things into *Moſcouia*. *Boris Godonoua* was then Emperor there, who hauing receiued ſuch good tidings, forthwith commanded the Gouernour of *Siberia*, that with all ſpeed hee ſhould cauſe a Citie to bee builded there. The Gouernour obeyed, and there was a Caſtle builded vpon his commandement, with certaine houſes adioyned; ſo that now it

They trauell 400. leagues into the Inland beyond *Noxinſcoy*. The Reigne of *Boris Godonoua*.

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is a large Citie. The name thereof is *Tooma*, because they vnderstood, that a great multitude of *Tartars* in times past were seated there, of whom this Citie tooke that name for the pleasantnesse of the situation thereof. And it is reported that these *Tartars* had at that time a King, whose name was *Altin*: Whereby it came to passe, that the Citie which was first builded, held out many assaults of sundry people that dwelt in those Champion Countreyes. And now this Citie is so mightie, that in processe of time, some reasonable great Kingdome is likely to grow out off it.

The Citie *Tooma*.

Tartar King.

Furthermore, betweene this Castle of *Noxinscoi*, and the Citie *Tooma*, and *Siberia*, the *Moscouites* daily doe discouer many people dwelling in the In-land parts, some of whom call themselues *Ostachies*, and now are growne into one bodie with the *Tartars*, *Samoieds*, and *Russes*, liuing friendly together; they haue many Kings among them, almost like vnto the *Indians* (I speake of the pettie Kings, not of the greater Kings of *India*.) And to bee briefe, the *Moscouites* haue proceeded so farre into that mayne Land, that we haue just cause to maruell thereat. Moreouer, there are many Castles and Townes betweene the Riuers of *Obi* and *Yrtis*, builded almost at the same time when *Tobolsca* was, and are now proper Townes: whose Inhabitants are *Moscouites*, *Tartars*, and *Samoieds* of their kind, which we call, *The tame Samoieds*, in respect of those which are altogether wild.

Ostachies a people.

Tara a Towne.

Iorgoetum.

Besobia.

Manganseiscoigorod.

Narim and *Tooma* beyond *Obi*.

And the first of the Townes is *Tara*: from which place it is neere ten dayes iourney between *Obi* and *Yrtis*. Then *Iorgoetum*, builded about fifteene yeares past. *Besobia*, and *Manganseiscoigorod*, both of them builded aboue *Iorgoetum* toward the South. The Inhabitants that dwell on the west side of the Riuer *Obi*, seeke daily to discouer more and more. On this side of *Obi* are seated the Cities *Tobolsca*, *Siberia*, *Bereseia*, and certaine others, builded vpon certaine Riuers: and more are builded daily. Beyond *Obi* are *Narim*, *Tooma*, and diuers other Cities, the Inhabitants whereof insteed of Horses vse Reyne Deere, or exceeding swift Dogs, which they fatten with diuers kinds of fishes, and especially with Thornebacks; because they thinke they be made the stronger with that kinde of food. *Iorgoetum*, whereof I spake before, is builded in an Iland of the Riuer *Obi*.

Reyne Deere and exceeding swift Dogs vsed insteed of Horses, and fed with Fishes.

Also aboue *Narim* as men trauaile toward the East, they meete with the Riuer *Telta*: on the banke whereof they haue builded a Castle, named *Comgof-scoi*. The garrison Souldiers of which Castle, together with the Inhabitants of *Narim*, about seuen yeeres past, were commanded by the Gouernour of *Siberia* to trauell East, and diligently to search what vnknowne Nations dwelt in those parts. Therefore trauelling through certaine vast Deserts, for the space of tenne weekes or there abouts, passing in the way through many faire Countreys, many Woods, and Riuers, at length they espied certaine Cottages set vp in the fields, and certaine Hords or Companies of people. But because they had *Samoieds* and *Tartars* for their guides, which were acquainted with those places, they were not afraid. The people came vnto them reuerently, and with humble behauiour, and signified by the *Samoieds* and *Tartars*, that they were called *Tingoesi*, and that their dwelling was vpon the banke of the great Riuer *Ienisce*, which they said did spring from the South South-east, but that they knew not the head thereof. These people were deformed with swellings vnder their throats, and in their speech they thratled like Turkie-cocks. Their language seemed not much to differ from the *Samoieds*, which also vnderstood many of their words.

Telta Riuer to the East beyond *Obi*.

Comgof-scoi Castle.

Ten weekes trauell Eastward from *Obi*, wherein the *Tingoesies* were first discouered.

Tingoesie a people dwelling in Companies vpon the great Riuer *Ienisce*.

The *Tingoesies* deformed with swellings vnder their throats: a disease attending drinkers of Snow-water.

Ienisce being a Riuer farre bigger then *Obi*, hath high mountaines on the East, among which are some that cast out fire and brimstone. The Countrey is plaine to the West, and exceeding fertile, stored with plants, flowers, and trees of diuers kinds. Also many strange fruits do grow therein, and there is great abundance of rare Fowles. *Ienisce* in the spring ouerfloweth the fields about seuentie leagues, in like manner as they report vnto vs, as *Nilus* doth *Egipt*. Wherwith the *Tingoesi* being well acquainted, doe keepe beyond the Riuer, and in the mountaines, vntill it decrease, and then returne, and bring downe their heards of Cattell into the plaines.

Mountaines on the East side of *Ienisce* casting out fire and brimstone.

The ouerflowing of *Ienisce* in the spring: as it may seeme from melted Snow.

The *Tingoesi* being a very gentle people, by the perswasion of the *Samoieds*, without delay submitted themselues to the same Gouernours which they obeyed, whom they reuereneed as a kind of Gods. But what God they worship, or with what rites, it is vncertaine, neither as yet can bee knowne, the *Moscouites* being negligent searchers into such things.

Neither hereafter will I maruell, though the Streight of *Waygats* bee stopped vp to the North-east, with such huge Mountaines of Ice, since the Riuers *Obi* and *Ienisce*, and very many more, whose names are not yet knowne, powre out so huge a quantitie thereof, that in a manner it is incredible. For it commeth to passe in the beginning of the spring, that in places neere vnto the Sea, the Ice through the excessiue thicknesse and multitude thereof, doth carrie downe whole woods before it. And without doubt this is the cause, that about the shoares of the Streight of *Waygats*, so great abundance of floting wood is euery where seene. And whereas in that Streight neere vnto *Noua Zembla*, it is extreame cold, it is no maruell, if in regard of the narrownesse of the Streight, so huge heapes of Ice are gathered and frozen together, that in the end they grow to sixtie, or at least to fiftie fathoms thicknesse, as this present yeere (1612) they measured the same, which at the cost of *Isaac Lamer* went thither in a small Barke, in whose

Reason why *Waygats* is stopped with Ice.

Ice 60. or 50. fathoms thicke in the Streight of *Waygats*.

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whoſe companie the ſaid *Iſaac Lamer* would haue ſent mee, but I would not. For I am readie to proue, that this is no paſſible way, and that they will ſtill loſe their labour, whoſoeuer ſhall attempt the ſame, vnleſſe they take another courſe in the buſineſſe. But let vs returne to our purpoſe.

The firſt voyage Eaſtward beyond the Riuer *Ieniſce*.

Furthermore, thoſe whom I mentioned before, vndertooke a long Iourney beyond the Riuer *Ieniſce* Eaſtward, and were ſomewhat afraid to turne to the South, taking with them certaine *Tingoeſies*, by whom they were informed, that many Nations dwelt toward the South, which differed much from them, whoſe Kings were moſt commonly in warre one with another. But hauing trauelled certaine dayes to no great purpoſe, at length they returned home; Yet before their returne they gaue order to the *Tingoeſies*, to ſearch thoſe Countreys more thorowly; who promiſe that they would doe ſo: And they renewed the league which formerly they had made with the *Moſcouites*. The *Moſcouites* at their departure, left diuers of their people in thoſe parts, and alſo certaine *Samoieds* and *Tartars* their confederates, after they had beſtowed ſome ſmall gifts among the *Tingoeſies*.

Many Nations dwell toward the South. Which are in warre one with another. Such are the *Zagatay Tartars*, as before in *Goes* is ſeene.

The ſecond voyage Eaſt beyond the Riuer *Ieniſce*.

The yeere following, the *Tingoeſies* ſent diuers of their owne people Eaſtward: who trauelling ſomewhat farther then they had done before, at length found another mightie Riuer, ſomewhat leſſer then *Ieniſce*, but as ſwift as it: And following the courſe thereof ſome few dayes, they lighted vpon certaine people whom they tooke, being ſwifter a foot then they: But they could not vnderſtand their language, ſauing that by certaine ſignes and words of the *Saluages*, which often repeated *om om*, they coniectured that on the other ſide of the Riuer, they heard it often thunder. They added alſo, that they had often heard the noyſe of men in thoſe parts: And pointing to the Riuer with their fingers, they often repeated the word *Piſida*: whereby the *Tingoeſies* gathered, that that ſhould bee the name of the Riuer; but by the voyces *om om*, the *Moſcouites* did afterward gather, that they were knollings of Bells. The *Tingoeſies* at their returne from thence, carried with them diuers of the people of that Countrey, which died all by the way, either for feare, or through change of ayre. The *Tingoeſies* were verie ſorrie for their deaths. For at their returne they affirmed, that they were men of good vnderſtanding, well let, with ſmall eyes, flat faced, browne colour, and enclining to tawnie.

Certaine people taken.

The Riuer *Piſida*.

Bells.

The deſcription of the people dwelling vpon the Riuer *Piſida*. Such are the people of the Eaſt both *Tartars* and *Chinois*.

When the *Moſcouites* vnderſtood theſe things by the *Samoieds*, which returned into *Siberia* out of the Countrey of the *Tingoeſies*, eftſoones they were ſtirred vp with a great deſire to ſearch out the farther parts of that Countrey, wherefore they became ſutors to the Gouernour, that they might bee ſent thither with ſome others ioyned with them. Hee preſently yeelded to their requeſt, granting vnto them a certaine companie of Souldiers, and enioyned them curiouſly to ſearch out all things, and to take with them *Tingoeſies*, *Samoieds*, and *Tartars*. So beeing about ſeuen hundred men, they paſſed the Riuer *Obi*, and came to the Riuer *Ieniſce*, through the countreys of the *Samoieds* and *Tingoeſies*. And paſſing the Riuer, they marched forth Eaſtward, hauing the *Tingoeſies* for their guides: which did not onely ſerue them as guides, but alſo plentifully prouided all the company with victuals, taking with wonderfull dexteritie, Fowles, Goats, Reyne Deere, and ſuch like wilde beaſts: as alſo no ſmall quantitie of fiſh out of the Riuers which they met in the way. Hauing trauailed as farre as the Riuer *Piſida*, they pitched their Tents on the banks thereof, with purpoſe to ſtay there till it were paſſable, the Ice being ſhortly to breake vp, becauſe the ſpring was at hand, at which time they came thither, yet they durſt not paſſe ouer the Riuer *Piſida*; hauing now plainly heard the ſound, whereof they were aduertiſed before: which they certainly iudged to bee nothing elſe but the towling of Brazen Bells; and when the wind blew from the farther ſide of *Piſida*, they ſometimes heard the noyſe of men and horſes. Moreouer they ſaw certayne ſayles, though but a few; whereby they coniectured that they were veſſels, which ſayled downe the ſtreame. They ſayd further, that the ſayles were ſquare, like the Indian ſayles, as wee ſuppoſe. But ſeeing no people at all on that ſide of the Riuer where they remained, after they had ſtaied there a certaine ſpace, and had perceiued that in the ſpring time the Riuer did greatly ſwell (which neuertheleſſe they can hardly affirme for a certaintie, ſince the ſhoare is high on both ſides:) At length by very great iourneys, and yet not before Autumne they returned home to *Siberia*; reporting, and that vpon their oathes, That in the moneths of Aprill and May, they were very much delighted with the exceeding faire ſhew of that Countrey; And that they had ſeene therein many rare Plants, Flowers, Fruits, Trees, Fowles, and wild Beaſts. But the *Moſcouites* are nothing curious in ſuch things, as men that ſeeke after nothing but gaine, in all things elſe very negligent and rude.

The towling of brazen Bells of which they haue in *China*, and perhaps in the North parts about it.

Horſes in *Piſida*.

Veſſels ſayling downe *Piſida* with ſquare ſayles.

They came not home till Autumne.

The pleſantneſſe of this Countrey in Aprill and May.

Theſe newes being brought to the Court of *Moſcouia*, the Emperour *Boris*, and the Noblemen that were with him, much wondering thereat, and inflamed with a great deſire to ſearch out exactly all particulars, reſolued the yeere next enſuing, to ſend Ambaſſadours thither, which ſhould carrie preſents with them, and ſhould take *Tartars*, *Samoieds*, and *Tingoeſies* in their companie. And they were enioyned to ſearch out the further ſide of the Riuer *Piſida*, and to make a league of friendſhip with the Kings if they found any, and ſet downe in writing all things that they could obſerue by the way, and ſhould make report of them moſt exactly. But theſe things did not take effect, becauſe of the breaking out of the ciuill warres, among the *Moſcouites* in the meane ſeaſon.

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I am of opinion, that in this countrey is the beginning, and the bounds of the Kingdome of *Cataia*, which bordereth vpon *China*. Yet I feare the *Moscouites* will lose their labour, if they euer returne thither. But time will declare the euent hereof. The opinon of the Author of this Story.

Yet for all this, by the commandement of the Gouernours, euen in the time of this warre, there was a voyage made into those parts, many Inhabitants of *Siberia* being employed in the same, who passing ouer the Riuer *Ienisce*, trauelled further on foot, diuers of whom died by the way, being not accustomed to hardnesse. These also found many things agreeable to the relation of the former. And they likewise did oftentimes heare the towlings of brazen Bells. But vpon the dissuasions of the *Tingoesies* they durst not passe the Riuer: But they stayed awhile in the Mountains, out of which they saw oftentimes flames of fire ascend; & they brought thence some small quantitie of brimstone, and of touch-stone: so that some rich Mines seeme to bee in those hills. Moreouer, the Gouernour of *Siberia* caused certaine couered Boats to bee made, and commanded them to saile downe by the shoare of the Riuer *Obi*, in the first beginning of the spring, and to coast the same continually till they came to the Riuer of *Ienisce*, wherein they should afterward saile certaine dayes, discharging it selfe (as hee thought) into the sea. He sent others likewise to trauell ouer Land: giuing commandement to both of them before they went: To the Land-men, that they should stay by the Riuers side vntill the Boates arriued; and that if they did not arriue there, then after one yeere they should returne. To them that were in the Boates, ouer whom he made one *Lucas* Captayne, he gaue in charge, diligently to discouer the Coast, and whatsoeuer thereon was worthy to bee obserued. They did as they were enjoyned. And the Mariners arriuing at the mouth of the Riuer *Ienisce*, met with certayne of them which trauelled ouer Land, which were sent before in Boats and Skiffes downe the Riuer. The fourth Voyage to the Riuer *Pisida*. The towling of Brazen Bells. Mountaynes casting out flames of fire. The fift Voyage by *Obi* and the Sea-coast to the Riuer *Ienisce*. *Lucas* Captain of the Discouerie by Sea.

In their journey, they found all things in a manner to fall out as the Gouernour had fore-told. But *Lucas* being dead by the way, and some others, they thought it the best course, for both of the Companies to returne the same way that they came: And when they came home into *Siberia*, they declared vnto the Gouernour the whole successe of their journey: which caused the same to be sent vnto the Emperour: And this Relation is layed vp among the Treasures of *Moscouia* vntill these Warres bee ended; and then, as it is thought, it shall bee examined. But wee feare that by this time it is perished, which if it be so, truly it is much to be lamented, in regard that they haue found so many rare and sundry Ilands, Riuers, Fowles, and wild beasts, and that farre beyond the Riuer *Ienisce*.

Moreouer, the Riuer *Taes* falleth into the Riuer of *Obi*, springing as it seemeth, out of places neere vnto the Riuer *Ienisce*, and out of a great Wood in those parts: out of which Wood another Riuer seemeth also to haue his Fountayne not farre from the Riuer *Taes*, and falleth into the Riuer of *Ienisce*. So that euen from *Obi* they trauell by water along the Coast of the *Samoieds*, and passing only two leagues ouer Lands, they meet with the Riuer *Torgalse*, downe which with the streame they fall into the Riuer *Ienisce*. And this is a very easie way, and lately found out by the *Samoieds*, and the *Tingoesies*. *Taes* Riuer falleth into *Obi*. The Riuer *Torgalse* falleth into *Ienisce*. An *Ouer-hall* of two leagues only.

Doubtlesse (it is to be lamented) that the *Hollanders* haue not had good successe in passing the Streight of *Way-gats*; but surely they know not the right way to attempt the same. For if they attempt it by shippes, though it were an hundred times, it would hardly once take effect. But if they would throughly discouer these Countreyes, then they should stay two or three yeares about *Petsora* and *Way-gats*, where they should not want good Hauens, nor Victualls: and from thence they should send out some with small Boates to discouer the further parts, by the very example of the *Russes*, whose Friendship if they would procure vnto themselues, they should easily find Guides and Pilots: and so at length all these Coasts would throughly bee discouered. The right way to discouer the North-east parts. Note.

Doubtlesse goodly Countreyes would bee found out, and not only Ilands, but the Mayne Land also. Yet there is just cause to doubt, whether *America* aboue *China* joyne not with some of the three parts of the old World: As wee see *Africa* joyned vnto *Asia*, with a narrow necke of Land vpon the Redde Sea. And doubtlesse, this seemeth likely to bee true. For who can affirme, that they bee separated? Sauing that they haue found some things in the Writings of prophane Authors, whereby it may be proued, and bring many Arguments from thence. And though these parts bee not joyned together, yet they must needs bee diuided with some small Streight.

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§. III.

A Note of the Trauels of the Russes *ouer Land, and by Water from* Mezen, *neere the Bay of Saint* NICHOLAS *to* Pechora, *to* Obi, *to* Yenisse, *and to the Riuer* Geta, *euen vnto the Frontiers of* Cataia; *brought into* England *by Master* IOHN MERICKE, *the* English *Agent for* Moscouie, *and translated out of the* Russe *by* RICHARD FINCH.

Mezen. *Pechora.* *Montnaia Reca,* Th. *Volec,* or Ouer-hall, *Zelena Reca.* *Obi* Riuer. *Taes* Riuer and Castle. *Toorou-hansko Zeemouia.* *Tingoosie* Riuer. *Yenisey* Riuer. The *Boulashies.* *Secahee.* *Yenisey* the greater and lesse. *Imbaki.* *Oftaki.* *Geta* Riuer. Summers trauell from *Tingosey* to *Geta.* Vessels of greater burthen drawne with the Rope, a thing vsed in *China.*

FRom *Mezen* to *Pechora,* is a thousand Versts: and the same is trauelled with Reyne Deere. From *Pechora* to *Montnaia Reca,* or *The troubled Riuer,* and to the parts of *Mongosey,* it is trauelled in Boats called Coaches in seuen Weekes. At this place is a certayne Ouer-hal, where the foresaid Boats or Vessels are drawne ouer by men. Out off *Montnaia Reca,* or *The troubled Riuer,* passing this Ouer-hall, they enter into *Zelena Reca,* or the *Greene Riuer.* From *Zelena Reca,* or the *Greene Riuer* to *Obi,* is three Weekes rowing, running downe with the Current; but with a faire wind it is no more but three dayes and three nights Iourney. From *Obi* to *Taes* Castle, is a Weekes rowing. From *Taes* Castle to the Riuer *Yemissey* vpon long Woodden Pattens through the Snow, is three Weekes trauaile. But through the deepe Channell in the afore-said Vessels, called Coaches; is foure Weekes trauayle. It bringeth them to a place, called *Toorou-hansko Zeemouia,* that is, The Wintering place of one called *Toorouhan.* Hauing trauelled to this *Toorou-hansko Zeemouia,* they come out on the backe side to a place called, The Riuer of *Tingoosie,* being a stonie or Rocky Riuer, which falleth into the Riuer *Yenisey.* In that place liue the *Tingoosies,* and people of the afore-said Land of *Tingoosi.* Beyond them liue a people called The *Boulashees:* And beyond the *Boulashees* inhabit the people of *Seelahee.* These people report concerning *Yenisey* the *Great,* and *Yenisey* the *Lesser:* That beyond this fore-said *Yenisey* inhabit the people *Imbaki,* and the *Oftaki,* which are a kind of *Tartars.* Also beyond the *Tingoosies* is a Riuer called *Geta,* which was trauailed by the *Russes* of *Vashen,* and *Russes* of *Pechora.* These men by report liued in the parts of *Geta,* sixe yeeres. After which one of the *Russes* of *Vashen,* named *Wolfe,* returned into *Siberia;* and he reported, that he was trauailing from *Tingoosie* to *Geta* a Summer. Likewise, this said *Wolfe* reported, that a *Samoied* told him, that in *Yenisey* the greater were Vessels of a great burthen, seene to be drawne with the Rope, by a very great number of people: but hee could not tell what people they were, neither whither they did intend to trauaile with the said Vessels.

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CHAP. VIII.

A Voyage made to Pechora 1611. *Written by* WILLIAM GOVADON *of* Hull, *appointed chiefe Pilot, for Discouerie to* Ob, *&c.*

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THe eleuenth of Aprill we weighed Anchor at *Blacke-wall* in the Riuer of *Thames,* in a ship called the *Amitie;* whereof *Iames Vadun* was Master, and sayling along the Coasts of *England, Scotland, Norway,* and *Finmarke,* on the eleuenth of the next moneth of May, wee found our selues in the latitude of 71. degrees 40. minutes.

The twelfth, wee ranne sortie eight leagues North North-east, the wind being at South South-east, and found our selues in the latitude of 73. degrees 42. minutes, and at night wee had shoaldings of *Cherie* Iland: for wee were enioyned by our Commission to touch there, although it were three degrees to the North out of our way.

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Cherie Iland. The thirteenth, being Whit-sunday it cleered vp, and then we did see *Cherie* Iland six leagues East South-east from vs.

The fourteenth, being faire weather, we stood to the Northwards, thinking to haue gone on shoare, but we could not for Ice, and labouring to Land on the South side of the Iland, wee met with *Ionas Poole* about Eeuening in the *Elizabeth,* who came as then to the Iland, and was set forth by the Right Worshipfull Company of our *Russian* Merchants, to discouer further Northward, from eightie degrees toward the North Pole. Then we stood to the Eastward, where wee found great store of Ice.

Ionas Poole.

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The fifteenth, we spent on the South-side of the Iland, in hope of the arriuall of the *Marie Margaret,* which being a ship of nine score Tunnes, was set forth very chargeably by the aforesaid *Russian* Company, and had in her sixe *Basker,* being excellent Whale-killers of Saint *Iohn de Luz,* for the killing of the Whale on the Coast of *Greenland,* in a Road called *Crosse* Road, standing

Six *Biscainers.* *Crosse* Road.

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ſtanding exceeding farre to the North, euen in the latitude of 79. degrees and better. The ſame day at night, ſeeing that there we could doe no good, we determined to proceed on our Voyage for the Riuer of *Pechora*: and Letters being giuen one to the other for Teſtimoniall of our meeting in that place, we left *Ionas Pooley*, and directed our courſe to the Eaſtward.

The two and twentieth of May, we came to a ſmall Iland, called *Bigs* Hole by *Tapani* Harbour. May. *Bigs* Hole.

The three and twentieth, we arriued at the Ile of *Kildin* in *Lappia*. *Kildin* in *Lappia*.

The foure and twentieth, *Ioſias Logan*, which was appointed Factor for *Pechora*, and my ſelfe with two more, went to *Olena*, and ſtayed there all the fiue and twentieth, being Saturday, where wee found a ſhip of *Yarmouth*, whereof *Iames Wright* of *Hull* was Maſter, of whom we learned the proceeding of the *Hollanders*. *Olena*.

The ſeuenth of Iune, in the morning we had ſight of the Coaſt of *Lappia*, a little ſhort of Cape *Comfort*, and met with a ſhip of *Amſterdam*, by which we ſent Letters to Maſter *Iohn Mericke* our *Engliſh* Agent, then Reſident in *Colmogro*; and we had two Hogſheads of Beere of them. Iune. Cape *Comfort*. A ſhip of *Amſterdam*.

The eight, we plyed to Cape *Comfort*, the wind at South-eaſt.

The ninth being Sunday, in the morning wee put off from the Coaſt of *Lappia*, to croſſe ouer the *White Sea*, to the Cape of *Callinos* corruptly, and commonly called *Candinos*. At noone we paſſed through ſome Ice, the weather being thicke and foggie.

The eleuenth, we plyed to the Cape of *Callinos*, paſſing through much Ice, the wind at North North-eaſt. And therefore wee thought it better to goe to the Southward againe: and in the Eeuening we came to an Anchor in ten fathomes. This night wee had a ſore ſtorme; the winde at North-eaſt. *Callinos*.

The twelfth, in the morning we weighed, and in weighing brake our Anchor: and then wee ſtood to the Southward, and came to an Anchor; and at night wee went on ſhoare for Wood, and Water, where was good ſtore of Drift Wood: And within a ledge of Rockes on the Weſt-ſide of *Callinos* there lay ten Lodias or *Ruſſe* ſmall ſhippes, ſome fourteene or fifteene Tunnes the biggeſt (of a Towne called *Pinega*,) all which were bound for *Noua Zembla*, to kill the Morſſe: with the men of which Fleete wee had ſome conference, and did ſee their Prouiſions: which were Launces of their faſhion, and Harping Irons; their Victuals were Salt-fiſh, Butter, Bacon, Meale, their Drinke Quaſſe. They goe on ſhoare. Ten Lodias of *Pinega* bound for *Noua Zembla*.

The ſixteenth, in the morning wee weighed and ſtood our courſe for the Ile of *Colgoiene*, the wind being at South South-weſt, and did find the Ice that was cloſe to the ſhoare to bee open: but at night finding that we could not ſayle our courſe for the Ice, we thought it better to ſtay, and ſo came to an Anchor.

The ſeuenteenth, wee weighed in the morning, and ſtood along the ſhoare, which did lye South-eaſt by Eaſt, and North-weſt by Weſt. And in the after-noone, wee went on ſhoare with our ſhallop, and came to a Riuer, which we called *Hakluyts* Riuer, where wee did ſee certayne *Samoieds*, with their Deere: but when they perceiued vs, they fled into the Land, carrying with them ſuch things as in haſte they could get together: but left moſt of their neceſſaries, as Bowes, Arrowes, long Speares, wanting Iron heads burnt at the end, Harping Irons, Wimbles, and Morſſe-skinnes, lying hid, ſome in one place, ſome in another: which wee cauſed our men to vncouer, and would not ſuffer them to take any thing away; only I tooke the Pizzell of a Morſſe which they had lately killed; and *Ioſias Logan* left a Knife, that they might not ſhunne vs hereafter. The ſame Eeuening we anchored and ſtayed all night.

The eighteenth, wee weighed, and at noone wee came to an Harbour, which, as wee thinke, was the very ſame where Maſter *Stephen Burrow* was in his Diſcouerie of *Vaigatz*, and *Noua Zembla*, 1556. where there is twelue, or thirteene foot at high water vpon the Barre, and within ſix or ſeuen fathomes. Alſo in this place were three Lodias of *Pinega*, which when they ſaw vs come in, rowed out, and at night returned, and ſome of their men came aboord of vs, and told vs that they could not paſſe for Ice; and ſaid, that they were bound for *Sharkai Gooba*, or *Shar* Bay to fiſh for certayne fiſhes; which they call *Omilie*, which are ſomewhat like a Shad, and for Morſſes. A good Harbour. *Stephen Burrow*. Three Lodias of *Pinega*. *Sharkai Gooba*, which is the great Bay of *Hayuburi*.

The twentieth, *Ioſias Logan* and my ſelfe went ouer to the Mayne, which was diſtant two leagues, and came to a great Riuer in 67. degrees and 40. minutes, where there had beene people: and there we ſaw foure or fiue great white fiſhes ſwimming, which are foure or fiue yards long, and called by the *Ruſſes Belluga*, whereof they make Oyle, whereof afterward we found at *Pechora*, great ſtore to be ſpoyled. They land the third time. A great Riuer.

The one and twentieth, we ſent our men for Wood, for there was good ſtore of Flote-wood as we had found all the Coaſt along; but none growing. Flote-wood.

The two and twentieth, in the morning we came ouer the Barre, the winde at South South-eaſt, directing our courſe for the Ile of *Colgiene*; and at noone wee paſſed through much Ice, which lay ſo thicke that wee could not ſayle, but tooke in our ſayles, and made faſt our ſhip to a piece of Ice.

The three and twentieth, in the morning wee ſet ſayle, and plyed to the Wind-ward, the wind at South-eaſt, with raine: and at night wee mored to a Cake of Ice.

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The foure and twentieth, in the morning we ſet ſayle, and pyled to wind-ward, the wind at South-weſt to get cleere of the Ice; and at noone we obſerued and found our ſelues to bee in 67. degrees 12. minutes, and in the after-noone we had ſight of the Land againe, being foure leagues to the Southwards of the aforeſaid Harbour; and finding the Tyde to ſet very fore vpon the ſhoare to the Weſtward, we ſtood to the Eaſtward, bearing through the Ice, and at twelue at night wee mored to a piece of Ice.

A fore tyde vpon the ſhoare.

The fiue and twentieth, we looſed and ſayled to the Eaſtward, till we found the Ice ſo thick, that we could not paſſe further: then we made faſt to a piece of Ice: the wind at North North-eaſt, thicke fogge, and ſome raine. The ſix and twentieth, we ſet our fore top-ſayle, the wind at North North-eaſt, blowing hard and thicke fogge: we ſtood ſometimes one way, ſometimes another, as we could find the Ice open; and at noone we had ſight of the ſhoare, being foure or fiue leagues off, and the Ice lying ſo thicke, that we could make no meanes to get farther from the ſhoare: wherefore wee made faſt to a great Cake of Ice. The ſeuen and twentieth, wee lay ſtill, the Ice lying very cloſe, with thicke foggie weather: the wind at North North-weſt.

The eight and twentieth, in the morning it was cleere, and the Land did beare North by Weſt ſeuen leagues off, and then we ſet ſayle, paſſing to the Eaſtward till noone: then we made faſt to a piece of Ice, it being very foggie: the wind at Weſt North-weſt. And the ſame day at eight in the after-noone wee looſed from the Ice, it being cleere, the wind at North-weſt. And at mid-night we got cleere of the Ice, keeping our courſe Eaſt North-eaſt.

Cape Swetinos.

The nine and twentieth, at eight in the morning, we had ſight of Cape *Swetinos*, the winde at North North-weſt, with thicke foggie weather: At noone, finding the Ice to lye cloſe to the ſhoare, we caſt about to the Weſtward. And at eight in the Eeuening, wee came to an Anchor in tenne fathomes; and then I went on ſhoare, where there were two *Ruſſian* Croſſes: the Land was ſmooth, and full of freſh Ponds, being a kind of white Chalke Cliffes. At our comming aboord, we weighed and ſtood neerer to the ſhoare becauſe of the Ice.

William Gourdan goeth on ſhoare. Two Ruſſe Croſſes.

The thirtieth, in the morning the Ice came ſo extreamely vpon vs, that we could not weigh; for our men being caſt from the Capſtan, our Cable brake, and ſo wee loſt an Anchor. Then ſeeing wee could not paſſe to the Eaſtward, wee ſtood to the Weſtward of Cape *Swetinos*, into the afore-ſaid deepe Bay in ſeuen fathomes: the wind at Eaſt North-eaſt, cleere weather.

A deepe Bay Weſtward of Cape Swetinos

The firſt of Iuly, we went on ſhoare to ſee if there were any thing to take notice of: but wee found nothing worth the going. For only we ſaw a wild Deere, and an Houſe of Wood after the *Ruſſe* faſhion, where people had beene. The ſecond, likewiſe we rode ſtill, and going againe on ſhoare we did ſee the Ice all gone to the Eaſtward; and ſo came aboord. The third, at ſixe in the morning we weighed, the wind at Eaſt North-eaſt, and plyed through ſome Ice: and at foure in the after-noone we got cleere of it: and at eight of the clocke wee came to an Anchor, it being calme and cleere weather: then I went on ſhoare, where we were firſt; and came aboord becauſe of the great abundance of Muskitos or Gnats. At our comming hauing the winde at South-weſt, we ſet ſayle and ſtood along the ſhoare.

They goe on Land againe. An houſe of Wood.

They goe on Land the ſixth time.

Abundance of Muskitos.

The fourth, we ſayled along the ſhoare with faire weather, hauing the winde variable. The fifth, wee plyed to the Eaſtward; wind at North-eaſt by Eaſt faire weather. The ſixth, wee plyed along the ſhoare, the wind at North by Eaſt. And in the after-noone wee paſſed through much Ice. The ſeuenth, we plyed through the Ice to the Eaſtward, the winde at Eaſt North-eaſt, thicke and foggie. The eight, with cleere weather, the winde at North North-eaſt, we plyed to the Eaſtward; and at noone obſerued the Sunne hauing 69. degrees 40. minutes: At Eeuening we had ſight of the Land to the Eaſtward of the Riuer of *Pechora*; and thinking to get into the ſhoare we could not for the ſhoald water.

The ninth, in the morning we ſtood backe to find the Barre or entrance of the Riuer of *Pechora*. And in the after-noone, ſeeing the Sand ouer the Ice, which was not broken off from the ſhoare, I went thither with my ſhallop, and going on ſhoare, we eſpyed three Croſſes, and certayne *Ruſſes* walking vpon the Sand; who told vs, that that was the place that we deſired: and one of them came aboord our ſhip to bring vs ouer the Barre. But comming to ſhoald water, wee durſt not truſt his skill, but ſtood backe againe, and came to an Anchor in foure fathomes.

Croſſes found and certayne Ruſſes at the mouth of Pechora.

The depth of the Barre of the Riuer of Pechora.

The tenth, in the morning I went to ſound the Barre; where we had eleuen and tenne, and in one place but nine foot water. And comming aboord wee ſet ſayle to come in. And in going ouer the Barre we were on ground; but, God be thanked, wee got well ouer, and came to an Anchor in ſix fathomes.

They paſſe ouer the Barre, and ride in ſix fathoms water.

The eleuenth, the Ice brake off from the ſhoare, and came ſo faſt vpon vs, that we could not ſhift from it, but were put on ground vpon a Sand; yet God be thanked without any harme. The ſame day leauing our ſhip lying ſo, *Ioſias Logan* our Factor, my ſelfe, *William Purſglowe*, being rowed in our Skiffe by ſix of our Mariners, tooke our way toward the Towne ouer a ſhoald Sea, which the *Ruſſes* cal, *The Dry Sea*: which may very wel be ſo called. For on the ſtarboord or Weſt ſide going vp is a low dry Sand, and on the Larboord or Eaſt ſide is all ſhoald water, as two, three, or foure foote water. And ſeuen leagues within to the South-weſt is an Iland, called *Dolgoi*, that is to ſay, *The long Iland*, which you muſt keep on the Larboord or Eaſt ſide, & then ſteer away South South-weſt,

They goe vp the Riuer of Pechora, ouer The Dry Sea. Dolgoi is ſeuen leagues vp from the Barre

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west, neere vpon twentie leagues, all in shoald water; and then you shall come to the sight of an high Land called The *Bolwan*; which in the *Russe* Tongue signifieth, *a Blocke*: which you must leaue on the Larboord, or East side. And be sure to keepe the channell, which doth trend South-west, and South-west by West. By report of the Inhabitants the Riuer hath two and seuentie mouthes.

The *Bolwan*, or East head-land of the Riuer *Pechora*.

The channell trendeth South-west.

The twelfth, we passed ouer the *Drie Sea*, (which the *Russes* call in their Language, *Suchoi Morie*,) to the mouth of the Riuer *Pechora*: where we found many small Ilands, some a mile, some two miles in length, and so shoald water, that wee could not get to the shoare with our Shallop, but lay in her all night at an anchor, being vncertaine which way to take: and seeing so many entrances before vs, we could hit right at none. The thirteenth, in the morning wee got to an Iland, at the very mouth of the Riuer, where wee stayed all the day, hauing much wind and fogge. The fourteenth, being Sunday, we set sayle from the Iland, the Sea going very high: and at noone we came by Gods direction, into one of the chiefest entrances of the Riuer *Pechora*; and came to an house, where there were two and their families, who made vs the best entertaynment that they could, and gaue vs directions how to goe to the Towne.

An Iland neere the mouth of the Riuer.

They find one of the chiefest entrances of the Riuer.

The fifteenth, we came to a Sari or Ferme house of one of the principall men of the Towne; who bid vs kindly welcome: and as the place and season affoorded, hee made vs good cheere. He lay there at this time, to take Duckes, Swannes, Geese, and other Fowles: for then was the time of the yeere. Their feathers they sell, and their bodies they salt for winter prouision. He also gaue vs a man to bring vs to the Towne.

They come to a Ferme house of a principall man of the Towne.

The sixteenth, we came to the Towne of *Pustozera*, which standeth vpon a Lake. There was no Gentleman or Gouernour in the Towne at our arriuall: for he had destroyed the Castle, and fled away the last Winter. For certaine dayes wee could haue no answer, whether wee might stay or no, all the chiefe men being abroad for their Winters prouision. But the chiefe Customer *Masphe*, sending men to know their mindes, the three and twentieth day of the same moneth of Iuly, we were embraced of them, and desired to stay, and they appointed vs an house to dwell in. Furthermore, they told vs that the Riuer *Pechora* was more conuenient for vs, then the Riuer of *Duyna*: and that a great part of the goods, which come to *Colmogro* vpon *Dwina*, doe passe in one place or other by the Riuer *Pechora*, which, they say, runneth through *Siberia*; and how much farther they themselues know not. The fiue and twentieth, in the morning, hauing one of their Boats full with feathers, wee departed from the Towne, taking our leaues of *Iosias Logan*, who stayed behind.

The Towne is called *Pustozera*.

Pechora runneth through *Siberia*, and farther.

The sixe and twentieth, we came downe to the *Bolwan*, where wee went aboord of two Coches of some fifteene tunnes a piece, bound for *Mongunzea*. Here I went on shoare, and bought an airie of Slight-falcons, being very young. The seuen and twentieth, in the Eeuening wee came aboord our ship, and the same night tooke in the Feathers, and laded their Boat againe with Meale, sending her vp to the Towne by the *Russes* that brought her downe.

Two Coches or Lodias, bound for *Mongunzea*.

He buyeth two Falcons.

The eight and twentieth, we got out our goods, which were appointed to be left at *Pechora*, vnder the charge of Master *Logan*, and made ready our ship. The nine and twentieth, wee weighed anchor, and fell lower downe, the wind North North-east. The thirtieth, wee rode still, and in the after-noone two Lodias that were fishing for *Omulais*, went out to Sea, the wind at North-west by West. The one and thirtieth, the wind being at West North-west, there came in foure and twentie sayles of Lodias or Coches, all bound for *Mugunzea*: but the yeere being farre spent they gaue ouer their Voyage, and went to the Towne of *Pustozera*, to winter. Out of one of the which Lodias we hired a man belonging to the Towne, to stay with *William Pursglone* and *Marmaduke Wilson*, by our goods, till the Lodia came, which we had hired. Which two were to winter with Master *Logan* in the Countrey. The aforesaid foure and twentie Lodias were of *Colmogro*, *Pinega*, *Mezen*, and *Pustozera*.

The fifteene tunnes a piece, bound for *Mongunzea*. Here I went on shoare, and bought an airie of Slight-falcons, being very young. The seuen and twentieth, in the Eeuening wee came aboord our ship, and the same night tooke in the Feathers, and laded their Boat againe with Meale, sending her vp to the Towne by the *Russes* that brought her downe.

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The stocke of goods left in *Pustozera*.

24. Lodias bound for *Mugunzea*, which is to the Eastward of *Ob*.

The first of August, the wind at West, we weighed, and, God bee thanked, came safely ouer the Barre of *Pechora*. From thence wee directed our course for *Noua Zembla*: and at noone we came to Ice: where hauing sayled many points of our Compasse, at mid-night wee tooke in our sayles, and made fast to a piece of Ice; the weather being very thicke and foggie. The second being very cleere, and seeing no way to passe to the Northward for Ice, we determined to return; and because the yeere was so farre spent to go for *Cherie* Iland, to see if it pleased God to giue vs there any good successe, for the bearing of the charges of this Voyage. So wee loosed, and at eight in the Eeuening wee got cleere off the Ice, keeping our course by the edge of it; which did lie East by North, and East North-east. The third, at noone we had sight of *Colgoiene* Iland, and tooke the latitude, being on the North side of the Iland which was 69. degrees 20. minutes: and at night I went on shoare to see the Land, which was high clay ground: and I came where there was an airie of Slight-falcons: but they did flie all away saue one, which I tooke vp, and brought aboord. This Ile of *Colgoiene* is but thirtie leagues from the Barre of *Pechora*.

They safely passe the Barre of *Pechora*.

Colgoiene Iland 69. degrees, 20. minutes.

Falcons.

The fourth, we passed through some Ice, and at noone wee got cleere off it, and stood to the Northward, *Colgoiene* bearing South-west sixe leagues, the wind at East North-east. The fift, we had faire weather, the wind at East South-east, wee sayled two and thirtie leagues North

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70 degrees 40. minutes. North-west, we obserued, and found our selues in 70. degrees and 40. minutes. The sixt, the wind being at South South-west, we steered North North-west fortie leagues, and were in 72. degrees 34. minutes. The seuenth, the wind was variable, the weather faire: we steered North by West, eight and thirtie leagues, and at noone had the latitude of 74. degrees 30. minutes. And at eight in the Eeuening we sounded, and had eightie fathomes greene Oze. The eight, the wind at West, we sayled North twenty leagues: in the morning we sounded, and had seuenty fathoms Oze: and at three in the afternoone, the wind comming North, wee cast about to the Westward.

72. degrees 34 minutes.

74. degrees 30. minutes.

The ninth, faire weather, we sayled thirteene leagues West, the wind at North. At noone we sounded, and had an hundred and twentie fathomes, greene slime. The tenth, the wind variable, with fogge and raine: wee steered West North-west fiue and twentie leagues: and at noone we obserued, and had the latitude of 74. degrees 57. minutes. The eleuenth, was thicke foggie weather; wee sayled foure and twentie leagues West: and at eight in the Eeuening wee sounded, and had ninety fathomes, soft Oze. The thirteenth, at noone wee had sight of *Cherie* Iland, being within a mile of it, before we did see it: and the same Eeuening wee got into the *Coue*, and mored our ship. Here we stayed twelue dayes, taking what it pleased God to send, which was but little.

74. degrees 57. minutes.

They arriue at *Cherie* Iland.

The sixe and twentieth of August, we left the Iland, because the time of the yeere was farre spent, and returned for *England*, where (blessed be God) we safely arriued in Saint *Catharines* Poole, in the Riuer of *Thames*, on Saturday being Saint *Matthews* day, and the one and twentieth of September, 1611.

30. Lodias. There were in the Hauen of the Riuer *Pechora*, at our being there, about thirtie Lodias, or small *Russe* ships, hauing ten, twelue, fourteene, and sixteene men in each of them: which purposed to haue gone, some to *Noua Zembla*, some to *Tasse gorodoc*, and some to other places in *Mougumsey*, to the East of the Riuer *Ob*. These Lodias for the most part, were of *Ustiug*, *Colmogro*, *Pinega*, *Mezen*, and *Pechora*.

50. Cayucks or fishing Boats, haunting the Riuer *Pechora*. Also, we that went vp to the Towne, found about fiftie Cayucks, or Boats of foure, fiue, six, and seuen tunnes a piece, fishing in the Riuer of *Pechora* for Salmons, and other kinds of fish; most of which Cayucks come from the great Towne of *Ustiug*, and the Townes thereunto adioyning, by the Riuer *Iug*, through the Land into the Riuer *Pechora*, and at the *Boluan*, at the Riuers mouth they tooke most part of their Salmon.

CHAP. IX.

A Letter of RICHARD FINCH *to the Right Worshipfull Sir* THOMAS SMITH, *Gouernour; and to the rest of the Worshipfull Companie of* English *Merchants, trading into* Russia: *touching the former Voyage, and other obseruations.*

RIght Worshipfull, my dutie remembred vnto you, with prayer to God for the preseruation of your healths and prosperous successe in all your worthie affaires. My last Letters vnto you were from *Typani* in *Lapland*, by *Thomas Hare-castle* of *Hull*, dated the foure and twentieth of May, 1611. The other, the nine and twentieth of May from *Kyldin* neere *Camen*, by a ship of *Hamburg*: which foresaid Letters were directed to our Gouernour, the right Worshipfull Sir *Thomas Smith*, Knight. May it now please you further to vnderstand, That the ninth day of Iuly, wee came to the mouth of the Riuer of *Pechora*, which the *Russes* call *Pecherskoi Zauoret* with our ship. And being entred into the aforesaid Harbour, it was full of Ice, and hard to finde: for we found no mayne Land, saue a small Sound behind the Ice. And labouring to and fro along the same, we sent *William Gourdon* in our Shallop manned to the shoare: who, as soone as they were landed, espied two Crosses standing on the sand: and presently our men espied three men comming toward them. These men belonged to three Boats of *Pinega*, which Boats had beene in our companie not long before, at a place called by them, *Promoya*, by vs, *Obscure*, but by other Writers, *Morshouitz*. One of these *Russes* came on boord of our ship, and told vs, that wee could goe no farther with our ship, then the place, that their Vessels, called *Coaches*, rid in; and that to the Towne we must goe in small Vessels; giuing vs directions to sayle by, for the better finding of the Towne. After our getting ouer the Barre of the *Pecherskoi Zauoret*, and that we were come to an anchor, we rode in great danger by the abundance of Ice, and the strong tide both of the ebbe and floud, which droue the same so forcibly against our ship. For, the eleuenth of Iuly, lying in foure fathomes water, a piece of an Iland of Ice, set with such a power against our ship, that it droue vs out of our riding into eight foot and an halfe, and nine foot water.

They arriue in the Port of *Pechora* the ninth of Iuly.

Two Crosses standing on the sand. *Pinega*.

Ship endangered by Ice.

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The eleuenth of Iuly, Master *Iosias Logan*, *William Gourdon*, and *William Pursglone*, with our Shallop went vp to the Towne of *Pechora*, taking directions of the *Russes* for the finding of the same. Neuertheleſſe, two dayes after their departure from our ship, they had mistaken their way, if by chance they had not met with a small *Russe* Boat, in which were *Russes* that directed them. Being about thirty Versts from the Towne, they came to the house of one *Vasili Deadoolous*, who that this present is one of the chiefest Customers: by which Customers the Towne of *Pechora* is now gouerned, since there was no Gentleman sent from the *Mosco*. This man gaue them good entertaynment, and sent vp with them a man of his owne, fearing that the people would bee amazed at our mens sudden and vnexpected comming. Yet as soone as they espied our people, they were all exceedingly afraid. Diuers of them with their women fled into the Woods, vntill that one of the chiefest Customers had sent for them other Customers, who at that time were all out of Towne. But being met together, Master *Logan* shewed them the Priuiledges, of seuerall of their Emperours granted to your Worships. After the perusing of which, with the good report giuen of Master *Mericke*, your Agent, and our Nation by one of *Colmogro*, with whom Master *Logan* was acquainted; the Towne-men were well satisfied: and appointed our people an House. And many of them sent Bread, Pies, Ducks, Fish, and such like vnto them, entertayning them very well, according to the fashion of the Country, with continuall admiration how they found the Towne.

Our men arriue at Towne of *Pechora*. People afraid of the *English*.

Touching the Inhabitants, there is no doubt, but that they will be glad of our trading thither. Neuertheleſſe, by that which I haue heard and perceiued, it is very likely, that the same will be distastfull to the Merchants of the Country, and others that trauell thither in the Winter time, out of many parts of *Russia*: and also, to them that trade in the Summer time, by Sea to *Mongosey*, and through the Riuer of *Peoza* in Cayucks to *Perm*, *Ouſt-zilme*, and *Pechora*.

The seuen and twentieth of Iuly, our Shallop with a small *Russe* Boat, returned to our ship from *Pechora* Towne, departing from the same the Thursday before, being the fiue and twentieth of Iuly, in our foresaid Shallop, and *Russe* Boat, were sent downe by *Iosias Logan*, fiue and fortie bags of white Partridges feathers, and an hundred and seuentie white Foxe skinnes. These Feathers and Foxe skinnes, are bought of a *Colmogro* man, to be payd for the same in *Russia* by Master *Mericke*; and, as I vnderstand, not so cheape as others doe buy there of the Fowlers themselues. But if two men were left, one at *Pechora*, another at *Ouſt-zilme*, and *Perm*, with ready money and a little commodities, much good might be done in the Winter time by buying of Sables, Beuers, Beuers wombs, Squerrils, Foxe skinnes white and dunne, Losh hides, and Deere skinnes. And for the transportation of your goods to *Pechora*, or bringing of your goods from *Pechora*; the same may be done from *Arch-angel* vpon the *Duyna* to *Mezen*, and from *Mezen* to *Pechora*, *Ouſt-zilme*, and *Perm*, both by Winter ouer Land, and in Summer through fresh water Riuers, or alongst the shoare with speed, and with a little charge: as by the manner of their ordinary trauell appeareth, as it hath beene of a trueth deliuered mee, from the mouthes of men of long experience.

White Partridges and Foxes.

Commodities.

The last of August, came into *Pechorskoi Zauorot*, or the Hauen of *Pechora*, sixe and twentie Lodias or Boats, which was the Fleet set out from *Ouſtiug*, *Colmogro*, *Pinega*, and *Mezen*: all of them being bound for *Mongosey*: but hauing been crossed with contrary winds, & the time of the yeere being spent, they gaue ouer their intended Voyage; purposing with the next faire wind, to sayle to the Towne of *Pechora*, there to lay vp their Lodias and commodities till the next Spring, and themselues with their small Boats or Wherries to goe home, passing from thence vp the Riuer of *Peoza*, which they told me they could easily doe in a moneths time. As soone as this Fleet of Lodias was come to an anchor, many of them came aboord of our ship, wondring to see a ship there. They demanded of me, how wee came thither, and what the intent of our comming was: and whither we purposed to sayle from thence. Among these were some which seemed to be Merchants, who asked to buy Lists, remnants of Cloth, Cap-clothes, *Aqua vitæ*, especially, they asked for small Pewter Dishes, which I vnderstand to be a commoditie sold by them to the *Samoyeds*, at a great rate. I answered them, that the goods which wee had brought, were part already at *Pechora*, and the rest was to be transported thither, as soone as the Vessell came that was hired to carrie the same vp: so that, if any of them were minded to buy of our commodities, they might haue it of one of our Country-men there. After which, two or three of them demanded of me, whether I would buy any Sables, or Squerrils: which was but a brag. At this time many of them being on boord together, some of them were in priuate talke, which was my chance to ouer-heare, and was as followeth: If these *Neamchines*, or Strangers resort to these places, it will be an occasion in short time to make vs to be without Bread. The like speeches I heard a little before, of two men of *Pinega*; and of an old man remayning in *Pechora*, that came downe to our ship with the Feathers.

The Fleet of *Mongosey* of 26. Lodias. Or *Mongal*.

From *Pechora* to *Colmogro* is a moneths trauel by Riuer.

Small Pewter Dishes, a great commoditie.

Touching the goods left with *William Pursglone*, *Marmaduke Wilson*, and the *Russe*, in regard the same lay in no good place, we were desirous to haue hired one of their *Russe* Boats, to haue carried the same to the Towne at a reasonable rate; the rather because it was on their way, and their Boats were not ouerladen: which they with two Boats might haue done with ease: yet they

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they would not, vnleſſe wee would giue them thirtie or fiue and twentie Rubbels at the leaſt, and that with Condition, that they might diſtribute into each Boate ſomewhat thereof. Therefore vnderſtanding their vnreaſonable demand, hauing a Boate already hyred, wee vtterly refuſed to talke with them any further thereof: eſpecially when they were minded to diuide the goods into all the ſixe and twentie Lodias or Boates: which had beene a tricke to haue loſt all.

Auguſt 1. The firſt of Auguſt, leauing Maſter *Ioſias Logan*, *William Purſglone*, and *Marmaduke Wilſon*, at *Pechora*, wee ſayled ouer the Barre of *Pechorskoie Zauoret*, directing our courſe for *Noua Zembla*, till that wee had runne ſo farre, and were ſo incloſed in huge Ice, that in a Day and a Night we could goe neither backward nor forward: And finding no meanes to proceed on our intended Voyage for *Noua Zembla*, wee cleared our ſelues out of that place. Truth it is, that this hath beene an hard Summer to all the *Ruſſes*, both to them which were bound for *Mongozey*, and thoſe that went to kill Morſes, and fiſhing of a certayne Fiſh called *Omeli*. From the foreſayd place wee ſet our courſe for *Cherie* Iland, intending to meete with the Ile of *Colgoiene*, and *Willoughbies* Land. With *Colgoiene* wee met, but we miſſed of the other. The ſeuenth of Auguſt, *William Gourdon* and I with our Shallop went on ſhoare. This *Colgoiene*, is a very long and broad Iland with many Vallies in it. On the ſame are many Geeſe, which the *Ruſſes* vſe to take with Nets in the time of the yeere, before they bee ouer fledge. In this Iland ſeemeth to bee ſtore of Hawkes. Heere *William Gourdon* and our Cooper, caught two Hawkes, whereof one was ſpoyled in the taking, the other remayneth aliue.

Huge Ice.

Omeli Fiſhing.

They land on the Ile of *Colgoiene*.

Geeſe.

Two Hawkes taken.

Cherie Iland. The thirteenth of Auguſt, wee arriued at *Cherie* Iland, ſtanding in 74. degrees and odde minutes, and Anchored in the South Coue, finding the ſame very cleare of Ice. And preſently after our Ship was at an Anchor, *Iames Vadin* the Maſter, *Willian Gourdon*, and I, went on ſhoare on the Coue to looke for Morſes. Here we found a certayne Note, which was left there by *Thomas Edge*: the effect of which was: That he arriued there with three Shalops from *Greenland*, and that there he had found the Ship called the *Elizabeth*, and that hee was gone in her to *Greenland* the foure and twentieth of Iuly, hoping to finde the goods which hee had left there: and that hee did purpoſe to returne againe to *Cherie* Iland with as much ſpeed as could be made. Subſcribed: *Thomas Edge*.

Thomas Edge. See *ſup. c. 2.*

At our comming to the Iland, wee had three or foure dayes together very fine weather: in which time came in reaſonable ſtore of Morſes, both at the South Coue and at the North-ſide: and wee were in good hope we ſhould haue made a ſauing Voyage. Neuertheleſſe, though there were ſtore of Beaſts, yet by no meanes would they goe on thoſe beaches and places, that formerly they haue beene killed on. But fortie or fiftie of them together, went into little holes within the Rocke, which were ſo little, ſteepe and ſlipperie, that as ſoone as wee did approach towards them, they would tumble all into the Sea. The like whereof by the Maſters and *William Gourdons* report, was neuer done. For lying as they did, and being ſo ſhey as they were, it was not poſſible to doe any good vpon them. Moreouer, to get them off theſe foreſaid Rockes to make them come on ſhoare vpon their accuſtomed places, the Maſter and our men on both ſides of the Iland went to driue them away, yet they would not. But by often driuing of them out of their holes, we killed as many as wee could. In the end the weather growing ſtormie and cold, there were few or none of them left. Wherefore ſeeing all hope of good to be done of them to be paſt, wee departed from thence the ſixe and twentieth of Auguſt, 1611. for *England*. We did not perceiue any Ship of *Hull* to haue beene there this Summer.

Morſes fearefull.

Auguſt 26.

Hauing touched the chiefeſt points of our Voyage, I thinke it meete to ſet downe ſomewhat of the State, Commodities, and Trade of *Pechora*, *Ouſt Zilma*, and *Parmia*.

Pechora. The Towne of *Pechora* is ſmall, hauing three Churches in it: and the moſt part of the people are poore. In the Spring and a great part of the Summer, they liue by catching of Partridges, Geeſe, Duckes, and Swannes, of which they euery Summer take a great number. The fleſh of theſe Fowles they ſalt, and liue of them the moſt part of the Winter. But the feathers of the ſaid Fowle they gather together, and ſell to the men of *Colmogro*, *Ouſtiug*, and others, that come euerie yeere out of *Ruſſia* to buy the ſame: Some of them giue a little money before hand to the Fowlers. Which muſt be done with great care as the times are now. One *Meaſed* a mans ſonne of *Pechora*, whoſe Father is a man of great dealings, told mee, That they ſold white Partridge feathers to men of *Colmogro* for readie money, at fiue Altines the Poud, and Duckes feathers (among which was Downe) they ſold now for ſeuen or eight Altines the Poud. Likewiſe hee told me that in former times the *Ruſſes* that vſed to trade thither, before the people of the Countrey knew what Commodities were worth, had commonly a Poud of Partridge feathers for two pence of their money, and a peece of cake Sope worth at *Colmogro* ten pence of their money. So that the chiefeſt Commoditie and beſt cheape is Feathers, being bought at *Pechora* with readie *Ruſſe* money of the Fowlers themſelues, and not of the Ligers there, that vſe to ſell them to vs at *Archangel* on the Riuer of *Duyna*.

Ouſtiug.

A Poud is 37. pound, or the third part of a hundred weight. An Altene is fiue of their Pence, a Groat of ours.

A great fiſhing of Salmons, beginning the firſt of Auguſt.

Moreouer one hundred *Engliſh* miles on this ſide of the Towne of *Pechora*, is a place called by them the *Beluano*, where they take great ſtore of Salmons. But it is alwayes the firſt of Auguſt before

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before they begin to caſt out their Nets. And oftentimes toward the later part of the Summer, they haue ſuch ſtore, that they are ſold ordinarily for foure-pence a Fiſh, and ſometimes for a penie a Fiſh of their money. Yea, in a plentifull yeere, I haue beene told, one may buy whole draughts of Salmons for a very ſmall ſumme of money. The Salmons heere are fat: three Fiſhes weighing commonly a Powd and no more. The beſt ſort of the people of *Pechora*, vſe to preſerue a great quantitie of their Salmon with a little ſalt. For they ſalt eightie, or one hundred Fiſhes with a Powd of Salt: and many times in pleatiful yeres, much Fiſh is caſt away for want of ſalt; which they are loath to beſtow when Salt is deare.

This Salmon is carryed by the *Pechora* men to *Mezen* in Sleds, drawne with Reyne Deere. But if they be minded to carrie the ſaid Fiſh from *Mezen* to *Colmogro*, then they carrie the ſame from thence with Sleds drawne with Horſes.

Alſo many men of *Colmogro*, *Pinega*, and *Mezen*, buy Salmons at *Pechora*, and carrie it in the Winter time to *Mezen*, to which place they pay from *Pechora* for the hyer of a Sled and a Reyne Deere, ordinarily ten Altines, being twelue dayes journey: and from *Mezen* to *Colmogro*, being ſixe dayes journey, they pay foure-pence a Powd at the moſt. The Deere that trauell from *Pechora* to *Mezen*, will not draw aboue ſeuen Powd weight. This way is trauelled euery Winter twice. The firſt is ſixe or eight weekes before Chriſtmaſſe. And the ſecond time is two or three weekes before Shrouetide: which bee the times that they very diligently obſerue to ſell the Salmon in. Moſt part of the men of *Pechora*, haue euery one his owne Deere to trauell with. And ſome particular men of the better ſort haue twentie or thirtie Deere, which they let out to hyer in the Winter time; and in the Summer time they put them foorth to the *Samoyeds* to keepe. Trauelling Deere.

Alſo when the Winter way is ſet and beaten, many Merchants and others come out of *Ruſſia* to buy Sables, Beuers, Beuers wombes, Squirrels, blacke, white and dunne Foxes, of which in the Winter time is ſtore, brought thither by the *Samoieds* round about thoſe parts: which Trading is in the Winter time and not elſe. The chiefeſt *Ruſſe* Merchants or Furriers that vſe theſe parts, I haue beene told, are the *Obleazoues*, the *Shepetkins*, and the *Teddomskoies*. The Commodities carryed by them, are red, and yellow Cloathes; but chiefly *Ruſſe* money, with which they buy Commodities there of the *Ruſſes*, as well as that which they buy of the *Samoieds* in barter.

The Commodities carryed from *Volochda*, *Ouſtiug*, *Colmogro*, *Pinega*, and *Mezen*, to *Pechora* and *Mongozei*, are Meale, Bacon, Butter, Ote-meale, Tolockno, and Salt, with ſome ſmall quantitie of Yeaſts and tanned Leather, with ſome Cloath, and other of our Commodities. Theſe Commodities at *Mongozei* are ſold at great rates. But at *Pechora*, Commodities are ſold ſometimes deare and ſometimes cheape, in reſpect of profit. For if the Fleet, being at leaſt thirtie Boates that ſet out euery Summer for *Mongozey*, laden with theſe Prouiſions and Commodities aforeſaid, bee croſſed with contrarie windes; and that by the lateneſſe of the yeere they cannot reach to *Mongozey*, but are conſtrayned to leaue the ſame and come for *Pechora*, (as this yeere 1611. they were:) Then commonly Meale, Bacon, and ſuch like Commodities with them are not deare. For by report a little quantitie of Meale doth ſerue all thoſe parts. For the greater part of them liue of freſh Fiſh ſod and dryed in ſtead of Bread, of which Fiſh they haue plentie. Fiſh in ſtead of Bread.

Likewiſe, there vſeth not to goe from *Colmogro* with theſe Prouiſions, aboue two Boates in a Summer directly to the Towne of *Pechora*: eſpecially ſince the Towne was burnt, and that there was no Gouernour in the ſame.

Alſo by the *Mongozey* men it did appeare, that there was no likelihood for them to vtter that quantitie of Commodities at *Pechora*, at any rate. For if there had, there would not haue reſolued to lay vp their goods in Ware-houſes till the next Spring, and then to proceed for *Mongozey*.

Further from the Towne of *Pechora*, is a place called by the *Ruſſes*, *Ouſt Zilma*. This is, by the deſcription giuen vnto me in diſtance from *Pechora*, as *Ouſting* is from *Colmogro*: and is likewiſe to bee trauelled by water againſt the ſtreame: And in Winter time it is to bee trauelled in Sleds drawne with Reyne Deere. In this place of *Ouſt Zilma*, is great ſtore of Squirrels, Beuers, and Beuers wombes, Foxe skinnes white and dunne, and other Furres, but chiefly Squirrels, of which is great ſtore by all mens report, that I haue talked withall. So that hauing a man in the Winter time at this place, a good quantitie of Squirrels and other Furres, may bee prouided at a reaſonable rate. Moreouer, heere are to be bought Loſh-hydes, and Deere-skinnes, which in the Winter time are brought to this Towne of *Ouſt Zilma* from *Perm*, which is not farre from thence. But to buy Loſh-hydes and Deere-skinnes, the beſt courſe is to goe from *Ouſt Zilma* to *Perm*, and to buy them there, where one ſhould bee ſure to haue Choiſe, and at a farre better rate. Alſo thoſe that vſe to come out of *Ruſſia* in the Winter time to *Perm*, to buy theſe foreſaid Hydes; toward the later part of Winter carrie all theſe Hydes by Sleds, ſome two or three dayes Iourney from *Perm* to the ſide of a certayne Riuer, neere vnto which is a ſmall Towne or Village; where as ſoone as the Ice is gone, they haue ſmall Dorſhenicks and Floates, on which they lade their Hydes, and being out of this Riuer, they enter into *Duyna*, and tranſport them to *Colmogro* and *Archangell*. *Ouſt Zilma*. *Perm*.

Likewiſe being at *Pechora*, *Ouſt Zilma*, or any of thoſe parts, there is in the Winter time to bee

Elephants teeth, whence, and which way.

bee had among the *Samoyeds*, Elephants teeth, which they sell in pieces according as they get it, and not by weight. And I haue beene told, they sell the same at a very small rate. It is called in *Russe*, *Mamanta Kaost*. Thus much may suffice at this time to bee spoken of *Pechora*, *Oust-Zilma*, and *Perm*.

1. Now I will set downe as I haue beene enformed by diuers *Russes*, the Names of the chiefest places which they vse to sayle vnto from *Slobodca*, an Hauen so called in the Prouince of *Mezen*, to the *Pechorskoie Zauorot*, or the Hauen of the Riuer of *Pechora*, and the Distances to each place: with a Direction how to sayle from *Pechorskoie Zauorot* vp to the Towne of *Pechora*.

2. I will also set downe the *Russes* sayling from the foresayd *Pechorskoie Zauorot*, to the *Towhorskoie-Share*. And from thence to the Riuer of *Ob*: and thence to *Mongozey*.

3. I will likewise set downe a true Direction, to goe by water in their Boates called *Cayooks*, through the Riuer of *Peoza*, and other Riuers, till they come from *Mezen* to *Oust Zilma*, and *Pechora*.

4. Likewise I meane to write of the *Samoieds*, trauelling from *Vaygats* to the parts of *Mongozey*, in the Winter time, and from thence backe againe to the foresayd Towne of *Mezen*, called *Slobodca*.

5. Lastly, I will intreate of such Commodities as are to bee had at *Mezen*, with the speedie passage from thence to *Colmogro* by Sea, or by Land in the Sommer time. And it is as followeth.

The things aboue mentioned, that I haue not seene my selfe, I haue not sleightly set downe from the mouthes of one or two, but from the mouthes of many ancient men, well experienced in the Trauels and Trades of all these parts, which Master *Iames Vadun* the Master of our Ship can likewise witnesse. Therefore if the same may bee any way beneficiall vnto the Company, and that thereby I haue discharged my dutie vnto your Worships, I shall bee heartily glad thereof. Thus fearing I haue beene ouer tedious by my rude Letter, I rest, with my heartie prayer vnto Almightie God, for the happie preseruations of your selues, and all yours. Written on Shipboord, the last of August, 1611.

Your Worships humble Seruant to command, RICHARD FINCH.

The Names of the principall places, which the Russes *sayle by from* Mezen *to the* Pechorskoie Zauorot, *or the Hauen of* Pechora. 1611.

FRom *Mezen* to *Candinos*, with a faire wind and stiffe gale, is thirtie houres sayle: They sayling commonly almost 40. leagues in foure and twentie houres, according to which it is 50. leagues. From *Candinos* to the Ile of *Colgoie*, is as before thirtie houres sayling, and after 40. leagues in foure and twentie houres, is 50. leagues. From *Candinos* to *Promoya* or *Obscure*, is twentie houres sayling, or 35. leagues. From the Ile of *Colgoie* to *Colocol-cona*, is fifteene houres sayling, and reckoned as aboue appeareth, is 25. leagues. Along the shoare of this place are heapes of Sand, in the forme of Bells. Therefore the *Russes* call this place *Colocol-cona*, being deriued from *Colocol*, which in *English* signifieth a Bell. From *Colocol-cona* to the *Peasaneetsa*, is three houres sayle, or 5. leagues. This place is onely a small Brooke which they vse for a Sea-marke, more then for any benefit is to bee reaped at the same. From *Peasaneetsa* to the *Pechorskoie Zauorot*, is sixe houres sayle, or 10. leagues. So that from *Colgoie* Iland to this foresayd *Pechorskoie Zauorot*, is not aboue 40. leagues at the most.

A direction to sayle from the Pechorskoie Zauorot, *where wee rode with our Ship in August* 1611. *to the Towne of* Pechora, *as followeth.*

Dolgoie Iland in the *Sooioie Mo-re.*

FRom this *Pechorskoie Zauorot*, they sayle into the *Sooioie Mora*, or *Drie Sea*, and not before: stirring away from hence South-west and by South, and in a faire gale of Winde, in foure houres they come to an Iland called *Dolgoie*. This Iland is reported to bee three or foure *Russe* Versts long, hauing on it in some time of the yeere many Geese, which the men of *Pechora* take before they bee able to flie. From this *Dolgoie*, they stirre away South South-west; and sayling this course with a faire gale of wind, in eight or nine houres sayle they come in sight of the maine Land, being an indifferent high Land. This Land is called the *Boluanon*; and this is 20. leagues at the most. This *Boluanon* they haue on their Larboord side. Neere this place are diuers that inhabite in *Russe* Houses: where in the Summer time they lye a Fowling, and fishing of a certayne Fish called *Omeli*, which are like our Maccarels. If need bee, heere a man may haue a guide or good

The *Boluanon.*

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good inſtructions to conduct him to *Pechora* Towne. Hard by this *Belnanon*, is the *Ouſtia* or barre of the entring of *Pechora* Riuer. For as ſoone as you are ouer this barre, you come into the Riuers mouth, which leadeth to *Pechora* Towne. If if bee thicke foggie weather, then one of them continually ſoundeth the depth of the Channell, keeping as neere as they can in the deepeſt water: and in ſo doing, they ſeldome miſtake their way, ſo that they ſtirre away Weſt from the *Belnanan* to the Riuers mouth, keeping the Land on there Starboord ſide. And by all mens report, from the *Belnanon* to *Pechora* Towne, is with a faire winde and ſtiffe gale, not aboue twentie houres ſayle: which acoording to their ſayling, is about three and thirtie leagues. And it is not aboue fiftie leagues from the *Pechorskoie Zauorot*, where our Ship lay, to *Pechora* Towne.

The names of the places that the Ruſſes *ſayle by, from* Pechorskoie Zauorot, *to* Mongozey: *with the manner of their Trauell, and Diſtance betweene each place, or time of Sayling, Halling, and Rowing vnto the ſame.*

FRom *Pechorskoie Zauorot* to *Matpheyoue Oſtroue*, or Iland, is with a faire wind and ſtiffe gale, at the moſt thirtie houres ſayle, which being reckoned as before, after fortie leagues in toure and twentie houres, is fiftie leagues: to which they ſtirre away Eaſt. From *Matpheyoue Oſtroue* to the *Youhorskoie-ſhare*, is nine houres ſayle or fifteene leagues. When they are come to this Iland, they ſtir away from thence Eaſt to the ſaid *Youhorskoie-ſhare*. Alſo in cleere weather from *Matpheyoue Oſtroue*, they can ſee the maine Land, with the *Meedanetskoie Zauorot*: where the two Ilands bee called the *Zelentſee* or *Greene* Ilands: to which Ilands many of the *Ruſſes* reſort, to take a kinde of Fiſhes, called *Omeli*, which are like Maccarels: of which heere are ſtore. This maine Land they haue on their right hand or Starboord ſide, lying South from *Matpheyoue Oſtroue*. Alſo to the Southward of the *Matpheyoue Oſtroue*, is another Iland which the *Ruſſes* call *Dolgoie*, that is, the long Iland. So that there are two *Dolgoies*: the one, within the *Pechorskoie Zauorot*, entring into the *Seeboy Mora*, or *Drie Sea*; The other is this, which is betwixt the *Matpheyoue Oſtroue*, and the *Yougorskoie-ſhare*; lying as before was ſayd, South from the ſayd *Matpheyoue Oſtroue*. From which Iland in a cleere day they can ſee the Land of *Vaygats*, which lyeth on the Larboord ſide, being very high Land. So that ſtirring out-right, in the middle betweene the *Meadanetskoie* Land on their Starboord, and the Land of *Vaygats* on their Larboord ſide, they ſayle directly into the *Yougorskoie-ſhare*. Likewiſe there is not much of this *Yougorſkoie-ſhare*. For they ſay, that being at one end, they can ſee the Sea at the other end thereof. Alſo, about the Land of *Vaygats* are neither Flats nor Shoalds. From the *Yougorskoie-ſhare* to the *Carskoie Gooba*, is twelue houres ſayle, or twentie leagues. In this Bay or *Gooba*, is the *Meaſtnoy Oſtroue*, or *Meaſtnoy* Iland. Further it is to bee remembred, that as ſoone as they enter this *Carskoie Gooba* or Bay, they ſayle vp a Riuer, leauing this Bay on their Starboord: which Riuer bringeth them into the *Mootnoya Reca*, which ſignifieth the thicke or troubled Riuer. From *Carskoie Gooba* to this *Mootnoya Reca*, is 20. leagues. Likewiſe, being a little paſt the *Yougorskoie-ſhare*, there may bee deſcribed an high Land, which they call *Socoha Looda*, that is, *The Hawkes perch*. And being ouer the *Mootnoya Reca*, which they are eight dayes and eight nights in halling along the ſhoare by the Rope or *Beachaua*, they come into two Lakes, which two Lakes from one end to the other they commonly row ouer in one Day or two Tides: the ſame not being aboue ten or twelue leagues. Hauing gotten to the end of thoſe two Lakes, they come to a place called the *Nauoloke*, which ſignifieth an Ouer-hall. And it is almoſt two hundred fathoms, or foure hundred paces in length: And hauing emptyed their Veſſels, called Coaches, laying poles vnder them, with the Companies or men of foure or fiue Boates, hauing twelue or thirteene men in a Boate, they hall their Veſſels ouer, launching them into a third Lake, which they call the *Zelenoy Oſera*, that is, the *Greene* Lake. Theſe Ouer-halls conſtraine them to conſort themſelues into Companies: otherwayes they could not get this way to *Mongozey*. At the end of this *Zelenoy Oſera*, or *Greene* Lake, they come into the *Zelenoya Reca*, or *Greene* Riuer, into which they runne with the ſtreame, being often compelled to emptie their great Boates with their Lodias, or Wherries, laying their Goods vpon the ſhoare: which being done they row their great Lodias ouer the ſhoalds emptie; and hauing got ouer the ſhoalds, they bring their goods on boord againe. And thus they doe in diuers places of this *Zelenoya Reca*, or *Greene* Riuer: by reaſon whereof they are commonly ten dayes from the Ouer-hall, before they can get through this foreſayd Riuer, which is all with the ſtreame; but the Diſtance hereof cannot yet bee perfectly learned. Being come to the end of this *Zelenoya Reca*, they enter into the Riuer of *Ob*; and hauing rowed a little way vp the ſame, they come to a place which they likewiſe call *Zauorot*: which ſignifieth a turning, winding, or entring into a place. From this *Zauorot*, they turne into the *Tawze Reca*, ſtirring away South to *Tawze* Riuer; but it is foure and twentie houres ſayle, or fortie leagues from the Riuer of *Ob*, before they come into any part of the *Tawze Reca*.

Matpheyoue Oſtroue.

Youhorskoie Share.

The *Meedanetskoie Zauorot*: where Hainburie is.

The two Ilands called *Zelentſee*, or the *Greene* Ilands.

Dolgoie Oſtroue, or the *Long* Iland.

Korskoie Gooba.

Meaſtnoy Oſtroue, or *Meaſtnoy* Iland.

A Riuer.

Mootnoya Reca, or the Thicke or troubled Riuer.

Two Lakes.

The *Nauoloke*, or Ouer-hall.

Zelenoy Oſera, or The *Greene* Lake.

Zelenoya Reca, or The *Greene* Riuer falleth into *Ob*.

The Riuer *Ob*.

The *Zauorot* in the Riuer of *Ob*.

Tawze Reca.

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Reca. In the Riuer of *Ob*, are neither Woods nor Inhabitants, till they sayle so farre vp the same, that they come neere to *Siberia*. But there are Woods.

Tawze Gorodoc, or Castle.

When they are entred into this *Tawze* Riuer, they haue foure dayes and foure nights sayling to *Tawze* Castle, with a faire wind and a stiffe gale: But if they bee driuen to row to the *Tawze Gorodoc* or Castle, then they are twelue dayes and twelue nights rowing thither at the least, hauing calme weather. This *Tawze Gorodoc*, or *Tawze* little Castle, with the Villages, Townes, and all other places thereto belonging, is by all the *Russes* generally called *Mongosey*. At this place are two Gentlemen or Gouernours, with three or foure hundred Gunners, and small Castles in seuerall places of these parts of *Mongosey*. Moreouer, the men of *Mezen*, from whom I had all these Notes, told me; That in the Winter time there went men from *Siberia* to *Mongosey*, to buy Sables: deliuering vnto mee, that the Sables taken by the *Samoyeds* about *Mongosey*, are richer in Furres then those that come from *Siberia*. Also they told me, that the *Samoyeds* inhabiting vpon the mayne land ouer against *Vaygats*, trauelled in the Winter time with their Reyne Deere to the parts of *Mongosey*, to kill Sables and other beasts: and doe carrie their Furres from thence to *Mezen*, to sell there at a place called by the *Russes*, *Slobodca*, to which they did commonly resort about Shroue-tide, staying not there long, but as soone as they had made sale of their Furres, they departed home againe. Further, these men of *Mezen* told me, that in the Winter time with them was to be sold store of Squerrils, Beauers, Beauers wombs, and some Sables. And that all those that trauelled in the Winter time from any part of *Mongosey*, *Sibira*, *Pechora*, and *Oust-selma*, to any part of *Russia* whether they were Merchants, or buyers vp of the Furres, or the *Samoyeds* that caught them; they must of force come to their Towne of *Mezen*, to hire Horses to carrie them to *Colmogro*. By which meanes they told mee, their Towne was well repleniſhed with all manner of Furres, especially of Squerrils. Also they informed me, that diuers of *Colmogro*, and other parts of *Russia*, that sold vs Furs, for the most part bought the same of them, lying there in the Winter time for that purpose. Therefore, said they, if that any of our Nation would trade into their parts, they would be glad thereof, and that they may be furnished of all sorts of Furres, and at a farre better rate then hitherto we haue had them at. And that wee could vpon any occasion be quickly at *Colmogro* in the Winter time by Sled, or in any part of the Spring or Summer time by Boats, at a very small charge. Lastly, that in the Spring time we should not faile of a parcell of Trane-oyle, and Deeres skinnes, which euery Summer they transported to *Archangel* to sell.

Tars.

Mongosey.

The *Samoyeds* on the Mayne, ouer against *Vaygats*, trauell in the Winter to *Mongosey*.

We may learn of the *Samoyeds*, the trade of *Mongosey* at *Mezen* more perfectly.

Mezen a Town of great traffick for Furres.

A true direction of the Russes *trauelling from* Mezen, *with Cayooks or small Boats, through the Riuer* Peoza, *and from thence to a place called by them* Peaskanoy Nauolock, *or* The Sandy Ouer-hall, *passing from thence through other Riuers, till they come to* Oust-selma, *and to the Towne of* Pechora: *And is as followeth.*

Mezen.

Peozareca.

Peaskanoy Nauolock.

HAuing embarqued themselues at *Mezen*, in these small Cayooks or Boats, couered with the barkes of trees, they sayle to a Riuer called *Peoza Reca*. From thence they sayle, or draw their Boats to a place called, the *Peaskanoy Nauolock*, or *Sandy Ouer-hall*. From *Mezen* to this Ouer-hall is ten dayes haling along the shoare with the rope. This said Ouer-hall is fiue *Russe* Versts ouer. And after they haue vnladen their goods out of their Cayooks, they draw the said Vessels ouer at times with Horses, that come from *Mezen* of purpose; lying there the most part of the Summer, to that intent: and they pay sixe pence *Russe* for drawing ouer an empty Boat. Being ouer this Ouer-hall, they driue with the streame in three dayes to the Towne of *Oust-selma*: and with the streame in foure dayes they driue to a place called *Pustozera*: and from *Pustozera* against the streame they come to the *Beluanou*, and from the *Beluanou* to the Towne of *Pechora*. Also, many of these Boats very often in their returne home with their foresaid Cayooks, carrie Furres to *Usting*, and diuers other places into the Countrey of *Russia*. All which they doe in a Summers time.

Oust-selma.

Pustozera.

The *Beluanou.*

Pechora.

CHAP.

CHAP. X.

The Voyage of Master IOSIAS LOGAN *to* Pechora, *and his wintering there, with Master* WILLIAM PVRSGLOVE, *and* MARMADVKE WILSON. Anno 1611.

THe first of July, *William Gurdon*, *Richard Finch*, and *William Pursglone*, went on shoare at *Suatinose*, where two Crosses stand. The second, wee weighed anchor againe, and stood into the Bay because of the Ice: and that night wee went on shoare againe. The third, we weighed anchor, and stood it about *Suatinose*. The fift, we stood to the Eastwards fiue leagues more, and about twelue of the clocke at night, wee were thwart of the Iland of *Toxar*. The tenth, at eight of the clocke at night, we weighed, and went ouer a Barre, at two fathomes, and came into Harbour, where wee anchored at ten of the clocke in the morning in fiue fathoms, hauing sands round about vs, being land-locked. The eleuenth, my selfe, *William Gurdon*, and *William Pursglone*, with fixe of our men more, departed from the ship with our Shallop, to goe vp to the Towne of *Pustozer*.

The former part of the Voyage is omitted, to auoide tedious repetition.

Toxar.

Pustozera.

The fourteenth, wee arriued at the fishing house of one *Euan Vasilion sene sowhan*, where the people were afraid of vs, and were ready to runne away: but we spake to them, and gaue them some Biscuit and *Aqua vitæ*, and they sod vs some fish, and shewed vs our way to another Fishery: but they ran away from vs, so we departed on our way. The fifteenth day, at foure of the clocke in the afternoone wee met with a *Russe*, that was borne at *Ustiug*, who gaue vs Milke, and such things as he had, and we gaue him some Biscuit, and some *Aqua vitæ*, and hee directed vs vnto another Fishery, about some fiue miles from that place where wee arriued, about sixe of the clocke the same night. But comming ashoare, we found not any, saue one man, who after some conference had with vs, and giuing him some Bread, and some of our *Aqua vitæ*, hee told vs, that the Master of the house, with three of his sonnes were hunting of Duckes, and that their wiues were afraid, and were runne into the Woods to hide themselues, leauing a young childe behind them for haste. So he brought vs into the house, where by that time that we had stayed an houre (because there were so many *Muschitaes*, which are like vnto a Midge, and sting most horribly, so that we were not able to stay without) the Master of the house, and his sonnes came thither, who at the first, were afraid, thinking we came to rob them. And they were about to shoot our men in the Boat; but one of our men holding vp a Biscuit cake, they then came to them, and spake vnto them: but our men not vnderstanding them, made them signes to the house, where my selfe, *William Gurdon*, and *William Pursglone* were: who, when they came into the house, being yet afraid, they came in one after another. Now, when we had saluted them after the *Russe* manner, they asked vs of whence we were, and for what cause we came thither: whereunto I made answere, that wee were *English*-men, who because of the troubles in *Russia*, came thither to seeke a Trade, hauing heard diuers times of the fame of those parts. Then hee replied, that in times past those places had beene good for trading: but now, by reason of a bad Gouernour, in those troublesome times, vpon a spleene he had fired the Towne, and burned aboue an hundred houses: and so by that meanes they were fallen into pouerty, and trading decayed, by reason of his great exactions. Yet hee said, that they haue great store of Salmon, and that the last yeere they got aboue 15000. Salmons, and in the Winter is their chiefest Mart. For then the *Samoyeds* come thither from diuers places, and bring Sables, and Beauers, white Foxes, Rosamackes, Feathers, and some Squerrils. So hauing supped with him, we gaue him a gallon of our *Aqua vitæ*, and some fortie cakes of our white Biscuit, and three or foure pound of Raisins: for we heard, that he was one of the principallest men in the Towne. Then desiring his fauour, he holpe vs to a man to goe with vs vp to the Towne, because of the fearefulnesse of the people, which they conceiue through the Warres of the *Poles*: and so wee departed from thence that night to the Towne.

Iuly.

The sixteenth, in the afternoone we arriued at the Towne of *Pustozera*, where wee found not many people, considering the number of houses there, which are betwixt fourescore and an hundred, being of wood, built after the *Russian* manner, and they are subiect vnto the *Russe*, obseruing all their Rites as doe the *Russes*. The people were all abroad (some, in getting of Morses Oyle, and Belougaes Oyle, and some fishing of a fish called Ometta, which is a very sweet fish, and some hunting Duckes) sauing the Customers, and three or foure more, who were likewise afraid of vs, although we had one of their owne people with vs, and were ready to flee away. So we seeing their fearefulnesse, caused their man to goe first on shoare with vs three aboue mentioned, not permitting the rest of our men to come on Land as yet: then hee calling to them, they stayed, still peeping from behind the corners of their houses, vntill at the last there was a *Russe*, one of *Colmogro*, that had wintred with them, who knew me, and had seene me some two

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Cola in *Lappia.* yeeres before at *Cola* in *Lappia*, at his Vncles houſe. And ſo he encouraged them, ſpeaking greatly in our commendation, ſhewing them, that I was a Merchant, and came to trade with them, and not with any intent of harme: for hee knew mee very well, and told them, that I was at *Cola* foure or fiue yeeres together, and lay at his Vncles houſe. So he came to me, and tooke me by the hand, asking me how I did, and told me his name, and how hee had ſeene mee with his Vncle at *Cola*. Then I called to mind, that I had ſeene him there, and ſo we grew acquainted: and he went with vs to the Cuſtome-houſe, where ſtaying an houre, at length the Cuſtomer came: and after many queſtions had concerning our comming thither, I craued licence, that foure of vs might winter with them: which they denyed, alledging that they durſt not without the Emperour of *Ruſſia* his licence. Whereupon I anſwered, that the Emperours Maieſtie, when he was raigning, was very gracious vnto our Nation, aboue all other ſtrangers; and ſhewed what great priuiledges hee had beſtowed on our people: and how by the *Engliſh*-mens meanes at the firſt; *Arkania.* what a trade is now at *Arkania*, and what profit came, not onely into his Maieſties Treaſurie, but alſo into all parts of his Dominions, which in time might be brought hither: and withall ſhewed the Emperours priuiledge. Wherefore then they began to put away feare, and willed vs to ſtay fiue or ſixe dayes, vntill he had ſent for the chiefeſt men of the Towneſ-men, who were abroad, and then they would giue vs an anſwer. Then I deſired, that we might haue an houſe to be in, and not to ſtay without doores. So he gaue libertie to any that would, to entertayne vs, whereto there was one *Callem* that made anſwer, that he would: whereupon wee went with him, and were in an Ambar of his, vntill wee receiued anſwer from them. In the meane time wee made much of them, and feaſted them with our *Aqua vitæ*, Biſcuit, and Figs, that we might the better obtayne their loue.

The foure and twentieth, the Cuſtomers came to giue vs our anſwere, and told vs, that they had concluded that we might ſtay if wee would: but they muſt write vp to the *Muſko* of our being here. So we thanked them, and gaue them ſuch entertaynment as we could, and ſent preſents to ſixe of them of the chiefeſt, which they tooke very thankfully, and promiſed what fauour they could. So this night I made ready my Letters to ſend for *England*.

The fourth of Auguſt, fiue and twentie Lodyas arriued at the Towne laden with Meale, and *Molgomſey.* others which were bound for *Molgomſey*: but by reaſon of contrary winds, they were forced into *Pechora*, and came vp to the Towne of *Puſtozer*, and vnladed to make ſale.

Pole baptized *Ruſſe.* The ſixe and twentieth, we remoued from the houſe where we were at the firſt, vnto a *Poles* houſe, who is chriſtened *Ruſſe*, where we are to remayne all the Winter.

Froſt in Auguſt. The nine and twentieth, the froſt was ſo ſtrong, that the *Ozera* was frozen ouer, and the Ice driuing in the Riuer to and againe, brake all the nets, ſo that they got no Salmon, no not ſo much as for their owne victuals. The ſecond of September, the froſt brake vp againe, and it was open weather. The eight of September, there was a Soyma, which the Townſ-men bought, that went downe the Riuer to haue gone for *Iugoria*, and had a faire wind: but they neglecting two dayes ſayling, that would haue carried them forth of the Riuer to the Sea, the wind came contrary, ſo that they were wind-bound, and could not get any further: and on the nineteenth, gaue ouer their Voyage, and came vp to the Towne.

The thirteenth of October, the froſt was ſo extreme, that the *Ozera* ſtood in one night, that men did walke on it the next day, and ſo continued all the Winter after.

The twelfth of Nouember, there went two men of *Penega* to *Vſt-zilma*, to buy Squerrils, and Beauers, and other commodities. The thirteenth, the Sunne aroſe at South and by Eaſt by the Compaſſe, and ſet at South-weſt and by Weſt.

The foure and twentieth, there went diuers men, with at the leaſt, three or foureſcore Sleds *Slobodca* Mart. drawne with Deere, to a place called *Slobodca*, where they hold a Mart, from the beginning of December to the middle thereof: and they carried freſh-water fiſh thither, with whom *William Purſgloue* went into *Ruſſia*. The ſixe and twentieth, the Sunne aroſe at South and by Weſt by the Compaſſe, and ſet at South-weſt and by Weſt.

The firſt of December, the Sunne aroſe at South and by Weſt Weſterly by the Compaſſe, and ſet South-weſt and by Weſt Southerly. The fourth, the Townſ-men of *Pechora* went ouer land *Iugoria.* into *Iugoria*, to trade with the Inhabitants there, and the *Samoyeds*.

The eleuenth, *Marmaduke Wilſon* ſaid that he ſaw the Sunne, but it was but the way of the Sunnes beames. The thirteenth, I ſaw the Sunnes beames my ſelfe, but I could not ſee the Sun it ſelfe, although I watched it very ſtrictly. The fourteenth, it was ſnowie, and ſtormie weather, and continued ſo vntill the foure and twentieth day, which was cloſe weather alſo.

Sunne returneth. The fiue and twentieth, being Chriſtmas day, I ſaw the Sunne, and it roſe at South and by Weſt, and ſet at South-weſt and by South, it hauing the neathermoſt part of it all the way iuſt with the Horizon. The ſixe and twentieth, it was ſtormy and ſnowy weather, and ſo continued vntill the end of the moneth.

The ſecond of Ianuarie, the Sunne aroſe at South ſomewhat Weſterly, and ſet South-weſt a little Southerly, it mounting a pretie height aboue the Horizon.

The fift, *William Purſgloue* returned from *Colmogro*. The eleuenth, the Sunne aroſe at South by Eaſt by the Compaſſe, and ſet at South-weſt and by Weſt.

The

The twelfth, there came a command from the Patriarch, that there should bee a generall Fast, both for young and old, not exempting the sucking babes; which began the thirteenth, continuing three dayes space, they neither eating nor drinking, so much as water, neither admitted they their sucking Babes, saue those that fainted, to whom they gaue a few Figs and a little water. Generall Fast for 3. dayes very strict.

The nineteenth, the Inhabitants of *Pustozer* that went into *Iugoria*, returned from thence, hauing had but an hard Voyage, by reason of the Warres which the *Samoyeds* had amongst themselues: so that they durst not goe into *Molgomsey*, where they catch the most part of the Sables which come into *Russia*.

The three and twentieth, came the *Carratchey*, which is the chiefe of the *Samoyeds*, but they had no commodities to speake of, by reason of the Warres: so that they neither durst trade with the *Samoyeds* of *Molgomsey*, neither hunt for the Sables themselues, which at other times they were wont to doe. The thirtieth, I had the chiefe *Carrvtchey*, his sonne, his sonnes sonne, and his brothers sonne at Dinner, and had some conference with him, who told mee, that they had seene ships in the *Vaygats*, two yeeres one after another: but they durst not bee seene of them, but fled from them: for the *Russes* told them, that they would kill them, or carrie them away prisoners. Yet they seemed to be glad of our comming, when they saw our behauiour, and the entertaynment that they had of vs: Neuertheless, they are very timerous, and vnreasonable couetous, as by more acquaintance I perceiued by them. *Russes* fraud.

The second of February, the most part of the *Samoyeds* went to *Slobodca* with their commodities, because in the Summer they had beene together by the eares with the *Samoyeds* of *Callenose*, and had slayne one or two of them: wherefore they went to agree with them, and to pay ransome for some of their men that were taken afterwards. February. *Samoyeds* quarrell.

The fifteenth, the Sunne arose at South-east, a little Southerly, and set at West and by South Westerly. The sixteenth, the Sunne arose at South-east, and set at West due by the Compasse as I could set it, the variation being two points Westerly: for, at a South South-west, the Sunne commeth to the Meridian. Variation.

The twentieth, I had conference with a *Russe*, concerning their trade of *Molgomsey*, who had beene there twice, and he was the first that euer attempted it, and none hath beene farther then he to the Eastwards. And he told me, that their course from *Medenskoy Zauorot*, at the mouth of *Pechora* to the Eastward, to the two Ilands called *Zyelensa*, is two dayes and three nights distance, sayling with a faire wind. From thence to *Breit-vinnose*, three dayes and three nights sailing with a faire wind, which is within the Streight of *Vaygats*. And from thence by an Iland, or rather a Rocke, called *Socolia Lowdia*, leauing it on the Starboord side for feare of Rockes, still keeping your course North-east, vntill you come to a long Point on the Starboord side, with a sand lying off into the Sea three miles, some fiue or sixe dayes sayling. Which when you haue gotten about, you must hold your course somewhat more enclining to the South, fiue or six dayes more: and then you shall come to the Riuer of *Ob*; against the mouth whereof lieth an Iland: but you must keepe the Sea-boord of it, by reason it is shoald betwixt it and the Mayne. The Land all alongst the shoare is a fine lowe Land, and the going into the Riuer, is on the East side of the Iland. The Riuer is reported to be a Summer dayes sayling ouer in bredth, and is full of Ilands: whereby they report it to be shoald. Yet, in my opinion, so great a Riuer cannot be without a mayne channell; which as yet they haue not sought for: and therefore they iudge it innauigable. Also they report it to bee very plentifull of Fish of diuers sorts: but the people here, and the *Russes* are vnwilling that wee should goe thither. Moreouer, hee told mee, that from the Riuer *Ob* to the Eastwards, the Land stretcheth East, some sixe or eight dayes sayling more. To the Eastward of the Riuer *Ob* lieth another great Riuer as large as *Ob*, and is very deepe water, and runneth from the South, how farre as yet it is vnknowne. Although that hee affirmed, that he himselfe had sayled at the least three weekes vp the Riuer: and all along as they went, they met with sundry sorts of People, differing in Language one from another, which they call *Samoyeds*. Yea, and the People there did certifie them, that vp more towards the South, there are *Tartars* inhabiting, who ride vpon Horses. And hee affirmed, that they found pieces of Ploughes that had beene driuen downe the Riuer by the flouds, caused by the Snow melting from the Mountaines. This Riuer is very high Land, and deepe water on both sides. Into this Riuer, on the East side falleth another Riuer, called *Tingussey*, and the Inhabitants thereof are so called: whereby I coniecture, that it is not farre from the Citie *Tangut* in *Cathay*. These *Tingusses* report, that there is another huge Riuer, that trendeth to the Southwards, which the necke of a Land parteth from the Riuer of *Tingussey*: wherein there are great ships, not vnlike vnto the *Russes* ships, that sayle in it, hauing many Masts and Gunnes, which when they are shot off, make all the earth shake with the noyse: which should seeme to be the *Chinians*, that trade thither in the Summer, and returne backe againe ere the Winter doth come. The like also affirmeth another, being a *Russe*, who hath beene in the Riuer of *Tingussey*, where the people make this report. The report of a *Russe*, a great Traueller of the way from *Pechora* to *Ob*. *Medenskoy Zauorot*. *Zyelensa* two Ilands. *Breit-vinnose*. *Socolia Lowdia*. A long Point. From *Medenskoy Zauorot* to *Ob* is 16. dayes sayling. An Iland. *Ob* is full of Ilands, broad and shoald. The people of *Pechora*, and the *Russes* are vnwilling that we should goe to *Ob*. The Riuer *Yenisce*. *Samoyeds*. Horses. Ploughes. The Riuer of the *Tingussys*. *Tangut* mentioned by *Polo*, a large Kingdom Northward from *Cathay*, or *China*. The Riuer *Pisida*. Gunnes.

The first of March, the *Russes* tooke their Iourney from hence, from *Pustozer* into *Russia*, with such commodities as they bought. March.

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The twelfth, the Sunnes altitude by the Quadrant was 67. degrees and 40. minutes; and the declination, no degrees 52. minutes, which being added, maketh 68. degrees and 30. minutes, being the true heigth of *Pustozer*.

Pustozera in 68. degrees 30. or 35. minutes.

The thirteenth, the Sun arose at East and by South a little Southerly, and set at West North-west. This day the Sunnes altitude by the Quadrant was 67. degrees 20. minutes; and the declination, 1. degree 15. minutes: which added together, maketh 68. degrees 35. minutes: so that I conclude, that *Pustozer* standeth in about 68. degrees 30. minutes. The eight and twentieth, the Sunne arose at East and by North, and set at North-west and by West.

Aprill.

The eleuenth of Aprill, the Inhabitants of this Towne returned from *Slobodca*, bringing with them Rie, Rie-meale, and other prouisions.

The one and twentieth, hauing conference with a *Permack*, concerning what commodities were to be had at the Towne of *Vst-zilma*, he told me, that there were Losh hides, Squerrils, Sables, white Foxes, and Rosomackes. Moreouer, he told me, that beyond the Riuer of *Yenissey*, the Land trendeth due East, and then there is a Riuer called *Peaseda*, and beyond that another, called *Catonga*, which runneth into *Cathay*: whose King, these *Permacks* and *Russes* call *Teulka tsar*. The Riuer lieth North and South as they of *Yenissey* say, but they cannot tell how farre: for, there hath not any beene vp the Riuer, by reason they are afraid of their shot. And this *Permack* told me, that on the Sea coast betwixt these two Riuers, *Peaseda* and *Catonga*, they found certaine stones like vnto Gold, and some like Siluer, being about the halfe way betwixt the two Riuers.

The report of a *Permack*.

Yenissey: beyond it the land trendeth due East.

Pesida Riuer.

Catonga Riuer runneth out of *Cathay*.

Stones like Gold and Siluer in the midway betweene *Pisida* and *Catonga*.

The two and twentieth, we had newes brought that the Ice was broken, in the *Pechora*, all alongst by the sides.

The ninth of May, the Sunne arose at North-east somwhat Easterly, and set at North somwhat Westerly, it being iust foure houres by the Houre-glasse vnder the Horizon.

May.

The three and twentieth, the Sun did not goe vnder the Horizon, for it was a pretie height aboue the Horizon, at a North North-east point of the Compasse: it then being at the lowest.

The Riuer Ice breakes vp.

The foure and twentieth, we had newes that the *Pechora* brake vp, vpon the twentieth day of this instant moneth. The sixe and twentieth, at foure of the clocke in the after-noone, I departed from *Pustozer*, to goe to *Vst-zilma*, where I arriued the thirtieth day instant. And the Riuer of *Pechora* lieth most part North North-east, and South South-west, and sometimes North and South. *Vst-zilma*, is a Village of some thirtie or fortie houses, and standeth in the height of 66. degrees and 30. minutes. They haue Corne growing there, both Barley and Rie: and their Barley is passing faire and white almost as Rice.

Foure dayes iourney betweene *Pustozer* and *Oust-zilma*.

Oust-zilma is in 66. degrees 30. minutes, & there grow faire Barley and Rie.

The ninth of Iune, I departed from *Vst-zilma* backe againe to *Pustozer*, where I arriued the eleuenth of Iune. The one and twentieth, seuenteene *Soymas* departed from hence to goe to *Molgomsey*: some belonging to this place, some to *Vst-zilma*, and some to *Mezen*, and *Penega*. The two and twentieth, diuers Boats went from hence to the Sea, to fish for Omelyes and Bealowgaes Oyle. The foure and twentieth, I sent downe *William Pursglone* to the Sea side, to buy the Oyle which God shall send them.

Iune.

17. *Soymas* depart for *Molgomsey*.

The third of Iuly, I receiued a Letter forth of *England*, by the way of *Colmogro*.

Iuly.

Tom combustion.

The fift, we had newes that the Gouernour and Souldiers of *Tom* haue burnt the Towne, and fled from thence, by reason they wanted victuals, and their pay: and about three hundred of them intended to come to *Vst-zilma*, to rob the Inhabitants thereof. This day I was told, that from *Pustozer* vp *Pechora* with a faire wind, to the Riuer of *Ouse*, is three weekes trauell: and then vp the Riuer of *Ouse*, to *Podcamen*, ten dayes, and from thence to *Ob*, eight dayes, drawne by Deere: and from thence to *Beresoua*, sixteene dayes, which is a Towne of trading. This mine Host told me, that he was a prisoner at *Beresoua*, and at *Tobolsco*: and hee affirmeth, that *Tobolsco* is a Citie of great trade, and that the *Tesecks*, *Bowhars*, and *Tartars*, come thither to trade, who bring Silkes, Veluets, Grogran, Sendames, and Kindackes, and that great store of Cloth, Pewter, and Copper may be vented there. Also there is great store of Furres, as Sables, Squerrils, Foxes, Blacke, Rosamackes, and Beauers. He sayth, that from *Pustozer* to *Vade* in *Iugoria*, which is on this side *Ob*, with carriage vpon Deere, it is a moneths Iourney, and *Nosoua* is on the other side of *Ob*; and it is two weekes and an halfe with light carriage or post. Moreouer, he told me, that *Pechora* runneth into *Velekapermia*, fiue weekes iourney from *Pustozer*, and from *Veleca permia* to *Verho towria*, nine dayes iourney by Horse and Sleds: and from thence to *Tumen* by Riuer, ten dayes: and from *Tumen* to *Tobolsco*, sixe dayes by the Riuer *Irtish*, and is the chiefe Citie of all *Siberia*. And from *Tobolsco* to *Sowrgout*, is sixe weekes Iourney vp the Riuer *Ob*, from whence come all the rich Furres which come to *Arcania*. From *Sowrgout* to *Tome*, which is amongst the *Tartars*, is three weekes vp the Riuer *Ob*: and yet none knoweth how farre the *Ob* runneth further, as he sayth, he was carried these wayes to the *Musko*, in the beginning of *Rostriga* his time.

Intelligence of the Countrey.

Course of *Pechora*.

Modeneskoy zauorot.

Meastnoy Ostrous.

The sixteenth, I was told by a *Permack*, hauing some speech with him concerning the *Vaygats*, that from *Medniskoy Zauorot* to the *Vaygats*, is one day and a nights sayle with a faire wind. And as you goe forth of the *Vaygats*, there lieth an Iland called *Meastno Ostrous*, not being

being farre from *Socolia Lowdy*: and from *Vaygats* through *Yougorskey shar* into *Oarskoy gouba*, (which is a great Bay and deepe) is two dayes and one nights sayling into *Mowtnoy* Riuer, the course East; somewhat Southerly. And from *Mowtnoy* to *Sharrappa shar*, which is an Inlet, is halfe a dayes sayling: and from thence to *Yowconone* is halfe a dayes sayling, which is an high Land: and from thence to *Naromzia* is a dayes sayling. And there are three little Riuers betwixt them: and there are Morses all alongst that shoare, and farther he knew not by Sea. But he sayth, that the Riuer *Ob* is a dayes sayling right ouer. And from *Zylena reca* to the *Tax Zauorot*, the course is South-east, a dayes sayling: and from the *Zauorot* of *Tax* to the Riuers mouth, is a day and a nights sayling: and there is an Iland in the mouth thereof, being high land. And from thence vp the Riuer, the course is South-east to the Towne eight dayes iourney, to be haled with a rope, there runneth such a streame. But, ere you come to the *Tax* Riuer, there is another Riuer on the Starboord side, called *Powre*, where they get of the best Sables that come: and you must leaue the Iland at the *Tax* on the Larboord side. And from *Tax* Towne vp the Riuer *Volochanco*, is sixe dayes iourney Easterly against the streame, vntill you come to a Vollocke, about a mile and an halfe long, Marish ground, and so into another Riuer, some foure dayes rowing with the streame, to the Riuer that is called *Trowban*, which is a great Riuer, and falleth into *Yenisey*, some three dayes iourney more with the streame: at the entrance whereof lieth an Iland, called by the same name, whereon there is a little Towne of the same name. From thence downe the Riuer *Yenisey* to the Riuer *Haustke*, is twelue dayes sayling: and it is a great Riuer, and runneth to the East (as it is thought) into *Cathay*, which of the *Permacks*, is called *Kithayskoy Tsarrstua*.

Scola Lowdia. *Yowgatkoy shar.* *Carskoy Gouba.* *Mowtnoy* a Riuer. *Sharrappa Shar.* *Yowconone.* *Naromzia* Riuer. *Ob.* *Zylena* Riuer. *Tax Zauorot.* *Tax* Riuer. An Iland in the mouth of *Tax*. The Towne. *Powre* Riuer. An Iland called *Trowgan*. The Riuer *Haustke* runneth out of *Cathay*.

The fift of August, my selfe, and the Boy, went aboord the Lodia departing from *Pustozer*. The tenth, we arriued at the *Glonbocke*, which are the deepe water, whither *William Purse* & *Ione* was come with the Oyle, where we melted what we could, before we departed. The twelfth, I obserued in the *Glonbocke*, and had it on the Quadrant 56. degrees 30. minutes: and the Declination was 22. degrees 42. minutes, so it standeth in 69. degrees 12. minutes.

August. They depart from *Pustozera*.

The eighteenth, we departed from the *Glonbocke*, and entred the *Dry Sea*, and arriued at the *Zauorot* the one and twentieth.

The two and twentieth, we weighed and went out to Sea, the wind at East North-east, but the wind comming to the North-west, we put roomer againe, and came to an Anchor at the *Zauorot* againe. The foure and twentieth, I obserued at the *Zauorot*, and had it on the Quadrant 63. degrees no minutes, and the Declination was 7. degrees 26. minutes, so it standeth in about 70. degrees 30. minutes.

Glonbocke in 69 degrees 12. minutes.

The six and twentieth, we departed from the *Zauorot* about noon, the wind being at East, the land trending betwixt it & *Collocolcona* East & West, being two Voraes, or sixty Verst distance.

Collocolcona.

The seuen and twentieth, we came to an Iland called *Mezyon Shary*, being sixtie Verst to the Eastwards of *Snatnose*, and it is about ten Verst in length, and two Verst broad. At the East end thereof, *Oliuer Brunell* was carried into Harbour by a *Russe*, where he was Land-locked, hauing the Iland on the one side, and the Mayne on the other.

Mezyon Shary. *Oliuer Brunell.*

The eight and twentieth, we departed from *Mezyon Shary*, the wind at North-east, a little gale, but before night it fell thicke, and wee steered away North-west, and about mid-night, it came to the North North-east blowing a very sore storme: so that we were not able to beare our sayle aloft, and hauing sloud vnder foot, we were fogged into the Bay, and put ashoare some two houres before day, vpon the long point of the obscure Harbour, about three miles to the Westwards, the wind being at North: where we got all our goods on Land, alwayes looking when the Lodia would haue split. But, by Gods Almightie Prouidence, she beate ouer that Sand, and lay betwixt it and the beach: so that when the tyde was fallen, she sate on ground, as if she had beene in a creeke, the Sands all dry round about her. Also on the West side of *Snatnose*, in the Bay is a great Riuer, called *Indiga*, which is, deepe Water, and a good Harbour for a ship, as the *Russes* doe report.

Indiga.

The thirtieth, the storme continued all the day long. The one and thirtieth, about noone it blew lesse wind, and at night we stopped our leakes as well as we could.

The first of September, in the morning wee got our goods againe aboord. The second, in the morning, we went roomer with the obscure Harbour, the wind being at the North-west, but at noone, it came to the South-east and East South-east, so we weighed, and stood to the Westwards againe, vntill wee came to the Riues, where wee came on shoare the last yeere: which is called *Zenowea*, where wee anchored a little to the Eastwards, and ridde the most part of that night.

September.

The third, in the morning we weighed, and stood to the Westwards, but the wind comming to the West South-west blowing hard, and hauing the tyde against vs, we anchored againe about ten of the clocke on Thursday, being the third day: yet within two houres after, we were forced to weigh, and put roomer to a little Riuer or Creeke, that is, called *Creostoua*: where wee ridde vntill the ninth day. Then we loosed, thinking to haue gone forth to Sea, the wind being Easterly; but it blowing hard, and there running a great streame of fresh water, that it put vs

on ground againe, wee were in great danger againe of losing all. So wee were forced to get all things on shoare againe, and then got her off the eleuenth day, and went into the Creake againe: and stopping our leakes as well as we could, we got our goods aboord againe.

The fourteenth, the winde comming to the East South-east, wee got forth to Sea with much adoe, and soone after, the winde came to the East North-east, a faire gale: and wee stood it alongst the Land South-east and by South, and North-west and by North all that after-noone vntill mid-night; at what time we were thwart of *Callenose*. The fifteenth, about three of the clocke in the morning, the winde came to the North-east, and blew very hard, so we steered away South South-west, and at night wee fell with a shoald, which they said, is thwart of the *Mezen* mouth; but I take it, it was *Knocke Iohn*.

Knocke Iohn.

Danielone Stolbe

The sixteenth, in the morning about eight or nine of the clocke, hauing carried but an hullocke of our sayle all night, we fell with *Danielone Stolbe* on the Coast of *Lappia*, the wind being at South, and blowing hard, so that we went into Harbour at the West of the Iland, there standing fiue Crosses on it, it being a Rocke. And there are foure Warlocks on the Mayne, and another on a Rocke to the Westwards: yet it is but for Lodyes, and that a bad one also, being full of Rockes round about, where we rid vntill the six and twentieth. Then we departed forth of *Daniela Stolbe* about noone, and at night we came to *Sasnouets*, where we rid all night. The seuen and twentieth, in the morning we fell with *Chuzua Nose*. The eight and twentieth, wee arriued at *Arkania*, where wee landed our Oyle. The nine and twentieth, wee arriued at *Colmogro*.

Chuzua Nose.
Arkania.
Colmogro.

Extracts taken out of two Letters of *Iosias Logan* from *Pechora*, to Master *Hakluyt* Prebend of *Westminster*.

This piece of an Elephants Tooth was sent into *England*.

THere vse to come hither in the Winter about two thousand Samoieds *with their Commodities, which may be such as we dreamed not on yet. For by chance one came to vs with a piece of an Elephants Tooth, which he said he bought of a* Samoied. *And heere are men called* Tinguſſies, *whose Countrey is beyond the Riuers of* Obi, *and* Taes; *and bordereth vpon the great Riuer* Yeniſſe: *which is a good Riuer and a deepe, and falleth into the Sea* Naromzie: *And it should seeme it is not farre from* China. *Therefore you may conceiue what hope there is of this Enterprize, if it please God it may be followed as it ought to be. Thus beseeching Almighty God to bleſſe you and vs, I commit you to the protection of him, who is the giuer of all goodneſſe, Iul.* 24. 1611.

The Sea Naromzie.

In another Letter from *Pechora*, Auguſt 16.

THere come two or three thouſand Samoieds *hither to trade with their Sables, Reuters, Blacke Foxes, Squirrels, Wolfes, Raſomacks, Ermines. And here is caught in September, good ſtore of Salmon, Traine of a certayne great fiſh, called a Bealouga, and Morſſes, and Seales Oyle in the Summer time, and White Foxes and Feathers. I had ſome conference with a* Ruſſe, *who told mee that the* Samoieds *told him, that there lye* Minchins, *which in their Language is ſtrangers, buried in the Sand in Coffins, with their armes a croſſe their breſt: which they eſtimate to be about ſixtie yeeres ago: And that they found Writing Tables in one of their pockets, and other ſmall Triſles which they tooke away. The* Vaygats *is ſometimes open and ſometimes ſhut: and vpon them groweth Chriſtall of the Mount. The* Ruſſes *and* Permacks *trade yearely with them of the Riuer* Obi, *and beyond. They goe by Sea into the great Bay beyond* Pechora, *called* Yowgorsky Shar: *into which there fall foure Riuers; The Eaſtermoſt whereof they call* Cara Reca, *on the* Blacke Riuer; *beyond which they paſſe vnto another, called* Moetnaia Reca; *then they come to a* Voloc *or necke of Land, which continueth but three Verſts; ouer which they draw their Boats and goods, and ſo come to another Riuer, called* Zelena Reca, *or* The Greene Riuer, *which bringeth them into* Obi: *Into which on the Eaſter ſide, the Riuer* Taes *falleth, making but one mouth with the Riuer* Obi, *being ſhoald, and they report it to bee as broad toward the mouth, as a man can diſcerne ouer, hauing many Ilands therein.*

In another Letter from *Pechora*, Auguſt 16.

Chryſtall vpon the *Vaygats.*
Yowgorsky Shar.
Cara Reca.
Moetnaia Reca.
The *Voloc* or necke of Land.
Zelena Reca.
Obi Riuer.
Taes Riuer.
Yeniſſey Riuer.

Moreouer, there is another great Riuer, called Yeniſſey *beyond* Taes: *which they ſay, is rather bigger and deeper then* Obi; *and it runneth vp into the Land: no man knoweth how farre: Although they haue diſcouered ſome fourteene dayes rowing vp therein: neither can they learne of the Inhabitants thereof how farre it ſtretcheth; whom they call* Tinguſſey: *who are a proper people of themſelues. And the* Samoieds *report that they haue trauelled ſo farre, that they came within ſight of a* White Citie *or Towne: which ſhould ſeeme to be builded of ſtone, for they durſt not goe to make triall: and they heard a great ringing of Bels. Alſo they ſay, that they ſaw beaſts, but they were not like their Deere; for they had a great Mane, a long Taile, no Hornes, and their footing was round, not clouen, as their Deere are: and they vſe to ride vpon their backs, and not to draw in Sleds as their Deere vſe to doe. Theſe I aſſure my ſelfe are Horſes. And further they report, that there came people vnto them all made of Iron, their heads, armes, hands, and legges: ſo that neither Arrowes, Swords, nor Speares, could enter; which, as I coniecture, were people in Armour. For they ſaid, that two hundred of them they thought were able to conquer all their Realme. By this you may gather, that they are not farre from* Cataia *and* China. *Thus haue I ſhewed vnto you the greateſt ſecret, and the neereſt to the truth that I know. Requeſting*

Tinguſſey a people.
A *White Citie.*
Great ringing of Bels.

Horſes.
People in Armour.
They are not farre from *Cataia* and *China.*

you

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you, if you thinke it meet, that the Right Honourable the Earle of Salisburie *might haue a Copie thereof. Thus wishing you health and prosperitie in this World, and felicitie in the World to come, I cease.*

CHAP. XI.

A briefe Relation of a Voyage to Pechora, *and wintering there, began in the yeere* 1611. *Written by* WILLIAM PVRSGLOVE.

MAster *Iosias Logan*, and *William Gourdon*, hauing receiued directions from the Right Worshipfull Company of *English* Merchants, Trading *Russia*. The eleuenth of Aprill, 1611. departed from *Blacke-wall* in the Riuer of *Thames*, in a good ship, called the *Amitie*; whereof *Iames Vadum* of *Rederiffe* was Master.

The sixteenth of Iuly, we arriued at *Pustozera*, being much wondred at by the Inhabitants, a *Permac* receiued vs into his House, and let vs haue a Ware-house for our goods. We all continued there vntill the fiue and twentieth of Iuly. Then wee returned in our Shallop againe to our ship, hauing a small *Russe* Boate in our company, to carrie some of the Feathers and Downe, which we brought there, our owne Boat not beeing able to carrie all, being pestered with our Prouision, and some Feathers, and White Foxes. Wee came aboord our ship the seuen and twentieth of Iuly, where wee deliuered those White Foxes, Feathers, and Downe, and an exceeding rich blacke Foxe skinne, hauing laded the *Russe* Boate with part of our goods. The rest of our goods they laid vpon the Sand to be sent vp afterward, leauing mee and *Marmaduke Wilson*, and an hired *Russe* with them, where wee attended to heare of Boates from the Towne. But Master *Logan* not hearing of any aboue a tunne and an halfe, could not get any to come downe to vs; because they feared to goe ouer the dry or shoald Sea in their little Boates being laden.

They were first receiued into a *Permacks* House.

The one and thirtieth, our ship departed ouer the Barre, purposing to make their Voyage in *Noua Zembla*, or some Ilands not farre distant from thence. At their departure there were fiue and twentie Coaches or *Soymas*, in that Road of *Pechora*, with at least two hundred men in them bound for *Molgomsey*; but hindered by contrary Windes and Ice, our shippes being ouer the Barre, they all came on shoare to vs; some threatning, others flattering vs, but after I had bestowed two Bottles of Beere among some of the best of them, they all went vp to *Pustozera*: where most of them that had any goods to sell stayed all Winter, and sold their Commodities in barter with the Inhabitants, and when they could happen secretly vpon any *Samoieds*, they would be trading with them also: which is contrarie to the Priuiledges granted by the Emperour to the *Pustozerits*. Their Wintering there was no little hindrance to vs for the sale of our goods.

We arriued at the Towne the seuenth of August. In mine absence Master *Logan* had hired part of an House of one, called *Tiffon Vriawich*, a *Polonian*, who was turned *Russe*. August.

The three and twentieth of Nouember, I departed from *Pustozera* to goe for *Russia*, at three of the clocke in the afternoone, in the Company of certayne *Russes*, *Permacks*, and *Samoieds*, which *Samoieds* were our Guides ouer the Mountaynes: and one dayes journey ouer the Rocks, which they call *Cameni*, which are not Rockie Hills, as in *Norway*, but high Lands, yet in most places smooth, and most marish grounds full of little Hillocks, which being couered with Snow and frozen, did not much annoy vs. Our Argeshey or Caruan were about two hundred and ten Sleds, drawne the most part with two Deere in a Sled. They had also about two hundred spare Deere, to ease the wearied. We kept company vntill the fourth of December together, hauing passed two third parts of our way to *Slobotca*, being the first Towne in the Countrey of *Mesen*, that we saw. And then in company of foure Sleds, hauing each two choice Buckes, with a *Samoied* in the fift for our Guide, we left the Argeshey, and rid post for *Slobotca*, where wee arriued the ninth of December, at ten of the clocke at night. In this Towne I found one *Thomas Ligon* an *Englishman*, who had serued Master *Richard Cockes* of *London*, who saluting mee in *English*, maruelled much to meet me there: and carried me from the rest of my company to his Lodging, and gaue me there very kind entertaynment. The next morning I departed thence in his Sled, hauing ouer night hired an Horse to the next Towne, which was fifteenth Verstes off: And so trauelling day and night, changing Horses at euery conuenient place, I came to *Colmogro* the twelfth of December: and deliuered my Letters from Master *Iosias Logan* our Factor in *Pustozera*, to Master *Fabian Smith*, then Agent for the *English* Company. Hauing rested my selfe foure dayes there, and receiued certayne Money to helpe to put off some of our goods at *Pechora*, I departed from *Colmogro* the seuenteenth of December, and came to *Slobotca* the nineteenth day; the height of the Pole being there some sixtie fiue degrees. I stayed there till the two and twentieth of the said moneth, by which time the *Permacks* and the Inhabitants of *Pustozera*, were

Nouember. His Voyage ouer-land to *Slobotca* and *Colmogro*. Mountaynes & *Cameni*, or Rockes.

He arriueth at *Slobotca*, the 9. of December in 16. dayes. *Thomas Ligon*.

He arriueth at *Colmogro*, the 12. of December.

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were readie to returne to *Pechora* with their goods, being Rie, Malt, Hops, Salt, *Aqua-vitæ*, and some course Cloth. Moreouer, diuers *Russes* hauing their Sonnes or Kinsmen Leigers there, in Winter doe send Cloth and Money ouer Land.

Hauing made my prouision for my journey, and taken my leaue of Master *Thomas Ligon*, wee set forward that night, and rid not aboue fiue and twentie Verſts, to a place where wee found the Argeshey which set out from *Slobotca* the two and twentieth day in the morning by breake of day. We had better passage in our returne, then we had in our journey from *Pustozera*, by reason of much Snow fallen in the time of our being in *Russia*, and frozen so hard, that it bare both Deere and Sleds in all places. Wee kept together with the Argeshey, being then two hundred and fiftie Sleds, till we had passed more then two thirds of our way ouer the Mountaynes: and then long before day hauing chosen Buckes of the best, wee departed the fourth of Ianuarie, being eight Sleds in company, and rid post all that day and night following, beeing Moone-light, saue sometimes for the space of an houre that wee stayed where, the *Samoied* our Guide knew there was good store of Mosse, (which is white) to refresh our Deere. The fifth of Ianuarie, we came to *Pustozera*, hauing in fortie houres trauelled three hundred and fiftie Verſts with our choice Buckes. Our Argeshey or Caruan arriued there after vs the twelfth of Ianuarie.

Snow betters their Trauell.

The fourth of Ianuarie.

Mosse food for the Deere.

The manner of trauelling with the *Samoieds*.

The *Samoieds* being the onely Guides in Winter, either from *Pustozera* to *Slobotca*, or to any other places Eastward, as *Ougoria*, *Siberia*, or *Molgomsey*; know, by their continuall trauell, the way, though it be neuer so thick weather, as also where most store of white Mosse is growing: and according as they find themselues neere vnto some mosshie place, be it somthing before night, or within night foure or fiue houres before they can come thither; there for that Night they pitch their Tents, being for the most part made of Deere and Elkes skinnes: we had in our companie foure great Tents set vp, and some twentie vnder each Tent. This worke of pitching the Tents belongeth vnto the Women. In the meane time the men vnyoake the Deere, and turne them loose to digge through the Snow, bee it neuer so deepe, for their food and sustenace. Then the *Samoieds* (of euery Tent one) out of the next Wood, prouide as much Fuell as shall serue their turnes for their abode there. First, they set on Kettles full of Snow water, which being melted, they drinke thereof euery one a good draught: then they seeth their Supper, vsing as before Snow water melted for their Drinke. Our lodgings were vpon the Snow within our Tents, round about the Fire, hauing vnder vs for our Beds the skinnes of Deere, couered with our day apparell. For all the time of our journey, the Merchants, whether Stranger, *Russe*, or *Permac*, according to the number of them, make prouision of Victuals to feed the whole familie in euery Tent, euery man his day about, together with the *Samoieds*, their Wiues and Children; who carrie all their Houshold euery where with them; and out of their Sonnes and Daughters, they appoint a watch ouer their Deere, for feare of the Wolfe and other Beasts, which notwithstanding their watch sometimes kill in a night one or two of their Deere, as it fell out two nights in our journey to *Slobotca*. This *Slobotca* is a pretie Towne, hauing in December and Ianuarie, great resort of people repayring thither, as well Rich *Russes* out of many places, with money to buy Furres, as others with prouision of Meale and Malt, and other Commodities, to furnish the *Pustozerits*, as also to buy Fish, to wit, Salmons, Oyle of *Bealugos*, Deere skinnes, and Furres of them.

Their Tents.

Hard-soft lodging.

Poore *Samoieds*

Dangerous Wolues.

Slobotca.

Trade with the *Samoieds* of *Ougoria*.

Eight or nine hundred *Samoieds* come to *Pustozera*.

The tenth of Ianuary, the Inhabitants of *Pustozera*, returned from Trading with the *Samoieds* of *Ougoria*, on which Iourney they set forward the fiue and twentieth of Nouember: and within three dayes after, came betwixt eight or nine hundred *Samoieds* with a small quantitie of their Commodities, in respect of former yeeres, by reason of Warre betweene the *Samoieds* of *Ougoria*, and *Molgomsey*, who were wont to Trade one with another, and not to warre one against another. So Sables, and other Commodities being scant, the inhabitants sold them very deare: yet notwithstanding, the *Russes* bought vp all, striuing one to haue them before another. So that after that little money, which we had was bestowed, wee could not doe any thing in barter. Moreouer, the *Russes* did not onely informe against vs to the Inhabitants to stirre them vp against vs, but also vsed the like meanes to the *Samoieds* to dissuade them from trading with vs, either in their owne Countries, or else-where; alleadging that wee would betray them, and not onely carrie them away to make them Slaues, and robbe them, but also would murther and destroy all the rest, whereſoeuer wee should come. The Inhabitants also of *Pustozera*, being incensed by the *Russes*, doubting wee would enter farther into their Trade Eastward, began also to hinder, and forbid the *Samoieds* to come to vs. Yet by meanes of our Hoast being a *Polac* borne, we spake with diuers of the principall of the *Samoieds*, hee being our Interpreter, and wee our selues vnderstood certayne *Samoieds* speaking broken *Russe*, and by these meanes we found out more at large the despitefulnesse of the *Russes*, and the enuie of some of the Inhabitants against vs; as also their feare, least wee or any other Stranger, should enter into further Discouerie of their trafficking toward the East, but especially about the Riuer *Ob*. Some sayd we were sent as spyes to betray their Land to the *Pole* or the *Swethen*, with whom they then had warre. Some gaue counsell to put vs vnder the Water: others aduised to set vs vpon the Sand, where wee should haue beene without all doubt drowned in short space, others thought best to send vs vp

The false suggestions of the *Russes* against vs.

to

to the Nobilitie, and to ſeaze on all our goods to the vſe of the State. But diuers of the beſt in the Towne, with whom wee kept all friendſhip that poſſible we could, withſtood thoſe bloudie practiſes. The Lord therefore bee bleſſed.

The fifth of March, the Inhabitants of *Puſtozer* went againe to *Slobotca*, carrying the *Ruſſes* with their Commodities thither. March.

They returned home the eleuenth of Aprill, 1612. The one and twentieth of Aprill, water was firſt ſeene vpon the maine Riuer *Pechora* aboue the Ice, deſcending from aboue *Ouſt-zilma*. Aprill, 1612.

The twentieth of May, the Ice brake vp. The fiue and twentieth of May, certayne of the Inhabitants of *Puſtozer*, went by water vnto *Ouſt-zilma*. May 20. the Ice brake vp.

The ſixe and twentieth, *Ioſias Logan* with our Hoaſt the *Polonian*, hired a Boate and went toward *Ouſt-zilma*, carrying with him certayne Cloath and Copper Kettles, in hope to ſell them well there, being intreated in the Summer before by one of their Townesmen to come thither, or to ſend one to Winter there: alledging that they got great ſtore of Loſh-hydes, Squirrels, Sables, and Beuers. Which ſome yeeres indeed, as we were credibly informed, falleth out according to his report. But at his arriuall there, diuers of the Townesmen came againſt him, and would not ſuffer him nor any of his Boate to Land for the ſpace of ten houres: but in the end, they let him goe on ſhoare, after, as wee ſuppoſe, the Inhabitants of *Puſtozer* had bought moſt of their Commodities. So that hee ſtaying there two dayes, could get but nine Loſh-hydes, and halfe a timber of courſe Sables, in barter for ſome Cloath and Copper. The principall cauſe of his going thither, was, to meete with ſome of the *Permacks* out of *Permia*, who ſome yeeres come downe with Rie, and Rie-meale, and thought to haue giuen notice to thoſe *Permacks* of our being at *Puſtozer*, and to haue willed them to haue perſwaded their Countrey-men to bring thither the next Spring following all their Commodities, being Waxe, Honey, Loſh-hydes, and Furres, which they might doe for halfe the charge that they are at in bringing them to *Archangell*, on the Riuer *Duina*. Our men intreated to winter at *Ouſt-zilma*.

Ouſt-zilma is a pretie Towne of ſome ſixtie Houſes: and is three or foure dayes ſayling with a faire wind againſt the ſtreame from *Puſtozer*, but backe againe they may ſayle it in two dayes. *Ouſt-zilma*.

The third of Iune, came the firſt *Ruſſes* in their Cayooks by Riuer out of *Ruſſia* to *Puſtozer*. Theſe Cayooks, be ſmall Boates of two tunnes, hauing two men in each Boate. Iune 3.

The twentieth of Iune, nine *Ruſſe* Coaches or Soymas, paſſed by *Puſtozer* from *Ouſt-zilma* for *Molgomſey*. The one and twentieth, ſixe *Ruſſe* Soymas more departed from *Puſtozer*: all the reſt hauing giuen ouer their Voyage, which came thither the Summer before, 1611. The two and twentieth, one Soyma belonging to the Towne of *Puſtozer*, departed for *Molgomſey*. Sixteene *Soymas* depart for *Molgomſey*.

The three and twentieth, and foure and twentieth, the Inhabitants of *Puſtozer*, went to Fiſh for *Bealugos* vnder the *Beluan*, being the higheſt Land neere vnto the *Drie Sea*, and two dayes ſayling from the Towne. Fiſhing for *Bealugos* vnder the *Beluan*.

The fiue and twentieth, I departed after them, and arriued there the ſeuen and twentieth, hoping to haue prouided good ſtore of *Bealugos* Oyle. But it fell out contrarie: though there were aboue fiftie Boates, hauing in euery Boate three men, and in many foure, by reaſon it pleaſed God to ſend ſuch windie and ſtormie weather, that the Boates could not goe to Sea in many dayes together, during their wonted time of Fiſhing for thoſe Beaſts; being till the twentieth of Iuly. Then euery man leaueth that Fiſhing, and repaire to their owne Fiſherie, to hunt Ducks, Geeſe, and Swannes, which moſt yeeres they get in abundance, and make good profit of their Feathers and Downe: as alſo of their Fleſh, which they ſalt vp in Caske for Winter prouiſion, ſeruing them alſo all the Summer for Fleſh dayes. Theſe *Bealugos* they catch with harping Irons, tyed faſt to a long rope of ninetie or an hundred fathoms, with a ſtaffe of the length of two yards or ſomewhat longer, being put looſe into the Iron, wherewith when the beaſt commeth within the reach of him that ſtriketh, he ſmiteth him with the Iron, leauing it in the Beaſt: then the rope being layed out cleere to vere out, the man holding his Staffe ſtill in his hand: but the Beaſt being wounded haſteneth to the bottome, where hauing beate himſelfe neare to death, they hall in their rope by little and little, the Beaſt aſcending thereby. And if they finde him not neere death, they ſtrike him againe: and being dead they cut off his skinne with the fat on it in many parts, ſome the breadth of two hands, ſome more or leſſe. Then comming on ſhoare, they take the Fat from the skinne, and cut it in ſmall peeces to diſſolue it to Oyle, caſting away the Fleſh which is red, to the Fowles of the Sea; except ſome poore *Samoied* come that way, who taketh it, though it haue lyen putrifying two or three dayes, and dreeth it, and maketh good cheare with it with his Familie. This Beaſt is as bigge as two good Sturgions. Moreouer, I was informed by an ancient Traueller, that the Fleſh and Fat of that Beaſt, being cut as Beefe and ſalted in Caske, is a great and rich Commoditie in *Italie*; which cannot chuſe but to bee much better then young Whales, which I haue heard that the *Biskayners* vſe to preſerue for good meate. With the Fat of ſome one of theſe Beaſts, they will fill three Barrels, of ſome leſſer two barrels, and ſome yeeld but one barrell of Blubber, which they call *Shilliga*. In that Summer when I was there, by reaſon of Northerly windes blowing hard, they killed by all their Boates not aboue fortie Beaſts: with ſome Boate they killed two, with other three, with ſome foure. But with moſt not one. Manner of killing them. The *Ruſſes* vpon the Ice vſe to kill the Morſe as they doe their *Bealugo*: but their rope is longer, and a barrell made faſt at one end to buoy it. *Samoieds* pouertie. *Bealugo* made meate in *Italie*

The

July 13. A Boate ſent by Riuer to *Puſtozera*, to fetch home Maſter *Logan* and his Company into *Ruſſia*.

The thirteenth of Iuly, I receiued a Letter from Maſter *Ioſias Logan*, the effect whereof was; That the Company of our *Engliſh* Merchants of *Ruſſia*, had ſent a Boate out of *Ruſſia* by Riuer, which ſtood them in foureteene Rubbels or Marks for vs to goe in her, or by Lodia for *Ruſſia*. For they were purpoſed not to ſend a Ship for vs that yeere.

Auguſt. The *Glowbuc*.

The ninth of Auguſt, Maſter *Ioſias Logan*, and *Marmaduke Wilſon*, came from the Towne of *Puſtozera* in a Lodia to goe for *Ruſſia*, and Anchored in the *Glowbuc*, which is a deepe place of the Riuer. Heere wee ſtayed ten dayes to make vp our Oyle. In the meane time the Lodia got her full lading with Omelies, and Seegies ſalted in Caske, attending a faire winde.

The ninth of Auguſt, wee ſet ſayle out of the *Glowbuc*, and entred the *Suchoi-morie*, that is, *The Drie or ſhoald Sea*, and ſtirred away next hand North North-eaſt.

Promoi Coſkoi.

The nine and twentieth, a little before day, not thinking wee had beene ſo neere the Land, we were on the Breches of *Promoi Coſkoi*, or the Sands of *Promoi*, a bad Harbour ſo called by the *Ruſſes*, and beate ouer one Sand by Gods prouidence onely, ſo high, being halfe full of water, that in diſpaire of euer getting her off againe, wee vnladed moſt of the goods, as Fiſh, Oyle, Feathers, Downe, and Loſh-hydes, as ſoone as it began to bee day-light, and that the *Ruſſes* knew vs to bee vpon the mayne Land. The thirtieth day, being ſomewhat calme, and the wind Eaſterly, but thicke weather ſtill, there came three men from *Vaſilie Beregen* his Lodia, who was our Conſort, while wee were working to get our Lodia a floate againe, and told vs, that their Lodia was beaten in peeces vpon the mayne Land, ſome ſeuen or eight Verſts to the Weſtward off vs. The one and thirtieth, wee laboured againe, and by Gods aſſiſtance got her a floate, hauing taken out almoſt all her goods: and that night laded ſome part againe.

September.

The firſt of September, wee got all our goods aboord, and at Night-tide being faire weather, the winde North-weſt and Moone-light, wee put from that comfortleſſe place, and went into the *Promoi* Harbour, hauing on the Barre nine or ten foote water; but within foure or fiue fathoms. A South-weſt Moone maketh there a full Sea. It is in the great Bay betweene *Snetinos* and *Candinos*. The ſecond, the winde at Eaſt North-eaſt faire weather, wee ſet ſayle with our leake Lodia, the Pumpe neuer reſting.

The third, the winde variable, wee ſayled along the the ſhoare till about Noone: then the wind comming to the Weſt, wee put backe againe for *Chriſtoua Stanouecha*, which is the Croſſe Harbour, where wee rode in a fine Riuer, hauing a bad Barre.

The ninth, in the Morning wee purpoſed to put to Sea againe, the winde Eaſterly: but the Barre was ſo growne and warped vp with ſands, when wee came vpon the entrance of it, that we could not paſſe ouer, neither with Wind nor Oares, but were forced vpon the mayne: where our Lodia was beaten ſo high vpon the ſand, that all hope of ſauing her was paſt. That day wee got out of her an hundred Barrels of Fiſh and Oyle, and yet we could not get her off againe.

North-weſt windes cauſe high Tides on this Coaſt. Much Snow.

The tenth, the winde being at North-weſt, cauſed high Tides, by which meanes we got her off, and brought her againe into Harbour. The eleuenth wee had ſo much winde and Snow, that we could not get our goods aboord all that day. The twelfth, we got all aboord, hauing ſtopped moſt of our leakes with Moſſe and old Cloutes.

Candinos.

The thirteenth, the wind at Eaſt, faire weather, wee put to Sea out of that bad Harbour, leauing one of our Boates there, and eight Barrels of Fiſh to eaſe our leake Lodia. The fourteenth, about mid-night we were thwart of *Candinos*, and ſtirred South-weſt, and South South-weſt all the next day: but the Night following being much winde, the *Ruſſes* eſteeming themſelues to bee on the Weſterne ſhoare, ſtrooke ſayle, and by Day-light we ſaw Land to the Weſtward of the *White Sea*, being the ſixteenth day: and wee were forced againe into another bad Harbour, called *Danilo Stolb*, that is, *Daniels Piller*, on the Coaſt of *Lapland*, where we made our Lodia faſt among the Rockes: where ſhee lay drie halfe-tide, and lay there beenept and wind-bound vntill the ſixe and twentieth day: and then at Tide-time wee got out of that place.

Danilo Stolb in *Lapland.*

Archangel.

The eight and twentieth, wee entred into the Riuer of *Duyna*, and landed that night at the Caſtle of *Archangel* in the *Engliſh* Houſe, all our Oyle, Loſh-hydes, and other goods, as Feathers, Downe, &c.

Colmogro.

The nine and twentieth, about mid-night we came to the *Engliſh* Houſe at *Colmogro*, and there continued all the Winter.

The three and twentieth of Aprill 1613. the Riuer of *Duyna* brake vp at *Archangel*.

Other Obſeruations of the ſayd WILLIAM PVRSGLOVE.

Medeniskoie Barre. *Vaygats* Iland. The Riuer *Ob*. The Riuer *Tas*

FRom *Medenskoie Zauorot* to the Iſle of *Vaygats*, is two dayes ſayliug with a *Ruſſe* Lodia. From *Vaygats* to the Riuer *Ob*, is foure dayes ſayling. The Riuer *Ob* lyeth North and South. The courſe from *Vaygats* to *Toukoi-coſcoy*, is North-eaſt; and from thence Eaſt to the mouth of *Ob*. Within the *Ob* ſome three dayes ſayling, is a Riuer on the Eaſt ſide called *Tas*, hauing as it were a Barre at the entrance thereof: yet there is alwayes eleuen or twelue foote water vpon it,

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it, but within it is very deepe. Within two dayes ſayling within the *Tas*, the *Ruſſe* hath builded a Towne and a Caſtle, being called *Molgomſey*; where all the Hunters of Beaſts aſſemble, and bring their Furs with them. Alſo the *Ruſſe* Soymas or Boats and thoſe of *Puſtozera*, come thither with their Meale and other Merchandizes. And hauing ſold or bartered their Commodities, euery one returneth home, ſome to *Puſtozera*, and others to *Ruſſia*. The Hunters alſo prouide againſt the next Winter for Hunting againe. *Molgomſey* a great Mart.

There are three Riuers vnder the high Land of *Ougoria* and *Naramzey*, and great ſtore of Morſſes about the point of *Naramzei*, whither the Inhabitants of *Puſtozera* doe ſend a Lodia in the Autumne, with diuers Commodities to trade with the *Ougorian Samoieds*. Alſo they kill many Morſſes, onely taking their Teeth, and trauell among the *Samoieds* all the Winter to trade with them, and returne ouer Land to *Puſtozera* in Ianuarie next following. Some yeeres, if the winde doe not ſerue them inſtantly, they are glad to giue ouer that Voyage by Sea. As for example, in the yeere 1611. when we wintered there, the froſt came vpon them before they had wind to ſerue them; whereupon they were forced to giue ouer that Voyage. And aſſoone as they could trauell by Sled, ſome of the richeſt of the Sonnes and Seruants of the Townſmen, were ſent with certayne Commodities to barter with the *Samoieds*, againſt their Fathers or other Friends ſhould come after in the Winter, and to buy vp all the beſt Furs and other Commodities. *Ougoria* and *Naramzei*. Store of Morſſes. They returne from *Ougoria* in Ianuarie.

The *Ruſſes* when they ſayle for *Molgomſey* in their Soymas, goe not about *Naramzei* point to the mouth of the Riuer *Ob*, but ſayle vp a narrow Riuer, called *Moetnaia Reca*, that is to ſay, the Muddie Riuer, & at the head therof they hale their Boats ouer a little neck of land into the Riuer *Zelenai*, that is, the Green Riuer, & ſo fall down into the Riuer *Ob*: and ſo ſaile Southward vp the Riuer *Ob* till they come to the Riuer *Tas*. From the Barre of *Tas* to the Riuers mouth, is aboue a daies & a nights ſailing. There is an Iland in the mouth of *Tas*, being very high land. From thence the Riuer to the Towne, leauing the Iland on the left hand are eight dayes ſayling. But ere you come to the *Tas* Riuer, there is a ſmall Riuer called *Power*, or *Piet*; where they get the beſt Sables of all *Molgomſey*. And vp the Riuer *Tas* to *Volochanke*, againſt the ſtreame are ſixe dayes ſayling Eaſtward, till you come to a Voloc, or necke of Land a mile and an halfe ouer, beeing mariſh ground, ouer which the *Ruſſes* and *Puſtozerits* hale their Boats into another Riuer, called *Torowhan*, and rowing downe with the ſtreame three dayes, they fall into the mightie Riuer *Teniſce*. At the mouth of the Riuer *Torowhan*, there dwell people on an Iland, hauing builded them a little Towne and a Church. And from thence they ſayle downe the Riuer to *Hawtick*, which is a great Riuer, and runneth vnto the Eaſt. *Moetnaia Reca*. *Zelenai Reca*. *Ob Reca*. *Tas* Riuer. An Iland in the mouth of *Tas*. A Towne. A necke of Land. The Riuer *Torowhan*. The Riuer *Hawtick*.

The Riuer of the *Tinguſſies*, is three dayes and three nights ſayling within the Riuer *Yeniſcey*. There are no Woods neere vnto the mouth of *Ieniſce*. But in the Riuer of *Tinguſſie* are great ſtore of Woods. There are two or three Riuers betweene the mouth of *Yeniſce* and *Tinguſſie*, but not ſo large as the *Tinguſſie* Riuer is; neere vnto which the *Ruſſes* doe fiſh: and aſſoone as it freezeth, they go againe to their old trade of hunting the Sables, Beuers, and Foxes. And hauing in two winters ſo laboured for themſelues, thoſe that be good Husbands return rich into *Ruſſia*: And except they fall againe into pouertie through fire or other wayes, neuer returne thither againe. The Riuer of the *Tinguſſies*. Two or three Riuers from *Tinguſſie* to the mouth of *Yeniſce*.

The *Tinguſſies* are a taller people then the *Samoieds*, and weare their Garments made of skins ſhorter, and made cloſer to their bodies then the *Samoieds*. They be a very gentle people to conuerſe withall.

From the mouth of *Ob* to the great Riuer *Ieniſce*, as a *Ruſſe* told mee, is foure dayes and foure nights ſayling. Betwixt *Ob* and *Yeniſce*, is high blacke Land.

Beyond *Ieniſce* Eaſtward is another great Riuer, called *Piſida*. The Land trendeth due Eaſt beyond the Riuer *Ieniſce* to *Piſida*: and to another Riuer, called *Catowga*, which commeth out of *Cathay*, whoſe King the *Permackes* call *Teulka Tſar*. The Riuer lyeth North and South, they know not how farre. For the *Tinguſſies*, of whom they had intelligence of this Riuer, are afraid of Gun-ſhot that they doe heare, which they vſe on the South part of that Riuer, and dare not trauell vp it. In it they ſaw Veſſels with two or three ſayles; which in the Spring, ſayle downe the Riuer Northward, and in the Autumne, returne againe to the South. But they know not whether they fiſh, or goe to gather ſome Mynes, which are ſuppoſed to be in thoſe Countreyes, not daring to goe neere them. It was told me, that betwixt *Piſida* and *Catowga*, about the midway vpon the Sea-coaſt were found diuers Stones, ſome like vnto Gold in colour, other white and like Siluer. Alſo the *Tinguſſies* haue ſeene people about that great Riuer, called *Catowga*, riding on Horſes: and it is ſaid, that there is great ſtore of Corne, Beefes, Horſes, Sheepe, and Goates in this Countrey. The Riuer *Piſida*. The Riuer *Catowga*. Ships with two or three ſailes. Horſes about the Riuer *Catowga*.

The trauell from Pechora *to* Permia, Ougoria, *and to the Riuer* Ob, *and the Townes ſituated thereupon, ouer Land.*

FRom *Puſtozera* vp the Riuer *Pechora*, with a faire wind to the Riuer *Ouſe*, is fourteene dayes ſayling by Riuer. From *Ouſe* to *Podcamen*, ten dayes. From *Podcamen* to *Ob* eight dayes by Deere

Bereſeua. Deere in Winter time, aſſoone as the Snow is fallen and frozen. From thence to *Bereſeua* ſixteene dayes; which is a Towne of Trade, it is from *Puſtozera* to *Vade* in *Ougoria*, beeing on the Weſt ſide of *Ob*, a monethes journey or trauell by Deere. This *Vade* is a little Towne, hauing the Houſes thereof builded vnder the ground.

The Riuer of *Pechora*, runneth through great *Permia*; and the head thereof is fiue Weekes trauell from *Puſtozera*.

Verchie-towria. From Great *Permia*, is nine dayes trauell by Horſe and Sled to *Vercho-towria*. *Vercho* ſignifieth in the *Ruſſe* Tongue, The higher: as *Vercho-towria*, is *Towria* The higher. From thence by Riuer is ten dayes journey to *Tumen*. From *Tumen* to *Tobolſca*, ſixe dayes downe the Riuer *Irtiſh*. *Tobolſca* is the chiefeſt Citie in *Siberia*. From *Tobolſca* to *Surgout*, or *Sergalt*, is ſixe Weekes journey vp the Riuer *Ob*. From *Surgout* to the Citie *Tom*, ſeated among the *Tartars*, is three Weeks vp the Riuer *Ob*. The *Ruſſes* know no farther of the Riuer *Ob*; nor how farre it ſtretcheth to the Southward: But they ſuppoſe that it runneth much farther to the South, by reaſon there come ſo many ſeuerall Nations downe the ſaid Riuer to trade at *Surgout*, and *Tobolſca*: as namely, the people of *Bough ar*, the *Teſicks* or *Perſian* Merchants, and many ſorts of *Tartars*. *Abraham Michaelouich* was chiefe Cuſtomer at *Surgout*, 1611. And hee told me, that hee receiued for the Emperours Cuſtome for goods, bought and ſold that yeere, the ſumme of ſixteene thouſand Robles, or Markes.

Tumen. *Tobolſca.* *Surgout.* *Tom.*

Many Nations come downe the Riuer *Ob*, from the South to trade at *Surgout* and *Tobolſca*.

Moreouer, he told me, that the people of *Cathay* doe trade to *Surgout*, and people from diuers other Kingdomes, as from *Alteen Tzar*, or King *Alteen*, who among other things bring Plates of Siluer and ſell them. Another *Ruſſe* named *Philat*, who had trauelled farther among the *Tinguſſies*, then any other *Ruſſe*, and ſpeaketh their Language, told mee he had bought of a *Tinguſſie*, a Plate of Siluer weighing in *Ruſſe* Money fortie two Alteens, foure Dingoes, for twentie blue Glaſſe Beades.

The Country of King *Alteen*.

An Altine is ſix pence, a Dingo is a penie.

Bereſoua vpon the *Ob*, before you come neere *Tobolſca*, is a Towne of Trade for Furres, but eſpecially for Loſh-hides; which are bought for tenne Alteenes a piece. I was told by a *Permac*, that there was a *Ruſſe* which bought foure thouſand Elkes, or Loſh-hides, there for a fourth part of a Roble or Marke a piece.

To the Eaſtward of *Pechora* are ſtore of Hawkes, which I hold to bee as good as the *Turkie* Hawkes, namely, ſlight Falcons, Goſhawkes, and Ier-falcons, whereof ſome are as white as Snow, others ſpeckled White and Red. Likewiſe, there are all kinds of the richeſt Sables brought from *Molgomſey*, and blacke Foxes. There is alſo Chriſtall of the Mountayne. If we might haue libertie to trauell thoſe Countreyes, wee might haue theſe Commodities cheaper there then at *Pechora*. And within the *Ob* we might vent our Commodities at a better rate.

Hawkes as white as ſnow.

Commodities for Pechora, Siberia, Permia, Ougoria, *and among the* Tinguſſies.

Ruſſe Money. FIrſt, at *Pechora* readie Money, being *Ruſſe* Money, is the beſt and principalleſt both to put off other goods to profit, as alſo to get credit among the Merchants ſtrangers at our firſt comming thither, till Trade be ſetled and knowne through *Permia*, and *Siberia*. Salt, Rie, Meale, white *Danske* Rie Kil-dryed for heating in the ſhip, Oat-meale and Butter for the *Samoieds*; all ſorts of courſe Cloth, ſome fine Cloth, Copper, and Braſſe Kettles of the middle ſize, from two pound to thirtie, or thirtie fiue. But Braſſe not aboue fifteene pound with eares of Braſſe, all the Kettles and eares of one piece. Alſo Files to ſharpe Arrowes and other things, ſmall Horſe-bels, courſe Canuaſſe for vpper Gownes. Foure peny, ſixe peny, and ten peny Nayles: ſmall Anchors of foure and twentie pound a piece. Frankincenſe for their Churches and Houſes.

Commodities for the Tinguſſies.

A courſe *Hamborough* Cloth. PEwter, Pewter Sawcers, Little Platters, Flat Poringers, ſome grauen, ſome vngrauen. Neſts of Cups, ſome grauen, others vngrauen. Salt-ſellers. Plates, or ſheets of Latten being white. *Hamborough* Lichenaes, Blue, Red, and Tawny. But I think our courſe Northerne dozens, and courſe Kerſies Northerne dyed into thoſe colours, would vent as well and better then they: they being thicker walked. And the *Samoieds* delight altogether in thicke Cloth. Grey doozens of an eaſie price would vent well among the *Permacks*, which were much grey or mingled coloured courſe Cloth. And ſome courſe doozens died Yellow, or Northerne courſe Cloth Red and Yellow, would bee no bad Commoditie.

Aqua vita of two ſorts, the beſt and indifferent for the *Samoieds*. Glaſſe Beades, Skie coloured. Needles round and three ſquare. Braſſe Baſons, *Ruſſe* Linnen Cloth, or *Poliſh* Linnen Cloth. Hops, Mault, *Ruſſe* Sope. All ſorts of ſtrong Wines, as Sacke and *Canarie* Wine. Bacon is a good Commoditie in *Siberia*.

CHAP.

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CHAP. XII.

Later Obſeruations of WILLIAM GOVRDON, *in his Wintering at* Puſtozera, *in the yeares* 1614. *and* 1615. *with a Deſcription of the* Samoyeds *life.*

THE twentieth of Nouember, I departed from *Puſtozera*, to goe to *Tougorie*, at foure in the after-noone, and did ride moſt of the Night, before wee came to the Choome, going East South-east. The one and twentieth, *Mihiloe* returned to the Towne, and we remoued and went our Iourney, faire and little wind. The two and twentieth, little wind North, wee kept on our courſe East South-east, hauing gone from the Towne 50. miles, at night *Mihiloe* came to vs. The three and twentieth, little wind, we went on our Iourney, and at Noone paſſed ouer a little Riuer, called *Coy*, falling North into *Pechora*, 14. leagues below the Towne, and at Night came all the *Ruſſes* from the Towne, hauing gone 24. miles East South-east. Nouember. 1614. His Iourney within 30. leagues of *Ob*, and neere to *Berſoma*. The Riuer *Coys* falling into *Pechora*.

The foure and twentieth, wee remoued on our Iourney being very cold, and went not aboue ten miles East South-east, at Night wee broke one of our Sleds, which went laden with Victuals.

The fiue and twentieth, wee went forward very ſlowly, at Noone I receiued a Letter from Maſter *Copman* by *Foma Creticone*, this after-noone another had his Sled broken, we went 10. or 12. miles. The ſixe and twentieth, we continued on our Iourney, and at Eeuen we paſſed ouer a Riuer, called *Shapkina*, falling South into *Pechora*; halfe way betwixt *Puſtozer* and *Ouſt-zilma*, a Sled broken and mended out of hand, going East South-east 15. miles. The ſeuen and twentieth being Sunday, the wind at South-weſt, did blow very hard, and Snow all the day, the ſnow driuing that wee could hardly ſee which way to goe, yet we kept on East South-east 18. miles. The Riuer *Shapkina*, falling into *Pechora*.

The eight and twentieth, in the Morning, wee paſſed ouer *Nougorotka* Riuer, which falleth West South-weſt into *Shapkina* Riuer, ſixe dayes Iourney aboue *Ouſt-zilma*, the wind South-weſt, and Snow all day, wee kept on ſtill East South-east 15. miles. The nine and twentieth, the wind South, with Snow all day, being not cold, we went on East South-east 20. miles. The thirtieth, the wind East South-east, very cold in the after-noone, we paſſed ouer *Habeaga* Riuer, which falleth into *Pechora*, ſixe dayes Iourney aboue *Ouſt-zilma*, going 20. miles. The Riuer *Nougorotka*, falling into *Shapkina*. *Habeaga* Riuer, falling into *Pechora*.

The firſt of December, the wind East blowing very hard, the Snow did driue ſo hard, that we could not goe forward, but ſtood ſtill all day and did not remoue. The ſecond, calme and not ſo cold, wee went on East South-east 10. miles. The third, in the Morning it was very warme, at Noone the wind North, it was extreame cold, the Snow driuing very thicke, in the after-noone we paſſed ouer the Riuer *Haryena*, which falleth into *Coluoy* South-east, hauing gone East South-east 15. miles. December. The Riuer *Haryena*, falling into *Coluoy*.

The fourth day warme, we went East, at Eeuen we came to a Riuer called *Coluoy*, which falleth South into the Riuer *Ouſe*, where wee ſtayed all Night, hauing gone 20. miles. The fift, in the Morning we went on vpon the Riuer ſix or ſeuen miles East and by North, and came where it parted in two, the one keeping North-east, the other being called *Sandanets*; from the South-east wee went betwixt them both East and by South 12. miles, and tooke vp our lodging vpon a Playne where no Wood is to bee ſeene. The Riuer *Coluoy*, falling into *Ouſt*.

The ſixt, being Saint *Nicholas* day, which with the *Ruſſes* is held a principall day, in the morning they cauſed their Images to bee brought into the Choome, lighting Wax-candles before them, making their Prayers to them, according to their order; after which, I gaue them a bottle of *Aqua vita*, wherewith the Guides were drunke, that they could not guide their Deeres, but ſet me to direct the way by Compaſſe, which I did all the day, although I had but little skill, we went South-east and by East 20. miles. Saint *Nicholas* Bay.

The ſeuenth, being very faire weather, our Guides lay all the day with *Pohmeall*, and could not goe forward. The eight, faire and calme, we went forward South-east and by East 10. miles, and tooke vp our lodging by a ſmall Riuer which falleth into *Sandanets* Riuer. The ninth, very cold, that we had much adoe to keepe our ſelues from freezing, going on foot all the day ouer a playne where no Wood groweth, going South-east 15. miles, and lay by a Wood ſide all night. The tenth, the Froſt was ſo extreame, that wee lay ſtill and could not proceed. The eleuenth, being Sunday, the Froſt continued extreame, we remouing, there were few in the Companie that had not ſome part of their faces frozen, and my ſelfe, although I was ſomething better prouided then any of them, yet I had ſomething to doe to keepe my ſelfe from freezing, going on foot moſt part South-east and by East 15. miles. The twelfth, the Froſt was ſo extreame, that there was no looking forth, but lay ſtill all day. The thirteenth, not altogether ſo cold, wee proceeded on our Iourney 20. miles South-east & by East, and at night we paſſed ouer the Riuer *Hoſeda*, which falleth South-east into the Riuer *Azua*. The fourteenth, the winde South, with Snow and not ſo cold, we went thorow Woods 20. miles, East South-east. The fifteenth, the wind South, with A ſmall Riuer falling into *Sandanets*. Terrible Froſt. The Riuer *Hoſeda*, falling into *Azua*.

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The Riuer *Azua*, falling into *Ouſe*.

Snow, and not ſo cold, we went East South-east, at Noone wee paſſed ouer *Azua* Riuer, which falleth South into *Ouſe*, we continued ſtill East South-east 30. miles.

The Mountain *Yangoda*.

The ſixteenth, the wind South, in the Morning we ſet forth East South-east, ouer a high ridge or Mountayne, called *Yangoda*, and vpon the top of the ſame the wind ſhitling North, with Snow ſo thicke, that our Guides did not know well which way to goe, yet ſometimes backe and ſometimes forward, with much adoe we got ouer, in the Eeuening paſſing ouer the Riuer *Roganaya Menſha*, falling South into *Ouſe*, where we ſtayed all Night, hauing gone 20. miles.

The Riuer *Roganaya Menſha*, falling into *Ouſe*.

The ſeuenteenth, faire and warme, wee paſſed thorow Woods, where the Snow was very deepe, and came to a Playne, called *Correapin Tundra*, where a *Ruſſe* whoſe name was *Correapa* dyed; (and was buried, therefore they gaue that place that Name) ſome thirtie yeeres paſt, where we ſtayed all Night, hauing gone 15. miles South-east and by East. The eighteenth, in the Morning wee went on thorow Woods, the Snow being very deepe, and at Mid-night we came to the Riuer *Roganaya Bolſha*, where the *Ruſſes* had a Gorodocke, and bartering with the *Samoits*, hauing gone 30. miles East South-east, the Riuer falleth with turnings to the Southward into *Ouſe*; heere I ſtayed till the ſixth of Ianuary.

The Riuer *Roganaya Bolſha*, falling into *Ouſe*.

Altitude and Variation.

The thirtieth of December, I obſerued with my Aſtrolobia, and had the Sun 2. degrees aboue the Horizon. Latitude 65. degrees and 48. minuts, the variation of the Compaſſe being 20. degrees.

Ianuarie. Returne.

The ſixth of Ianuary, at three in the after-noone, wee departed from the Gorodocke, the wind South South-weſt blowing very hard, going North-weſt 30. miles, and at mid-night came to the Choome. The ſeuenteenth, the wind South South-weſt, blowing very hard, the Snow driuing ſo thicke, that we could not goe ouer the Mountayne, called *Yangoda*, but ſtayed by a Wood ſide, hauing gone Weſt North-weſt 15. miles. The eight, in the Morning wee paſſed ouer the Riuer, called *Roganaya Menſha*, and at Noone ouer the *Yangoda*, keeping backe our way 30. miles Weſt North-weſt, faire and warme. The ninth, little wind North but ſharpe, we went on North-weſt and by Weſt, at Noone we paſſed ouer *Azua* Riuer, and in the after-noone came to a Herd of wilde Deere, the *Samoits* killed three, giuing me a haunch; going in all 30. miles.

Wilde Deere.

The tenth, calme and very cold, we went on 20. miles, Weſt North-weſt. The eleuenth, little wind South-east; at Noone we paſſed ouer *Hoſeda* Riuer, which falleth South-east into *Azua*, we went 30. miles North-weſt & by Weſt. The twelfth, the wind South and cold, we went Weſt and by South, ouer many Creeks & Ponds 25. miles. The thirteenth, this day the wind South and not cold, we went Weſt & by South 30. miles, thorow many woods and plaines. The fourteenth, faire and warme, at Noone we paſſed ouer *Sandaets* Riuer, which falleth South-weſt into *Colmoy*, we went Weſt and by North 30. miles.

The fifteenth, being Sunday, we went Weſt North-weſt ouer a broad playne, with many great Ponds, at Night we paſſed ouer *Colmoy* Riuer, going South into the Riuer *Ouſe*, which falleth into *Pechora*, nine dayes journey from *Ouſt-zilma*, we went 30. miles, hauing moſt of our Deere tyed, the Snow was ſo deepe. The ſixteenth, little wind, we went on Weſt North-weſt, at noone we paſſed ouer *Haryena* Riuer, which falleth South-east into *Colmoy*, going 20. miles. The ſeuenteenth, the wind South, blowing very hard, the Snow driuing, wee went Weſt North-weſt 25. miles, at Night we tooke vp our lodging vpon the Riuer *Habcaga*, which falleth into *Pechora*, ſixe dayes journey from *Ouſt-zilma*.

The eighteenth, we went on Weſt North-weſt 10. miles, where the Towneſmen ouer-tooke vs, riding poſt to the Towne, where making our ſelues ready, wee followed, the ſame Eeuening we paſſed ouer *Nougerotka* Riuer, which falleth Weſt South-weſt into *Shapkina* Riuer, which falleth South-weſt into *Pechora*, halfe way betwixt *Puſtozer* and *Ouſt-zilma*, and in the Morning we paſſed ouer *Coy* Riuer, which falleth into *Pechora* 14. leagues Northward from *Puſtozer*; and the ſame day, being the nineteenth day in the after-noone, wee came to the Towne, hauing rid aboue 150. miles without reſt. The laſt of Aprill, 1615. being Sunday, was the firſt appearing of the water, increaſing at *Puſtozera*. The ſeuenth of May, *Euan Croticone*, had almoſt ſlaine with a knife his two Vncles, *Foma Croticone*, and *Eraſmi Croticone*.

Aprill. Riuer increaſing. May.

The eighteenth, the water was at the higheſt, being ſo extreame that many were forced out of their Houſes, and we our ſelues in like manner, hauing the water a foot deepe in our bed Chamber. The twentieth, the water did a little begin to fall, and ſo continued falling by degrees.

Ouſt-zilma.

The ninth of Iune, my ſeruant *Marmaduke Wilſon* came from *Ouſt-zilma*, hauing Wintered there, to buy and ſell goods, bringing with him ſuch Commodities as the place doth affoord, as Sables, Roſomacks, Wolues, Ermins, Squirrils, &c.

The fifteenth, we laded three ſmall Lodias with goods, to carrie downe to the *Glouboka*. The three and twentieth, I departed from *Puſtozer*, and came to the *Glouboka* the fiue and twentieth, with two ſmall Lodias laden with goods. The eight and twentieth of Iune, I obſerued at the *Glouboka*, which I found to lye in the height of 67. degrees 55. minutes, and the Compaſſe varyed 18. degrees. The laſt of Iune, I went from the *Glouboka* to paſſe ouer the *Drie Sea*, the wind at South, but the wind comming to the North, I returned backe the next day. The ſecond of Iuly, being Sunday, the wind at South South-east, I departed the ſecond time, to come to the *Zauorot*, but comming neere *Dolgoy*, an Iland lying in the *Drie Sea*, the Ice lay ſo firme, that we could not paſſe but returned backe to the *Glouboka*.

Glouboka is 67. degrees 55. minutes.

The

The fourth of Iuly, *Iohn Copman* came to the *Glouboka*, bringing with him all our goods for sayle, hauing payed all Customes and duties for the same. The sixth of the same, I departed the third time from the *Glouboka*, the wind at South, but did not continue, but came to the East, and East North-east, so rowing alongst the shoare, wee passed to the West side betwixt the shoalds and the shoare, and hauing passed the Wester Iland, called *Lonetskoy*, we came to the *Zackharreuceborgge* or Coast, which doth lye South-west and North-east, and put into a small Riuer, where we stayed (the seuenth) all night, and the next day with Sayle and Oares, wee came to a Bay to the South of *Casnots* Nose, where we stayed all night, the wind East South-east. Iuly.

The eight, in the Morning we passed by *Cuenetsf*-Nose amongst the Ice, hauing much adoe to get cleare, the wind at North North-west, and at Night we came to the *Zauorot*, where were fiue and twentie sayle of small Lodias, some going for *Mungazea*, other for Fish, and some going to *Pustozer*, who told me they had beene aboord our Ship at Sea. The ninth, this day being Sunday, our Ship came quer the Barre, where I was receiued, not looked for. The eleuenth, at Night we departed from the ship, and went to get downe our goods from the *Glouboka* and the Towne.

The sixteenth, I departed from the *Glouboka*, with three small Lodias laden with goods, but the wind at East North-east, two of them returned backe, but I kept on and came aboord our Ship the eighteenth in the morning. The twentieth, the other two came with the goods aboord, and the one and twentieth, we returned to the *Glouboka* with three Boates, and got thither that night. The three and twentieth, I came the second time from the *Glouboka*, with three Boates with goods, and the next morning came to our Ship, where I remayned, sending vp all the Boats the sixe and twentieth of Iuly.

The eight of August, came *Iohn Copman* with *Thomas Dogget*, bringing two Boats laden with goods, fitting to set sayle for *Holland*, but did not depart till the 21. of August. And the three and twentieth of September, (giuing heartie thankes to God) we arriued at *Dort* in *Holland*.

NOw for the manner of the *Samoits* in their Iourney, their vpper Coat is called a *Parka*, which is for the most part of Deere-skin, and some of white Foxe or Woluerin, which they weare the hayre or furre outward, vnder that they haue another Coat, which is called a *Malkek*, made of young Fawne-skins, or Hare-skins, or Swan-skins, very soft and well dressed, a Cap of Beuer, double and close to their heads, with two flaps for their Eares, tyed vnder their Chin, a payre of Breeches of Deere-skin with the hayre inwards, vpon their Feete they haue sockes or stockins of Deere-skin, the hayre to their skin, vpon that long Bootes which they call *Pemyes*, made of the legges of Deere-skins, thus apparelled, they sit vpon their Sleds crosse-legged, with a Deere-skin vnder them. Two Deere being yoaked to a Sled, they will runne with such swiftnesse, and so long to continue, as is not to be beleeued, except to those that haue seene the same. For riding post, they will ride without rest or sleepe, two hundred miles in foure and twentie houres; but with their Argish or stuffe, thirtie miles in twelue houres; their Women vsually doe guide their Argish, which is ten Sleds, and to euery Sled a Bucke, all made fast one after another, the Men in the way doe prouide Wood for firing, and doe hunt for all manner of Beasts & Fowle, which the women dresse. It is the Womans labour to set vp the Choome or Tent, making one place therein alwayes Holy, which the woman must not set her foot into, neither goe about the Tent round; which if they chance to doe, they will presently remoue all, for feare of the Wolfe or Beare, which they say, would deuoure them if they did not remoue.

Apparell of Samoyeds. Sleds. Deere swiftnesse. Women. Tent and Chappell. Superstition.

Their Tent or Choome, is made in this manner; first, they set vp long Firre-poles, then they haue sixe quarters double of Deere-skin, which being set vp, they throw Snow round about the edges a yard thicknesse, leauing the top open for to vent smoake, making a Fire in the middle, spreading Deere-skins, vpon which they lye, in which manner, it is altogether as warme as the Stoues in *Russia*, they haue no Townes, neither any certaine place of abode, but with their Deere they trauell from place to place, where they finde the best Mosse for their Deere.

No Townes.

Their Wiues they buy for Deere, and will haue if hee haue abilitie foure or fiue Wiues, with whom he lyeth by turn euery night seueral; he is the richest man that hath most Deere or Daughters, selling them to any that will giue most for them. In their Marriages hauing agreed of price, they vse not great Ceremonies; onely they make a Feast to their friends, after which the Woman is brought to the Man that hath bought her, shee being hung with many Iron Rings and Brazen Bels, all departing out of the Tent saue they two till the next Morning, and then he departeth; but if he bee one of wealth, they will continue their Feast seuen dayes. It falleth out many times, that after they haue had their Wiues halfe a yeere or a yeere, they will turne them backe to their Friends, taking their Deeres againe, paying for the charge of the Feast, which is alwayes to bee made at her Fathers charge, and losing the increase of his Deere.

Marrie Wiues, bought and sold. Marriages. Rings and Bels. Diuorce.

They haue not knowledge of the true God, but worship Blocks and Images of the Deuill, vnto which, they will strangle tame Deere, rubbing the bloud on the Idols, and eating the meate themselues.

Religion.

When a Rich man dyeth, because hee should not trauell on foot, his friends will kill three Deere to draw him in the new World, and they will strangle a Slaue to tend on him. The Deere

Funerals.

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they kill in this manner to ſerue the dead man, they make a Stake ſharpe, which they thruſt into the Beaſts fundament, with many howlings and cryings, till they be dead. The Maſter with the Slaue they burie, the Deere they eate as well raw, as boyled or roaſt, although they vſe all. three

Their yeere but halfe a yeere. If a young Child dye vnder foureteene of their yeeres, which is ſeuen of ours, they doe hang it by the necke on ſome Tree, ſaying, it muſt flie to Heauen.

Iudgement or Oath. If any Controuerſie bee, which cannot bee decided or the truth knowne, then one of the two betwixt whom the Controuerſie is, muſt bee ſworne, which is in this manner; they will make an Image of a Man of Snow, bringing a Wolues noſe, deliuering a Sword to him that muſt ſweare, he rehearſing by name all his Friends, deſiring that they might all bee cut in peeces in that manner, as hee doth cut that Image of Snow. Then he himſelfe, doth cut the Image of Snow all to peeces with the Sword; then after, the Wolues noſe being layd before him, he deſires that the Wolfe may deſtroy all his tame Deere, and that hee may neuer more take or kill any wilde Deere after that, if hee ſpeake not the Truth, ſo cutting the Wolues noſe in peeces, there is no more to bee ſayd of that Controuerſie.

Their perſons. The *Samoit* is ſtout and bold of Spirit, not very tall but broad Breſted, broad Faces, with hollow Eyes. Their ordinary inſtruments for Warre, are Bowes and Arrowes, very dangerous, they haue long Speares, (the heads bee made in *Monganzey*, by another ſort of *Samoits*) and ſhort Swords, not much vnlike ſome that I haue ſeene brought from East *India*.

Diuination. When they would know any thing to come, they ſend for their Prieſt or Witch to conuerſe with the Deuill, ſitting in one ſide of the Tent, hauing before his face a peece of an old ſhirt of Mayle, hung with Bels and peeces of Braſſe, in his right hand a great Tabor made with a Wolues skinne, beating vpon the ſame with a Hares foot, making a very dolefull ſound, with ſinging and calling for the Deuill, to anſwer his demand, which being ended, they ſtrangle a Deere for a Sacrifice, making merrie with the Fleſh.

Womens hardineſſe. The Women be very hard of Nature; for at their Child-bearing, the Husband muſt play the Midwife, and being deliuered, the Child is waſhed with cold water or Snow, and the next day the Woman able to conduct her Argiſh.

The *Ruſſes* haue a yeerely Trade with the Merchants of *Boghar*, at a place called *Tumen* in *Tartarie*, whither they of *Boghar* come with Camels euery yeere.

From *Tumen* in *Tobal* in *Siberia*, they come in foureteene dayes.

From *Tobal*, they come to *Bereſowa* in nine dayes, all downe the Riuer *Ob*.

From *Bereſowa*, partly by the Riuer *Ob*, then ouer a necke of Land of halfe a mile ouer, into the Riuer *Ouſe*, and downe the Riuer *Ouſe* into the Riuer *Pechora*, and ſo to *Puſtozera* in three weekes. At *Puſtozera*, the *Engliſh* haue Wintered three yeeres.

CHAP. XIII.

Diuers Voyages to Cherie *Iland, in the yeeres* 1604. 1605. 1606. 1608. 1609. *Written by* IONAS POOLE.

* This was Maſter *Bennets* ſecond Voyage thither. His firſt Voyage thither *A.* 1603. I haue added at the end of this Chapter, after *Pooles* Relations: this being ſet before I ſaw that.

WE ſet ſayle * from *London* the fifteenth of Aprill 1604. in a Ship called the *God Speed*, of ſixtie Tunnes, with thirteene Men and a Boy; our Merchant was one Maſter *Thomas Welden*, our Maſter was one *Steuen Bennit* of Saint *Catherins*. We arriued at *Cola* in *Lapland*, the firſt of May, where wee tarried till the laſt of the ſame Moneth, at which time wee ſet ſayle from *Cola*, and went to an Harbour called *Pechingo*, which lyeth betweene *Cola* and *Ward-houſe*. In which Harbour of *Pechingo*, we continued vntill the thirtieth of Iune. At which time wee ſet ſayle from thence, and through contrarie windes and foule weather, were put into *Ward-houſe*, where we tooke in freſh water, and ſtayed vntill the ſixth of Iuly.

The ſame day, the wind came Southerly, and we ſteered away Northweſt and by North about 56. leagues, wee obſerued the Sunne at twelue of the clocke at Noone, and found our ſelues to be in 73. degrees 5. minutes of Northerly Latitude. The ſeuenth of Iuly, it was all day calme, and wee ſounded, but had no ground in two hundred and fiftie fathoms. The eight day, we had little winde, which was at South-eaſt, and foggie weather; and at eight of the clocke at Night, wee ſaw great flockes of Sea-fowles, which we call Willockes: ſome of theſe Fowles had each of them a ſmall Fiſh in their bills, and flew toward the North-weſt and by North. The other without Fiſh, ſome of them flew contrarie to the former, and ſome ſate in the Sea very neere our Ship.

About twelue of the clocke at night we ſounded, and had ground at one hundred and twentie fathomes. We ſteered away North-weſt and by North, till foure of the clocke the eight day in the morning, then it fell calme: and as the ſhip lay ſtill, our Maſter ſpied a Morſſe, which came to our ſhip and ſwamme round about it. While we were all gazing at this Monſter, I ſpied

A Morſe.

the

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the Iland ten leagues off, bearing North North-west halfe a point Westerly, which shewed very high Land, and much Snow vpon it. The wind came to the North-east. The ninth day, wee came to an Anchor on the South South-east side, in fiue and twentie fathomes streamie ground. We hoysed out our Boate, and Master *Welden* went toward the Land: but thinking to haue landed he could not, because there went a great Sea, and great store of Ice all along the shoares side. Within one houre the Boate came aboard, and they said, there were so many Fowles, that they couered the Rockes, and flew in such great flockes, that they shewed like a Cloud. While thus they were talking close by the Boate, rose vp an huge Morse, putting his head aboue the water, looking earnestly at the Boate, and made such an horrible noyse and roaring, that they in the Boate thought he would haue sunke it.

Cherie Iland described.

Store of fowles.

Morses roaring

The same day, at eight of the clocke at night, we weighed and stood away South-west and by South about foure miles, where wee doubled the Southermost point of the Iland, and found the Land to trend North North-west, and all along the shoare some scattering Ice. We sayled along the shoare, finding seuenteene, eighteene, and sometimes twentie fathomes, streamie ground with white shels. We held this course till wee saw all the Northermost part of the Iland: and being within three miles of it, and about thirteene miles from the Point, wee came round about it. And some two miles from the Land, we anchored in sixteene fathomes, streamie ground. We had not ridden one houre to an end, but a great piece of Ice came directly with the tyde vpon vs; and before wee could weigh, it strooke the ship with such force, that it hilded on the one side. Assoone as it was past, we went on shoare, where wee found abundance of Sea Fowles, as Willocks, Gulles, Noddies, Sea-mewes, a small Fowle like a Willocke, and diuers others, as wilde Geese, Sea-pidgeons, Oxbirds, and such like: whereof Master *Thomas Welden* killed so many with his Peece, that we almost laded our Boate with them. The same night we shot three heaps of fishing-lines, but when we haled them, wee found neither fish nor bayte; for the Seales had eaten them all off.

Abundance of Sea-fowles found on shoare.

The ninth day, Master *Welden* and our Master went on shoare, to see what they could finde. They went in the fore-noone about eight of the clocke, and came againe about foure in the after-noone very weary, seeing nothing but small Foxes, almost like Dogges in euery respect, saue their smell and their tayles. In the meane time, the Masters Mate and my selfe obserued the Sunne, and found that part of the Iland to be in 74. degrees and 45. minutes.

Small Foxes.

74. degrees, 45. minutes.

The tenth day we weighed, hauing the wind Southerly, and found the Land to trend away East South-east. The length of this side is about ten miles, good ground. We had not sailed past sixe miles, but we saw a sandie Bay, against which we came to an Anchor in nine fathomes. We had not furled our Sayles, but we saw many Morses swimming by our ship, and heard withall so huge a noyse of roaring, as if there had beene an hundred Lions. Immediately wee manned our Boate, wherein was Master *Welden* and sixe men more: we landed, and saw abundance of Morses on the shoare, close by the Sea-side; and drawing neere vnto them, wee perceiued that they were all of the same company, which wee had seene before. It seemed very strange to vs to see such a multitude of Monsters of the Sea, lye like Hogges vpon heapes: In the end wee shot at them, not knowing whither they could runne swiftly or seize vpon vs or no. To be briefe, wee had but three Peeces, Master *Welden* a Fowling Peece, my selfe a Musket, and another a Musket. Their Peeces were spoyled instantly. For Master *Weldens* was cloyed, the other man when hee had shot one by himselfe, thought to knocke him on the head with the stock, but split his Peece. I shot still, and some when they were wounded in the flesh, would but looke vp and lye downe againe. Some were killed with the first shot; and some would goe into the Sea with fiue or sixe shot: they are of such an incredible strength. When all our Powder and shot was spent, wee would blow their eyes out with a little Pease shot, and then come on the blind side of them, and with our Carpenters Axe cleaue their heads. But for all that we could doe, of aboue a thousand we killed but fifteene. We tooke off their heads, and when we had done, we went straggling vp and downe to see what we could find. I found the first Tooth that was cast vpon the Iland, and going a little farther alone, I found as many Teeth more, as I and three men more could carrie, which filled an Hogshead: all which we did deliuer to Master *Welden*.

Note.

They kill the Morses.

The Morses Teeth.

The next day following, being the eleuenth day, we went on shoare againe, and killed about sixe more: And afterward wee went vp into the Land, and saw nothing but Fowle and Foxes. I perceiued in deed a great print of a Beares foote; and after that many other footings, but yet saw no Beare or other wild beast.

The twelfth, wee weighed from thence, and stood to the Eastward: wee had not gone past foure miles, but we found the Land to fall away South-east and by South. The length of this side is about twelue miles. All this side we went close by the shoare with our Boate, and the ship sayled along about three miles off. We went oftentimes on shoare, but could see nothing on all that side but Fowle, and abundance of Drift Wood, the most part whereof was Firres, which haue beene beaten vp and downe the Sea. This day being Sunday, about eight of the clocke at night, we anchored within two miles of the place where we arriued at the first. The same night wee went on shoare, and in a Bay vnder an huge Cliffe of a Rocke, vpon the Beach, wee found

Abundance of Drift Wood.

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A thousand Morses found.

neere a thousand Morses: wee killed thirtie or thereabouts, and when wee had taken off their heads, we went aboord.

The thirteenth, wee went on shoare againe, and with our Pieces fell a killing of the beasts. One of our company, named *Richard Lang-castle* split his Piece, and with all his hand: but Master *Welden* with Salues of his owne, healed it so skilfully, that he hath the vse of it againe. We killed that day sixtie Morses, all the heads whereof were very principall. When we had done, wee went about a mile to the Eastward, to see what wee could finde: And landing at a Bay where Master *Bennit* had beene the yeere before, and found a piece of Lead Vre, wee looked for the same, but found none. The same day returning aboord, wee set sayle for *Pechingo* in *Lapland*, where wee arriued the fiue and twentieth of Iuly; and stayed there foure dayes: at which time we set sayle for *Cola*, and arriued there the eight of August, where wee continued till the sixteenth day, at which time we departed thence for *England*, and arriued in the *Thames* the fifteenth of October, of the yeere aforesaid 1604.

1603. Lead Vre was found.

Pechingo.

Cola.

Why the Iland was called *Cherie* Iland.

When wee came to *London*, because Sir *Francis Cherie* Knight and Merchant was at the charges of this Discouerie, this Iland was called *Cherie* Iland.

The third Voyage to Cherie *Iland, performed by Master* WELDEN *Merchant, and* STEPHEN BENNET *Master, in the yeere* 1605.

IN the yeere aboue said, wee set sayle from *London*, the first of May, with one ship of sixtie tunnes, and two and twentie men and boyes. The three and twentieth of the said moneth, we were taken by a ship of *Dunkirke*. They tooke from vs two Hogsheads of strong Beere, our Muskets, a Fowling Peece of Master *Weldens*, which cost three pounds sterling. After the Captayne had misused vs at his pleasure, though we were in peace with his Countrey, he let vs goe.

Assumption.

The eight and twentieth of Iune, we put off from *Assumption Point*, which is a place not farre from the North Cape, and about 70. degrees in latitude, but by contrarie winds wee were put backe againe. Yet the second of Iuly, we came to *Cherie* Iland, and anchored on the South-east side: and hauing a Shallop in pieces to set vp, we carried it on shoare, and went to worke vpon it; and the third day after we had it on flote. The sixth day we entred into a Coue, hauing all our men on shoare with shot and iauelings, and slue abundance of Morses. The yeere before we slue all with shot, not thinking that a iaueling could pierce their skinnes: which we found now contrarie, if they be well handled, for otherwise, a man may thrust with all his force and not enter: or if he doe enter, he shall spoyle his Lance vpon their bones; for they will strike with their fore-feet, and bend a Lance round, and breake it, if it bee not all the better plated. They will also strike with their Teeth at him that is next them: but because their Teeth grow downward, their strokes are of small force and danger. After we had opened the beasts which we had slaine, we tooke out the blubber, and carried it a mile into the Bay, where wee set vp the shallop. The reason why we carried it thither, was, because we thought that the fire of our Furnace would scare them away: for wee did boyle all their fat to bring it into Oyle. Thus wee followed our business till the foure and twentieth of Iuly, at which time wee had very foule weather with fogs. Now the ship riding in the same Coue, where we killed our Morses, had taken in eleuen tunnes of Oile, and the teeth of all the beasts aforesaid. Then we made preparation to be gone home: and I was sent with our shallop, and eight men with me to fetch our Tent, and our boyling Coppers, our mens Clothes and some Teeth. At my returne, when I was almost aboord, comming through a place betweene the Iland and a Rocke, which of necessitie we must needs passe, the tyde being against vs, and a stiffe gale of winde blowing out of the Sea, made the Sea flye very high vpon the Rockes, whereby we had like to haue beene sunke: for our Boat was almost full of water; and if wee had not speedily rowed backe againe, wee had dyed each man of vs. To make short, we got into a Coue, where the Rockes did keepe the growne Seas from vs, & we lighted our Boat. In this Coue I found a Myne of Lead Vre, and digged vp about thirtie pounds weight of it, which I brought into *England*. And calling to mind that wee were in sight of our ship, when we shipped the water which I spake of before, I mistrusted that they thought, as they did indeed, that we were all drowned. Therefore I demanded who would goe with me, to the top of a Cliffe which stood ouer against the ship? And one *Iohn Ienings* said, that he would goe: he had not gone halfe way, but hee would goe no farther because it was so cold, and the Hill stood sloping very steepe toward the Sea, and all the side of it was loose Earth, which we must needs passe. Then I went forward all alone, and found all our men on shoare, saue an old man, and a sicke man. But the Cliffe being so high and steep, that they vnder it could scarce vnderstand what I said, nor I what they said, but with much adoe: They demanded, as I tooke it, if all our men were wel: I told them yea, as loud as I could: And then I threw downe a piece of the lead Vre which I had found, which M. *Welden* took vp: And when I was going away I heard

Many Morses killed with shot and Iauelings.

The fight of the Morse.

Oyle made of the fat of the Morses

Eleuen tuns of Oyle.

A Myne of Lead.

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I heard them ſhout, and looking behind me, I ſaw them all point toward the Skiffe that lay at anchor hard by the ſhoare; whereby I perceiued that the rope was broken, which made it faſt to the ſhoare, and the Skiffe was gone off to the length of her rope, ſo that they could not go aboord except one of them did ſwim to the Skiffe, which was exceeding dangerous, both becauſe it was extreame cold, and alſo for feare of being killed by the Morſes, that were in the Sea all about the Boat. Whereupon with all ſpeed poſſible I ranne to helpe our men in that diſtreſſe; and comming to the Shallop, ſome were willing, and ſome vnwilling: But I ſaid that out I would; and taking nothing aboord with me but a few teeth, wee got out: and in the place where we had like to haue beene ſunke before, wee had a great hollow Sea: but our Boat being light, and the tyde with vs, wee got through: whereat M. *Welden*, and *Steuen Bennet* our Maſter, with all the company were not a little ioyfull, and gaue God humble thankes, that had of his great mercy defended vs from a great many of dangers that day. For that day wee ſaw abundance of yce driuing toward the Iland, but the winde and tyde ſhifting, put it another way. Likewiſe two boyes had like to haue beene ſlaine with the fall of a rocke, which fell cloſe by them, they being but newly ſtepped out of the place where the rocke fell.

Extreame cold the 25. of Iuly.

Abundance of driuing Ice.

In the time that we were in this diſtreſſe, I called the Mountaine by the name of *Mount-miſerie*, which is ſo called at this day. Likewiſe there is a very high Mountaine on the Eaſt South-eaſt point of this Iland: which, becauſe Maſter *Welden* and I got two Foxes neere it, I called it *Mount maleperdus*, alluding to the name in the merrie booke of *Reinold* the Fox.

Mount Miſery.

The ſixe and twentieth of Iulie, wee got out of the Coue with the Ship, hauing ſuch a fogge, that although wee ridde ſo neere the land, that we could heare the fowle that were on ſhoare, yet wee could not ſee the land. This fogge continued vntill the eight and twentieth of Iuly: on which day hauing cleerer weather, wee got our water and other prouiſion aboord; and ſet ſayle for *England*, and paſſing by the coaſt of *Finmarke* and *Norway*, we arriued at *London* the foure and twentieth of *Auguſt*. 1605.

A monſtrous fogge.

The fourth Voyage to Chery Iland, 1606.

WE ſet ſayle from *London* in a Ship and a Pinnaſſe; the Ship being of burden ſixtie Tuns, and the ſame that I was in the Summer before; Maſter *Thomas Welden* was Merchant, and Maſter *Bennet* Maſter, hauing in all two and twentie men and boyes. The Pinnaſſe was of twentie Tunnes, and had eight men in her, and I *Ionas Pool* was Maſter of her: we were ſet out by Maſter *Ruſſell*, one of the *Moſcouie* Company.

Auguſt. 24. A Ship and Pinnaſſe ſet forth.

The eight and twentieth, wee had ſight of land on the coaſt of *Norway*, in the latitude of ſixtie degrees and a halfe; nine leagues off.

The ſixteenth of Iune, we fell with the *Aſſumption*, it bearing South and by Weſt eight leagues off: and we lay beating betweene the North Cape and it, till the eighteenth of Iune: At what time wee put off, and ſteered away North North-weſt about fiftie fiue leagues, and found much Ice: wee thought to haue gotten through it, but could not: and when wee had ſpent twelue houres in it, and hauing the wind Northerly, we put backe againe. The two and twentieth, we fell with the North Cape againe, at twelue of the clock at noone. The foure and twentieth, we put off againe, and being fiue and fortie leagues from the Cape, wee met with Ice, and vpon a piece of Ice we ſaw a Beare. The Ship being on head of vs, bare cloſe to the Ice; and Maſter *Welden* ſhot the ſaid Beare dead at the firſt ſhot. This Beare was from the neereſt land aboue ſeuen and twentie leagues, and liued of Seales or other fiſh that he could prey vpon.

The *Aſſumption*.

Much Ice 55. leagues from the North Cape.

Ice within 45. leagues of the North Cape.

A Beare on Ice 27. leagues from any land.

The ſecond of Iuly, we ſaw *Cherie* Iland at a North ſound: the land bearing North and by Weſt about ten leagues off. The ſame time we ſounded and had ground at ſeuentie fiue fathoms, white ſmall ſhelly ground with ſmall blacke ſtones.

Iuly 2.

The third of Iuly wee anchored on the Weſt ſide of the Iland in twentie fathoms, hauing verie much Ice. I obſerued the Sunne at the loweſt, and found the latitude of that place to bee in 74. degrees, 55. minutes. It followeth there South-weſt and by South; and the floud commeth from the South-weſt.

Part of *Cherie* Iland in 74. degrees, and 55. minutes.

The floud commeth from the South-weſt.

The fifth and ſixth dayes, we were troubled with much Ice; but it being broken, we brought the ends of our Cables to our maine Maſts; and hauing a good tyde, we did ſheere, as wee tearme it, cleere off the Ice. We ridde thus in Ice ſixe dayes, to wit, vntill the thirteenth day; at what time the Ice began to goe way, and the Morſes came on ſhoare. For their nature is ſuch, that they will not come on land as long as any Ice is about the land.

The thirteenth of Iuly.

The nature of the Morſes.

The fourteenth, we went on land; Maſter *Welden*, and Maſter *Bennet*, with the Ships company, and I with the company of the Pinnaſſe. And being altogether on ſhoare, and ſeeing of the beaſts ſufficient to make our voyage, wee prepared to goe to killing. Maſter *Welden* and Maſter *Bennet* appointed mee to take eleuen men with mee, and to goe beyond the beaſts where they lay; that they and wee might meet at the middeſt of them, and ſo incloſe them, that none of them ſhould get into the Sea.

As

A great white Beare.

As I fetched a compaſſe about, before we were aware, roſe a great white Beare within a Pikes length of vs: whereupon we made a ſtand, and my ſelfe hauing both a Musket and a Lance, thought to haue ſhot him: but remembring my ſelfe, that the report of my Peece might make all the Morſes goe into the Sea, and ſo hazard our Voyage, I went to him with my Lance. All this while he ſate foming at the mouth, and would not ſtirre, but gaped and roared as though he would haue eaten vs all: but preſently wee pricked him in the ſnout; and then with an eaſie pace we proceeded on with our buſineſſe; and before ſix houres were ended, we had ſlayne about ſeuen or eight hundred Beaſts. And after that Maſter *Welden* ſlue the Beare. For ten dayes ſpace we plyed our buſineſſe very hard, and brought it almoſt to an end.

Seuen or eight hundred beaſts ſlayne in ſixe houres.

A great Froſt the 24. of Iuly.

The foure and twentieth of Iuly, wee had the winde at North-eaſt: and it freezed ſo hard, that the Ice did hang on our Clothes.

The ſixe and twentieth, we had taken in two and twentie tuns of the Oyle of the Morſes, and three hogſheads of their Teeth.

The ſeuen and twentieth, Maſter *Welden* ſlue another Beare.

The eight and twentieth, we tooke in Water and Wood.

The nine and twentieth, we ſet ſayle for *England*.

The fifteenth of Auguſt, 1606. we arriued in the *Thames*.

The ſixth Voyage made to Cherie *Iland, the South part whereof ſtandeth in 74. degrees and 40. minutes of Northerly latitude, in the yeere* 1608.

THe ſixteenth of Aprill, in the yeere 1608. we ſet ſayle from *Blacke wall*, and came to *Grauſ-end* in a ſhip called the *Paul*.

May 21. *Ward-houſe. Tipany.*

The one and twentieth of May, we were within 4. leagues of the North Cape, ſtanding in 71. degrees and ⅔ of North latitude. The foure and twentieth, wee came to *Ward-houſe*. The fiue and twentieth, we weighed, and came to *Tipany* in *Lapland* the ſixe and twentieth: where we ſtayed about our buſineſſe till the thirteenth of Iune.

Iune 13. *Cherie* Iland.

The thirteenth of Iune aforeſaid, wee weighed anchor, and directed our courſe for *Cherie* Iland. The eighteenth, at foure of the clocke in the morning wee ſaw *Cherie* Iland, it bearing North North-weſt 10. leagues off: and at foure of the clocke at night wee anchored on the North-weſt ſide of it: and Maſter *Welden* went on Land on the North ſide, and ſlue a Beare.

A Beare ſlaine.

Another Beare ſlayne.

The nineteenth, we rid ſtill, and Maſter *Welden* went to the North ſide againe, and ſlue another Beare. The ſame day we ſent two men to the South ſide of the Iand, to ſee if there were any Morſes on ſhoare. They came againe the next day, and ſaid, that there were great ſtore.

Great heate the 20. and 21. of Iune.

The twentieth and one and twentieth dayes it was calme, and the weather cleere, and wee had it as hot as I haue commonly felt in *England* at that time of the yeere. For the Pitch did runne downe the ſhips ſides; and that ſide of the Maſts that was to the Sunne ward, was ſo hot, that the Tarre did frye out of it, as though it had boyled.

1000. Morſes killed in ſeuen houres.

The two and twentieth, at a North-eaſt Sun, we weighed and went to the South ſide of the Iland, and came into a Coue, where the Morſes were, and ſlue about 900. or 1000. of them in leſſe then ſeuen houres: and there wee plyed our buſineſſe vntill the ſecond of Iuly: at what time we had taken into our ſhip 22. tunnes and three hogſheads of Oyle.

Iuly 3. A Voyage ſet out by Maſter *Duppa* to *Cherie* Iland, 1607.

The third of Iuly, being Sunday, one *Richard Steuens* of *Harewich* came to the ſaid *Cherie* Iland, in a ſhip called the *Dragon*, being ſet out by Maſter *Duppa*, a Brewer dwelling in Saint *Catharines* neere the Tower of *London*; which ſet out a ſhip with Maſter *Thomas Welden* the yeere before 1607.

A liuing Morſe brought into *England*.

The ninth day, we made our Voyage, and came out of the Coue, hauing taken in 31. tunnes of Oyle, and one hogſhead, one barrell, and one terce of Morſes teeth: beſides 400. other teeth.

The twelfth, we tooke into our ſhip two young Morſes, male and female, aliue: the female died before we came into *England*: the male liued aboue ten weekes. When wee had watered, we ſet ſayle for *England* about foure of the clocke in the morning.

The fourteenth day, we ſaw the Iland bearing North North-weſt, 15. leagues off vs, and ſounded, and had 85. fathoms, greene Oze, like Doues dung.

The twentieth of Auguſt, wee arriued at *London*; and hauing diſpatched ſome priuate buſineſſe, we brought our liuing young Morſe to the Court, where the King and many honourable perſonages beheld it with admiration for the ſtrangeneſſe of the ſame, the like whereof had neuer before beene ſeene aliue in *England*. Not long after it fell ſicke and died. As the beaſt in ſhape is very ſtrange, ſo is it of ſtrange docilitie, and apt to be taught, as by good experience we often proued.

The

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The seuenth Voyage to Cherie *Iland, made in the yeere* 1609.

WEe were furnished with two ships, determining to goe to *Tipany* in *Lapland*, to buy fish of the *Lappes* and *Russes*, and afterward to goe to *Cherie* Iland: the one was called the *Lioneſſe*, in which I went for Master, the other, the *Paul*, which was there the last yeere, 1608.

The one and twentieth day of March, we weighed anchor at *Graueſend*: and the sixe and twentieth, we came to *Harwich*: where it was concluded, that the *Lioneſſe* should goe directly to *Cherie* Iland. The fifteenth of Aprill, we weighed at *Harewich*: and the last of the same moneth we fell betweene *Lofoot* and *Zenam* vpon the Coast of *Finmark*. *Lofoot. Zenam.*

The second of May, we came to the North Cape; and the same day wee stood for *Cherie* Iland: but meeting with contrary winds and foule weather, we bare backe againe for the Cape, and fell with the Land the fourth day. The fift day in the morning, we put the second time from the North Cape; and the eight day wee anchored at *Cherie* Iland. It did freeze very hard, but we found no Ice about the Iland, saue that which claue to the Rockes. We went into the Coue with our Shallop, and found eight Morses on the Ice hard by the shoares side: And we also found all the beasts that were killed the last yeere not washed away with the Sea, couered ouer with Snow and Ice. Wee thought to haue gotten abundance of Fowle as wee had done in the yeeres before: but they would not sit; the reason was, because they were but new come to the Iland, and not setled as then: yet some Fowle we got, and came aboord. And because the wind was Northerly, that we could not conueniently goe to the North side with the ship, we determined to send some men ouer Land, to see if there were any Morses on shoare vpon that side. The ninth day, I prepared to goe ouer Land to the North side, about a North-east Sunne, with three men in my companie. I my selfe had a Musket, and about a quarter of a pound of Powder, and sixe Bullets; an Halfe-pike in mine hand, and an Hatchet at my backe. One of the men had a birding Peece; the other two had each of them a Iauelin. Wee went ouer the Snow and Ice apace outward; but came wearily homeward, by reason we rested not any where. And when we were within a mile of the other side, one of my companie said, he saw a Beare: whereupon we looked vp, and saw three great ones. Whereupon I made a stand, and gaue each of my companie some *Aqua vitæ*, and a little Bread, and told them, that wee must not in any case seeme fearefull, because the nature of them is such, that whosoeuer seemeth fearefull, or offereth to runne away, they will seize vpon him. In this time I made my Musket readie: and the Beares seeing vs to come toward them, stood vpon their feet, and two of them went toward the Sea: The third stood still champing and foming, as though hee would haue eaten vs. When I was within shot of him, he beganne to follow his fellowes, still looking behind him with his former gesture: In the meane while I got ground of him, the three men following mee with their weapons. In the end the angry deuill turned backe, and came directly toward mee: I let him come within two long Pikes lengths, and gaue him such a welcome, that hee fell downe stone dead. The company that were with me were glad as well as I: yet I had beene at the killing of Beares before. After this Beare was slayne, we told seuenteene more, whereof three were young ones. This done, we went on to the Sea side, where we found the Shallop which we left the yeere before. Wee were no sooner set to eate a little food, but there came a Beare with two young ones as big as Lambes of a moneth old: they skipped about their dams necke, and played with one another very wantonly. The dame came so neere that I shot at her, and being loth to hurt the young ones, being playing about her fore-parts, I shot her through the top of the shoulder; then she went away. Immediatly we saw another Beare comming toward vs, which before he came to vs, stood vpon his hinder feet twice or thrice, vsing the same countenance that the first did, which I slue. I let him come very neere, and thinking to giue him his pasport, the flint of my Musket was broken, which made him come very neere vs. Then the fellow that had the birding piece shot him into the foote: whereupon he ran away faster then wee could follow him. Wee seeing so many Beares, and hauing no store of Powder nor Shot, bent our iourney toward our ship againe. Wee had not come a quarter of a mile, but wee saw a huge Beare fast a sleepe on the Snow. I went softly toward him, and gaue him such a filip, that he neuer rose out of the place where he lay. His skin when he was flayed was thirteene foot long. A neere neighbour of his hearing the report of my Peece came toward me: and him I slue also. Now, hauing but one shot left, I thought it not best to bestow it there, although I saw another lie vpon the Snow hard by. While we sate downe to rest vs in the mid-way, there came toward vs another Beare with one young one: they came almost within shot, and went backe againe: presently shee turned againe, and came within shot of me, and stood on her hinder legs directly vpright, and so did the young one. I made account they would haue come neerer; but they to the contrarie ran away. Wee came being very wearie aboord our ship about a North-west Sunne. Then wee weighed, and stood to the Northward, hauing the wind at South; and by three of the clocke the next morning, wee came to the North-east Point with the ship. There wee manned our Shallop,

They arriue at Cherie Iland the 8. of May.

Fowle.

Three Beares.

Qualitie of Beares.

Feare a Traitor.

A Beare slaine.

17. Beares in sight.

Young Beares whelps.

A Beare slayn, the skin whereof was 13. foot.

A third Beare slayne.

The tenth day.

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Sixe Beares slayne. All the Beares flayed.

Shallop, and Master *Thomas Welden* and I went on shoare, where hee slue fiue Beares, and I one, and I wounded two more very sore. And before a North Sunne, our men had fleyed them all; both them that I slue the day before, and them that wee slue this last time: for they were all together.

The eleuenth day, we went on Land, and washed some old fleyed Morses skinnes, which had lyen there two yeeres: but they will hardly proue good. The twelfth day, we rid at the West side, and got some Fowle with shot, and there we rid till the thirteenth.

The thirteenth, wee saw very much Ice to the Southwards and Westwards, wich came driuing so fast toward the shoare where wee rid, that wee were forced to weigh, and stood to the North side of the Iland. The Ice followed vs still: then wee stood to the East side of the Iland: and there wee found both the Iland and our selues encompassed round with Ice. But the winde being Westerly, and a good stiffe gale, it blew the Ice about a mile and an halfe from the Eastern side; by which meanes wee got betwixt the Ice and the Iland, and stood to the Southward, but saw not any thing in all the Sea saue Ice; sauing close by the Land a little open Sea trending to the South-westward. That way wee stood with our fore top-sayle, and stood one while one way, and another while another way, and could not see open Sea till the fifteenth of the same moneth; at a North-west Sunne wee saw the open Sea: onely a ledge of Ice which began to part insunder, was betwixt vs and it. Toward that place we stood, and intending by Gods helpe to get through, we made prouision to defend the ship from the Ice, by hanging Cables ends, and Plankes, and Capstan barres about the bowes of our ship. But for all our tendors, our ship had a great knocke vpon a piece of Ice. About a North Sunne, we got out into the open Sea; with humble thankes to God for our deliuerance.

Frost the 16. of May.

The sixteenth day, the Iland did beare North-east and by North, eight leagues from vs: and it did freeze all that day, the wind being at North, which was almost calme. The seuenteenth, at noone the Iland did beare North-east and by North, about nine leagues off, the wind Southerly, snowy weather. The same day we saw a sayle, bearing East North-east off vs about 5. leagues.

Snow.

The eighteenth, the Iland did beare North about 15. leagues off, the wind being at East and by North, Snow and frosty weather.

Snow.

The nineteenth, at twelue of the clocke at noone the Iland bare North and by East: and we finding the Ice somewhat scattered, and the wind Southerly, put roome toward the Iland, and vpon one piece of Ice we saw fiue Seales: one I killed, and one I tooke aliue, and brought it aboord our ship.

Fiue Seales.

But wee could not come neere the Iland by sixe leagues. The wind came to the West with thicke weather and Snow.

Snow.

The twentieth, at twelue at noone the Iland beare North North-west, about twelue leagues off. We sounded, and had 100. fathoms, greenish Oze, faire weather, but cold.

The one and twentieth, we saw the ship that wee had seene the seuenteenth day; wee spake with them about 12. at noone. The Master told vs he was of *Hull*. Wee demanded whether he was bound? He told vs, to *Cherie* Iland, and that there he would make his Voyage. The Iland at this time did beare North and by East about nine leagues off; and it was faire, but cold frostie weather.

A ship of *Hull*.

Frosty wether.

The 22. 23. 24. and 25. dayes, we did beate vp and downe in the Ice. The 26. 27. and 28. dayes, likewise wee sayled vp and downe in the Ice; hauing the wind Northerly, and the Iland bearing betweene the North and the North North-east, cold weather. The nine and twentieth, the Iland beare North nine leagues off, the wind at North-east, snowy weather and Frost.

Snow & frost.

26. Seales.

The thirtieth day, we slue 26. Seales, and espied three white Beares: wee went aboord for Shot and Powder, and comming to the Ice againe, we found a shee-Beare and two young ones: Master *Thomas Welden* shot and killed her: after shee was slayne, wee got the young ones, and brought them home into *England*, where they are aliue in *Paris Garden*. The one and thirtieth, we beate vp and downe in the Ice, but could not come neere the Land for Ice; the winde was Northerly.

A Beare killed on the Ice. Two young white Beares brought into *England*.

The first of Iune, we got within fiue or sixe miles of the Iland: but finding very much Ice close by the Land, we stood off againe, the wind being at North-east, cold weather. The second day, we got within three leagues of the Iland: but finding exceeding much Ice round about vs, we stood off againe, the wind at North-east, cold frostie weather. From the second day to the fift, wee sayled first one way, and then another, as the wind and Ice would giue vs leaue. The wind being at North and by East, and the Iland being betweene the North-west and by North, within sixe leagues and lesse.

Iune 1.

Frost.

The *Hull* man. 20. leagues North-west off the Iland.

The sixth day, we spake with the *Hull* man, who told vs, that he was put twentie leagues to the North-west of the Iland, being fast in the Ice. We had the wind Northerly, and frosty weather; the Land bearing North North-west. The seuenth and eight, we beate vp and downe in the Ice: the Iland did beare North-west eight leagues off. The winde was Northerly, with cold and frostie weather.

No fog in a moneths space.

The ninth, the Land beare North-west off vs about six leagues off. That day we had the first fogge since the time of our arriuall, which was the eight of May. Neither lost wee the sight of the Iland aboue eighteene houres in all this time. This day, about a North-east Sunne it began

gan to thaw ; and in ſixe houres the ſnow was melted, which lay vpon the Ice aboue ſixe inches thicke : which put vs in good hope that the Ice was almoſt paſt. The firſt thaw.

The tenth, we got within ſixe miles of the ſhoare : where I made an attempt to haue got to the land with the Shallop : but comming within three miles of the ſhoare, I could get no farther, the Ice was ſo thicke, and ſuch foggy weather. I made another attempt the ſame day, and got within one mile of the Land : but the Ice was ſo thicke that I could get no farther. The ſame day wee ſaw good ſtore of Morſes on the Ice and in the Sea.

The eleuenth and twelfth, we plyed vp and downe fayre by the Iland, to ſee if wee could get on Land with our Shallop ; but the Ice was ſo cloſe about the Land, that wee could not by any meanes. This day the wind was at South-eaſt, thicke foggie weather. The thirteenth, we had thicke fogge and calme weather ; and when it began to cleere, wee had ſight of the Souther part of the Iland, bearing Eaſt South-eaſt, about ſixe miles off ; but it fell thicke ſuddenly againe. There wee anchored in fortie fathoms, white ſhelly ground ; and rid till ten of the clocke at night : at what time I prepared to goe on ſhoare, as faſt as I could with a Shallop and ſixe men. About eleuen of the clocke we put from the Ship, and with great labour got through the Ice to the Iland, by a North-eaſt Sunne. Fogges.

The fourteenth day, I landed on the Weſter ſide of the Iland, and determined to goe from thence to the North ſide, where wee ſlew the Beares. The ninth of *May* I left three men with the Shallop, and tooke three men with me. In my iourney I found ſuch bad way, that I had no ſtomacke to goe through ; for where there was no ſnow, the ground was ſo ſoft, and without graſſe, that we went vp to the anckles in dirt ; and where the ſnow lay, which was in ſome holes, three or foure fathoms thicke, it was ſo ſoft, that we ſlipt each ſtep vp to the twiſt ; ſo that wee were aboue three houres in going ſcarce two miles. Whereupon, conſidering it would bee long before I ſhould get ten miles and backe againe, I returned to our Shallop, and found that the men which I left had killed ſome fowle, which wee ſod, and when wee had eaten them, I prepared to goe in the Shallop to the North ſide. I went cloſe by the ſhoare ; for the Sea was full of Ice. As wee went along by the Cliffes, we got good ſtore of Fowle ; which made vs glad and ioyfull, becauſe there was no hope to get aboord the Ship that day, nor the next. About a North-weſt Sun wee got to the place aboueſaid, and found nine Beares, three of them I ſlew, the other tooke the Sea. Thoſe three that were ſlaine we ſkead, and tooke their fleſh and ſalted it in their skinnes ; which I ſtowed in the Shallop for feare of a dearth. I had a terce full of ſalt there, which wee left in that place the eleuenth of May. The Beares ſlaine on the North ſide. Three Beares ſlaine, powdered, and eaten.

The fifteenth day, when wee had ended our buſineſſe, and eaten ſome of our Beares fleſh, and ſet vp an Enſigne in token of our poſſeſſion of the Iland, wee prepared to be gone : and about an Eaſt North-eaſt Sunne the wind came Weſterly ; which made me thinke, as it proued, that the Ship would be on the South-eaſt ſide of the Iland ; and when wee were comming, and almoſt at the North-eaſt point, we ſaw nine men ; preſently I knew them to bee the men of *Hull*. Along I came to the Eaſt ſide, where we tooke in drift wood, and a broad ſtone to make a fire vpon in our Boat. While wee were there, wee eſpied our ſhip vnder her Fore-topſayle, and her Miſen. We made all the haſte we could, and came to the Coue, where wee made our voyage the Summer laſt paſt. There likewiſe I ſet vp a Pike, with a white cloth vpon it, and a letter ſignifying our poſſeſſion for the right worſhipfull Company trading to *Moſcouie*. When I had done, I eſpied the *Hull* mans Boat rowing into the Coue, and a Tent ſet vp in the bottom of the Bay. I went thither, and told him we had taken poſſeſſion there, the eight of May laſt. He anſwered, That if the beaſts came on ſhoare, he would kill them if he could ; and that there were as good men which ventured in that Ship, as the Company. I told him he durſt not anſwer theſe words in *England*, and ſo departed and got ſome Fowle. About a South-weſt Sunne wee ſtood toward our Ship, hauing the wind at Weſt South-weſt, and the Ship bearing from vs South-eaſt about foure leagues. I had not ſailed ten miles, but the Ice was ſo cloſe and firme, that I could not get aboord, nor backe againe ; for it cloſed with ſuch force, that it made the Shallops ſides cracke, as though they would haue met together. Wee laboured very ſore to ſaue our Boat, becauſe it did concerne our liues, and got her into a place where ſhee lay betweene two pieces of Ice. After this ſort we draue with the Ice till we had loſt ſight of our Ship, which was about a North ſun ; and ſtill wee draue, being not able otherwiſe to moue till we were aboue eight leagues from the Iland. Poſſeſſion taken of *Cherie* Iland for the *Muſcouie* Company. Driſt wood on the Eaſt ſide. The Coue.

The ſixteenth day, at an Eaſt South-eaſt Sun, the Ice began to open. Then, although my Company were in deſpaire, and ſaid it was impoſſible to get out, to worke wee went, and by cutting off Ice, and remouing of it one piece from another, we made way through toward the Land. The neerer to the Land wee got, wee found the more open Sea ; and by a North Sunne wee got on ſhoare. After wee had giuen God thankes for our deliuerance out of ſuch extreame danger, wee eate ſome Fowle and Beares fleſh, which wee ſod vnder a Cliffe. There wee found nine young Foxes, and killed the old one. There alſo we ſlept vpon the cold Sand, which was not paſt three inches thicke, and vnderneath Ice ; and ſtaied here till a South-eaſt Sunne the ſeuenteenth day. They feed on Beares fleſh. Nine Foxes found.

The ſeuenteenth, we went from this place to the Coue, where we found the *Hull* mans Boat. I made a tilt of the Shallops ſayle, and ſod ſome Beares fleſh and Fowle ; and ſtayed about the

Coue

Three Mynes of Lead found on *Gull*-Iland.

Coue all that day. And vpon an Iland, commonly called *Gull*-Iland, I found three Mynes of Lead Vre: but hauing no fit tooles to breake the Rocks, and alſo becauſe it was in the view of the *Hull* mans Tent, I was forced to let it reſt, till the Ships could get into the Coue.

Good Sea-coles found on the Iland.

The eighteenth day, wee went to the North ſide of the Iland, and in our way wee found good Sea-coales to burne: ſome wee tooke with vs to try them, and found them good. And on the North ſide I ſlew two Beares. Then wee ſhared the bread that was left; and wee had but two cakes to a man: for ſome of my Company while I was aſleepe, or killing of the Beares, had broken open the cheſt wherein the bread was, and had conueyed ſome away. Our beere was ſpent before this time, and we were faine to drinke ſnow water.

Two Beares ſlaine.

An huge compaſſe of Ice.

The ninteenth, wee went to the Coue, the wind being Weſterly, to ſee if wee could eſpy our Ship; but wee could not, neither could ſhee come neere the Iland for Ice; for all the Sea, as farre as I could ſee from the top of an high Hill was couered with Ice, ſauing that within a quarter of a mile off the ſhoare, it was cleere round about once in a tyde.

Another Beare ſlaine.

The twentieth day, I went to the North ſide againe, and ſlew a Beare. Thus wee ſpent the time, ſometimes on one ſide, ſometimes on the other, neuer ſtaying aboue one day in one place till the Ship came in; vvhich vvas the ſeuen and twentieth of Iune, on vvhich day I ſlew another Beare. I ſlew ſeuen in all, vvhoſe fleſh vve eate full ſauerly, forgetting the oyly rankneſſe of it; for hunger is a ſauourie ſawce.

Another Beare ſlaine.

Their Ship got in the ſecond time.

The ſeuen and twentieth, our ſhip came to an anchor on the North ſide, where we then were; aſſoone as vve ſaw her, we needed no bidding to go aboord. When we were come to the ſhip ſide, they bad vs vvelcome: but vvhereas vve thought to haue releeued our ſelues, vvee found it farre otherwiſe; becauſe the Ship had a knocke vvith a piece of Ice in the Sterne, vvhich brake in the corner of a Planke vnder the vvater, ſo that our bread-roome vvas full of vvater, and all our bread ſpoyled, ſauing about one hundred vweight: vvhich vvas but a ſmall quantitie for three and forty men. This day a Ship called the *Matthew* came to an anchor by vs. Then Maſter *Welden* and I vvent on ſhoare, vvhere vve found one *Iohn Skinner*, Maſters mate of the *Matthew*, vvith eleuen men by him. We ſet vp our Tent, and told him there vvas no voyage for him to make: but our neceſſitie vvas ſuch, that vve vvere faine to take foure hundred of bread of them, vpon ſome condition, vvhich I vvill not ſpeake of here. The ſame day vvee thought to haue taken a Copper aboord, vvhich I digged out of the ſnow; but by negligence it vvas let fall into the Sea, yet afterward taken vp againe and carried aboord. The ſame day, another Ship called the *Mary Margarite* came into the ſaid Coue on the South ſide.

The *Matthew*.

The *Marie Margarite*.

The eighteenth, I vvent to the Coue vvith the Shallop and ſixe men, vvhere I found the *Marie Margarite*; there paſſed no great kindneſſe betweene them and me. I ſlew three Horſes there, two vvere loſt, the others head I brought aboord. The next day I came aboord our Ship, and vve rid on that ſide, looking ſtill vvhen any beaſts vvould come on ſhoare, till the ſecond of Iuly. Then vve vveighed, and ſtood to the Eaſt ſide of the Iland; becauſe the vvind vvas at Weſt North-weſt, and great ſtore of Ice came from thoſe parts. We had not rid one houre to an end, but vve ſaw a Skiffe comming towards vs. In this Skiffe vvas one *Ioſias Logan*, and *Thomas Edge*, Factors in the *Paul* for the vvorſhipfull Company. They told vs that the *Paul* vvas in the Coue, and the ſhip of *Hull*. They vvent aboord againe, and vvhen the tyde vvas ſpent, vve weighed and thought to haue anchored neere the Coue; but the vvind vvas ſo far Eaſterly, that vve could not: ſo vvee vvent to the Weſter ſide, and ridde there till the fourth day, vvhere vve got Fowle; for in all the time of our being about the Iland, and in the Ice, they vvere our chiefeſt food.

Iuly.

Logan and *Edge*.

Fowle their chiefeſt food in extreamitie.

The fourth, vve vveighed and vvent to the North ſide; vvhere vve vvere troubled vvith much Ice: The vvind vvas at Weſt and by North, vvhich brought the Ice vvhole vpon vs; ſo that we vvere forced to vveigh againe.

A Beare ſlaine.

Another Beare ſlaine.

The ſixth, vve came into the Coue; vvhere Maſter *Welden* ſlew a Beare. The eight day, he ſlew another Beare; and the ſame day I vvent to the North ſide, vvith the Shallop and victuals for the men vvhich kept on that ſide. I ſtayed there till the fourteenth of Iuly: on vvhich day vve had the vvind Northerly, vvith ſnow and froſt, and the Iland enuironed round with Ice. In this time the Ships Company on the South ſide did digge ſome Minerall Lead. And vve caught aboue twentie Foxes, vvhich vve did eat as ſauerly as if they had beene Veniſon.

Snow and Froſt.

Some Minerall Lead digged.

Aboue twentie Foxes eaten.

The fifteenth day, by a North-eaſt Sunne vve came aboord the Ship, vvhich lay in the Coue, vvith our Shallop and all our prouiſion that vvas on the North ſide. And the *Lioneſſe* prepared to goe to Saint *Nicolas* in *Ruſſia*, as it was appointed before in *London*.

The ſixteenth, the wind being North-eaſt brought ſuch ſtore of Ice to the Iland, that it vvas compaſſed round cloſe to the ſhoare; and filled the Coue ſo full, that by no meanes poſſible the Ships could get out, but ridde ſtill ſhut in for fiue dayes.

The ſeuenteenth, the Ice began to open at the mouth of the Coue, and ſome were willing to goe out with their Ships; but couetouſneſſe had like to haue brought vs all to great miſery: for each man ſtriuing to ride longeſt in the Coue, ſuppoſing that there the Horſes would come firſt on ſhoare, they found it cleane contrary; for the wind came Southerly, and blew all the Ice from this ſide of the Iland, ſaue that which was in the Coue: which preſſed ſo ſore vpon our Ships,

Dangers by the Ice.

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Ships, that our Anchors could not hold vs. For the *Matthew* was put from three Anchors, and droue with that small tyde, that runneth there within her length of a sunken Rocke: but a great piece of Ice on ground vpon the Rocke did keepe her from it. And when the floud came againe, she was driuen within halfe her length of the Rockes; so that they were glad to get most of their victuals out of her vpon the Rockes, looking each minute when she should split in sunder. And though the rest of the ships did not driue as she did, yet they had many a sore stroke with the Ice. For the Southerly wind caused a hollow Sea to come in; so that our ships strooke with such force against the Ice, that wee could hardly stand on our feete in them. Then each man layed to his hand to saue his ship, by putting Plancks and old Cables ends, and bundels of Hoops betweene their ships and the Ice. But they were beaten all to pieces presently. Then we put pieces of Elme Plancke betweene the bowes of the *Paul*, in which ship I was: Immediately, they also were beaten into small pieces, although they were aboue foure inches thicke. With the stroke that brake the Plancke, the Carpenter said, the ships side did cracke, and two timbers were broken. Then presently wee also got out of the ship most of our victuals, and carried it to the shoare. There might you see a sorrowfull spectacle. For all the ships, being fiue in number, were so fast in the Ice, that all the men that were in them all, which were one hundred eightie two, could not imagine how to saue one. Among the rest, we made account that the *Matthew* would sinke, ere long: because the Ice had broken nine timbers on one side, and eleuen on the other; so that the Greene Sea did come into the ship: and her mayne beame was broken at that instant likewise. In this sort we continued till the twentieth day following; when we looked still to bee put on the Cliffes with the force of the Ice, that pressed vpon our ships so sore, that our Anchors could not possibly hold.

Vpon the twentieth day, it pleased God to bring the wind Westerly, then the Ice began to open, and to driue out of the Coue by little and little, to our great comforts. But that Ice that did not get cleane out, came backe againe, and ranne round in a Circle; so that wee had a continual labor to defend the ships from it. Whereupon we made meanes to get out by long [l] Warps, as wee terme them. Wee were faine to let slip one Cable, and the *Lioneſſe* one. The *Matthew* had but one Cable and Anchor; but they borrowed one of vs. By a North-west Sunne, all the ships got out of the Ice to the Coues mouth; where we stayed for the ebbe. When the ebbe was come, the *Lioneſſe* departed on her Voyage to Saint *Nicholas* in *Russia*. And presently the *Matthew*, and the *Mary Margarite* set saile and got out. Then wee in the *Paul* set sayle, and before our Anchor was vp, it got hold vpon one of *Matthewes* Cables, that shee lost, when shee droue out, and brought vs vp to a [m] *Bitter*, so that wee were very neere the Rockes: but wee got off againe, and ride there till a North-west Sunne the next day.

The one and twentieth day, we weighed and stood to the East side of the Iland, where wee found the *Mary Margarite*, which had lost her Boat. Streight way we sayled to the North side, where we anchored and rid till a North Sunne.

The two and twentieth day, it cleered vp of a fogge, which had continued since the time of our comming out of the Coue. And wee thought it best to fetch the victuals aboord, which we carried on shoare when the ship was like to be split with Ice.

Then *Iosias Logan* and I tooke seuen men more with vs, and came to the Coue on the South side: where wee found abundance of Morses lying on the Ice, that was in the Coue. I slue one of them, and tooke off his head: we could not get to the shoare where our victuals lay, but we made a fire vnder a Cliffe in the same Coue.

The three and twentieth day, wee got to our victuals, and *Iosias* went with it to our shippe: but I tarried at the Coue, hoping that the beasts would come on Land when the Ice was gone; as they did afterward. There I tarried till the fiue and twentieth of Iuly; at what time *Iosias Logan* came to mee with the Shallop, and a Skiffe loden with Caske and other prouision; and told mee, that they had slaine fiue or sixe hundred Morses on the North side.

Hee tarried with mee till the seuen and twentieth of Iuly: now seeing no beastes did come on Land, because the Ice did hang about the Coue, he went to the North side againe: but the same day after he was gone, they began to come on Land.

The next day following, being the eight and twentieth, wee slue about eightie, and tooke their Blubber and Teeth. Then they began to come on shoare againe the thirtieth day: at what time Master *Bonner* was come into the Coue to seeke his Anchors. Then his men came on shoare, and we slue about one hundred and fiftie beast more. But there rose a storme at South-east, that brought in such a surge, that it washed aboue sixtie beasts into the Sea; so that most of them were lost.

The next day being the last of Iuly, Master *Welden* and Master *Iones* came to the Coue with about twelue men, being all very wearie. For they had left the Shallop in a Coue on the North-west side of the Iland, and came ouer Land. Then to worke wee went on all hands, and placed our Coppers. And by the fift day of August we had ended our businesse; and the ship came from the North side into the Coue.

[l] A warpe, is a Rope (commonly a Hawser) vsed to warpe a ship, that is, with an Anchor bent to the Hawser and layd out to hale the ship forward: which is done when they want wind to carrie out, or into a Harbour.

[m] A *Bitter*, is a turne of the Cable about the Bitts, for when they come to Anchor, they take a turne with it about the *Bitts* (two mayne square pieces of Timber, which stand Pillar wise in the loofe of the ship, to make fast the Cable vnto) that they may by little and little vere it out at ease: otherwise, if a stopper faile, the Cable would runne out end for end, that is altogether; but thus stopped, the shippe is said to bee brought to a Bitter. The Bitter end is that end of the Cable within boord at the Bitts.

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Auguſt. The ſixt of Auguſt, I tooke the Skiffe and ſeuen men to fetch the Shallop to the Coue, that Maſter *Welden* had left in a Coue, on the North-weſt ſide of the Iland, the laſt of Iuly. When I came to the place, conſidering I was neere the North ſide, where we commonly make our Voy-
Note. age, and alſo deſired by Maſter *Welden*, if I could goe, to doe ſo, I went thither, and found about fiue and fortie as good headed beaſts for Teeth, as euer I ſaw. Wee had no more Launces to kill th m with all, but two, I tooke one, and a luſtie fellow that was our Cooper had the other: we had not killed paſt ten but his Lance brake. Then I ſlue all the reſt in leſſe then two houres; and wee tooke their Teeth; and the next day by a Weſt Sunne wee came aboord the *Paul* with them.

The eight day, wee got the Southermoſt Point of the Iland: where wee rid all that day. Their Skiffe from their long Boats ſterne, and we manned our Boat to fetch her againe: but then roſe ſuch a fogge, that we had like to haue loſt both our Boats and men; but they got to the ſhip againe with much adoe.

The ninth day, it was calme; but wee had ſuch a fogge, that wee could not ſee two Cables length from the ſhip. And about eight of the Clocke at night, wee loſt our Skiffe altogether.

The tenth day, we had a little Wind at North-weſt and by Weſt. Then ſeeing no amendment of the weather, wee left the ſhip of *Hull* behind vs in the Iland, and about ſixe of the Clocke ſet ſayle for *England*, and arriued ſafely at *London* the laſt of Auguſt, 1609. Bleſſed bee God.

A Voyage performed to the Northwards, Anno 1603. *in a ſhip of the burthen of fiftie tunnes, called the* Grace, *and ſet forth at the coſt and charges of the Worſhipfull* FRANCIS CHERIE. *Written by* WILLIAM GORDEN; *being the firſt Voyage to* Cherie *Iland; which came to my hands ſince the former (or rather later Voyages) were in the Preſſe.*

THe ſhip being readie the tenth of Aprill, whereof was Maſter *Stephen Bennet*, and for Factor and Ouer-ſeer *William Gorden*, our Directions from the ſaid Merchant, were firſt to proceed to *Cola*, and there to make ſale of ſuch goods as we had, and to take in ſuch other as the Countrey of *Lappia* did affoord, and then to proceed vpon ſome Diſcouerie. Wherefore omitting our Iourney to *Cola*, as a matter of ſmall importance, being ſo well knowne before, after our Affaires ended, we were readie to proceed forward. But our men not being hired thereunto would haue refuſed, if there had not beene made an agreement by meanes of *Ioſias Logan*, who was to lye there as Factor for Maſter *Cherie*, the Maſter and my ſelfe, partly with promiſes, partly with gifts. And thus ſetting forward the ſixt of Auguſt, from the Riuer of *Cola*, being determined to haue ſayled into 80. degrees of latitude, if nothing
An Iland. did hinder vs; or if we did not light vpon ſome land: our determination was hindered by meanes of meeting with an Iland, and likewiſe the yeere being farre ſpent, keeping our courſe from the Weſt end of *Kilden*, to the Ilands of *Ward-houſe*, which wee paſſed the tenth of Auguſt with little wind; then directing our courſe North North-weſt, the wind at South-weſt eaſie wind, ſo that the eleuenth day we did reckon our ſelues to haue ſayled twentie leagues North-weſt. The twelfth day, it was moſt part calme and foggie. The thirteenth day, it was cleere, and the wind at South, and we had ſayled twentie two leagues North North-weſt. The fourteenth day, the wind at Eaſt, we kept our courſe and ſayled ten leagues, and the ſame day being thicke and foggie, we had thought wee had ſeene Land about foure of the clocke in the after-noone, bearing from vs Weſt North-weſt, and North-weſt by Weſt, but ſayling towards it three houres, keeping ſtill his forme, and not altering till the wind increaſing, cauſed it to fade away (for it was no other then a banke of fogges) after we had ſayled three leagues changing our courſe, we ſayled then fifteene dayes twentie leagues, North-weſt and by North, ſtill hauing cloſe weather, that we could not make any obſeruation. The ſixteenth day in the morning, at two of the clock, we did ſee two great high Hils, which did ſeeme to vs aboue the Clouds, and did ſeeme very neere; but we found it otherwiſe for ſayling towards it, we found it further then we did expect, for it was ſixe of the clocke at night before wee could come neere vnto the Land, where wee anchored in thirtie fathomes. In which time we could not ſayle leſſe then eighteene leagues North and by Weſt. That night our Maſter knowing, better what did belong vnto thoſe Affaires, would not ſuffer the Boat to goe aland till the morning: which was the ſeuenteenth day of Auguſt, and before our going aland, the Maſter cauſed a ſhanke of Lines to bee ſhot for, to toy for fiſh, and then he and my ſelfe with foure of our Company went aland. Firſt, vpon a little Iland neere adjoyning, where we had much adoe to get to our Boat againe, by reaſon of the ſteepnes

of

of the Rockes: then we went on shoare vpon the Mayne, where at our comming on Land, wee did see two Foxes, one White, the other Blacke. Thus spending most part of the day, wee returned aboord our ship without any profit: only one of our men tooke vp a piece of Lead, and I found a piece of a Morses Tooth, by which we perceiued that the Sea Morses did vse thither, but the time for that yeere was past, for we did see none. After our comming aboord, hauing haled the Line, we found nothing but one bue fish thereon, wherefore presently weighing Anchor, we sayled West to see if we could haue any true obseruation, the next day which wee had, and found our selues to bee in 74. degrees 30. minutes. The same day directing our course for *London*, where we arriued the tenth of September, by Gods helpe, in health and safetie.

CHAP. XIIII.

Diuers Voyages and Northerne Discouries of that worthy irrecouerable Discouerer Master HENRY HVDSON. *His Discouerie toward the North Pole, set forth at the charge of certaine Worshipfull Merchants of* London, *in May* 1607. *Written partly by* IOHN PLAYSE *one of the Company, and partly by* H. HVDSON.

Anno 1607. Aprill the nineteenth, at Saint *Ethelburge* in Bishops Gate street, did communicate with the rest of the Parishioners these persons Seamen, purposing to goe to sea foure dayes after, for to discouer a Passage by the North Pole to *Iapan* and *China*. First, *Henry Hudson* Master. Secondly, *William Colines* his Mate. Thirdly, *Iames Young*. Fourthly, *Iohn Colman*. Fiftly, *Iohn Cooke*. Sixtly, *Iames Benbery*. Seuenthly, *Iames Skratton*. Eightly, *Iohn Pleyce*. Ninthly, *Thomas Baxter*. Tenthly, *Richard Day*. Eleuenthly, *Iames Knight*. Twelfthly, *Iohn Hudson* a Boy.

The first of May 1607. we weyed Anchor at *Graues-end*, and on Tuesday the sixe and twentieth day in the morning, we made the Ilts of *Shotland*, and at noone we were in 60. degrees 12. minutes, and sixe leagues to the Eastward of them: the Compasse had no variation. We had sixtie foure fathomes at our sounding, blacke, ozie, sandie, with some yellow shels. Our ship made more way then we did suppose. On Saturday the thirtieth of May, by our obseruation we were in 61. degrees 11. minutes, This day I found the Needle to incline 79. degrees vnder the Horizon. For foure dayes space we made very little way by contrary winds.

May. The Ilts of *Shotland*. No variation. 61. degrees 11. minutes. The inclination of the Needle.

On Thursday the fourth of Iune, we were by our obseruation still in 61. degrees and 14. minutes, eight and twentie or thirtie leagues from the Norther part of *Shotland*: the Land bearing by our Accompt East and by North off vs, I found variation in fiue degrees Westerly.

Iune.

The seuenth of Iune, wee were in 63. degrees 25. minutes. The eighth, all the fore-noone we had a fresh gale Southerly; we steered away North and by West, and by obseruation we were in 65. degrees 27. minutes.

65. degrees 27. minutes. 67. degrees 30. minutes.

The eleuenth, wee saw sixe or seuen Whales neere our shippe: wee were in sixtie seuen degrees thirtie minutes. About fiue of the clocke, the winde came vp at North-east and by East; wee steered away North North-west with a fresh gale all the night at East. The twelfth, the winde was at East North-east, a stiffe gale, wee steered away as afore, and accounted wee had runne by this day noone thirtie leagues. In the after-noone wee steered away North and by West fifteene leagues, all the night prooued a great fogge with much wind.

The thirteenth, betweene one and two in the morning, we saw some Land on head of vs, and some Ice: and it being a thicke fogge, we steered away Northerly, and hauing much wind wee stood away South and by East, sixe or eight leagues. Our sayle and shroudes did freeze. At eight in the morning it cleered vp, the wind being at North-east and by East, with much wind wee were hardly able to maintayne a sayle. This was a very high Land, most part couered with Snow. The neather part was vncouered. At the top it looked reddish, and vnderneath a blackish Clay, with much Ice lying about it. The part which we saw when wee cast about, trended East and West: And the Norther part which we saw, trended North-east and by North, and North-east: and the length which wee saw was nine leagues; wee saw much Fowle. Also wee saw a Whale close by the shoare. We called the Head-land which we saw, *Youngs Cape*; and neere it standeth a very high Mount like a round Castle, which wee called, the *Mount of Gods Mercie*. All the after-noone, and all the Eeuening it rained. At eight in the Eeuening we cast about, and steered all night North and by West, and sometimes North North-west.

Youngs Cape. The *Mount of Gods mercie*. Snow.

The fourteenth, being neere the Land we had Snow. At foure in the morning, the wind vering Northerly, we cast about and stood South-east and by South. This day wee had much wind and raine, we shorted sayle being neere the Land. The fifteenth, in the morning it blowed so much wind at North-east, that wee were not able to maintayne any sayle, wee then strooke a

hull, and let our ſhip driue, wayting for a fitter wind; this night was very much raine. The ſixteenth, was much wind at North-eaſt. The ſeuenteenth, we ſet ſayle at noone, we ſteered away Eaſt and by South, and Eaſt South-eaſt. The eighteenth, in the afternoone a fine gale South-eaſt, which toward the Eeuening increaſed, and we ſteered North-eaſt three Watches, twelue leagues. The nineteenth we ſteered away North North-eaſt ſixteene leagues. At noone wee had raine with fogge. From twelue to foure we ſteered North North-eaſt eight leagues, and did account our ſelues in ſeuentie degrees neereſt hand: purpoſing to ſee whether the Land which we made the thirteenth day, were an Iland or part of *Groneland*. But then the fogge increaſed very thicke with much wind at South, which made vs alter our courſe, and to ſhorten our ſayle, and we ſteered away North-eaſt. Being then as we ſuppoſed, in the Meridian of the ſame land, hauing no obſeruation ſince the eleuenth day, and lying a hull from the fifteenth to the ſeuenteenth day, wee perceiued a current ſetting to the South-weſt. This day wee ſaw three Whales neere our ſhip, and hauing ſteered away North-eaſt almoſt one watch, fiue leagues, the Sea was growne euery way: we ſuppoſed wee were thwart of the North-eaſt part of that Land which we made the thirteenth day, and the current ſetting to wind-ward. The reaſon that mooued vs to thinke ſo; was, that after we had ſayled fiue or ſixe leagues in this Sea, the wind neither increaſing nor dulling, we had a pleaſant and ſmooth Sea. All this night was foggie with a good gale of wind, we ſteered away North-eaſt vntill the next day at noone, and ſayled in that courſe twentie leagues.

The twentieth, all the morning was a thicke fogge with the winde at South: wee ſteered North-eaſt till noone. Then we changed our courſe, and ſteered away North North-eaſt, hoping for an open Sea in our courſe to fall with the bodie of *Newland*. This day at two in the afternoone it cleered vp, and wee ſaw the Sunne, which wee had not ſeene ſince the ſecond of this moneth. Hauing ſteered North North-eaſt, two watches and an halfe, fifteene or ſixteene leagues wee ſaw Land on our Larboord, about foure leagues off vs, trending as wee could gheſſe North-eaſt and South-weſt. We ſteered away Eaſt North-eaſt, the wind at South a good gale, but reaſonable cleere: wee ſaw many Birds with blacke backes, and white bellies in forme much like a Ducke: we ſaw alſo many pieces of Ice driuing at the Sea. We * loofed for one and went roomer for another. And this morning about foure, a thicke fogge we ſaw a head of vs.

Note. Land on their Larboord.

Many Fowles. Muchdrift Ice.

* To loofe, is to keepe cloſe to the wind: to goe roomer, to goe.

The one and twentieth, in the morning we ſteered North-eaſt, and Eaſt North-eaſt two watches, fiue or ſixe leagues. Then it grew thicke fogge. And we caſt about, and ſteered North-eaſt and Eaſt North-eaſt two watches, ſixe leagues, finding wee were embayed. The wind came at Eaſt South-eaſt a little gale: we * tacked about and lay South. All this night was a thicke fog with little wind, Eaſt we lay with the ſtemme.

* To tacke the ſhip, is to bring her head about to lye the other way.

The two and twentieth, in the morning it cleered vp, being calme about two or three of the clocke: after we had a prettie gale, and we ſteered away Eaſt and by North three leagues. Our obſeruation was in 72. degrees 38. minutes, and changing our courſe, we ſteered North-eaſt, the wind at South-eaſt a prettie gale. This morning when it cleered vp, we ſaw the Land, trending neere hand Eaſt North-eaſt, and Weſt South-weſt, eſteeming our ſelues from it twelue leagues. It was a mayne high Land, nothing at all couered with ſnow: and the North part of that mayne high Land was very high Mountaynes, but we could ſee no ſnow on them. We accounted by our obſeruation the part of the mayne Land, lay neereſt hand in 73. degrees. The many fogs and calmes with contrary winds, and much Ice neere the ſhoare, held vs from farther Diſcouery of it. It may bee objected againſt vs as a fault, for haling ſo Weſterly a courſe. The chiefe cauſe that moued vs thereunto, was our deſire to ſee that part of *Groneland*, which (for ought that we know) was to any *Chriſtian* vnknowne: and wee thought it might as well haue beene open Sea as Land, and by that meanes our paſſage ſhould haue beene the larger to the Pole: and the hope of hauing a Weſterly wind, which would be to vs a landerly wind if wee found Land. And conſidering wee found Land contrarie to that which our Cards make mention of; we accounted our labour ſo much the more worth. And for ought that wee could ſee, it is like to bee a good Land, and worth the ſeeing.

Land not couered with Snow.

On the one and twentieth day, in the morning while we ſteered our courſe North North-eaſt, we thought we had embayed our ſelues, finding Land on our Larboord, and Ice vpon it, and many great pieces of Drift Ice: we ſteered away North-eaſt, with diligent looking out euery cleere for Land, hauing a deſire to know whether it would leaue vs to the Eaſt, both to know the bredth of the Sea, and alſo to ſhape a more Northerly courſe. And conſidering wee knew no name giuen to this Land, wee thought good to name it, *Hold with hope*, lying in 73. degrees of latitude.

The Land of *Hold with Hope* in 73. degrees.

The Sunne was on the Meridian on the South part of the Compaſſe, neereſt hand. Heere is to bee noted that when we made *The Mount of Gods Mercie*, and *Youngs Cape*, the Land was couered with ſnow for the moſt part, and extreame cold, when wee approached neere it: But this Land was very temperate to our feeling. And this likewiſe is to be noted, that being two dayes without obſeruation; notwithſtanding, our lying a hull by reaſon of much contrary wind, yet our obſeruation and dead reckoning were within eight leagues together, our ſhippe beeing before

before vs eight leagues. This night vntill next morning prooued little Winde.

The three and twentieth, in the morning we had an hard gale on head of vs, with much rayne that fell in very great drops, much like our Thunder showers in *England*; wee tacked about and stood East Northerly with a short sayle, to our feeling it was not so cold as before we had it. It was calme from noone to three of the clocke with fogge. After the winde came vp at East and East South-east, we steered away North-east with the fogge and rayne. About seuen or eight of the clocke, the winde increased with extreame fogge, wee steered away with short sayle East North-east, and sometimes East and by North. About twelue at mid-night, the wind came vp at South-west, we steered away North, being reasonable cleere weather.

The foure and twentieth, in the morning about two of the clocke, the Masters mate thought he saw Land on the Larboord, trending North North-west Westerly, and the longer we ranne North, the more it fell away to the West, and did thinke it to bee a mayne high Land. This day the wind being Westerly, we steered away North, and by obseruation wee were in 73. degrees neerest hand. At noone we changed our course, and steered away North and by East, and at our last obseruation, and also at this, we found the Meridian all Leeward on the South and by West, Westerly part of the Compasse, when we had sayled two Watches eight leagues. *A mayne high Land.*

The fiue and twentieth, the wind scanted and came vp at North North-west, we lay North-east two Watches 8. leagues. After the wind became variable betweene the North-east and the North, we steered away East and by North, and sometimes East, we had thicke fogge. About noone three Granpasses played about our shippe. This After-noone the wind vered to the East and South-east, we haled away North and by East. This night was close weather, but small fogge (we vse the word *Night* for distinction of time, but long before this the Sunne was alway aboue the Horizon, but as yet we could neuer see him vpon the Meridian North.) This Night being by our accompt in the Latitude of 75. degrees, we saw small flockes of Birds, with blacke Backes and white Bellies, and long speare Tayles. We supposed that Land was not farre off, but we could not discrie any, with all the diligence which we could vse, being so close weather, that many times we could not see sixe or seuen leagues off. *75. Degrees. Land not farre off.*

The sixe and twentieth, in the morning was close weather, we had our wind and held our course as afore. This day, our obseruation was 76. degrees 38. minutes, and we had Birds of the same sort as afore, and diuers other of that colour, hauing red Heads; that we saw when we first made the Mount of *Gods Mercy* in *Greenland*, but not so many. After we steered away North and by East: two VVatches 10. leagues, with purpose to fall with the Souther part of *Newland*, accounting our selues 10. or 12. leagues from the Land. Then wee stood away North-east one VVatch fiue leagues. *76. degrees 38. minutes.*

The seuen and twentieth, about one or two of the clocke in the morning we made *Newland*, being cleere weather on the Sea; but the Land was couered with fogge, the Ice lying very thick all along the shoare for 15. or 16. leagues which we saw. Hauing faire wind wee coasted it in a very pleasing smooth sea, and had no ground at an hundred fathoms, foure leagues from the shoare. This day at noone, wee accounted we were in 78. degrees, and we stood along the shoare. This day was so foggie, that we were hardly able to see the Land many times, but by our account we were neare *Vogel Hooke*. About eight of the clocke this Eeuening, we purposed to shape our course from thence North-west. Heere is to bee noted, that although we ranne along neere the shoare, we found no great cold, which made vs thinke, that if we had beene on shoare the place is temperate. Holding this North-west course, about ten of the clocke at night, we saw great store of Ice on head off vs, bearing Wester off vs; which we could not goe cleere off with the foresayd course. Then we tact about, and stood away betweene the South and the South-east, as much desirous to leaue this Land as we were to see it. *Greenland* or *Newland* discouered. *78. Degrees. Vogel Hooke. Temperate ayre.*

The eight and twentieth, was a hard gale of wind all the fore-noone betweene the South and the South-west. We shaped our course , we did it to bee farther from the Ice and Land. It pleased God that about twelue of the clocke this night it cleered vp, and we found that we were betweene the Land and the Ice; *Vogel Hooke* then bearing neerest hand East off vs. Then we tacked about, and stood in for the shoare, hauing Sea-roome between the Ice and the Land. The nine and twentieth, at foure in the morning the wind at North-east, a pretie gale, we thought best to shorten our way, so we tacked about and stood North North-west, the wind a little increasing. About twelue at noone, we saw Ice a head off vs; we cast about again, and stood away East South-east with very much wind, so that we shortned our sayles for the space of two Watches. Then about eight this Eeuening, we strucke a Hull, and it proued the hardest storme that we had in this Voyage. The thirtieth, in the morning was stormie; about noone it ceased, at seuen in the Eeuening it proued almost calme.

The first of Iuly, all the fore-noone the wind was at South-east, we stood North-east for the shoare, hoping to finde an open Sea betweene the shoare and the Ice. About noone wee were embayed with Ice, lying betweene the Land and vs. By our obseruation we were in 78. degrees 42. minutes, whereby we accounted we were thwart of *The great Indraught*. And to free our selues of the Ice, we steered betweene the South-east and South, and to the Westward, as *Iuly. 78. degrees 42. minutes.*

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The great Inlet.

we could haue sea; And about six, this Eeuening it pleased God to giue vs cleere weather; and we found we were shot farre into the Inlet, being almost a Bay, and enuironed with very high Mountayne, with low Land lying betweene them; wee had no ground in this Bay at an hundred fathoms. Then being sure where we were, we steered away West, the wind at South-east and calme, and found all our Ice on the Norther shoare, and a cleare Sea to the Southward.

The second, it pleased God to giue vs the wind at North-east, a faire gale, with cleere weather, the Ice being to the Northward off vs, and the weather shoare, and an open Sea to the Southwards vnder our Lee. We held on our course North-west till twelue of the clocke; hauing sayled in that course 10. leagues, and finding the Ice to fall from vs to the , we gaue thankes to God, who miraculously preserued vs from so many dangers, amongst so huge a quantitie of Ice and Fogge. We steered away North-west, hoping to be free from Ice, we had obseruation 78. degrees 56. minutes, we fell with Ice againe, and trended it as it lay betweene the West and South South-east. The third, we had obseruation 78. degrees 33. minutes. This day wee had our shrouds frozen, it was searching cold, we also trended the Ice, not knowing whether we were cleare or not, the wind being at North.

78. Degrees 56. Minutes.

78. degrees 33. minutes.

The shroudes and sayles frozen.

The fourth, was very cold, and our shroudes and sayles frozen, we found we were farre in the Inlet. The wind being at North, we beare vp and stood South South-east, and South and South-west by West till ten this night. The fift, was very much wind at North Easterly: at twelue we strooke a Hull, hauing brought our selues neare the mouth of the Inlet.

The mouth of the Inlet.

77. degrees 30. minutes.

The sixth, in the morning the wind was as before, and the Sea growne. This morning we came into a very Greene Sea, we had our obseruation 77. degrees 30. minutes. This after-noone the wind and Sea asswaged. About foure of the clocke we set sayle, and steered North-west and by West, the wind being at North North-east. This day proued the cleerest day we had long before. The seuenth, at foure in the morning was very cleare weather, and the faireſt Morning that we saw in three weekes before, we steered as afore, being by our account in 78. degrees nearest hand, and out of the *Sacke*. We found we were compassed in with Land and Ice, and were againe entred into a *Blacke Sea*, which by proofe we found to be an open passage. Now hauing the wind at North North-east, we steered away South & by East, with purpose to fall with the Southermost part of this Land: which we saw, hoping by this meane, either to defray the charge of the Voyage, or else, if it pleased God in time to giue vs a faire wind to the North-east, to satisfie expectation. All this day and night afterward proued calme.

78. degrees. The end of the *Sacke*. A *Blacke* and open Sea.

Much Drift-wood.

Many Seales. Morses.

The eight, all the fore-noone proued calme, and very thicke fogge. This morning we saw many peeces of Drift-wood driue by vs, we heaued out our Boate to stop a leake, and mended our riggings. This day wee saw many Seales, and two Fishes which we iudged to bee Sea-horses, or Morses. At twelue, this night we had the winde at East and by South, wee stood away North-east.

The ninth, all the fore-noone was little wind at South-east, with thicke fogge. This day we were in amongst Ilands of Ice, where we saw many Seales.

The tenth, in the morning was foggie, afterward it proued cleere, we found we were compassed with Ice euery way about vs; wee tacked about, and stood South and by West, and South South-west one Watch fiue leagues, hoping to get more Sea-roome, and to stand for the North-east, we had the wind at North-west.

From hence it seemeth it taken out of *Hen. Hudsons* owne Notes. *Blue* and *Greene Seas*.

The eleuenth, very cleere weather, with the winde at South South-east, we were come out of the *Blue Sea* into our *Greene Sea* againe, where we saw Whales. Now hauing a fresh gale of wind at South South-east, it behooued mee to change my course, and to sayle to the North-east, by the Souther end of *Newland*. But being come into a *Greene Sea*, praying God to direct mee, I steered away North ten leagues. After that, we saw Ice on our Larboord, we steered away East and by North three leagues, and left the Ice behind vs. Then we steered away North till noone. This day wee had the Sunne on the Meridian South and by West, Westerly, his greatest height was 37. degrees 20. minutes. By this obseruation we were in 79. degrees 17. minutes, we had a fresh gale of wind and a smooth sea, by meanes whereof our ship had out-runne vs. At ten this Eeuening cleere weather, and then we had the company of our troublesome neighbours Ice with fogge. The wind was at South South-west. Heere we saw plentie of Seales, and we supposed Beares had beene heere, by their footing and dung vpon the Ice. This day, many of my Companie were sicke with eating of Beares flesh the day before vnsalted.

79. degrees 17. minutes.

Sick of Beares flesh vnsalted.

The twelfth, for the most part was thicke fogge, we steered betweene South and by East, and South South-east 2. ½. leagues, to cleere vs of the Ice. Then we had the wind at South, we steered till noone North-east fiue leagues. This morning we had our shrouds frozen. At noone by our accompt we were in 80. degrees, being little wind at West South-west, almost calme with thicke fogge. This after-noone we steered away North, and sometimes North-east. Then we saw Ice a head off vs, we cast about and stood South-east, with little wind and fogge. Before we cast about by meanes of the thicke fogge, we were very neere Ice, being calme, and the Sea setting on to the Ice, which was very dangerous. It pleased God at the very instant to giue vs a small gale, which was the meanes of our deliuerance, to him be praise therefore. At twelue this night,

80. degrees.

it

it cleered vp, and out of the top *William Collins* our Boat-swaine saw the Land, called *Newland* by the *Hollanders*, bearing South South-west twelue leagues from vs.

Newland or *Greenland*, of which the *Hollanders* hath made a little Discouerie by *Barents*, as before is deliuered, but neither so farre, nor so exact, nor so vsefull: nor first as before is obserued of Sir *H. Willoughbies English* exacter Discoueries finding the Whale and Morse benefit; they also enterloped.

The thirteenth, in the Morning the wind at South and by East, a good gale, we cast about and stood North-east and by East, and by obseruation we were in 80. degrees 23. minutes. This day we saw many Whales. This fore-noone proued cleere weather, and we could not see any signe of Ice out of the top. Betweene noone and three of the cloeke, we steered away North-east and by East fiue leagues, then we saw Ice on head off vs, we steered East two Glasses one league, and could not be cleare of the Ice with that course. Then we steered away South-east two leagues $\frac{1}{2}$, after we sayled East and by North, and East foure leagues, till eight the next morning.

The fourteenth, in the morning was calme with fogge. At nine the wind at East, a small gale with thicke fogge, we steered South-east and by East, and running this course we found our *Greene Sea* againe, which by proofe we found to be freeit from Ice; and our Azure *Blue Sea* to be our Icie Sea. At this time we had more Birds then we vsually found. At noone being a thicke fogge, we found our selues neere Land, bearing East off vs; and running farther we found a Bay open to the West and by North Northerly, the bottome and sides thereof being to our sight very high and ragged Land. The Norther side of this Bayes mouth being high land, is a small Iland, the which we called *Collins* Cape, by the name of our Boat-swaine, who first saw it. In this Bay we saw many Whales, and one of our company hauing a Hooke and Line ouer-boord to trie for Fish, a Whale came vnder the Keele of our ship, and made her held, yet by Gods mercie we had no harme, but the losse of the hooke and three parts of the line. At a South-west Sunne from the North-west and by North, a flood set into the Bay. At the mouth of this Bay we had founding thirtie fathoms, and after sixe and twentie fathoms, but being farther in, we had no ground at an hundred fathoms, and therefore judged it rather a Sound then a Bay. Betweene this high ragged, in the swampes and vallies lay much snow. Heere wee found it hot. On the Souther side of this Bay, lye three or foure small Ilands or Rockes.

Greene Sea freest of Ice, and the *Blue Sea* Icie.

Collins Cape.

Whale danger.

In the bottome of this Bay, *John Colman* my Mate, and *William Collins* my Boat-swaine, with two others of our company went on shoare, and there they found and brought aboord, a payre of Morses teeth in the jaw, they likewise found Whales bones, and some dosen or more of Deeres Hornes, they saw the footings of Beasts of other sorts, they also saw Rore-geese, they saw much drift Wood on the shoare, and found a streame or two of Fresh water. Here they found it hot on the shoare, and dranke water to coole their thirst, which they also commended. Here we found the want of a better Ship-boate. As they certified me, they were not on the shoare past halfe an houre, and among other things brought aboord a Stone of the Country. When they went from vs it was calme, but presently after we had a gale of wind at North-east, which came with the Flood with fogge. We plyed too and againe in the Bay waiting their comming; but after they came aboord we had the wind at East and by South a fine gale, we minding our Voyage, and the time to performe it, steered away North-east, and North North-east. This night proued cleere, and we had the Sunne on the Meridian, on the North and by East part of the Compasse, from the vpper edge of the Horizon with the Crosse-staffe, we found his height 10. degrees 40. minutes, without allowing any thing for the Semidiameter of the Sunne, or the distance of the end of the staffe from the Center in the Eye. From a North Sunne to an East Sunne, we sayled betweene North and North North-east, eight leagues.

A Sound is a greater and deeper indraught then a Bay.

Heat beyond 80. degrees.

Sunne 10. degrees 40. min. high, about mid-night.

The fifteenth, in the morning was very cleere vveather, the Sunne shining vvarme, but little vvind at East Southerly. By a South-east Sunne vve had brought *Collins* Cape to beare off vs South-east, and we saw the high Land of *Newland*, that part by vs Discouered on our starboord, eight or ten leagues from vs, trending North-east and by East, and South-west and by West, eighteene or twentie leagues from vs to the North-east, being a very high Mountaynous land, like ragged Rockes vvith snow betweene them. By mine account, the Norther part of this Land which now vve saw, stretched into 81. degrees. All this day proued cleere vveather, little Wind, and reasonable vvarme.

81. degrees.

The sixteenth, in the morning warme and cleere weather, the vvind at North. This morning we saw that vve vvere compassed in with Ice in abundance, lying to the North, to the North-vvest, the East and South-east, and being runne toward the farthest part of the Land by vs discouered, which for the most part trendeth neareſt hand North-east and South-west, vvee saw more Land ioyning to the same, trending North in our sight, by meanes of the cleernesse of the vveather, streeching farre into 82. degrees; and by the bowing or shewing of the skie much farther. Which when I first saw, I hoped to haue had a free Sea betweene the Land and the Ice, and meant to haue compassed this Land by the North. But now finding by proofe it vvas vnpossible, by means of the abundance of Ice compassing vs about by the North, and ioyning to the land, and seeing God did blesse vs with a faire wind to sayle by the South of this Land to the North-east, vve returned, bearing vp the Helme, minding to hold that part of the Land, vvhich the *Hollanders* had discouered in our sight, and if contrary vvindes should take vs, to Harbour there, and to trie what vve could finde to the charge of our Voyage, and to proceed on our Discouerie, as soone as God should blesse vs with Winde. And this I can assure at this present, that betweene 78. degrees

Land stretching into 82. degrees.

They returned

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grees and ½. and 82. degrees by this way there is no passage: but I thinke this Land may bee profitable to those that will aduenture it. In this Bay before spoken of, and about this coast, we
Abundance of Seales. saw more abundance of Seales then we had seene any time before swimming in the water. At noone, this day hauing a stiffe gale of wind at North, we were thwart of *Collins* Cape, standing in 81. degrees and a halfe: and at one of the clocke the Cape beare North-east off vs. From thence I set our course West South-west, with purpose to keepe in the open Sea free from Ice, and sayled in that course 16. leagues. At ten this night we steered away South-west, with the wind at North a hard gale, vntill eight the next morning 18. leagues.

The seuenteenth, in the morning a good gale at North: at eight, we altered our course, and steered away South till eight in the Eeuening, and ranne 12. leagues. This day proued reasonable cleere and warme. The eighteenth, in the morning the wind encreased at South and by East, with thicke fogge. All this after-noone and night proued close weather, little fogge, and reasonable warme.

The nineteenth, at eight in the morning the wind at South, with thicke fogge, we steered South-east 4. leagues till noone: then the wind vered more large; wee steered South-east and by East 4. leagues till foure: then wee vered shete, and steered East and by South Easterly, 15. leagues, till eight the next morning. This day after the morning proued reasonable cleere and warme.

The twentieth, in the morning little wind: at eight this morning wee saw Land ahead of vs vnder our Lee, and to weatherward of vs distant from vs 12. leagues, being part of *Newland*. It is very high mountainous Land; the highest that we had seene vntill now. As we sayled neere it, we saw a Sound ahead of vs, lying East and west. The Land on the Norther side of this Sounds mouth, trendeth neerest hand West North-west, and East South-east 12. leagues, in our sight being 10. leagues from vs. And the Land on the Souther side being 8. or 10. leagues in our sight; at this time trendeth South South-east, and North North-west; from eight to noone
77. degr. 26. m. was calme. This day by obseruation we were in 77. degrees 26. minutes. On the Norther side of the mouth of this Inlet lie three Ilands, not farre the one from the other, being very high mountainous Land. The farthest of the three to the North-west, hath foure very high Mounts like heapes of Corne. That Iland next the Inlets mouth, hath one very high Mount on the Souther end. Here one of our companie killed a red billed Bird. All this day after the morning, and all night proued calme, enclining rather to heate then cold. This night wee had some warme rayne.

The one and twentieth, all the fore-noone calme; at foure in the after-noone we had a small gale of wind at South South-east, with fog; we steered away East to stand in with the Land, and sayled 3. leagues vntill mid-night: then the wind came at North-east, we cast about, and steered South 10. leagues till eight the next morning. The two and twentieth, at eight in the morning much wind at East, and variable, with short sayle wee steered 3. leagues South and by East: then came downe very much wind; wee strooke a hull. All this after-noone and night, proued very much wind with raine.

The three and twentieth, all the fore-noone was very much wind at South, with raine and fogge. At foure this after-noone wee saw Land, bearing North-east of vs 6. leagues from vs. Then we had the wind at South South-west; wee steered away South-east, and South-east and by East 4. leagues, the Sea being very much growne. We accounted we had hulled North-west and by North 22. leagues; and North 3. leagues. Then fearing with much wind to be set on a lee shoare, we tackt about, and made our way good West and by North, halfe a point Northerly, all this night with much wind.

The foure and twentieth, in the morning much wind as afore, and the Sea growne. This morning wee strooke our mayne Top-mast to ease our ship, and sayled from the last Eeuening eight to this noone 15. leagues West and by North halfe a point Northerly. From twelue to eight, 6. leagues as afore, with the wind at South and by West: at eight we tackt about with the winde at South South-west, and lay South-east and by East, with much winde, and the Sea growne.

The fiue and twentieth, was a cleere morning we set our mayne Top-mast, we saw Land bearing North of vs, and vnder our Lee, we sayling South-east and by East. Then the wind scanted: we cast about, and lay South-west and by West 2. leagues ½ till noone. Then it began to ouer-cast, and the wind to scant againe: we cast about, and lay South-east and by South, the wind at South-west and by West, and sayled in that course 3. leagues till foure in the after-noone. Then the wind scanted againe, and we sayled 3. leagues South. Now, seeing how contrarie the winde proued, to doe the good which wee desired this way; I thought to proue our fortunes by the West once againe: and this Eeuening at eight, wee being the latitude of 78. with the better, and from Land 15. leagues, which leagues part whereof beare from the North-east to the East off vs, we steered away West, with the wind at South-east, and cleere weather.

The sixe and twentieth, all this day proued rayne with thicke fog, and an hard gale of wind at East and by North, and East North-east. From the last Eeuening at eight to this noone, wee

ranne

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ranne 25. leagues: from noone till mid-night 19. leagues, the wind at East and by South; from mid-night till two the next morning, 2. leagues West.

The seuen and twentieth, extreme thicke fog, and little wind at East and by South. Then it proued calme, and the Sea very loftie. Wee heard a great rutte or noise with the Ice and Sea, which was the first Ice we heard or saw since we were at *Collins* Cape: the Sea heauing vs Westward toward the Ice. Wee heaued out our Boat, and rowed to towe out our ship farther from the danger; which would haue beene to small purpose, by meanes the Sea went so high: but in this extremitie it pleased God to giue vs a small gale at North-west and by West, we steered away South-east 4. leagues till noone. Here we had finished our Discouerie, if the wind had continued that brought vs hither, or if it had continued calme: but it pleased God to make this North-west, and by West wind the meane of our deliuerance: which wind wee had not found common in this Voyage. God giue vs thankfull hearts for so great deliuerance. Here we found the want of a good ship-boat, as once we had done before at *Whales Bay*: we wanted also halfe a dozen long Oares to rowe in our ship. At noone the day cleered vp, and we saw by the skie Ice bearing off vs: from West South-west to the North and North North-east. Then we had a good gale at West, we steered away South till foure 7. leagues. From foure to six South 4. leagues, and found by the Icy skie and our neerenesse to *Groneland*, that there is no passage that way: which if there had beene, I meant to haue made my returne by the North of *Groneland* to *Danis* his Streights, and so for *England*. Here finding we had the benefit of a Westerly wind, which all this Voyage we had found scant, we altered our course, and steered to the Eastward, and ran South-east foure leagues. From eight this Eeuening till noone the next day; East South-east 30. leagues. All this day and night proued very cold, by meanes, as I suppose, of the winds comming off so much Ice.

Danger escaped.

Whales Bay.

The eight and twentieth, very cold, the wind at West, not very foggie. At noone this day we steered away South-east and by East, and by obseruation we were 70. degrees 36. minutes. From noone to eight 10. leagues. Then the wind scanted to South-east and by South, we steered away East and by North 18. leagues, till the next day noone.

The nine and twentieth, all the fore-noone a thicke fog and wet, the wind at South-east and by East, neerest hand, and raw cold. From noone to foure, wee sayled three leagues East and by North, halfe a point Northerly. Then the wind vered more large, we steered East and by South 8. leagues till twelue at night. At this time to windward we heard the rutte of Land; which I knew to be so, by the colour of the Sea. It was extreme thicke fog, so that we could hardly see a Cables length from our ship. We had ground 25. fathoms, small blacke peble stones. Wee sounded againe, and had ground at 30. fathomes small stones like Beanes, at the next cast no ground at 60. fathomes. I cast about againe, and steered South-west 6. leagues, West and by North two leagues till the next day noone. All this day and night extreme thicke fog.

The thirtieth, all the fore-noone very thicke fog. At noone almost calme: after we had little wind, and steered North North-west till two: then it cleered vp, so that we could see from vs 2. leagues with the wind at North-west. Then we steered East South-east: after it cleered. At South in the Eeuening, we saw an Iland bearing off vs North-west from vs 5. leagues, and we saw land bearing off vs from vs 7. leagues. We had land likewise bearing off vs from East South-east, to South-east and by East as wee iudged, 10. leagues. Then hauing the winde at West North-west, we steered South and by East. It presently proued calme till ten this Eeuening: then wee had a little gale at South-west and by West, wee steered away South South-east till twelue this night, and accounted ourselues in 76. from Land 10. leagues: which was the likeliest Land that wee had seene on all the parts of *Newland*, being playne riggie Land of a meane height, and not ragged as all the rest was that we had seene this Voyage, nor couered with snow. At twelue this night we saw two Morses in the Sea neere vs, swimming to Land. From twelue at night to foure, calme.

The one and thirtieth, at foure this morning we had the wind at South-east, we steered South South-west. Then it proued calme, and so continued all the fore-noone. The after-noone wee had the wind at East South-east, we steered South 8. leagues. Then being like to proue much wind, contrarie to our purpose, and finding our fog more thicke and troublesome then before, diuers things necessarie wanting, and our time well nigh spent to doe further good this yeere, I commanded to beare vp for our returne for *England*, and steered away South South-west. And this night proued a hard gale of wind at South-east and by East. Wee were thwart of *Cheries* Iland the next morning at foure of the clocke, being to windward off vs 5. leagues: knowing we were neere it, we looked out carefully for the same, and it prouing cleere, we saw it, being a very ragged Land on the Wester side, rising like Hey-cockes.

Cherie Iland.

The first of August, a very hard gale of wind at East South-east, we shorted sayle, and steered away South South-west. This night was very foggie, with a hard gale of wind at East and by South, we steered by our account 27. leagues: and from eight this Eeuening till the next morning foure, 10. leagues as afore. All this night was very foggie, wet and raw cold.

The second, in the morning calme with a thicke fog, cold and slabbie weather. About noone

we

we had a little gale West and by North, wee steered away as afore. The third, in the morning calme and cleere weather, with a little gale East and by South, we sayled South South-west: then wee had the wind at South-east, wee sayled as afore. All this day and night proued close weather, a little fogge at noone, which continued not long. At twelue this night the wind vered to the East and by North, wee held our course South South-west, as afore.

The fifteenth of August, we put into the Iles of *Farre*, standing in 52. degrees; and the fifteenth of September, I arriued in *Tilberie Hope* in the *Thames*.

CHAP. XV.

A second Voyage or Employment of Master HENRY HVDSON, *for finding a passage to the East* Indies *by the North-east: written by himselfe.*

THeir names employed in this action are as followeth: *Henry Hudson*, Master and Pilot; *Robert* * *Iuet*, the Master his Mate; *Ludlowe Arnall*; *John Cooke*, Boatsonne; *Philip Stacie*, Carpenter; *Iohn Barns*; *Iohn Braunch*, Cooke; *Iohn Adrey*, *Iames Strutton*, *Michael Feirce*, *Thomas Hilles*, *Richard Tomson*, *Robert Raynar*, *Iohn Hudson*, and *Humfrey Gilby*. The courses obserued in this Iournall were by a Compasse, that the Needle and the North of the Flye were directly one on the other.

* I haue *Robert Iuets* Iournall also, for breuitie omitted.

Aprill. *Anno* 1608. the two and twentieth of Aprill, being Friday, we set sayle at Saint *Katherines*, and fell downe to *Blackewall*.

May. The twentieth of May, at noone by obseruation we were in 64. degrees 52. minutes, and at this time and place the Needle declined vnder the Horizon by the Inclinatory 81. degrees, and wee had a smooth Sea, by meanes whereof my obseruation was good.

The one and twentieth, at night thicke fog, wee sayled North North-east, with the wind at East. The two and twentieth, in the fore-noone the winde at South-east, wee steered North North-east, as afore: in the after-noone little wind and thicke fog; we accounted vs in 67. degrees, the Sea smooth, the Needle declined 82. degrees, this night was calme and cleere. The three and twentieth, in the morning the wind was Easterly, we stood North North-East, and North and by East. All the fore-noone was foggie: in the after-noone it cleered, and the wind shortned vpon vs, we made our way good North all night. The foure and twentieth, the wind at East North-east, and East and by North, we lay as neere as wee could with a full sayle; wee accounted *Lowfoot* from vs East Northerly, 16. leagues, distant from vs; at foure a clocke this after-noone, wee stood all night, as afore.

Lowfoot.

The fiue and twentieth, the wind at East North-east, we stood away North as we could lie: all this day was cleere weather, and searching cold, which cold begunne the one and twentieth day, and then my Carpenter was taken sicke, and so doth yet continue; and three or foure more of our companie were enclining to sicknesse, I suppose by meanes of the cold. All the night it was calme. The sixe and twentieth, cold but cleere weather, the wind betweene East and East North-east, we stood North-easterly till twelue a clocke at night: then wee had the wind at North-east & North North-east, we stood South-east and East till noone the next day. The seuen and twentieth, cold and drie weather, at noone we had the wind North and North-North-west; Wee stood away North-east, and East North-east, as we could, and accounted our selues in 69. degrees 40. minutes, and the Needle enclined, hauing a smooth Sea, neerest 84. degrees. All night we had wind and weather as afore.

The eight and twentieth, drie cold cleere weather; the wind betweene North North-west and North, we made our way good East North-east; wee saw the Sunne on the North Meridian aboue the Horizon 5. degrees 35. minutes. All this night we had much wind, as afore. The nine and twentieth, a hard gale at North North-west: by account we ranne from mid-night to noone 21. leagues, East North-east. Wee had the Sunne on the Meridian 5. degrees, the latitude 73. degrees 13. minutes, whereby wee found our ship to haue out-runne vs. At mid-night the wind came to South-east: we cast about, and stood East North-east. This day partly cleere weather with some snow. The thirtieth, cold cleere weather, the wind betweene North-east, and East and by North; we went East South-east, and obseruing, were in 73. degrees 50. minutes. The one and thirtieth, cold and cleere weather: from the last day till this day noone, we stood South-east and by South, in the latitude of 72. degrees 45. minutes.

Sun 5. degrees 35. minutes at mid-night.

Iune. The first of Iune, a hard gale at East North-East, with snow: we made our way good South South-east. The second, a hard gale of wind at North-east: towards night, calme with fogge, our course was South-east all day. The third, in the morning we had a sight of the North Cape; and at a West and by North Sunne, the Cape bore off vs South-west, halfe a point Southerly, being from vs 8. leagues: and obseruing the variation, I found it to the Westward 11. degrees:

North Cape.

Variation west 11. degrees.

and

and hauing a ſmooth Sea, the Needle enclined vnder the Horizon 84. degrees and a halfe, the neereſt I could finde. We had the wind at South-weſt, and wee ſtood away North-eaſt and by Eaſt. It was cleere weather, and we ſaw *Norway* Fiſher-men at Sea. Needles inclination 84. degrees and a halfe.

The fourth, warme cleere ſun-ſhine, we ſtood away North-eaſt and by Eaſt. Now by Gods helpe our Carpenter recouered, and made a Maſt for our ſhip-boat, and the companie made a Sayle, we had the Sunne in the ſight on the North Meridian: his height was 5. degrees 40. minutes. Inclination 23. degrees 21. minutes: Poles height 72. degrees 21. minutes. The fift, in the morning calme weather: wee ſounded, and had 140. fathoms, ſand Oze: here wee ſaw a ſwelling Sea ſetting North-eaſt and by Eaſt, and South-weſt and by Weſt, with ſtreame-leches: and we ſaw drift wood. After we had wind; and we ſayled and made our way North North-eaſt: towards night we ſounded, and found ground at 150. fathoms, ſand Oze. This day cleere weather, and not cold. The ſixt, wee had cleere weather, the wind being at Eaſt North-Eaſt, from the laſt day till this day noone; we ſhaped our way on diuers courſes North and by Weſt, in the latitude of 73. degrees 24. minutes. We found that our ſhip had out-runne vs, ſounding in 160. fathoms: in the after-noone little wind.

The ſeuenth, in the morning the wind at South, after at South South-eaſt: from the laſt day till this day noone, wee accounted our way from diuers courſes North-eaſt, 15. leagues. This day was cloſe but cleere weather, and we had a good gale of wind at this time. And three dayes before this, our Cooke and one more of our companie were very ſicke. In the morning, we had ground at 150. fathoms, and at night we had no ground at 180. fathoms, which encreaſed hope. This night we had ſome ſnow, which continued foure houres: then the wind came at North-eaſt and by Eaſt with ſtorme; and with ſhort ſayle we ſtood North and by Weſt: here the Needle enclined 86. degrees. I accounted that we were in 74. degrees and a halfe at neereſt hand. This night we ſaw the Sunne on the North Meridian, his height was 7. degrees 40. minutes, which maketh the Poles height 74. degrees 23. minutes. The eight, from twelue a clocke laſt night till noone, we accounted our way on diuers courſes, North and by Eaſt: then our latitude was 74. degrees 38. minutes, and we had no ground at 200. fathoms. In the after-noone the wind came at South South-eaſt, and South-eaſt and by Eaſt. This day and night wee had cleere weather, and we were here come into a blacke blue Sea. 74. degrees 30. minutes. Darke blue Sea.

The ninth, cleere weather, the wind came at South-eaſt and by Eaſt: from the laſt day till this day noone, wee had a good way North-eaſt, in latitude of 75. degrees 29. minutes: then wee entred into Ice, being the firſt we ſaw in this Voyage: our hope was to goe through it, we ſtood into it, and held our courſe betweene North-eaſt, and Eaſt North-eaſt, looſing for one, and bearing roome for another, till foure in the after-noone: at which time we were ſo farre in, and the Ice ſo thicke and firme ahead, being in it foure or fiue leagues, that wee had endangered vs ſomewhat too farre; wee returned as wee went in, and with a few rubbes of our ſhip againſt the Ice; by eight a clocke this Euening wee got free of it. Wee made our way till next day at noone, South-weſt and by South, 18. leagues: in the middeſt of this way wee had no ground at 180. fathoms. The tenth, in the morning haſey weather; but at noone it cleered vp, and then we caſt about, and ſtood away North and by Eaſt, the wind being at Eaſt South-eaſt, two watches, fiue leagues: then we had the wind at Eaſt, we caſt about, and ſtood South South-eaſt, and made a South way, ſixe leagues. The eleuenth, in the morning a hard ſtorme at Eaſt, and Eaſt and by South we ſtrooke a hull.

The twelfth, in the morning fog, and all day after cleere weather, the wind at South South-weſt, we ſteered Eaſt and by North: at noone being in the latitude 75. degrees 30. minutes. From noone till foure a clocke, fiue leagues Eaſt and by North; then we ſaw Ice ahead of vs, and vnder our Lee trending from the North-weſt to the North and Eaſt of vs: We had ſounding 100. fathom, greeniſh Oze. Here we ſaw diuers pieces of drift wood by vs driuing, and ſtreame Leeches lying South South-weſt, and North North-eaſt. We many times ſaw the like ſince we ſaw the North Cape. The thirteenth, cleere weather, the wind at Eaſt, we made a South way 6. leagues, two watches: then we caſt about, and made a North way one watch 3. leagues $\frac{1}{2}$: At twelue at night, much wind with fog, we ſtrooke ahull and layed our ſhips head to the Southward. The fourteenth, in the fore-noone fog, and our ſhroudes were frozen: the after-noone was cleere Sun-ſhine, and ſo was all the night.

The fifteenth, all day and night cleere ſun-ſhine; the wind at Eaſt, the latitude at noone 75. degrees 7. minutes. We held Weſtward by our account 13. leagues. In the after-noone the Sea was aſſwaged; and the wind being at Eaſt we ſet ſayle, and ſtood South and by Eaſt, and South South-eaſt as we could. This morning, one of our companie looking ouer boord ſaw a Mermaid, and calling vp ſome of the companie to ſee her, one more came vp, and by that time ſhee was come cloſe to the ſhips ſide, looking earneſtly on the men: a little after, a Sea came and ouerturned her: from the Nauill vpward, her backe and breaſts were like a womans, (as they ſay that ſaw her) her body as big as one of vs; her skin very white; and long haire hanging downe behind, of colour blacke: in her going downe they ſaw her tayle, which was like the tayle of a Porpoſe, and ſpeckled like a Macrell. Their names that ſaw her, were *Thomas Hilles* and *Roberts Rayner*. Mermaide ſeene, and deſcribed.

The

The sixteenth, cleere weather, the wind being at East. From the last day till this day noone, we made our way South and by East 9. leagues; and from noon to eight a clocke in the Eeuening, 6. leagues: then we cast about and stood to the Northwards.

The seuenteenth, cleere weather, the wind at South-east and by East; from the last day till this day noone, our way was North-east and by East, at noone being in the latitude of 74. degrees 40. minutes. At after-noone we sounded, and had ground at 86. fathom, greene Oze, and our water whitish greene: Here we saw Whales, Porpoises, and the Sea full of Fowles: from noone to mid-night North-east and by East we had the Sunne at lowest, on the North and by East, Easterly part of the Compasse: latitude 74. degrees 54. minutes. Sounding we had 92. fathoms water, Oze as before.

The eighteenth, faire weather, the wind at South-east and by East, from mid-night till this day noone, wee sayled North-east and by East, in the Latitude of 75. degrees 24. minutes, and had ground at ninetie fiue fathome Oze, as afore. Heere we had Ice in our sight to the Northward off vs. In the after-noone, hauing little wind at North-east, we cast about and lay East South-east, and at sixe a clocke, had ground at ninetie fiue fathoms and a halfe Oze, as afore. From noone to twelue a clocke at night, our way was South-east, and South-east and by East, and had the Sunne on the Meridian, North and by East halfe a point Eastward. The Sunnes height was eight degrees 40. minutes. Sounding ninetie fathom. All this day, we had Ice on our Larboord trending: and at this time, from the North-west off vs to the East South-east, I haue some reason to thinke there is a Tide or Current setting to the Northwards; the course wee held and the way we made betweene this noone and mid-night Obseruations, doe make mee suspect it the more.

Current.

Needles inclination 89. degrees and a halfe, in 75. degrees 22. min.

The nineteenth, faire and warme weather, the sea smooth. Here the Needle inclined vnder the Horizon 89. degrees and a halfe, being in the Latitude at noone of 75. degrees 22. minutes; Sounding wee had ground in an hundred fathom. From twelue a clocke last night till this day at noone, we accounted our way from East and by North to South-east, ten leagues, hauing Ice alwayes in our sight trending on our Larboord, wee had the winde betweene North, and North North-west. We saw the Sunne at the lowest on the North and by East, halfe a point Easterly, his height was 8. degrees 10. minutes, which maketh the Poles height 74. degrees 56. minutes; Sounding we had ground in one hundred and twentie sixe fathom. From noone to this time, wee accounted our way East and by South, and East South-east, twelue leagues.

Beares roaring

Store of Seals.

The twentieth, faire warme weather, this morning at foure of the clocke, wee had depth one hundred and twentie fiue fathom. Heere we heard Beares roare on the Ice; and we saw vpon the Ice and neare vnto it, an incredible number of Seales. We had sounding one hundred and fifteen fathom, and after ground at ninetie fiue fathom sandie Oze. We had the Sun on the Meridian North and by East, halfe a point Easterly; his height was 7. degrees 20. minutes. From twelue a clocke last night, to twelue a clocke this night, our way was made good by our account South-east and by South, twelue leagues, and South-east, three leagues and a halfe, the Ice alwayes being on our Larboord. The wind this day, betweene North and North-west.

Sunne at mid-night high 7. degrees 40. minutes, in 74. degrees 33. minutes.

Iuets notes tell of a sudden variation of the Compasse, from the North to the East one point, which had been two immediately before.

The one and twentieth, at foure a clocke in the morning wee sounded, and had one hundred and twentie fathome greene Oze, and the Ice bore off vs East, the winde variable; in diuers courses wee made our way good South South-east; our Latitude at noone being 74. degrees 9. minutes, we were haled to the Northward beyond expectation. All this day faire, cleere, and warme weather, and Ice on our Larboord at a North and by East Sunne; being then at lowest, his height was 7. degrees 40. minutes, which made the Poles height 74. degrees 33. minutes. From the last day at noone, till twelue a clocke this night, by account of our ships way, wee made our way good East North-east, sixe leagues and a halfe; whereby it doth appeare how we were haled to the Northward. Heere wee had ground at one hundred and thirteene fathome, greene sandie Oze.

The two and twentieth, faire cleare weather, the winde at West North-west. At eight a clocke in the Morning, we had ground at one hundred and fifteene fathom, greene Oze. From mid-night to noone, our course was North-east and by East, being in the Letitude of 74. degrees 35. minutes, and we found that our ships way, and our obseruation were not but there was carefull heed taken of both. Heere we had Ice a head off vs, trending to the South-east; and all day before Ice on our Larboord. Here we stood South-east fiue leagues, then the Ice trended South and by West sixe leagues; we sayled by it, and doubled it by eight a clocke in the Eeuening, and then it bore East off vs. Heere hauing a smooth sea, the Needle inclined 85. degrees, from eight a clocke to twelue, North and by East Easterly. Then we had the Sunne on the Meridian, North and by East ½. a poynt Easterly. The Sunnes height was 7. degrees 45. minutes, which made the Latitude 74. degrees 43. minutes.

The three and twentieth, in the morning thicke fogge, the wind at North North-west. From mid-night till foure a clocke this morning, we sayled North-east fiue leagues, and then we were among the Ice; we cast about, and stood two houres South-west, two leagues, and had no ground at one hundred and eightie fathom. Then we cast about againe, and stood East till eight a clocke

two

two leagues, and then it cleered vp, and we had Ice a head off vs. And from North, we ſtood to South-eaſt, and our ſhroudes were frozen. Then till noone wee went East and by South, foure leagues, and were neere Ice on our Larboord, in the Latitude of 74. degrees 30. minutes. In the after-noone the wind being at North, wee ſtood two houres and a halfe, fiue leagues and a halfe; three houres South South-eaſt, fiue leagues; one houre South-eaſt and by South, one league and a halfe; an houre East halfe a league, which brought eight in the Eeuening alwayes Ice on our Larboord. This after-noone, wee had ſome ſnow. From eight a clocke to mid-night, South South-weſt foure leagues, with Ice as afore. We ſaw the Sunne at the loweſt, North North-eaſt, his height was 7. degrees 15. minutes, the Poles height 74. degrees 18. minutes.

The foure and twentieth, cleere, but cold and ſome ſnow, the wind betweene North North-eaſt, and North-eaſt, from mid-night to foure a clocke, wee ſtood Southward two leagues, and South-eaſt and by East two leagues. And from foure a clocke till noone, South-eaſt Southerly nine leagues, ſounding we had ground in one hundred and fortie fathome. From noone to three a clocke, we ſtood South-eaſt and by South three leagues; from three to foure, South-weſt and by South one league; and had Ice from the North-eaſt to the South-eaſt off vs. From foure a clocke to eight, we ſtood South-weſt two leagues and a halfe, Southward halfe a league, with Ice neere vs vnder our Lead.

The fiue and twentieth, cold and cleare, the wind at East South-eaſt; from eight a clocke laſt night till foure this morning, our way was South and by East foure leagues and a halfe; ſounding we had ground in eightie fathome, then we had little wind till noone, at East North-eaſt, and the Sunne on the Meridian, on the South-weſt and by South point of the Compaſſe, ere it began to fall, wee were in the Latitude of 72. degrees 52. minutes, and had Ice on our Larboord, and our hope of paſſage was gone this way, by meanes of our neareneſſe to *Noua Zembla*, and the abundance of Ice. We had from Noone to eight a clocke in the Eeuening, the wind between North North-eaſt, and North-eaſt, we ſtood South-eaſt three leagues and a halfe, and had Ice on our Larboord, and ſhoalding ſixtie eight fathome.

The ſixe and twentieth, faire Sun-ſhining weather, and little wind at East North-eaſt. From twelue a clocke at night till foure this morning, we ſtood Southward two leagues, ſounding wee had ſixtie ſixe fathome Oaze, as afore. From foure a clocke to noone, South-eaſt and by South foure leagues, and had the Sunne on the Meridian, on the South-eaſt and by South point of the Compaſſe, in the Latitude of 72. degrees 25. minutes, and had ſight of *Noua Zembla* foure or fiue leagues from vs, and the place called by the *Hollanders*, *Swart Cliffe*, bearing off South-eaſt. In the after-noone, wee had a fine gale at East North-eaſt, and by eight of the clocke, we had brought it to beare off vs East Southerly, and ſayled by the ſhoare a league from it.

No paſſage that way. *Swart* Cliffe.

The ſeuen and twentieth, all the fore-noone it was almoſt calme; wee being two mile from the ſhoare, I ſent my Mate *Robert Iuet*, and *Iohn Cooke* my Boat-ſwaine on ſhoare, with foure others, to ſee what the Land would yeeld that might bee profitable, and to fill two or three Caskes with water. They found and brought aboord ſome Whales Finnes, two Deeres Hornes, and the Dung of Deere, and they told me that they ſaw Graſſe on the ſhoare of the laſt yeere, and young Graſſe came vp amongſt it a ſhaftman long; and it was boggie ground in ſome places, there are many ſtreames of Snow water nigh, it was very hot on the ſhoare, and the ſnow melted apace, they ſaw the footings of many great Beares, of Deere, and Foxes. They went from vs at three a clocke in the morning, and came aboord at a South-eaſt Sunne; and at their comming, wee ſaw two or three companies of Morſes in the ſea neere vs ſwimming, being almoſt calme. I preſently ſent my Mate, *Ladlow* the Carpenter, and ſixe others a ſhoare, to a place where I thought the Morſes might come on the ſhoare, they found the place likely, but found no ſigne of any that had beene there. There was a Croſſe ſtanding on the ſhoare, much Drift-wood, and ſignes of Fires that had beene made there. They ſaw the footing of very great Deere and Beares, and much Fowle, and a Foxe; they brought aboord Whale finnes, ſome Moſſe, Flowers and greene things that did there grow. They brought alſo two peeces of a Croſſe, which they found there. The Sunne was on the Meridian on the North North-eaſt, halfe a point Eaſterly, before it began to fall. The Sunnes height was 4. degrees 45. minutes, Inclination 22. degrees 33. minutes, which makes the Latitude 72. degrees 12. minutes. There is diſagreement betweene this and the laſt obſeruation; but by meanes of the cleereneſſe of the Sunne, the ſmoothneſſe of the Sea, and the neerneſſe to Land, wee could not bee deceiued, and care was taken in it.

They goe a ſhoare.

The eight and twentieth, at foure a clocke in the Morning our Boat came aboord, and brought two dozen of Fowle, and ſome Egges, whereof a few were good, and a Whales finne; and wee all ſaw the Sea full of Morſes, yet no ſignes of their being on ſhoare. And in this calme, from eight a clocke laſt Eeuening, till foure this Morning, we were drawne backe to the Northward, as farre as wee were the laſt Eeuening at foure a clocke, by a Streame or a Tide; and we choſe rather ſo to driue, then to aduenture the loſſe of an Anchor, and the ſpoyle of a Cable. Heere our new Ship-boate began to doe vs ſeruice, and was an incouragement to my Companie, which want I found the laſt yeere.

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The nine and twentieth, in the morning calme, being halfe a league from the ſhoare, the Sea being ſmooth, the Needle did encline 84. degrees, we had many Morſes in the Sea neere vs, and deſiring to find where they came on ſhoare, wee put to with Sayle and Oares, towing in our Boat, and rowing in our Barke to get about a point of Land, from whence the Land did fall more Eaſterly, and the Morſes did goe that way. VVee had the Sunne on the Meridian on the South and by VVeſt point, halfe a point to the VVeſter part of the Compaſſe, in the latitude of 71. degrees 15. minutes. At two a clocke this after-noone we came to anchor in the mouth of a Riuer, where lieth an Iland in the mouth thereof, foure leagues: wee anchored from the Iland in two and thirtie fathomes, blacke ſandy ground. There droue much Ice out of it with a ſtreame that ſet out of the Riuer or Sound, and there were many Morſes ſleeping on the Ice, and by it we were put from our Road twice this night; and being calme all this day, it pleaſed God at our need to giue vs a fine gale, which freed vs out of danger. This day was calme, cleere and hot weather: all the night we rode ſtill.

Riuer and Iland.

The thirtieth, calme, hot, and faire weather, we weighed in the morning, and towed and rowed, and at noone we came to anchor neere the Ile aforeſaid in the mouth of the Riuer, and ſaw very much Ice driuing in the Sea, two leagues without vs lying South-eaſt and North-weſt; and driuing to the North-weſt ſo faſt, that wee could not by twelue a clocke at night ſee it out of the top. At the Iland where wee rode, lieth a little Rocke, whereon were fortie or fiftie Morſes lying aſleepe, being all that it could hold, it being ſo full and little. I ſent my companie aſhoare to them, leauing none aboord but my Boy with mee: and by meanes of their neereneſſe to the water, they all got away, ſaue one which they killed, and brought his head aboord; and ere they came aboord they went on the Iland, which is reaſonable high and ſteepe, but flat on the top. They killed and brought with them a great Fowle, whereof there were many, and likewiſe ſome Egges, and in an houre they came aboord. This Ile is two flight-ſhot ouer in length, and one in breadth. At mid-night our Anchor came home, and wee tayld aground by meanes of the ſtrength of the ſtreame, but by the helpe of God, wee houed her off without hurt. In ſhort time wee moued our ſhip, and rode ſtill all night; and in the night wee had little wind at Eaſt, and Eaſt South-eaſt. VVee had at noone this day an obſeruation, and were in the latitude of 71. degrees 15. minutes.

Iuly.

The firſt of Iuly, we ſaw more Ice to Sea ward of vs; from the South-eaſt to the North-weſt, driuing to the North-weſt. At noone it was calme, and we had the Sunne on the Meridian, on the South and by VVeſt point, halfe a point to the VVeſterly part of the Compaſſe, in the latitude of 71. degrees 24. minutes. This morning I ſent my Mate *Eueret*, and foure of our companie to rowe about the Bay, to ſee what Riuers were in the ſame, and to find where the Morſes did come on land; and to ſee a Sound or great Riuer in the bottome of the Bay, which did alwaies ſend out a great ſtreame to the Northwards, againſt the tide that came from thence: and I found the ſame in comming in, from the North to this place before this. VVhen by the meanes of the great plenty of Ice, the hope of paſſage betweene *Newland* and *Noua Zembla* was taken away; my purpoſe was by the *Vaygats* to paſſe by the mouth of the Riuer *Ob*, and to double that way the North Cape of *Tartaria*, or to giue reaſon wherefore it will not be: but being here, and hoping by the plentie of Morſes wee ſaw here, to defray the charge of our Voyage; and alſo that this Sound might for ſome reaſons bee a better paſſage to the Eaſt of *Noua Zembla*, then the *Vaygats*, if it held according to my hope conceiued by the likeneſſe it gaue: for whereas we had a floud came from the Northwards; yet this Sound or Riuer did runne ſo ſtrong, that Ice with the ſtreame of this Riuer was carried away, or any thing elſe againſt the floud: ſo that both in floud and ebbe, the ſtreame doth hold a ſtrong courſe; and it floweth from the North three houres, and ebbeth nine.

His purpoſe altered.

Strong ſtream.

The ſecond, the wind being at Eaſt South-eaſt, it was reaſonable cold, and ſo was Friday; and the Morſes did not play in our ſight as in warme weather. This morning at three of the clocke, my Mate and companie came aboord, and brought a great Deeres horne, a white locke of Deeres haire; foure dozen of Fowle, their Boat halfe laden with drift Wood; and ſome Flowers and greene things, that they found growing on the ſhoare. They ſaw a herd of white Deere, of ten in a companie on the land; much drift wood lying on the ſhoare, many good Bayes, and one Riuer faire to ſee to on the North ſhoare, for the Morſes to land on: but they ſaw no Morſes there, but ſignes that they had beene in the Bayes. And the great Riuer or Sound, they certified me, was of breadth two or three leagues, and had no ground at twentie fathoms, and that the water was of the colour of the Sea, and very ſalt, and that the ſtreame ſetteth ſtrongly out of it. At ſixe a clocke this morning, came much Ice from the Southward driuing vpon vs, very fearefull to looke on: but by the mercy of God and his mightie helpe, wee being moored with two Anchors ahead with vering out of one Cable, and heauing home the other, and fending off with Beames and Sparres, eſcaped the danger: which labour continued till ſixe a clocke in the Eeuening, and then it was paſt vs, and we rode ſtill and tooke our reſt this night.

Herd of white Deere.

The third, the wind at North a hard gale: At three a clocke this morning wee weighed our anchor, and ſet ſayle, purpoſing to runne into the Riuer or Sound before ſpoken of.

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The fourth, in the morning it cleered vp with the wind at North-west, we weighed and set sayle, and stood to the Eastwards, and past ouer a Reefe, and found on it fiue and a halfe, sixe, sixe and a halfe, and seuen fathoms water: then we saw that the Sound was full, & a very large Riuer from the North-eastward free from Ice, and a strong streame comming out of it: and wee had sounding then, foure and thirtie fathoms water. Wee all conceiued hope of this Northerly Riuer or Sound, and sayling in it, wee found three and twentie fathomes for three leagues, and after twentie fathomes for fiue or sixe leagues, all tough Ozie ground. Then the winde vered more Northerly, and the streame came downe so strong, that wee could doe no good on it: wee came to anchor, and went to supper, and then presently I sent my Mate *Iuet*, with fiue more of our companie in our Boat, with Sayle and Oares to get vp the Riuer, being prouided with Victuall and Weapons for defence, willing them to sound as they went; and if it did continue still deepe, to goe vntill it did trende to the Eastward, or to the Southwards, and wee rode still. The Riuer searched.

The fift, in the morning we had the wind at West: we began to weigh anchor, purposing to set sayle and to runne vp the Sound after our companie: then the wind vered Northerly vpon vs, and we saued our labour. At noone our companie came aboord vs hauing had a hard rought; for they had beene vp the Riuer sixe or seuen leagues, and sounded it from twentie to three and twentie; and after brought it to eight, sixe, and one fathome; and then to foure foot in the best: they then went ashoare, and found good store of wilde Goose quills, a piece of an old Oare, and some Flowers, and greene things which they found growing: they saw many Deere, and so did we in our after-dayes sayling. They being come aboord, we presently set sayle with the wind at North North-west, and we stood out againe to the South-westwards, with sorrow that our labour was in vaine: for, had this Sound held as it did make shew of, for breadth, depth, safenesse of harbour, and good anchor ground, it might haue yeelded an excellent passage to a more Easterly Sea. Generally, all the Land of *Noua Zembla* that yet wee haue seene, is to a mans eye a pleasant Land: much mayne high Land with no Snow on it, looking in some places greene, and Deere feeding thereon: and the Hills are partly couered with Snow, and partly bare. It is no maruell that there is so much Ice in the Sea toward the Pole, so many Sounds and Riuers being in the Lands of *Noua Zembla*, and *Newland* to ingender it; besides the coasts of *Pechora*, *Russia*, and *Greenland*, with *Lappia*, as by proofes I finde by my trauell in these parts: by meanes of which Ice I suppose there will be no nauigable passage this way. This Eeuening wee had the wind at West and by South: wee therefore came to anchor vnder *Deere* Point; and it was a storme at Sea, wee rode in twentie fathomes, Ozie ground: I sent my Mate, *Ladlow*, with foure more ashoare to see whether any Morses were on the shoare, and to kill some Fowle, (for we had seene no Morses since Saturday, the second day of this moneth, that wee saw them driuing out of the Ice.) They found good landing for them, but no signe that they had beene there: but they found that fire had beene made there, yet not lately. At ten of the clocke in the Eeuening, they came aboord, and brought with them neere an hundred Fowles called Wellocks; this night it was wet fogge, and very thicke and cold, the winde at West South-west. *Noua Zembla* pleasant to the eye. Cause of much Ice in those Seas, which make no nauigable passage.

The sixt, in the morning wee had the wind stormie and shifting; betweene the West and South-west, against vs for doing any good: we rode still and had much Ice driuing by vs to the Eastward of vs. At nine of the clocke, this Eeuening wee had the wind at North North-west: we presently weighed, and set sayle, and stood to the Westward, being out of hope to find passage by the North-east: And my purpose was now to see whether *Willoughbies* Land were, as it is layd in our Cardes; which if it were, wee might finde Morses on it; for with the Ice they were all driuen from hence. This place vpon *Noua Zembla*, is another then that which the *Hollanders* call *Costing Sarch*, discouered by *Oliuer Brownell*: and *William Barents* sons obseruation doth witnesse the same. It it layd in plot by the *Hollanders* out of his true place too farre North: to what end I know not, vnlesse to make it hold course with the Compasse, not respecting the variation. It is as broad and like to yeeld passage as the *Vaygats*, and my hope was, that by the strong streame it would haue cleered it selfe; but it did not. It is so full of Ice that you will hardly thinke it. All this day, for the most part, it was fogge and cold. *Willoughbies* Land, a conceit of Cardmakers: it seeming to be no other then *Newland* or *Greenland* (as is before obserued *cap.* 2.) as *Costing Sarch* of *Brunell* is to others *Noua Zembla*. Note.

The seuenth, cleere but cold weather: in the morning the wind was at the North; from the last Eeuening to this morning, we set saile and kept our course West and by South, fifteene leagues. from morning to eight a clocke in the Eeuening it was calme: then we had the wind againe at North, and we sayled till nine a clocke next morning West South-west, eight leagues; then the wind being West and by South, wee went North and by West, three leagues, and wee had the Sunne at the highest South South-west, in the latitude of 71. degrees 2. minutes. The eight, faire weather; at noone we had the wind at East North-east, we stood North three leagues till foure a clocke: then the wind being at west and by North, wee stemmed North and by West one league and a halfe, till six a clocke in the Eeuening; then the wind was at North-east a hard gale, and wee stood till next day at noone West and by North, by account three and twentie leagues: we had the Sunne on the Meridian, South and by West, halfe a point neerest West, in

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the latitude of 70. degrees 41. minutes. The ninth, cleere weather: from this to the next day at noone, we sayled South-west and by West, twelue leagues, and Northward three leagues: and in these courses had these soundings, 41. 42. 46. 48. and 45. fathoms: we had the Sunne South and by VVest, halfe a point to the VVest part of the Compasse. The Sea was loftie: our latitude was 70. degrees 20. minutes.

The tenth, cleere but close weather: from this till next day noone, wee had little wind at West North-west: by account we made our way fiue leagues North-easterly. Wee had the Sun at the highest on the South and by West point, and a terce Westward, in the latitude of 70. degrees 55. minutes, and I thinke we had a rustling tide vnder vs; and in this time had sounding betweene fortie fiue and fortie fathomes, white sand. The eleuenth, cleere weather: from this to the next day at noone, little wind at North North-east, and sometimes calme; wee sayled West and by North by account fiue leagues; and had the Sunne on the Meridian on the South and by West point ½. West in the latitude of 70. degrees 26. minutes, and found a rustling vnder vs. This fore-noone we were come into a greene Sea, of the colour of the mayne Ocean, which we first lost the eight of Iune: since which time wee haue had a Sea of a blacke blue colour, which (both by the last and this yeeres experience) is a Sea pestered with Ice.

Greene Sea.

The twelfth, faire weather: from noone to mid-night wee had the wind shifting betweene the North and West; our course was betweene VVest North-west, and South South-west. Then we had the wind at South, we sayled till the next day at noone, West and by North, thirteene leagues: wee accounted our way from the last day till this day noone Westward, eighteene leagues. This after-noone wee saw more Porpoises then in all our Voyage afore. The thirteenth, close weather: in the after-noone hauing much wind at South, with short sayle we stood away West and by North, till eight a clocke in the Eeuening: then we had the wind at South, but most times calme till noone the next day: wee stood away as afore, foure leagues, which made in all twelue leagues: we had the Sunne ere it began to fall, South and by West, in the latitude of 70. degrees 22. minutes.

The fourteenth, wee stood West North-west till mid-night, seuenteene leagues: then the wind scanted and came at West, we stood North North-west, one league and a halfe; then the wind being more Southerly, wee sayled West North-west, fiue leagues. From the last till this day at noone, our way was out of diuers courses North-west and by West, foure and twentie leagues. We had the Sunne beginning to fall at South and by West, in the latitude of 70. degrees 54. minutes.

Thunder.

The fifteenth, faire; but towards night like to be stormie with thunder, the wind betweene South and South South-east; from this, till the sixteenth day at noone, our course was West and by North, seuen and twentie leagues, and the Sunne then began to fall at South, three quarters of a point Westward, in the latitude of 70. degrees 42. minutes. The sixteenth, faire; our way was from this till next day at noone North-west, twelue leagues, out of diuers courses: and we had the wind shifting, sometimes at East, at West South-west, and West and by North; the latitude by a bad obseruation, 71. degrees 44. minutes. The seuenteenth, in the fore-noone faire; the wind being at West and by North. At foure a clocke this morning we saw Land beare off vs, West and South South-west, which was about *Ward-house*: this after-noone wee had a storme at West and by North, we layed it to trie till eight a clocke in the Eeuening, and then set sayle with the wind betweene West North-west, and North-west: our course till the next day at noone, was South-west and by South, twelue leagues: the Cape *Hopewell* bore off vs South South-west, and we were foure or fiue leagues from land.

The eighteenth, gusty, with raine all the fore-noone; then we had the wind shifting till next day at noone from South South-east to East, and South-east: our course in generall was North-west, foure and twentie leagues: then did North *Kent* beare off vs West halfe a point Southward, being from vs foure leagues; and the North Cape in sight bearing West and by North, &c.

No night in ten weekes.

The seuen and twentieth, cold with raine and storme; this night we began to burne Candle in the Betacle, which we had not done since the nineteenth of May: by reason wee had alwaies day from thence till now. The thirtieth, we had the Sunne vpon the Meridian due South, in the latitude of 68. degrees 46. minutes; whereby we found vs to bee afore our ship, ten or twelue leagues, and *Lowsoe* bore East of vs, but not in sight.

The seuenth of August, I vsed all diligence to arriue at *London*, and therefore now I gaue my companie a certificate vnder my hand, of my free and willing returne, without perswasion or force of any one or more of them: for at my being at *Nona Zembla*, the sixt of July, voide of hope of a North-east passage, (except by the *Vaygats*, for which I was not fitted to trie or proue) I therefore resolued to vse all meanes I could to sayle to the North-west; considering the time and meanes wee had, if the wind should friend vs, as in the first part of our Voyage it had done, and to make triall of that place called *Lumleys Inlet*, and the furious ouer-fall by Captayne *Danis*, hoping to runne into it an hundred leagues, and to returne as God should enable mee. But now hauing spent more then halfe the time I had, and gone but the shortest part of the way, by meanes of contrary winds; I thought it my dutie to saue Victuall, Wages, and

See Hak. 3.

Tackle

Tackle, by my speedy returne, and not by foolish rashnesse, the time being wasted, to lay more charge vpon the action then necessitie should compell, I arriued at *Gravesend* the six and twentieth of August.

CHAP. XVI.

The third Voyage of Master HENRIE HVDSON *toward* Noua Zembla, *and at his returne, his passing from* Farre *Ilands, to* New-found Land, *and along to fortie foure degrees and ten minutes, and thence to* Cape Cod, *and so to thirtie three degrees; and along the Coast to the Northward, to fortie two degrees and an halfe, and vp the Riuer neere to fortie three degrees. Written by* ROBERT IVET *of* Lime-house.

ON Saturday the fiue and twentieth of March, 1609. after the old Account, we set sayle from *Amsterdam*; and by the seuen and twentieth day, we were downe at the *Texel*: and by twelue of the clocke we were off the Land, it being East of vs two leagues off. And because it is a journey vsually knowne, I omit to put downe what passed, till we came to the height of *The North Cape of Finmarke*, which we did performe by the fift of May *(stilo nouo)* being Tuesday. On which day we obserued the height of the Pole, and found it to bee 71. degrees and 46. minutes; and found our Compasse to vary six degrees to the West: and at twelue of the clocke, the North Cape did beare South-west and by South, tenne leagues off, and wee steered away East and by South, and East. May 5. *stilo nouo.*

After much trouble with fogges, sometimes, and more dangerous of Ice. The nineteenth, being Tuesday, was close stormie weather, with much wind and snow, and very cold: the wind variable betweene the North North-west, and North-east. We made our way West and by North till noone. Then we obserued the Sunne hauing a slake, and found our heigth to bee 70. degrees 30. minutes. And the ship had out-runne vs twentie leagues, by reason of the set of the streame of *The White Sea*: and we had sight of *Wardhouse*. Then at two of the clocke wee tacke to the Eastward: for we could not get about the North Cape, the wind was so scant; and at eight of the clocke at night, on the one and twentieth, the North Cape did beare South-east and by South seuen leagues off. And at mid-night *Assumption* Point did beare South and by East, fiue leagues off vs. *Beale Mort. Wardhouse.* They doubled the North Cape. *Assumption* Point.

The two and twentieth, gusting weather with haile and snow, the Sunne breaking out sometimes: we continued our course along the Land West South-west. And at tenne of the clocke at night we were thwart off *Zenam*. The bodie of it did beare East off vs fiue leagues: and the course from the North Cape to *Zenam*, is for the most part West and by South, and West South-west, fiftie foure leagues. *Zenam.*

The three and twentieth, faire Sun-shining weather; the wind at East and by South, and East South-east, wee steered along the Land South-west, and South-west and by West, eight leagues a Watch, for so we found the Land to lye from *Zenam* to *Lofoote*. And the distance is fiftie leagues from the bodie of *Zenam*, to the Westermost Land of *Lofoote*. And from the one to the other, the course is South-west and by West. For the Needle of our Compasse was set right to the North. At twelue of the clocke at night, the bodie of *Lofoote* did beare South-east, sixe leagues off. *Lofoote.*

The foure and twentieth, faire cleere Sun-shining weather: the wind variable vpon all points of the Compasse, but most vpon the South-east, and sometimes calme. We continued our course West South-west as before. And at eight of the clocke at night, the Souther part of *Lofoote* did beare South-east ten leagues off vs.

The fiue and twentieth, much wind at North-east, with some snow and haile. The first watch the wind came to the East a fine gale, and so came to the North-east, the second watch at foure of the clocke, and freshed in: And at eight of the clocke it grew to a storme, and so continued. At noone we obserued, and made the ship to be in 67. degrees 58. minutes. Wee continued our course South-west, twelue leagues a watch. At nine of the clocke, *Lofoote* did beare East of vs 15. leagues off. And we found the Compasse to haue no variation. The wind increased to a storme. No variation.

The six and twentieth, was a great storme at the North North-east, and North-east. Wee steered away South-west afore the wind with our fore-course abroad: for wee were able to maintayne no more sayles, it blew so vehemently, and the Sea went so high, and brake withall, that it would haue dangered a small ship to lye vnder the Sea. So we skudded seuenty leagues in foure and twentie houres. The storme began to cease at foure of the clocke.

The seuen and twentieth, indifferent faire weather, but a good stiffe gale of wind at North,

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and North North-east, wee held on our course as before. At noone wee obserued and found our heigth to be 64. degrees 10. minutes. And wee perceiued, that the Current had hindred vs in fortie eight houres to the number of 16. leagues to our best judgement. We set our mayne-sayle, sprit-sayle, and our mayne-top-sayle, and held on our course all night, hauing faire weather.

A great current setting to the North-east.

The eight and twentieth, faire weather and little wind at North-east, we held on our course South-west. At noone wee obserued the heigth, and were in 62. degrees and 30. minutes. The after-noone was little wind at North North-west. The second watch it fell calme. At foure of the clocke wee had sight of the Ies called *Farre*, and found them to lye out of their place in the Sea Chart fourteene leagues to farre Westerly. For in running South-west from *Lofoote*, wee had a good care to our steerage and obseruations; and counted our selues thirtie leagues off by our course and obseruation: and had sight of them sixteene or eighteene leagues off.

Farre Ies set 14. leagues to farre West.

The nine and twentieth, faire weather sometimes calme, and sometimes a gale with the wind varying at South-west, and so to the North-east. Wee got to the Ilands, but could not get in. So we stood along the Ilands. The ebbe being come, we durst not put in.

The thirtieth faire weather; the wind at South-east and East South-east. In the morning we turned into a Road in *Stromo*, one of the Ilands of *Farre*, betweene *Stromo* and *Mugge-nes*, and got in by nine of the clocke: for it flowed so there that day. And assoone as we came in, we went to Romage, and sent our Boat for water, and filled all our emptie Caskes with fresh water. Wee made an end of our Romaging this night by ten of the clocke.

Stromo.

The one and thirtieth, faire Sun-shining weather, the wind at East South-east. In the fore-noone our Master with most of his Company went on shoare to walke, and at one of the clocke they returned aboord. Then we set sayle.

Iune.

The first of Iune, *stilo nouo*, faire Sun-shining weather, the wind at East South-east. We continued on our course South-west and by West. At noone wee obserued the Sunne, and found our heigth to be 60. degrees 58. minutes: and so continued on our course all night with faire weather. This night we lighted Candles in the [m] Bittacle againe.

[m] The Bittacle is a close place in which the Compasse standeth.

The second mystie weather, the wind at North-east. At noone we steered away West South-west, to find *Busse* Iland, discouered in the yeere 1578. by one of the ships of Sir *Martin Frobisher*, to see if it lay in her true latitude in the Chart or no: wee continued our course as before all night, with a faire gale of wind: this night we had sight of the first stars, and our water was changed colour to a white greene. The Compasse had no variation.

Busse Iland. Their first sight of stars: for further North, they had continuall Sun-light. Change of water.

The third, faire Sun-shining weather, the wind at North-east. We steered on our course South-west and by West, with a stiffe gale of wind. At noone we obserued and found our heigth to bee 58. degrees 48. minutes. And I was before the ship 16. leagues, by reason of the Current that held vs so strong out of the South-west. For it is eight leagues in foure and twentie houres. We accounted our selues neere *Busse* Iland: by mid-night we looked out for it, but could not see it.

A strange current out of the South-west.

The fourth, in the morning was much wind with fogge and raine. Wee steered away South-west by west all the fore-noone, the wind so increasing, that wee were enforced to take in our top-sayle: the winde continuing so all the after-noone. Wee steered away South-west all the fore-part of the night, and at ten of the clocke at night it was little wind, and that was at South, and so came vp to the South South-east.

The fift, stormie weather, and much wind at South, and South by East, so that at foure of the clocke in the morning, we tooke in our fore-sayle, and lay a try with our mayne corse, and tryed away West North-west foure leagues. But at noone it was lesse wind, and the Sunne shewed forth; and we obserued, and found our heigth to be 56. degrees 21. minutes. In the after-noone the wind vered to and fro betweene the South-west and the South-east, with raine and fogge, and so continued all night. Wee found that our ship had gone to the VVestward of our course. The sixth, thicke hasie weather with gusts of wind, and showers of raine. The wind varied betweene East South-East and South-west, wee steered on many courses a West South-west way. The afternoone watch the wind was at East South-east, a stiffe gale with myst and raine. Wee steered away South-west, by West eight leagues. At noone the Sunne shone forth, and we found the heigth to bee 56. degrees 8. minutes. The seuenth, faire sun-shining weather all the fore-noone, and calme vntill twelue of the clocke. In the after-noone the wind came to the North-west, a stiffe gale. We steered South-west by West, and made a South-west way. At noone we found the height to bee 55. degrees one minute, and it continued all night a hard gale. The eight, stormy weather, the wind variable, betweene West and North-west much wind: at eight of the clocke wee tooke off our Bonnets. At noone the Sunne shewed forth, and wee obserued, and our height was 54. degrees 30. minutes. The ninth, faire sun-shining weather, and little wind all the fore-part of the day vntill eleuen of the clocke. Then the wind came to the South South-east, and we steered away West South-west. At noone we found our height to bee 53. degrees and 45. minutes, and we had made our way South by West ten leagues. In the after-noone the wind increased and continued all night at East North-east and East.

Note well.

Bonets are those which are laced and ecked to the sayles to enlarge them: with reference whereto the mayne course, misen course, fore course, is vnderstood of those sayles without their Bonets.

The twelfth, faire weather, the wind variable betweene East North-east and South-east, wee steered on our course as before. At foure of the clock in the afternoon the wind came vp at South-east.

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east. And we held our course as before. At noone wee obserued and found our height to be 52. degrees 35. minutes.

The eleuenth, in the morning was thicke and foggie, the winde varying betweene South South-west, and North-west. At foure of the clocke in the morning, wee tacke about to the Southward: At eleuen of the clocke the winde came to the North-west, and so to the West North-west. This day we had change of water, of a whitish greene, like to the Ice water to the North-west. At noone it cleered vp, and became very faire weather: wee put out our mayne top-sayle: then we obserued the Sunne, and found our height to be 51. degrees 24. minutes. We had sayled many courses and found our ship gone to the Southward of our account ten leagues, by reason of a current from the North-ward. The Compasse varied on point to the East.

A current from the North. Variation one point East.

The twelfth, faire Sun-shining weather, but much wind at the West: we stood to the South-ward all day, the wind shifting betweene the South-west and the West and by North. Wee made our way South halfe a point West, eight and twentie leagues. Our height at noone was 50. degrees 9. minutes. At eight of the clock at night we took off our Bonets, the wind increasing.

The thirteenth, faire Sun-shining weather: the wind variable betweene the West, and North North-west. We made our way South South-west seuen and twentie leagues. At noone we obserued, and found our heigth to be 48. degrees 45. minutes. But not to be trusted, the Sea went so high. In the after-noone the winde was calmer, and wee brought to our Bonets, and stood to the Southward all night with a stiffe gale.

The fourteenth, faire and cleere Sun-shining weather: the winde variable betweene the North-west and South-west by West. At mid-night I obserued the North starre at a North-west by West Guarde; a good obseruation 49. degrees 30. minutes. And at noone wee obserued the Sunne, and our heigth was 48. degrees 6. minutes. And I made account we ranne betweene the two obseruations twelue leagues. At one of the clocke in the after-noone, wee cast about to the Westward, and stood so all night: the winde increased to a storme, and was very much winde with Raine.

Latitude 48. degrees 6. minutes.

The fifteenth, we had a great storme, and spent * ouer-boord our fore-mast, bearing our fore corse low set. The sixteenth, we were forced to trie without mayne sayle, by reason of the vnconstant weather. So wee tried foure watches South-east and by South eight leagues and an halfe, and two watches sixe leagues. The seuenteenth, reasonable faire weather: the wind variable betweene West South-west, and West North-west. And a stiffe gale of wind, and so great a swelling Sea out of the West South-west, that wee could doe nothing. So one watch and an halfe wee droue North foure leagues and an halfe, and foure watches and an halfe South and by East halfe a point East twelue leagues. The eighteenth, reasonable weather but close and cloudie, and an hard gale of wind, and a great Sea. The winde being at the North-west, wee lay to the Southward, and made our drift South and by West, fiue leagues. The after-noone prooued little wind, and the night part calme. The nineteenth, in the fore-noone faire weather and calme. In the morning we set the piece of our fore mast, and set our fore corse.

* To spend the Mast, is vnderstood of breaking it by foule weather only.

The one and twentieth, faire Sun-shining weather, but much wind and a great Sea. We split our fore saile at ten of the clocke; then we laid it a trie * with our mayne sayle, and continued so all day. In the night it fell to be little wind. This day our heigth was 45. degrees 48. minutes.

* That is, bare no more sayle but the mayne sayle, &c.

The two and twentieth, very faire Sun-shining weather, and calme all the after-noone. At noone we made a very good obseruation, and found our heigth 44. degrees 58. minutes. At eight of the clocke at night wee had a small gale of winde at South-east. And wee steered away West for *Newfound* Land. The true Compasse varied one point East.

Variation.

The three and twentieth, thicke weather with much wind and some raine. At eight of the clocke in the morning, the wind came to the West South-west, and West so stiffe a gale, that we were forced to take our top-sayle, and steered away North North-west vntill foure of the clock in the after-noone. Then we tack to the Southward the winde at West North-west. At eight of the clocke at night wee tooke in our top-sayles, and laid it a trie with our mayne sayle, the winde at West.

The foure and twentieth, a stiffe gale of wind, varying betweene the West and North North-west, we tried till sixe of the clocke: at which time we set our foresaile, and steered way West and by South by our Compasse eight leagues in foure watches: and wee tried away South in one watch and an halfe.

The fiue and twentieth, faire Sun-shining weather, the wind at North North-west and North, we steered away West by South by our Compasse till twelue of the clocke: at which time we had sight of a sayle, and gaue her chase but could not speake with her. She stood to the Eastward; and we stood after her till sixe of the clocke in the after-noone. Then wee tack to the Westward againe, and stood on our course. It was faire all night, and little wind sometimes.

The six and twentieth, all the fore-part of the day very faire weather and hot, but at foure of the clocke in the after-noone it grew to bee much winde and raine: the winde was at South South-east. At noone wee obserued and found our heigth to bee 44. degrees 33. minutes. At eight of the clocke at night, the wind came to South-west, and West South-west. Wee steered North-

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North-weſt, one Watch, and at twelue in the night, to the Weſt, and Weſt and by South, very much wind. So we could lye but North North-weſt.

The ſeuen and twentieth, very much winde and a ſoare ſtorme, the wind Weſterly. In the morning at foure of the clocke, wee tooke in our fore-corſe, and layd it a trie with our mayne-corſe low ſet; and ſo continued all the day and night, two watches to the Northward. At eight of the clocke at night, we tackt to the Southward.

The eight and twentieth, faire ſun-ſhining weather, the wind at Weſt and by South; we lay a trie to the Southward till eight of the clocke in the morning. Then wee ſet our fore-corſe, and ſtood to the Southward a ſtiffe gale of wind, but faire weather and a great Sea, out of the Weſter-boord, and ſo continued all night.

The nine and twentieth, faire ſun-ſhining weather, the wind at Weſt and by South; we ſtood to the Southward vntill ſixe of the clocke at night, and made our way South and by Eaſt, foure leagues. Then the winde came to the South-weſt, and wee caſt about to the VVeſtward, and made our way VVeſt North-weſt all night. At noone, I found the height 43. degrees 6. minutes. The variation one point VVeſt.

The thirtieth, faire ſun-ſhining weather, the winde at South-weſt and by VVeſt, we ſteered North-weſt and by VVeſt. And made our way ſo, by reaſon of the variation of the Compaſſe. At noone, I found the height to bee 43. degrees 18. minutes; wee continued our courſe all night, and made our way North-weſt and by VVeſt, halfe a point VVeſterly, fiue and twentie leagues.

Iuly. The firſt of Iuly, cloſe, myſtie and thicke weather, but a faire gale of wind at South-weſt, and South-weſt by South. We ſteered away North-weſt and by Weſt, Weſterly, and made our way ſo, by reaſon of the variation of the Compaſſe. At eight of the clocke at night, wee ſounded for the Banke of *New-found Land*, but could get noground.

The Banke of *New found Land*. The ſecond, thicke myſtie weather, but little wind, and that at Weſt, and Weſt and by South. At eight of the clocke in the morning, we caſt about to the Southward, and when our ſhip was on ſtayes, we ſounded for the Banke, and had ground in thirtie fathoms, white ſand and ſhells, and preſently it cleered: and we had ſight of a ſayle, but ſpake not with her. In the night we had much Rayne, Thunder and Lightning, and wind ſhifting.

Variation weſt 17. degrees. The third, faire Sun-ſhining weather, with a faire gale of wind at Eaſt North-eaſt, and wee ſteered away Weſt South-weſt by our Compaſſe, which varyed 17. degrees Weſtward. This morning we were among a great Fleet of *French*-men, which lay Fiſhing on the Banke; but we ſpake with none of them. At noone wee found our heighth to bee 43. degrees 41. minutes. And we ſounded at ten of the clocke, and had thirtie fathoms gray ſand. At two of the clocke wee ſounded, and had fiue and thirtie fathoms gray ſand. At eight of the clocke at night, we ſounded againe, and had eight and thirtie fathoms gray ſand, as before.

French-men Fiſhing on the Banke.

The fourth, at the fore-part of the day cleere, with a faire gale of wind, but variable betweene the Eaſt North-eaſt, and South and by Eaſt, wee held on our courſe as before. The after-noone was myſtie, the wind ſhifting betweene the South and the Weſt, till foure of the clocke. Then we tooke in our top-ſayle and ſprit-ſayle, and ſounded and had no ground in ſeuentie fathoms. The winde ſhifted ſtill vntill eight of the clocke, then it came to the North North-eaſt, and North-eaſt and by North, and we ſteered away Weſt North-weſt, by our varyed Compaſſe, which made a Weſt way halfe point North. The Compaſſe varyed 15. degrees from the North to the Weſt.

Variation 15. degrees North-weſt.

The fift, faire ſun-ſhining weather, the wind at North-eaſt and by North, we ſteered away Weſt North-weſt, which was Weſt halfe a point North. At noone we found our heighth to be 44. degrees 10. minutes, and ſounded, and had no ground in one hundred fathoms. The after-noone proued calme ſometimes, and ſomtimes little wind, vntill nine of the clocke in the night. Then the wind came to the Eaſt, and we held on our courſe. At mid-night I obſerued and found the height to bee 44. degrees 10. minutes, by the North Starre and the *Scorpions* heart. The Compaſſe varyed 13. degrees.

Variation 13. degrees.

The ſixth, the fore-part of the day faire weather, and a ſtiffe gale of wind, betweene South South-eaſt, and South-weſt, wee ſteered Weſt and by North, and Weſt North-weſt. The after-part of the day from two of the clocke, was all foggie and thicke weather; the wind a hard gale, varying betweene South-weſt and by South, and Weſt and by North, we made our way North-weſt halfe a point Northerly, nineteene leagues, vpon many points foure Watches. At night at eight of the clocke, we ſounded and had no ground at one hundred fathoms.

Foggie and thick weather.

The ſeuenth, faire ſun-ſhining weather, the wind varying betweene Weſt and by North, and Weſt and by South. At foure of the clocke in the morning, we caſt about to the Southward, and ſtood ſo till one in the after-noone. At noone we found our height to be 44. degrees 26. minutes. At ſeuen of the clocke, we tackt to the Northward. At eight at night, we tackt to the South-ward, and ſounded, and had nine and fiftie fathoms, white ſand.

The eight, in the fore-noone faire weather, but the morning foggie till ſeuen of the clocke. At foure of the clocke in the morning we ſounded, and had fiue & fortie fathoms, fine white ſand, and we had runne fiue leagues South and by Weſt. Then wee ſtood along one Glaſſe, and went

one

one league as before. Then we ſtood one Glaſſe and ſounded, and had ſixtie fathoms. Then wee take and ſtood backe to the Banke, and had fiue and twentie fathoms; and tryed for Fiſh, and it fell calme, and we caught one hundred and eighteene great Coddes, from eight a clocke till one, and after Dinner wee tooke twelue, and ſaw many great Scoales of Herrings. Then wee had a gale of wind at South, and it ſhifted to the Weſt North-weſt, and we ſtood three Glaſſes and ſounded and had ſixtie fathomes, and ſtood two Glaſſes, and had two and fortie fathoms, red ſtones and ſhells. So wee ſounded euery Glaſſe and had ſeuerall ſoundings 35. 33. 30. 31. 32. 33. and 34. fathoms.

Many great Cods taken. Many great Scoales of Herrings. To ſound is to trie the depth by Line and Lead, or Pole, &c.

The ninth, faire calme weather, we lay becalmed all day and caught ſome Fiſh, but not much, becauſe we had ſmall ſtore of ſalt. At three of the clocke in the after-noone, wee had a gale at South-eaſt, and South South-eaſt, and we ſteered away Weſterly, our Compaſſe was Weſt and by South halfe a point South. At foure of the clocke, we ſounded and had but fifteene, ſeuenteene, and nineteene fathoms on a fiſhing Banke; and we ſounded euery Glaſſe. Then we could get no ground in fiue and twentie fathoms, and had ſight of a ſayle on head off vs. At noone our height was 44. degrees 27. minutes. We ſtood to the Weſtward all night, and ſpake with a *French*-man, which lay Fiſhing on the Banke of *Sables*, in thirtie fathoms, and we ſaw two or three more.

The tenth, very myſtie and thicke weather, the wind at South-weſt, a faire gale. We ſtood to the South-ward, and made our way South-eaſt and by Eaſt. At twelue of the clocke we ſounded, and had eight and fortie fathoms: againe at two we ſounded, and had fiftie fathoms. And at ſixe of the clocke we ſounded: and had eight and fortie fathoms on the end of the Banke. Againe, at eight of the clocke at night wee ſounded, and had no ground in eightie fathomes, and were ouer the Banke. So wee ſtood along till mid-night. The Compaſſe varyed 17. degrees to the Weſtward.

Variation 17. degrees.

The eleuenth, very thicke and myſtie weather. At twelue of the clocke at night, we caſt about to the Weſtward, and ſtood ſo all day, and made our way Weſt North-weſt. We ſounded at twelue of the clocke, but had no ground; ſo we ſtood to the Weſtward all the fore-part of the night, and ſounded but could get no ground in fiftie or ſixtie fathoms till mid-night. Then I ſounded and had ground at fifteene fathoms, white ſand.

The twelfth, was very foggie, we ſtood our courſe all the morning till eleuen of the clocke; at which time we had ſight of the Land, which is low white ſandie ground, right on head off vs; and had ten fathoms. Then we tackt to the Southward, and ſtood off foure Glaſſes: then we tackt to the Land againe, thinking to haue rode vnder it, and as we came neere it, the fog was ſo thicke that we could not ſee; ſo wee ſtood off againe. From mid-night to two of the clocke, we came ſounding in twelue, thirteene, and foureteene fathoms off the ſhoare. At foure of the clocke, we had 20 fathoms. At eight of the clocke at night 30. fathoms. At twelue of the clocke 65. fathoms, and but little winde, for it deeped apace, but the neerer the ſhoare the fairer ſhoalding.

Land, being low, white and ſandie.

The thirteenth, faire ſun-ſhining weather, from eight of the clocke in the fore-noone all day after, but in the morning it was foggie. Then at eight of the clocke we caſt about for the ſhoare, but could not ſee it; the wind being at South by our true Compaſſe, wee ſteered VVeſt and by North. At noone we obſerued, and found our height to bee 43. degrees 25. minutes; ſo we ſteered away VVeſt and by North all the after-noone. At foure of the clocke in the after-noone, we ſounded and had fiue and thirtie fathoms. And at ſixe of the clocke, wee had ſight of the Land, and ſaw two ſayles on head off vs. The land by the waters ſide is low Land, and white ſandie Bankes riſing full of little Hils. Our ſoundings were 35. 33. 30. 28. 32. 37. 33. & 32. fathoms.

43. degrees 25. minutes. Sight of Land againe, and of two Ships.

The foureteenth, full of myſts flying and vading, the wind betweene South and South-weſt, we ſteered away Weſt North-weſt, and North-weſt and by Weſt. Our ſoundings were 29. 25. 24. 25. 22. 25. 27. 30. 28. 30. 35. 43. 50. 70. 90. 70. 64. 86. 100. fathoms, and no ground.

The fifteenth, very myſtie, the winde varying betweene South and South-weſt, wee ſteered Weſt and by North, and VVeſt North-weſt. In the morning we ſounded, and had one hundred fathoms, till foure of the clocke in the after-noone. Then we ſounded againe, and had ſeuentie fiue fathoms. Then in two Glaſſes running, which was nor aboue two *Engliſh* miles, we ſounded and had ſixtie fathoms, and it ſhoalded a great pace vntill we came to twentie fathoms. Then we made account we were neere the Ilands that lie off the ſhoare. So we came to an Anchor, the Sea being very ſmooth and little wind, at nine of the clocke at night. After ſupper, we tryed for Fiſh, and I caught fifteene Cods, ſome the greateſt that I haue ſeene, and ſo we rode all night.

The ſixteenth, in the morning it cleered vp, and wee had ſight of fiue Ilands lying North, and North and by VVeſt from vs, two leagues. Then wee made ready to ſet ſayle, but the myſt came ſo thicke, that we durſt not enter in among them.

Fiue Ilands.

The ſeuenteenth, was all myſtie, ſo that wee could not get into the Harbour. At ten of the clocke two Boates came off to vs, with ſixe of the *Sauages* of the Countrey, ſeeming glad of our comming. VVe gaue them trifles, and they eate and dranke with vs; and told vs, that there were Gold, Siluer, and Copper mynes hard by vs; and that the *French*-men doe Trade with them; which is very likely, for one of them ſpake ſome words of *French*. So wee rode ſtill all day and all night, the weather continuing myſtie.

Sixe *Sauages* come aboord them.

The

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A large Riuer.

44. Degrees 10. minutes.

The eighteenth, faire weather, wee went into a very good Harbour, and rode hard by the shoare in foure fathoms water. The Riuer runneth vp a great way, but there is but two fathoms hard by vs. VVe went on shoare and cut vs a fore Mast, then at noone we came aboord againe, and found the height of the place to bee in 44. degrees 1. minute; and the Sunne to fall at a South South-west Sunne. VVe mended our sayles, and fell to make our fore-Mast. The Harbour lyeth South and North, a mile in where we rode.

The nineteenth, we had faire sun-shining weather, we rode still. In the after-noone wee went with our Boate to looke for fresh water, and found some; and found a shoald with many Lobsters on it, and caught one and thirtie. The people comming aboord, shewed vs great friendship, but we could not trust them. The twentieth, faire sunne-shining weather, the winde at South-west. In the morning, our Scute went out to catch fresh Fish halfe an houre before day, and returned in two houres, bringing seuen and twentie great Coddes, with two hookes and lines. In the after-noone wee went for more Lobsters, and caught fortie, and returned aboord. Then wee espied two *French* Shallops full of the Countrey people come into the Harbour, but they offered vs no wrong, seeing we stood vpon our guard. They brought many Beauer skinnes, and other fine Furres, which they would haue changed for redde Gownes. For the *French* trade with them for red Cassockes, Kniues, Hatchets, Copper, Kettles, Treuits, Beades, and other trifles.

The trade of the *French* with the *Sauages*.

The one and twentieth, all mystie, the wind Easterly, wee rode still and did nothing, but about our Mast. The two and twentieth, faire Sun-shining weather, the winde all Northerly, we rode still all the day. In the after-noone our Scute went to catch more Lobsters, and brought with them nine and fiftie. The night was cleere weather.

The three and twentieth, faire sun-shining weather and very hot. At eleuen of the clocke, our fore Mast was finished, and we brought it aboord, and set it into the step, and in the after-noone we rigged it. This night we had some little myst and rayne.

The foure and twentieth, very hot weather, the winde at South out of the sea. The fore-part of the day wee brought to our sayles. In the morning, our Scute went to take Fish, and in two houres they brought with them twentie great Coddes, and a great Holibut, the night was faire also. We kept good watch for feare of being betrayed by the people, and perceiued where they layd their Shallops.

They spoyle Houses of the *Sauages*.

The fiue and twentieth, very faire weather and hot. In the morning wee manned our Scute with foure Muskets, and sixe men, and tooke one of their Shallops and brought it aboord. Then we manned our Boat & Scute with twelue men and Muskets, and two stone Pieces or Murderers, and draue the *Sauages* from their Houses, and tooke the spoyle of them, as they would haue done of vs. Then wee set sayle, and came downe to the Harbours mouth, and rode there all night, because the winde blew right in, and the night grew mystie with much rayne till midnight. Then it fell calme, and the wind came off the Land at West North-west, and it began to cleere. The Compasse varyed 10. degrees North-west.

Variation 10. degrees toward the North-west

The sixe and twentieth, faire and cleere sunne-shining weather. At fiue of the clocke in the morning, the winde being off the shoare at North North-west, we set sayle and came to sea, and by noone we counted our ship had gone foureteene leagues South-west. In the after-noone, the winde shifted variably betweene West South-west, and North-west. At noone, I found the height to bee 43. degrees 56. minutes. This Eeuening being very faire weather, wee obserued the variation of our Compasse at the Sunnes going downe, and found it to bee 10. degrees from the North to the VVestward.

The seuen and twentieth, faire sun-shining weather, the winde shifting betweene the South-west, and West and by North, a stiffe gale, we stood to the Southward all day, and made our way South and by West, seuen and twentie leagues. At noone, our height was 42. degrees 50. minuts. At foure of the clocke in the after-noone, wee cast about to the Northward. At eight of the clocke, we tooke in our top-sayles and our fore-bonnet, and went with a short sayle all night.

The eight and twentieth, very thicke and mystie, and a stiffe gale of wind, varying betweene South South-west, and South-west and by VVest; we made our way North-west and by VVest, seuen and twentie leagues, wee sounded many times and could get no ground. At fiue of the clocke, we cast about to the Southward, the wind at South-west and by VVest. At which time we sounded, and had ground at seuentie fiue fathoms. At eight, wee had sixtie fiue fathoms. At ten, sixtie. At twelue of the clocke at mid-night, fiftie sixe fathoms, gray sand. The Compasse varyed 6. degrees the North point to the VVest.

Variation 6. degrees to the West.

The nine and twentieth, faire weather, we stood to the Southward, and made our way South and by VVest a point South, eighteene leagues. At noone, we found our height to bee 42. degrees 56. minutes, wee sounded oft, and had these 60. 64. 65. 67. 65. 65. 70. and 75. fathoms. At night, wee tryed the variation of our Compasse by the setting of the Sunne, and found that it went downe 37. degrees to the North-ward of the VVest, and should haue gone downe but 31. degrees. The Compasse varyed 5. ½. degrees.

Variation 5. & a halfe degrees.

The thirtieth, very hot, all the fore-part of the day calme, the wind at South South-east, wee steered

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steered away VVest South-west and sounded many times, and could find no ground at one hundred and seuentie fathomes. VVe found a great current and many ouer-falls. Our current had deceiued vs. For at noone we found our height to be 41. degrees 34. minutes. And the current had heaued vs to the Southward fourteene leagues. At eight of the clocke at night, I sounded and had ground in fiftie two fathomes. In the end of the mid-night watch, wee had fiftie three fathomes. This last obseruation is not to be trusted.

A great current and many ouer-falls.

The one and thirtieth, very thicke and mystie all day, vntill tenne of the clocke. At night the wind came to the South, and South-west and South. We made our way West North-west nineteene leagues. Wee sounded many times, and had difference of soundings, sometimes little stones, and sometimes grosse gray sand, fiftie six, fiftie foure, fortie eight, fortie seuen, fortie foure, fortie six, fiftie fathomes; and at eight of the clocke at night it fell calme, and we had fiftie fathomes. And at ten of the clocke we heard a great Rut, like the Rut of the shoare. Then I sounded and found the former Depths; and mistrusting a current, seeing it so still that the ship made no way, I let the lead lie on the ground, and found a tide set to the South-west, and South-west by West, so fast, that I could hardly vere the Line so fast; and presently came an hurling current, or tyde with ouer-fals, which cast our ship round; and the Lead was so fast in the ground, that I feared the Lines breaking, and we had no more but that. At mid-night I sounded againe, and we had seuentie fiue fathomes; and the strong streame had left vs.

A great Rut.

A current to the South-west and South-west by West, with ouer-fals.

The first of August, all the fore-part of the day was mystie, and at noone it cleered vp. We found that our height was 41. degrees 45. minutes, and we had gone nineteene leagues. The afternoon was reasonable cleere. We found a rustling tide or current, with many ouer-fals to continue still, and our water to change colour, and our sea to bee very deepe, for wee found no ground in one hundred fathomes. The night was cleere, and the winde came to the North, and North North-east, we steered West.

August.

The second, very faire weather and hot: from the morning till noone we had a gale of wind, but in the after-noone little wind. At noone I sounded and had one hundred and ten fathomes; and our height was 41. degrees 56. minutes. And wee had runne foure and twentie leagues and an halfe. At the Sun-setting we obserued the variation of the Compasse, and found that it was come to his true place. At eight of the clocke the gale increased, so wee ranne sixe leagues that watch, and had a very faire and cleere night.

The third, very hot weather. In the morning, we had sight of the Land, and steered in with it, thinking to goe to the North-ward of it. So we sent our shallop with fiue men, to sound in by the shore: and they found it deepe fiue fathomes within a Bow-shot of the shoare; and they went on Land, and found goodly Grapes, and Rose trees, and brought them aboord with them, at fiue of the clocke in the Eeuening. We had seuen and twentie fathomes within two miles of the shoare; and we found a floud come from the South-east, and an ebbe from the North-west, with a very strong streame, and a great hurling and noyses. At eight of the clocke at night, the wind began to blow a fresh gale, and continued all night but variable. Our sounding that wee had to the Land, was one hundred, eightie, seuentie foure, fiftie two, fortie sixe, twentie nine, twentie seuen, twentie foure, nineteene, seuenteene, sometimes Oze, and sometimes gray sand.

They goe on Land neere Cape *Cod*.

The fourth, was very hot: we stood to the North-west two watches, and one South in for the Land, and came to an Anchor at the Norther end of the Headland, and heard the voyce of men call. Then we sent our Boat on shoare, thinking they had beene some *Christians* left on the Land: but wee found them to bee Sauages, which seemed very glad of our comming. So wee brought one aboord with vs, and gaue him meate, and he did eate and drinke with vs. Our Master gaue him three or foure glasse Buttons, and sent him on Land with our shallop againe. And at our Boats comming from the shoare he leapt and danced, and held vp his hands, and pointed vs to a riuer on the other side: for we had made signes that we came to fish there. The bodie of this Headland lyeth in 41. degrees 45. minutes. We set sayle againe after dinner, thinking to haue got to the Westward of this Headland, but could not; so we beare vp to the Southward of it, & made a South-east way; and the Souther point did beare West at eight of the clocke at night. Our soundings about the Easter and Norther part of this Headland, a league from the shoare are these: at the Easterside thirtie, twentie seuen, twentie seuen, twentie foure, twentie fiue, twentie. The North-east point 17. degrees 18. minutes, and so deeper. The North-end of this Headland, hard by the shoare thirtie fathomes: and three leagues off North North-west, one hundred fathomes. At the South-east part a league off, fifteene, sixteene, and seuenteene fathomes. The people haue greene Tabacco, and pipes, the boles whereof are made of Earth, and the pipes of red Copper. The Land is very sweet.

Sauages.

The fift, all mystie. At eight of the clocke in the morning, wee cast about to the Westward, and stood in till foure of the clocke in the after-noone; at which time it cleered, and wee had sight of the Head-land againe fiue leagues from vs. The Souther point of it did beare West off vs: and we sounded many times, and had no ground. And at foure of the clocke we cast about, and at our staying wee had seuentie fathomes. Wee steered away South and South by East all night,

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night, and could get no ground at seuentie and eightie fathomes. For wee feared a great Riffe, that lyeth off the Land, and steered away South and by East.

The sixth, faire weather, but many times mysting. Wee steered away South South-east, till eight of the clocke in the morning; Then it cleered a little, and wee cast about to the Westward. Then we sounded and had thirtie fathomes, grosse sand, and were come to the Riffe. Then wee kept our Lead, and had quicke shoalding, from thirtie, twentie nine, twentie seuen, twentie foure, twentie two, twentie and an halfe, twentie, twentie, nineteene, nineteene, nineteene, eighteene, eighteene, seuenteene; and so deeping againe as proportionally as it shoalded. For we steered South and South-east till we came to twentie sixe fathomes. Then we steered South-west for so the tyde doth set. By and by it being calme we tryed by our Lead; for you shall haue sixteene or seuenteene fathomes, and the next cast but seuen or six fathomes. And farther to the Westward you shall haue foure and fiue foot water, and see Rockes vnder you; and you shall see the Land in the top. Vpon this Riffe we had an obseruation, and found that it lyeth in 40. degrees 10. minutes. And this is that Headland which Captaine *Bartholomew Gosnold* discouered in the yeere 1602. and called Cape *Cod*; becausse of the store of Cod-fish that hee found thereabout. So we steered South-west three leagues, and had twentie, and twentie foure fathomes. Then we steered West two Glasses halfe a league, and came to fifteene fathomes. Then we steered off South-east foure Glasses, but could not get deepe water; for there the tyde of ebbe laid vs on; and the streame did hurle so, that it laid vs so neere the breach of a shoald, that wee were forced to Anchor. So at seuen of the clocke at night, wee were at an Anchor in tenne fathomes: And, I giue God most heartie thankes, the least water wee had was seuen fathomes and an halfe. We rode still all night, and at a still water I sounded so farre round about our ship as we could see a light; and had no lesse then eight, nine, ten, and eleuen fathomes: The myst continued being very thicke.

This dangerous Riffe is in 41. degrees 10 minutes, and lyeth off East from Cape *Cod* into the Sea.

The seuenth, faire weather and hot, but mystie. Wee rode still hoping it would cleere, but on the floud it fell calme and thicke. So we rode still all day and all night. The floud commeth from the South-west, and riseth not aboue one fathome and an halfe in nepe streames. Toward night it cleered, and I went with our shallop and sounded, and found no lesse water then eight fathomes to the South-east off vs: but we saw to the North-west off vs great Breaches.

The eight, faire and cleere weather. In the morning, by sixe of the clocke at slake water wee weighed; the wind at North-east, and set our fore-sayle and mayne top-sayle, and got a mile ouer the Flats. Then the tyde of ebbe came, so we anchored againe till the floud came. Then wee set sayle againe, and by the great mercie of God, wee got cleere off them by one of the clocke this after-noone. And wee had sight of the Land from the West North-west, to the North North-west. So we steered away South South-east all night; and had ground vntill the middle of the third watch. Then we had fortie fiue fathomes, white sand, and little stones. So all our soundings are twentie, twentie, twentie two, twentie seuen, thirtie two, fortie three, fortie three, fortie fiue. Then no ground in seuentie fathomes.

The Flats.

The ninth, very faire and hot weather, the wind a very stiffe gale. In the morning, at foure of the clocke, our shallop came running vp against our sterne, and split in all her stemme; So we were faine to cut her away. Then wee tooke in our mayne sayle, and lay atrie vnder our fore-sayle vntill twelue of the clocke at mid-day. Then the wind ceased to a faire gale, so wee stood away South-west. Then we lay close by, on many courses a South by West way fifteene leagues; and three watches South-east by East, ten leagues. At eight of the clocke at night, wee tooke in our top-sayles, and went with a low sayle; because we were in an vnknowne sea. At noone we obserued and found our heigth to be 38. degrees 39. minutes.

The tenth, in the morning some raine and cloudie weather: the winde at South-west, wee made our way South-east by East, ten leagues. At noone, wee obserued and found our heigth to bee 38. degrees 39. minutes. Then wee tackt about to the Westward, the wind being at South and by East, little wind. At foure of the clocke it fell calme, and we had two Dolphines about our ship, and many small fishes. At eight of the clocke at night, wee had a small lingring gale. All night we had a great Sea out of the South-west, and another great Sea out of the North-east.

The eleuenth, all the fore-part of the day faire weather, and very hot. VVee stood to the VVest South-west till noone. Then the wind shorted, and we could lye but South-west and by South. At noone, wee found our heigth to bee 39. degrees 11. minutes. And that the current had laid vs to the Northward thirtie two minutes contrary to our expectation. At foure of the clocke in the after-noone there came a myst, which endured two houres. But wee had it faire and cleere all night after. The Compasse varied the North point to the VVest one whole point.

A current setting to the North.

Variation one point.

The twelfth, faire weather, the wind variable betweene the South-west and by South, and the North little wind. In the morning we killed an extraordinary fish, and stood to the Westward all day and all night. At noone we found our heigth to be 38. degrees 13. minutes. And the obseruation the day before was not good. This noone, we found the Compasse to vary from the North to the West ten degrees.

Variation 10. degrees.

The thirteenth, faire weather and hot: the wind at North-east. Wee steered away West and by

by our Compaſſe two and twentie leagues. At noone wee found our height to bee 37. degrees 45. minutes, and that our way from noone to noone was Weſt South-weſt, halfe a point Southerly. The Compaſſe was 7. degrees and a halfe variation, from the North point to the Weſt.

The fourteenth, faire weather, but cloudie, and a ſtiffe gale of wind, variable betweene North-eaſt and South-weſt, wee ſteered away Weſt by South, a point South all day vntill nine of the clocke at night; then it began to Thunder and Lighten, whereupon we tooke in all our ſayles, and layd it a hull, and hulled away North till mid-night, a league and a halfe.

The fifteenth, very faire and hot weather, the winde at North by Eaſt. At foure of the clocke in the morning we ſet ſayle, and ſtood on our courſe to the Weſtward. At noone wee found our height to bee 37. degrees 25. minutes. The after-noone proued little wind. At eight of the clocke at night, the winde came to the North, and wee ſteered Weſt by North, and Weſt North-weſt, and made our way Weſt. The Compaſſe varyed 7. degrees from the North to the Weſt. 37. Degrees 25. minutes.

The ſixteenth, faire ſhining weather, and very hot, the wind variable betweene the North and the Weſt, wee ſteered away Weſt by North. At noone wee found our height to bee 37. degrees 6. minutes. This morning we ſounded and had ground in ninetie fathomes, and in ſixe Glaſſes running it ſhoalded to fiftie fathoms, and ſo to eight and twentie fathoms, at foure of the clocke in the after-noone. Then wee came to an Anchor, and rode till eight of the clocke at night, the wind being at South and Moone-light, we reſolued to goe to the Northward to finde deeper water. So we weighed and ſtood to the Northward, and found the water to ſhoald and deepe, from eight and twentie to twentie fathomes. 37. Degrees 6. minutes.

The ſeuenteenth, faire and cleere Sun-ſhining weather, the winde at South by Weſt, wee ſteered to the Northward till foure of the clocke in the morning, then wee came to eighteene fathomes. So we Anchored vntill the Sunne aroſe to looke abroad for Land, for wee iudged there could not but be Land neere vs, but we could ſee none. Then we weighed and ſtood to the Weſtward till noone. And at eleuen of the clocke wee had ſight of a low Land, with a white ſandie ſhoare. By twelue of the clocke we were come into fiue fathomes, and Anchored; and the Land was foure leagues from vs, and wee had ſight of it from the Weſt, to the North-weſt by North. Our height was 37. degrees 26. minutes. Then the wind blew ſo ſtiffe a gale, and ſuch a Sea went, that we could not weigh; ſo we rode there all night an hard rode. A low Land with a white ſandie ſhoare. 37. degrees 26. minutes.

The eighteenth, in the morning faire weather, and little winde at North North-eaſt and North-eaſt. At foure of the clocke in the morning, we weighed and ſtood into the ſhoare to ſee the deeping or ſhoalding of it, and finding it too deepe, we ſtood in to get a rode; for wee ſaw as it were three Ilands. So wee turned to windward to get into a Bay, as it ſhewed to vs to the Weſtward of an Iland. For the three Ilands did beare North off vs. But toward noone the wind blew Northerly, with guſts of wind and rayne. So we ſtood off into the Sea againe all night; and running off we found a Channell, wherein we had no leſſe then eight, nine, ten, eleuen, and twelue fathomes water. For in comming ouer the Barre, wee had fiue, and foure fathomes and a halfe, and it lyeth fiue leagues from the ſhoare, and it is the Barre of *Virginia*. At the North end of it, it is ten leagues broad, and South and North, but deepe water from ninetie fathoms to fiue, and foure and a halfe. The Land lyeth South and North. This is the entrance into the *Kings* Riuer in *Virginia*, where our *Engliſh*-men are. The North ſide of it lyeth in 37. degrees 26. minutes, you ſhall know when you come to ſhoald water or ſounding; for the water will looke Greene or thicke, you ſhall haue ninetie and eightie fathomes, and ſhoalding a pace till you come to ten, eleuen, nine, eight, ſeuen, ten, and nine fathomes, and ſo to fiue, and foure fathomes and a halfe. Barre of *Virginia*. *Kings* Riuer.

The nineteenth, faire weather, but an hard gale of winde at the North-eaſt, wee ſtood off till noone, and made our way South-eaſt by Eaſt, two and twentie leagues. At noone wee caſt about to the Weſtward, and ſtood till ſixe of the clocke in the after-noone, and went fiue leagues and a halfe North-weſt by North. Then wee caſt about againe to the Eaſtward, and ſtood that way till foure the next morning. Note.

The twentieth, faire and cleere weather, the winde variable betweene Eaſt North-eaſt, and North-eaſt. At foure of the clocke in the morning, wee caſt about to the Weſtward, and ſtood till noone; at which time I ſounded; and had two and thirtie fathomes. Then we takt to the Eaſtward againe; wee found our height to bee 37. degrees 22. minutes. We ſtood to the Eaſtward all night, and had very much wind. At eight of the clocke at night we tooke off our Bonnets, and ſtood with ſmall ſayle. 37. degrees 22. minutes.

The one and twentieth, was a ſore ſtorme of winde and rayne all day and all night, wherefore wee ſtood to the Eaſtward with a ſmall ſayle: till one of the clocke in the after-noone. Then a great Sea brake into our fore-corſe and ſplit it; ſo we were forced to take it from the yard and mend it; wee lay a trie with our mayne-corſe all night. This night our Cat ranne crying from one ſide of the ſhip to the other, looking ouer-boord, which made vs to wonder; but we ſaw nothing.

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The two and twencieth, ſtormy weather, with guſts of rayne and wind. In the morning at eight of the clocke we ſet our fore-corſe, and ſtood to the Eaſtward vnder our fore-ſayle, mayne-ſayle and miſen, and from noone to noone, we made our way Eaſt South-eaſt, fourteene leagues. The night reaſonable drie but cloudie, the winde variable all day and night. Our Compaſſe was varyed 4. degrees Weſtward.

Variation 4. degrees Weſtward.

The three and twentieth, very faire weather, but ſome Thunder in the morning, the winde variable betweene Eaſt by North. At noone wee tackt about to the Northward, the winde at Eaſt by North. The after-noone very faire, the wind variable, and continued ſo all night. Our way we made Eaſt South-eaſt, till noone the next day.

The foure and twentieth, faire and hot weather, with the wind variable betweene the North and the Eaſt. The after-noone variable winde. But at foure of the clocke, the wind came to the Eaſt and South-eaſt; ſo wee ſteered away North by Weſt, and in three Watches wee went thirteene leagues. At noone our height was 35. degrees 41. minutes, being farre off at Sea from the Land.

The fiue and twentieth, faire weather and very hot. All the morning was very calme vntill eleuen of the clocke; the wind came to South-eaſt, and South South-eaſt; ſo wee ſteered away North-weſt by North, two Watches and a halfe, and one Watch North-weſt by Weſt, and went eighteene leagues. At noone I found our height to bee 36. degrees 20. minutes, being without ſight of Land.

The ſixe and twentieth, faire and hot weather, the winde variable vpon all the points of the Compaſſe. From two of the clocke in the morning vntill noone, wee made our way North by Eaſt, ſeuen leagues. In the after-noone the wind came to the North-eaſt, and vering to the Eaſt South-eaſt, wee ſteered away North-weſt fifteene leagues, from noone till ten of the clocke at night. At eight of the clocke at night wee ſounded, and had eighteene fathomes, and were come to the Banke of *Virginia*, and could not ſee the Land. Wee kept ſounding, and ſteered away North, and came to eight fathomes, and Anchored there; for the wind was at Eaſt South-eaſt, ſo that wee could not get off. For the Coaſt lyeth along South South-weſt, and North North-eaſt. At noone our height was 37. degrees 15. minutes. And wee found that we were returned to the ſame place, from whence we were put off at our firſt ſeeing Land.

The Banke of *Virginia*.

The Coaſt lyeth South South-weſt, and North North-weſt.

Latitude 37. degrees 15. minutes.

The ſeuen and twentieth, faire weather and very hot, the winde at Eaſt South-eaſt. In the morning as ſoone as the Sunne was vp, wee looked out and had ſight of the Land. Then wee weighed, and ſtood in North-weſt two Glaſſes, and found the Land to bee the place, from whence wee put off firſt. So wee kept our loofe, and ſteered along the Land, and had the Banke lye all along the ſhoare; and wee had in two leagues off the ſhoare, fiue, ſixe, ſeuen, eight, nine, and ten fathomes. The Coaſt lyeth South South-weſt, and is a white Sandie ſhoare, and ſheweth full of Bayes and Points. The ſtreame ſetteth Weſt South-weſt, and Eaſt North-eaſt. At ſixe of the clocke at night, wee were thwart of an Harbour or Riuer, but we ſaw a Barre lye before it; and all within the Land to the Northward, the water ranne with many Ilands in it. At ſixe of the clocke we Anchored, and ſent our Boate to ſound to the ſhoare-ward, and found no leſſe then foure and a halfe, fiue, ſixe, and ſeuen fathomes.

This agreeth with *Robert Tyndall*.

The eight and twentieth, faire and hot weather, the winde at South South-weſt. In the morning at ſixe of the clocke wee weighed, and ſteered away North twelue leagues till noone, and came to the Point of the Land; and being hard by the Land in fiue fathomes, on a ſudden wee came into three fathomes; then we beare vp and had but ten foote water, and ioyned to the Point. Then as ſoone as wee were ouer, wee had fiue, ſixe, ſeuen, eight, nine, ten, twelue, and thirteene fathomes. Then wee found the Land to trend away North-weſt, with a great Bay and Riuers. But the Bay wee found ſhoald; and in the offing wee had ten fathomes, and had ſight of Breaches and drie Sand. Then wee were forced to ſtand backe againe; ſo we ſtood backe South-eaſt by South, three leagues. And at ſeuen of the clocke wee Anchored in eight fathomes water; and found a Tide ſet to the North-weſt, and North North-weſt, and it riſeth one fathome, and floweth South South-eaſt. And hee that will throughly Diſcouer this great Bay, muſt haue a ſmall Pinnaſſe, that muſt draw but foure or fiue foote water, to ſound before him. At fiue in the morning wee weighed, and ſteered away to the Eaſtward on many courſes, for the Norther Land is full of ſhoalds. Wee were among them, and once wee ſtrooke, and wee went away; and ſteered away to the South-eaſt. So wee had two, three, foure, fiue, ſixe, and ſeuen fathomes, and ſo deeper and deeper.

The Point of the Land.

A great Bay and Riuers.

A ſmall Shallop needfull.

The Norther Land is full of ſhoalds.

The nine and twentieth, faire weather, with ſome Thunder and ſhowers, the winde ſhifting betweene the South South-weſt, and the North North-weſt. In the morning wee weighed at the breake of day, and ſtood toward the Norther Land, which we found to bee all Ilands to our ſight, and great ſtormes from them, and are ſhoald three leagues off. For we comming by them, had but ſeuen, ſixe, fiue, foure, three, and two fathoms and a halfe, and ſtrooke ground with our Rudder, we ſteered off South-weſt, one Glaſſe, and had fiue fathoms. Then wee ſteered South-eaſt three Glaſſes, then wee found ſeuen fathomes, and ſteered North-eaſt by Eaſt, foure leagues, and came to twelue and thirteene fathoms. At one of the clocke, I went to the top-maſt

Many Ilands.

They ſtrike.

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maſt head, and ſet the Land, and the bodie of the Ilands did beare North-weſt by North. And at foure of the clocke, wee had gone foure leagues East South-east, and North-east by East, and found but ſeuen fathoms, and it was calme, ſo we Anchored. Then I went againe to the top-maſt head, to ſee how farre I could ſee Land about vs, and could ſee no more but the Ilands. And the Souther point of them did beare North-weſt by Weſt, eight leagues off. So wee rode till mid-night. Then the winde came to the North North-weſt, ſo wee waighed and ſet ſayle.

The thirtieth, in the morning betweene twelue and one, we weighed, and ſtood to the Eaſtward, the winde at North North-weſt, wee ſteered away and made our way East South-east. From our weighing till noone, eleuen leagues. Our ſoundings were eight, nine, ten, eleuen, twelue, and thirteene fathomes till day. Then we came to eighteene, nineteene, twentie, and to fixe and twentie fathoms by noone. Then I obſerued the Sunne, and found the height to bee 39. degrees 5. minutes, and ſaw no Land. In the after-noone, the winde came to North by Weſt; So wee lay cloſe by with our fore-ſayle: and our mayne-ſayle, and it was little winde vntill twelue of the clocke at mid-night, then wee had a gale a little while. Then I ſounded, and all the night our ſoundings were thirtie, and fixe and thirtie fathomes, and wee went little. Latitude 39. degrees 5. minutes.

The one and thirtieth, faire weather and little wind. At ſixe of the clocke in the morning we caſt about to the Northward, the wind being at the North-eaſt, little wind. At noone it fell calme, and I found the height to bee 38. degrees 39. minutes. And the ſtreames had deceiued vs, and our ſounding was eight and thirtie fathoms. In the afternoone I ſounded againe, and had but thirtie fathoms. So we found that we were heaued too and fro with the ſtreames of the Tide, both by our obſeruations and our depths. From noone till foure of the clocke in the after-noone, it was calme. At ſixe of the clocke wee had a little gale Southerly, and it continued all night, ſometimes calme, and ſometimes a gale; wee went eight leagues from noone to noone, North by East. Latitude 38. degrees 39. minutes. Deceitfull ſtreames.

The firſt of September, faire weather, the wind variable betweene East and South, we ſteered away North North-weſt. At noone we found our height to bee 39. degrees 3. minutes. Wee had ſoundings thirtie, twentie ſeuen, twentie foure, and twentie two fathomes, as wee went to the Northward. At ſixe of the clocke wee had one and twentie fathomes. And all the third watch till twelue of the clocke at mid-night, we had ſoundings one and twentie, two and twentie, eighteene, two and twentie, one and twentie, eighteene, and two and twentie fathoms, and went ſixe leagues neere hand North North-weſt. September. Latitude 39. degrees 3. minutes.

The ſecond, in the morning cloſe weather, the winde at South in the morning; from twelue vntill two of the clocke we ſteered North North-weſt, and had ſounding one and twentie fathoms, and in running one Glaſſe we had but ſixteene fathoms, then ſeuenteene, and ſo ſhoalder and ſhoalder vntill it came to twelue fathoms. We ſaw a great Fire, but could not ſee the Land, then we came to ten fathoms, whereupon we brought our tackes aboord, and ſtood to the Eaſtward East South-east, foure Glaſſes. Then the Sunne aroſe, and we ſteered away North againe, and ſaw the Land from the Weſt by North, to the North-weſt by North, all like broken Ilands, and our ſoundings were eleuen and ten fathoms. Then wee looft in for the ſhoare, and faire by the ſhoare, we had ſeuen fathoms. The courſe along the Land we found to be North-east by North. From the Land which we had firſt ſight of, vntill we came to a great Lake of water, as wee could iudge it to bee, being drowned Land, which made it to riſe like Ilands, which was in length ten leagues. The mouth of that Lake hath many ſhoalds, and the Sea breaketh on them as it is caſt out of the mouth of it. And from that Lake or Bay, the Land lyeth North by East, and wee had a great ſtreame out of the Bay; and from thence our ſounding was ten fathoms, two leagues from the Land. At fiue of the clocke we Anchored, being little winde, and rode in eight fathoms water, the night was faire. This night I found the Land to hall the Compaſſe 8. degrees. For to the Northward off vs we ſaw high Hils. For the day before we found not aboue 2. degrees of Variation. This is a very good Land to fall with, and a pleaſant Land to ſee. The Land like broken Ilands. The courſe along the Land from the mouth of one Riuer, to the mouth of the Norther Bay or Lake. Variation 8. degrees neere the Hills. 2. degrees variation off at Sea.

The third, the morning myſtie vntill ten of the clocke, then it cleered, and the wind came to the South South-east, ſo wee weighed and ſtood to the Northward. The Land is very pleaſant and high, and bold to fall withall. At three of the clocke in the afeer-noone, wee came to three great Riuers. So we ſtood along to the Northermoſt, thinking to haue gone into it, but we found it to haue a very ſhoald barre before it, for we had but ten foot water. Then wee caſt about to the Southward, and found two fathoms, three fathoms, and three and a quarter, till we came to the Souther ſide of them, then we had fiue and ſixe fathoms, and Anchored. So wee ſent in our Boate to ſound, and they found no leſſe water then foure, fiue, ſixe, and ſeuen fathoms, and returned in an houre and a halfe. So wee weighed and went in, and rode in fiue fathoms, Ozie ground, and ſaw many Salmons, and Mullets, and Rayes very great. The height is 40. degrees 30. minutes. High and a bold ſhoare. Three great Riuers. The Northermoſt barred. An excellent Riuer. Latitude 40. degrees 30. minutes.

The fourth, in the morning as ſoone as the day was light, wee ſaw that it was good riding

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A very good Harbour.

farther vp. So we ſent our Boate to ſound, and found that it was a very good Harbour; and foure and fiue fathoms, two Cables length from the ſhoare. Then we weighed and went in with our ſhip. Then our Boate went on Land with our Net to Fiſh, and caught ten great Mullets, of a foot and a halfe long a peece, and a Ray as great as foure men could hale into the ſhip. So wee trimmed our Boate and rode ſtill all day. At night the wind blew hard at the North-weſt, and our Anchor came home, and wee droue on ſhoare, but tooke no hurt, thanked bee God, for the ground is ſoft ſand and Oze. This day the people of the Countrey came aboord of vs, ſeeming very glad of our comming, and brought greene Tabacco, and gaue vs of it for Kniues and Beads. They goe in Deere skins looſe, well dreſſed. They haue yellow Copper. They deſire Cloathes, and are very ciuill. They haue great ſtore of Maiz or *Indian* Wheate, whereof they make good Bread. The Countrey is full of great and tall Oakes.

The people of the Countrey come aboord, they are very ciuill.

Yellow Copper.

Tall Oakes.

The great Bay in 40. degrees and 30. minuts.

The fifth, in the morning as ſoone as the day was light, the wind ceaſed and the Flood came. So we heaued off our ſhip againe into fiue fathoms water, and ſent our Boate to ſound the Bay, and we found that there was three fathoms hard by the Souther ſhoare. Our men went on Land there, and ſaw great ſtore of Men, Women and Children, who gaue them Tabacco at their comming on Land. So they went vp into the Woods, and ſaw great ſtore of very goodly Oakes, and ſome Currants. For one of them came aboord and brought ſome dryed, and gaue me ſome, which were ſweet and good. This day many of the people came aboord, ſome in Mantles of Feathers, and ſome in Skinnes of diuers ſorts of good Furres. Some women alſo came to vs with Hempe. They had red Copper Tabacco pipes, and other things of Copper they did weare about their neckes. At night they went on Land againe, ſo wee rode very quiet, but durſt not truſt them.

Dryed Currants.

Mantles of Feathers, Furs, Hempe.

Red Copper.

Another Riuer foure leagues to the Northward.

A narrow Riuer to the Weſtward.

The ſixth, in the morning was faire weather, and our Maſter ſent *Iohn Colman*, with foure other men in our Boate ouer to the North-ſide, to ſound the other Riuer, being foure leagues from vs. They found by the way ſhoald water two fathoms; but at the North of the Riuer eighteen, and twentie fathoms, and very good riding for Ships; and a narrow Riuer to the Weſtward betweene two Ilands. The Lands they told vs were as pleaſant with Graſſe and Flowers, and goodly Trees, as euer they had ſeene, and very ſweet ſmells came from them. So they went in two leagues and ſaw an open Sea, and returned; and as they came backe, they were ſet vpon by two Canoes, the one hauing twelue, the other fourteene men. The night came on, and it began to rayne, ſo that their Match went out; and they had one man ſlaine in the fight, which was an *Engliſh*-man, named *Iohn Colman*, with an Arrow ſhot into his throat, and two more hurt. It grew ſo darke that they could not find the ſhip that night, but labored too and fro on their Oares. They had ſo great a ſtreame, that their grapnell would not hold them.

Colman ſlaine, and two more hurt.

The ſeuenth, was faire, and by ten of the clocke they returned aboord the ſhip, and brought our dead man with them, whom we carryed on Land and buryed, and named the point after his name, *Colmans* Point. Then we hoyſed in our Boate, and raiſed her ſide with waſte boords for defence of our men. So we rode ſtill all night, hauing good regard to our Watch.

Colmans Point.

The eight, was very faire weather, wee rode ſtill very quietly. The people came aboord vs, and brought Tabacco and *Indian* Wheat, to exchange for Kniues and Beades, and offered vs no violence. So we fitting vp our Boate did marke them, to ſee if they would make any ſhew of the Death of our man; which they did not.

The ninth, faire weather. In the morning, two great Canoes came aboord full of men; the one with their Bowes and Arrowes, and the other in ſhew of buying of Kniues to betray vs; but we perceiued their intent. Wee tooke two of them to haue kept them, and put red Coates on them, and would not ſuffer the other to come neere vs. So they went on Land, and two other came aboord in a Canoe: we tooke the one and let the other goe; but hee which wee had taken, got vp and leapt ouer-boord. Then we weighed and went off into the channell of the Riuer, and Anchored there all night.

Treacherous Sauages.

The tenth, faire weather, we rode ſtill till twelue of the clocke. Then we weighed and went ouer, and found it ſhoald all the middle of the Riuer, for wee could finde but two fathoms and a halfe, and three fathomes for the ſpace of a league; then wee came to three fathomes, and foure fathomes, and ſo to ſeuen fathomes, and Anchored, and rode all night in ſoft Ozie ground. The banke is Sand.

The eleuenth, was faire and very hot weather. At one of the clocke in the after-noone, wee weighed and went into the Riuer, the wind at South South-weſt, little winde. Our ſoundings were ſeuen, ſixe, fiue, ſixe, ſeuen, eight, nine, ten, twelue, thirteene, and fourteene fathomes. Then it ſhoalded againe, and came to fiue fathomes. Then wee Anchored, and ſaw that it was a very good Harbour for all windes, and rode all night. The people of the Countrey came aboord of vs, making ſhew of loue, and gaue vs Tabacco and *Indian* Wheat, and departed for that night; but we durſt not truſt them.

Good Harbour

The twelfth, very faire and hot. In the after-noone at two of the clocke wee weighed, the winde being variable, betweene the North and the North-weſt. So we turned into the Riuer two leagues and Anchored. This morning at our firſt rode in the Riuer, there came eight and twentie

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twentie Canoes full of men, women and children to betray vs: but we saw their intent, and suffered none of them to come aboord of vs. At twelue of the clocke they departed. They brought with them Oysters and Beanes, whereof wee bought some. They haue great Tabacco pipes of yellow Copper, and Pots of Earth to dresse their meate in. It floweth South-east by South within. 28. Canoes full of men. Oysters and Beanes. Copper Pipes.

The thirteenth, faire weather, the wind Northerly. At seuen of the clocke in the morning, as the floud came we weighed, and turned foure miles into the Riuer. The tide being done wee anchored. Then there came foure Canoes aboord: but we suffered none of them to come into our ship. They brought great store of very good Oysters aboord, which we bought for trifles. In the night I set the variation of the Compasse, and found it to be 13. degrees. In the afternoone we weighed, and turned in with the floud, two leagues and a halfe further, and anchored all night, and had fiue fathoms soft Ozie ground, and had an high point of Land, which shewed out to vs, bearing North by East fiue leagues off vs. Variation 13 degrees.

The fourteenth, in the morning being very faire weather, the wind South-east, we sayled vp the Riuer twelue leagues, and had fiue fathoms, and fiue fathoms and a quarter lesse; and came to a Streight betweene two Points, and had eight, nine, and ten fathoms: and it trended North-east by North, one league: and wee had twelue, thirteene and fourteene fathomes. The Riuer is a mile broad: there is very high Land on both sides. Then wee went vp North-west, a league and an halfe deepe water. Then North-east by North fiue miles; then North-west by North two leagues, and anchored. The Land grew very high and Mountainous. The Riuer is full of fish. The Riuer 1 mile broad. Very high and mountainous Land.

The fifteenth, in the morning was misty vntill the Sunne arose: then it cleered. So wee weighed with the wind at South, and ran vp into the Riuer twentie leagues, passing by high Mountaines. Wee had a very good depth, as sixe, seuen, eight, nine, ten, twelue, and thirteene fathoms, and great store of Salmons in the Riuer. This morning our two Sauages got out of a Port and swam away. After we were vnder sayle, they called to vs in scorne. At night we came to other Mountaines, which lie from the Riuers side. There wee found very louing people, and very old men: where wee were well vsed. Our Boat went to fish, and caught great store of very good fish. Very louing people.

The sixteenth, faire and very hot weather. In the morning our Boat went againe to fishing, but could catch but few, by reason their Canoes had beene there all night. This morning the people came aboord, and brought vs eares of *Indian* Corne, and Pompions, and Tabacco: which wee bought for trifles. Wee rode still all day, and filled fresh water; at night wee weighed and went two leagues higher, and had shoald water: so wee anchored till day. Maiz, Pompions and Tabacco.

The seuenteenth, faire Sun-shining weather, and very hot. In the morning as soone as the Sun was vp, we set sayle, and ran vp sixe leagues higher, and found shoalds in the middle of the channell, and small Ilands, but seuen fathoms water on both sides. Toward night we borrowed so neere the shoare, that we grounded: so we layed out our small anchor, and heaued off againe. Then we borrowed on the banke in the channell, and came aground againe; while the floud ran we heaued off againe, and anchored all night. Shoalds and small Ilands.

The eighteenth, in the morning was faire weather, and we rode still. In the after-noone our Masters Mate went on land with an old Sauage, a Gouernour of the Countrey; who carried him to his house, and made him good cheere. The nineteenth, was faire and hot weather: at the floud being neere eleuen of the clocke, wee weighed, and ran higher vp two leagues aboue the Shoalds, and had no lesse water then fiue fathoms: wee anchored, and rode in eight fathomes. The people of the Countrie came flocking aboord, and brought vs Grapes, and Pompions, which wee bought for trifles. And many brought vs Beuers skinnes, and Otters skinnes, which wee bought for Beades, Kniues, and Hatchets. So we rode there all night. Grapes and Pompions: Beauers and Otters skinnes.

The twentieth, in the morning was faire weather. Our Masters Mate with foure men more went vp with our Boat to sound the Riuer, and found two leagues aboue vs but two fathomes water, and the channell very narrow; and aboue that place seuen or eight fathomes. Toward night they returned: and we rode still all night. The one and twentieth, was faire weather, and the wind all Southerly: we determined yet once more to goe farther vp into the Riuer, to trie what depth and breadth it did beare; but much people resorted aboord, so wee went not this day. Our Carpenter went on land, and made a Fore-yard. And our Master and his Mate determined to trie some of the chiefe men of the Countrey, whether they had any treacherie in them. So they tooke them downe into the Cabbin, and gaue them so much Wine and *Aqua vita*, that they were all merrie: and one of them had his wife with him, which sate so modestly, as any of our Countrey women would doe in a strange place. In the end one of them was drunke, which had beene aboord of our ship all the time that we had beene there; and that was strange to them; for they could not tell how to take it. The Canoes and folke went all on shoare: but some of them came againe, and brought stropes of Beades: some had sixe, seuen, eight, nine, ten; and gaue him. So he slept all night quietly.

The two and twentieth, was faire weather: in the morning our Masters Mate and foure more

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of the companie went vp with our Boat to ſound the Riuer higher vp. The people of the Countrey came not aboord till noone: but when they came, and ſaw the Sauages well, they were glad. So at three of the clocke in the after-noone they came aboord, and brought Tabacco, and more Beades, and gaue them to our Maſter, and made an Oration, and ſhewed him all the Countrey round about. Then they ſent one of their companie on land, who preſently returned, and brought a great Platter full of Veniſon, dreſſed by themſelues; and they cauſed him to eate with them: then they made him reuerence, and departed all ſaue the old man that lay aboord. This night at ten of the clocke, our Boat returned in a ſhowre of raine from ſounding of the Riuer; and found it to bee at an end for ſhipping to goe in. For they had beene vp eight or nine leagues, and found but ſeuen foot water, and vnconſtant ſoundings.

Oration.

End of the Riuers Nauigableneſſe.

The three and twentieth, faire weather. At twelue of the clocke wee weighed, and went downe two leagues to a ſhoald that had two channels, one on the one ſide, and another on the other, and had little wind, whereby the tide layed vs vpon it. So, there wee ſate on ground the ſpace of an houre till the floud came. Then we had a little gale of wind at the Weſt. So wee got our ſhip into deepe water, and rode all night very well.

They returne downe the Riuer.

The foure and twentieth was faire weather: the winde at the North-weſt, wee weighed, and went downe the Riuer ſeuen or eight leagues; and at halfe ebbe wee came on ground on a banke of Oze in the middle of the Riuer, and ſate there till the floud. Then wee went on Land, and gathered good ſtore of Cheſt-nuts. At ten of the clocke wee came off into deepe water, and anchored.

Store of Cheſt-nuts.

The fiue and twentieth was faire weather, and the wind at South a ſtiffe gale. We rode ſtill, and went on Land to walke on the Weſt ſide of the Riuer, and found good ground for Corne, and other Garden herbs, with great ſtore of goodly Oakes, and Wal-nut trees, and Cheſt-nut trees, Ewe trees, and trees of ſweet wood in great abundance, and great ſtore of Slate for houſes, and other good ſtones.

Okes, Wal-nut trees, Cheſt-nut trees, Ewe trees, Cedar trees, &c.

The ſixe and twentieth was faire weather, and the wind at South a ſtiffe gale, wee rode ſtill. In the morning our Carpenter went on Land with our Maſters Mate, and foure more of our companie to cut wood. This morning, two Canoes came vp the Riuer from the place where we firſt found louing people, and in one of them was the old man that had lyen aboord of vs at the other place. He brought another old man with him, which brought more ſtropes of Beades, and gaue them to our Maſter, and ſhewed him all the Countrey there about, as though it were at his command. So he made the two old men dine with him, and the old mans wife: for they brought two old women, and two young maidens of the age of ſixteene or ſeuenteene yeeres with them, who behaued themſelues very modeſtly. Our Maſter gaue one of the old men a Knife, and they gaue him and vs Tabacco. And at one of the clocke they departed downe the Riuer, making ſignes that wee ſhould come downe to them; for wee were within two leagues of the place where they dwelt.

The ſeuen and twentieth, in the morning was faire weather, but much wind at the North, we weighed and ſet our fore top-ſayle, and our ſhip would not flat, but ran on the Ozie banke at halfe ebbe. Wee layed out anchor to heaue her off, but could not. So wee ſate from halfe ebbe to halfe floud: then wee ſet our fore-ſayle and mayne top-ſayle, and got downe ſixe leagues. The old man came aboord, and would haue had vs anchor, and goe on Land to eate with him: but the wind being faire, we would not yeeld to his requeſt; So hee left vs, being very ſorrowfull for our departure. At fiue of the clocke in the after-noone, the wind came to the South South-weſt. So wee made a boord or two, and anchored in fourteene fathomes water. Then our Boat went on ſhoare to fiſh right againſt the ſhip. Our Maſters Mate and Boat-ſwaine, and three more of the companie went on land to fiſh, but could not finde a good place. They tooke foure or fiue and twentie Mullets, Breames, Baſes, and Barbils; and returned in an houre. We rode ſtill all night.

The eight and twentieth, being faire weather, as ſoone as the day was light, wee weighed at halfe ebbe, and turned downe two leagues belowe water; for, the ſtreame doth runne the laſt quarter ebbe: then we anchored till high water. At three of the clocke in the after-noone we weighed, and turned downe three leagues, vntill it was darke: then wee anchored.

The nine and twentieth was drie cloſe weather: the wind at South, and South and by Weſt, we weighed early in the morning, and turned downe three leagues by a lowe water, and anchored at the lower end of the long Reach; for it is ſixe leagues long. Then there came certaine *Indians* in a Canoe to vs, but would not come aboord. After dinner there came the Canoe with other men, whereof three came aboord vs. They brought *Indian* Wheat, which wee bought for trifles. At three of the clocke in the after-noone wee weighed, as ſoone as the ebbe came, and turned downe to the edge of the Mountaines, or the Northermoſt of the Mountaines, and anchored: becauſe the high Land hath many Points, and a narrow channell, and hath many eddie winds. So we rode quietly all night in ſeuen fathoms water.

Mountaines.

The thirtieth was faire weather, and the wind at South-eaſt a ſtiffe gale betwene the Mountaynes. We rode ſtill the after-noone. The people of the Countrey came aboord vs, and brought

ſome

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some small skinnes with them, which we bought for Knives and Trifles. This a very pleasant place to build a Towne on. The Road is very neere, and very good for all winds, saue an East North-east wind. The Mountaynes looke as if some Metall or Minerall were in them. For the Trees that grow on them were all blasted, and some of them barren with few or no Trees on them. The people brought a stone aboord like to Emery (a stone vsed by Glasiers to cut Glasse) it would cut Iron or Steele: Yet being bruised small, and water put to it, it made a colour like blacke Lead glistering; It is also good for Painters Colours. At three of the clocke they departed, and we rode still all night.

Small skins. A pleasant place to build a Towne on.

Likelihood of Minerals.

The first of October, faire weather, the wind variable betweene the West and the North. In the morning we weighed at seuen of the clocke with the ebbe, and got downe below the Mountaynes, which was seuen leagues. Then it fell calme and the flood was come, and wee anchored at twelue of the clocke. The people of the Mountaynes came aboord vs, wondring at our ship and weapons. We bought some small skinnes of them for Trifles. This after-noone, one Canoe kept hanging vnder our sterne with one man in it, which we could not keepe from thence, who got vp by our Rudder to the Cabin window, and stole out my Pillow, and two Shirts, and two Bandeleeres. Our Masters Mate shot at him, and strooke him on the brest, and killed him. Whereupon all the rest fled away, some in their Canoes, and so leapt out of them into the water. We manned our Boat, and got our things againe. Then one of them that swamme got hold of our Boat, thinking to ouerthrow it. But our Cooke tooke a Sword, and cut off one of his hands, and he was drowned. By this time the ebbe was come, and we weighed and got downe two leagues, by that time it was darke. So we anchored in foure fathomes water, and rode well.

October.

The second, faire weather. At breake of day wee weighed, the wind being at North-west, and got downe seuen leagues; then the flood was come strong, so we anchored. Then came one of the Sauages that swamme away from vs at our going vp the Riuer with many other, thinking to betray vs. But wee perceiued their intent, and suffered none of them to enter our ship. Whereupon two Canoes full of men, with their Bowes and Arrowes shot at vs after our sterne: in recompence whereof we discharged sixe Muskets, and killed two or three of them. Then aboue an hundred of them came to a point of Land to shoot at vs. There I shot a Falcon at them, and killed two of them: whereupon the rest fled into the Woods. Yet they manned off another Canoe with nine or ten men, which came to meet vs. So I shot at it also a Falcon, and shot it through, and killed one of them. Then our men with their Muskets, killed three or foure more of them. So they went their way, within a while after, wee got downe two leagues beyond that place, and anchored in a Bay, cleere from all danger of them on the other side of the Riuer, where we saw a very good piece of ground: and hard by it there was a Cliffe, that looked of the colour of a white greene, as though it were either Copper, or Siluer Myne: and I thinke it to be one of them, by the Trees that grow vpon it. For they be all burned, and the other places are greene as grasse, it is on that side of the Riuer that is called *Manna-hata*. There we saw no people to trouble vs: and rode quietly all night, but had much wind and raine.

Treacherie of these Sauages. A skirmish and slaughter of the Sauages.

A Myne of Copper or Siluer.

The Country of *Manna-hata*.

The third, was very stormie, the wind at East North-east. In the morning, in a gust of wind and raine our Anchor came home, and we droue on ground, but it was Ozie. Then as we were about to haue out an Anchor, the wind came to the North North-west, and droue vs off againe. Then we shot an Anchor, and let it fall in foure fathomes water, and weighed the other. Wee had much wind and raine, with thicke weather: so we roade still all night.

The fourth, was faire weather, and the wind at North North-west, wee weighed and came out of the Riuer, into which we had runne so farre. Within a while after, wee came out also of *The great mouth of the great Riuer*, that runneth vp to the North-west, borrowing vpon the Norther side of the same, thinking to haue deepe water: for wee had sounded a great way with our Boat at our first going in, and found seuen, six, and fiue fathomes. So we came out that way, but we were deceiued, for we had but eight foot & an halfe water: and so to three, fiue, three, and two fathomes and an halfe. And then three, foure, fiue, sixe, seuen, eight, nine and ten fathomes. And by twelue of the clocke we were cleere of all the Inlet. Then we tooke in our Boat, and set our mayne-sayle and sprit-sayle, and our top-sayles, and steered away East South-east, and South-east by East off into the mayne sea: and the Land on the Souther-side of the Bay or Inlet, did beare at noone West and by South foure leagues from vs.

The great mouth of the great Riuer.

They leaue the Coast of *Virginia*.

The fift, was faire weather, and the wind variable betweene the North and the East. Wee held on our course South-east by East. At noone I obserued and found our height to bee 39. degrees 30. minutes. Our Compasse varied sixe degrees to the West.

We continued our course toward *England*, without seeing any Land by the way, all the rest of this moneth of October: And on the seuenth day of Nouember, *stilo nouo*, being Saturday: by the Grace of God we safely arriued in the Range of *Dartmouth* in *Deuonshire*, in the yeere 1609.

CHAP.

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CHAP. XVII.

An Abstract of the Iournall of Master HENRY HVDSON, *for the Discouerie of the North-west Passage, begunne the seuenteenth of Aprill,* 1610. *ended with his end, being treacherously exposed by some of the Companie.*

Aprill 17. THE seuenteenth of Aprill, 1610. we brake ground, and went downe from Saint *Katharines* Poole, and fell downe to *Blacke-wall*: and so plyed downe with the ships to *Lee*, which was the two and twentieth day.

The two and twentieth, I causeд Master *Coleburne* to bee put into a Pinke, bound for *London*, with my Letter to the Aduenturers, importing the reason wherefore I so put him out of the ship, and so plyed forth.

May. The second of May, the wind Southerly, at Eeuen we were thwart of *Flamborough* Head.

The Iles of *Orkney*. The fift, we were at the Iles of *Orkney*, and here I set the North end of the Needle, and the North of the Flie all one.

Note. The sixt, wee were in the latitude of 59. degrees 22. minutes, and there perceiued that the North end of *Scotland*, *Orney*, and *Shetland* are not so Northerly, as is commonly set downe.

Farre Ilands 62 degrees 24. minutes. The eight day, wee saw *Farre* Ilands, in the latitude of 62. degrees 24. minutes. The eleuenth day, we fell with the Easter part of *Island*, and then plying along the Souther part of the Land, we came to *Westmony*, being the fifteenth day, and still plyed about the mayne Iland, vntill the last of May with contrary winds, and we got some Fowles of diuers sorts.

Westmony.

Iune. The first day of Iune, we put to Sea out of an Harbour, in the Westermost part of *Island*, and so plyed to the Westward in the latitude of 66. degrees 34. minutes, and the second day plyed and found our selues in 65. degrees 57. minutes, with little wind Easterly.

The third day, wee found our selues in 65. degrees 30. minutes, with winde at North-east, a little before this we sayled neere some Ice.

Groneland. The fourth day, we saw *Groneland* ouer the Ice perfectly, and this night the Sunne went downe due North, and rose North North-east. So plying the fift day, we were in 65. degrees, still encombred with much Ice, which hung vpon the Coast of *Groneland*.

Frobishers Streights. The ninth day, wee were off *Frobishers* Streights with the winde Northerly, and plyed vnto the South-westwards vntill the fifteenth day.

Desolation. The fifteenth day, we were in sight of the land, in latitude 59. degrees 27. minutes, which was called by Captayne *Iohn Danis*, *Desolation*, and found the errour of the former laying downe of that Land: and then running to the North-westward vntill the twentieth day, wee found the ship in 60. degrees 42. minutes, and saw much Ice, and many Riplings or Ouer-fals, and a strong

A current West North-west. streame setting from East South-east, to West North-west.

The one and twentie, two and twentie, and three and twentie dayes, with the winde variable, we plyed to the North-westward in sight of much Ice, into the height of 62. degrees 29. minutes.

East entrance into the Streights. The foure and twentie, and fiue and twentie dayes, sayling to the West-ward about midnight, wee saw Land North, which was suddenly lost againe. So wee ranne still to the Westward in 62. degrees 17. minutes.

Iuly. The fift of Iuly, wee plyed vp vpon the Souther side, troubled with much Ice in seeking the shoare vntill the fift day of Iuly, and we obserued that day in 59. degrees 16. minutes. Then we plyed off the shoare againe, vntill the eight day, and then found the height of the Pole in 60. degrees no minutes. Here we saw the Land from the North-west by West, halfe Northerly vnto the South-west by West, couered with snow, a Champaigne Land, and called it, *Desire prouoketh*.

Desire prouoketh.

We still plyed vp to the Westward, as the Land and Ice would suffer vntill the eleuenth day; when fearing a storme, we anchored by three Rockie Ilands in vncertayne depth, betweene two and nine fathomes; and found it an Harbour vnsufficient by reason of sunken Rockes, one of which was next morning two fathomes aboue water. Wee called them the *Iles of Gods Mercies*. The water floweth here better then foure fathomes. The Floud commeth from the North, flowing eight the change day. The latitude in this place is 62. degrees 9. minutes. Then plying to the South-westward the sixteenth day, wee were in the latitude of 58. degrees 50. minutes, but found our selues imbayed with Land, and had much Ice: and we plyed to the North-westward vntill the nineteenth day, and then wee found by obseruation the height of the Pole in 61. degrees 24. minutes, and saw the Land, which I named, *Hold with Hope*. Hence I plyed to the North-westward still, vntill the one and twentieth day, with the wind variable. Heere I found the Sea more growne, then any wee had since wee left *England*.

Iles of Gods Mercies.

Hold with Hope. A mightie growne Sea.

The three and twentieth day, by obseruation the height of the Pole was 61. degrees 33. minutes,

nutes. The fiue and twentieth day, we ſaw the Land; and named it *Magna Britannia*. The ſixe and twentieth day, wee obſerued and found the latitude in 62. degrees 44. minutes. The eight and twentieth day, we were in the height of 63. degrees 10. minutes, and plyed Southerly of the Weſt. The one and thirtieth day, plying to the Weſtward, at noone wee found our ſelues in 62. degrees 24. minutes. *Magna Britannia.*

The firſt of Auguſt, we had ſight of the Northerne ſhoare, from the North by Eaſt to the Weſt by South off vs: the North part twelue leagues, and the Weſter part twentie leagues from vs: and we had no ground there at one hundred and eightie fathomes. And I thinke I ſaw Land on the Sunne ſide, but could not make it perfectly, bearing Eaſt North-eaſt. Here I found the latitude 62. degrees 50. minutes. Auguſt.

The ſecond day, we had ſight of a faire Head-land, on the Norther ſhoare ſix leagues off, which I called *Saliſburies* Fore-land: we ranne from them Weſt South-weſt, fourteene leagues: In the mid-way of which wee were ſuddenly come into a great and whurling Sea, whether cauſed by meeting of two ſtreames, or an Ouer-fall, I know not. Thence ſayling Weſt and by South ſeuen leagues farther, we were in the mouth of a Streight and ſounded, and had no ground at one hundred fathomes: the Streight being there not aboue two leagues broad, in the paſſage in this Weſter part: which from the Eaſter part of *Fretum Danis*, is diſtant two hundred and fiftie leagues there abouts. *Saliſburies* fore-land: A great and whurling Sea: A Streight which led vs into the deepe Bay of *Gods great Mercies.*

The third day, we put through the narrow paſſage, after our men had beene on Land, which had well obſerued there, *That the Flood did come from the North*, flowing by the ſhoare fiue fathomes. The head of this entrance on the South ſide, I named Cape *Worſenholme*; and the head on the North-weſter ſhoare, I called Cape *Digs*. After wee had ſailed with an Eaſterly winde, Weſt and by South ten leagues, the Land fell away to the Southward, and the other Iles and Land left vs to the Weſtward. Then I obſerued and found the ſhip at noone in 61. degrees 20. minutes, and a Sea to the Weſtward. Cape *Worſenholme.* Cape *Digs.*

A larger Diſcourſe of the ſame Voyage, and the ſucceſſe thereof, written by ABACVK PRICKET.

WE began our Voyage for the North-weſt paſſage; the ſeuenteenth of Aprill, 1610. Thwart of *Shepey*, our Maſter ſent Maſter *Colbert* backe to the Owners with his Letter. The next day we weighed from hence, and ſtood for *Harwich*, and came thither the eight and twentieth of Aprill. From *Harwich* we ſet ſayle the firſt of May, along the Coaſt to the North, till we came to the Iles of *Orkney*, from thence to the Iles of *Faro*, and from thence to *Iſland*: on which we fell in a fogge, hearing the Rut of the Sea aſhoare, but ſaw not the Land whereupon our Maſter came to an Anchor. Heere we were embayed in the South-eaſt part of the Land. Wee weighed and ſtood along the Coaſt, on the Weſt ſide towards the North: but one day being calme, we fell a fiſhing, and caught good ſtore of fiſh, as Cod and Ling, and Butte, with ſome other ſorts that we knew not. The next day, we had a good gale of wind at South-weſt, and rayſed the Iles of *Weſtmonie*, where the King of *Denmarke* hath a Fortreſſe, by which we paſſed to rayſe the *Snow Hill* foot, a Mountayne ſo called on the North-weſt part of the Land. But in our courſe we ſaw that famous Hill, Mount *Hecla*, which caſt out much fire, a ſigne of foule weather to come in ſhort time. Wee leaue *Iſland* a ſterne of vs, and met a Mayne of Ice, which did hang on the North part of *Iſland*, and ſtretched downe to the Weſt, which when our Maſter ſaw, he ſtood backe for *Iſland* to find an Harbour, which we did on the North-weſt part, called * *Dereſer*, where wee killed good ſtore of Fowle. From hence wee put to Sea againe, but (neither wind nor weather ſeruing) our Maſter ſtood backe for this Harbour againe, but could not reach it, but fell with another to the South of that, called by our *Engliſhmen*, *Louſie* Bay: where on the ſhoare we found an hot Bath, and heere all our *Engliſhmen* bathed themſelues: the water was ſo hot that it would ſcald a Fowle. *Orkney.* *Farre* Iles. *Iſland.* The South-eaſt part of *Iſland.* *Weſtmonie* Iland. Mount *Hecla* caſteth out fire. A mayne of Ice. * Or *Diraforde.* *Louſie* Bay. An hot Bath.

From hence the firſt of Iune we put to Sea for *Groneland*, but to the Weſt wee ſaw Land as we thought, for which we beare the beſt part of a day, but it proued but a foggie banke. So wee gaue it ouer, and made for *Gronland*, which we rayſed the fourth of Iune. Vpon the Coaſt thereof hung good ſtore of Ice, ſo that our Maſter could not attayne to the ſhoare by any meanes. The Land in this part is very Mountaynous, and full of round Hils, like to Sugar-loaues, couered with ſnow. We turned the Land on the South ſide, as neere as the Ice would ſuffer vs. Our courſe for the moſt part was betweene the Weſt and North-weſt, till we rayſed the *Deſolations*, which is a great Iland in the Weſt part of *Groneland*. On this Coaſt we ſaw ſtore of Whales, and at one time three of them came cloſe by vs, ſo as wee could hardly ſhunne them: then two paſſing very neere, and the third going vnder our ſhip, wee receiued no harme by them, prayſed bee God. The firſt of Iune. Iland of *Deſolation.* Store of Whales.

From the *Deſolations* our Maſter made his way North-weſt, the wind being againſt him, who elſe

elſe would haue gone more to the North: but in this courſe we ſaw the firſt great Iland or Mountayne of Ice, whereof after we ſaw ſtore. About the latter end of Iune, we rayſed Land to the North of vs, which our Maſter tooke to bee that Iland which Maſter *Danis* ſetteth downe in his Chart. On the Weſt ſide of his Streight, our Maſter would haue gone to the North of it, but the wind would not ſuffer him: ſo we fell to the South of it, into a great Rippling or ouerfall of current, the which ſetteth to the Weſt. Into the current we went, and made our way to the North of the Weſt, till we met with Ice which hung on this Iland. Wherefore our Maſter caſting about, cleered himſelfe of this Ice, and ſtood to the South, and then to the Weſt, through ſtore of floting Ice, and vpon the Ice ſtore of Seales. We gained a cleere Sea, and continued our courſe till wee meete Ice; firſt, with great Ilands, and then with ſtore of the ſmaller ſort. Betweene them we made our courſe North-weſt, till we met with Ice againe. But, in this our going betweene the Ice, we ſaw one of the great Ilands of Ice ouerturne, which was a good warning to vs, not to come nigh them, nor within their reach. Into the Ice wee put ahead, as betweene two Lands. The next day we had a ſtorme, and the wind brought the Ice ſo faſt vpon vs, that in the end we were driuen to put her into the chiefeſt of the Ice, and there to let her lie. Some of our men this day fell ſicke, I will not ſay it was for feare, although I ſaw ſmall ſigne of other griefe.

Iland of Ice ouerturneth.

Danger by Ice.

The ſtorme ceaſing, we ſtood out of the Ice, where wee ſaw any cleere Sea to goe to: which was ſometime more, and ſometime leſſe. Our courſe was as the Ice did lye, ſometime to the North, then to the North-weſt, and then to the Weſt, and to the South-weſt: but ſtill incloſed with Ice. Which when our Maſter ſaw, he made his courſe to the South, thinking to cleere himſelfe of the Ice that way: but the more he ſtroue, the worſe he was, and the more incloſed, till we could goe no further. Here our Maſter was in deſpaire, and (as he told me after) he thought he ſhould neuer haue got out of this Ice, but there haue periſhed. Therefore hee brought forth his Card, and ſhewed all the company, that hee was entred aboue an hundred leagues further then euer any *Engliſh* was: and left it to their choice, whether they would proceed any further; yea, or nay. Whereupon, ſome were of one minde, and ſome of another, ſome wiſhing themſelues at home, and ſome not caring where, ſo they were out of the Ice: but there were ſome who then ſpake words, which were remembred a great while after.

Hudſon entred 100. leagues further then any had been.

Diſcontents.

There was one who told the Maſter, that if he had an hundred pounds, hee would giue foure-ſcore and ten to be at home: but the Carpenter made anſwere, that if hee had an hundred, hee would not giue ten vpon any ſuch condition, but would thinke it to be as good money as euer he had any, and to bring it as well home, by the leaue of God. After many words to no purpoſe, to worke we muſt on all hands, to get our ſelues out, and to cleere our ſhip. After much labour and time ſpent, we gained roome to turne our ſhip in, and ſo by little and little, to get cleere in the Sea a league or two off, our courſe being North and North-weſt.

Deſire prouokes.

In the end, we rayſed Land to the South-weſt, high Land and couered with Snow. Our Maſter named this Land, *Deſire prouokes.* Lying here, wee heard the noyſe of a great ouer-fall of a tyde, that came out of the Land: for now we might ſee well, that wee had beene embayed before, and time had made vs know, being ſo well acquainted with the Ice, that when night, or foggie, or foule weather tooke vs, we would ſeeke out the broadeſt Iland of Ice, and there come to anchor and runne, and ſport, and fill water that ſtood on the Ice in Ponds, both ſweete and good. But after we had brought this Land to beare South of vs, we had the tyde and the current to open the Ice, as being carried firſt one way, and then another: but in Bayes they lye as in a pond without mouing. In this Bay where wee were thus troubled with Ice, wee ſaw many of thoſe Mountaynes of Ice aground, in ſixe or ſeuenſcore fathome water. In this our courſe we ſaw a Beare vpon a piece of Ice by it ſelfe, to the which our men gaue chaſe with their Boat: but before they came nigh her, the tyde had carried the Ice and the Beare on it, and ioyned it with the other Ice: ſo they loſt their labour, and came aboord againe.

Exerciſes of pleaſure and profit on the Ice.

Difference of Tydes and Bayes.

Ice aboue 100. fathome.

We continued our courſe to the North-weſt, and rayſed Land to the North of our courſe, toward which we made, and comming nigh it, there hung on the Eaſtermoſt point, many Ilands of floting Ice, and a Beare on one of them, which from one to another came towards vs, till ſhe was readie to come aboord. But when ſhe ſaw vs looke at her, ſhe caſt her head betweene her hinder legges, and then diued vnder the Ice: and ſo from one piece to another, till ſhe was out of our reach. We ſtood along by the Land on the Southſide ahead of vs, wee met with Ice that hung on a point of Land that lay to the South, more then this that we came vp by: which when our Maſter ſaw, he ſtood in for the ſhoare. At the Weſt end of this Iland (for ſo it is) we found an Harbour, and came in (at a full Sea) ouer a Rocke, which had two fathome and an halfe on it, and was ſo much bare at a low water. But by the great mercie of God, we came to an Anchor cleere of it: and cloſe by it, our Maſter named them, the *Iles of Gods Mercie.* This is an Harbour for need, but there muſt be care had how they come in. Heere our Maſter ſent me, and others with me, to diſcouer to the North and North-weſt: and in going from one place to another, we ſprung a Couey of Partridges which were young: at the which *Thomas Woodhouſe* ſhot, but killed only the old one. This Iland is a moſt barren place, hauing nothing on it but

A dangerous Rocke.

Iles of Gods Mercie.

Partridges.

plaſhes

plaſhes of water and riuen Rockes, as if it were ſubiect to Earthquakes. To the North there is a great Bay, or Sea (for I know not what it will proue) where I ſaw a great Iland of Ice aground, betweene the two Lands, which with the Spring-tide was ſet afloat, and carried into this Bay or Sea to the North-weſtward, but came not backe againe, nor within ſight. Here wee tooke in ſome Drift wood that we found aſhoare. Drift-wood.

From hence we ſtood to the South-weſt, to double the Land to the Weſt of vs, through much floting Ice: In the end wee found a cleere Sea, and continued therein, till wee rayſed Land to the North-weſt. Then our Maſter made his courſe more to the South then before: but it was not long ere we met with Ice which lay ahead of vs. Our Maſter would haue doubled this Ice to the North, but could not; and in the end put into it downe to the South-weſt through much Ice, and then to the South, where we were embayed againe. Our Maſter ſtroue to get the ſhoare, but could not, for the great ſtore of Ice that was on the coaſt. From out of this Bay, we ſtood to the North, and were ſoone out of the Ice: then downe to the South-weſt, and ſo to the Weſt, where we were encloſed (to our ſight) with Land and Ice. For wee had Land from the South to the North-weſt on one ſide, and from the Eaſt to the Weſt on the other: but the Land that was to the North of vs, and lay by Eaſt and Weſt, was but an Iland. On we went till we could goe no further for Ice: ſo we made our ſhip faſt to the Ice which the tide brought vpon vs, but when the ebbe came, the Ice did open, and made way; ſo as in ſeuen or eight houres we were cleere from the Ice, till we came to weather; but onely ſome of the great Ilands, that were carried along with vs to the North-weſt.

Hauing a cleere Sea, our Maſter ſtood to the Weſt along by the South ſhoare, and rayſed three Capes or Head-lands, lying one aboue another. The middlemoſt is an Iland, and maketh a Bay or Harbour, which (I take) will proue a good one. Our Maſter named them Prince *Henries* Cape, or *Fore-land.* When we had layd this we raiſed another, which was the extreme point of the Land, looking towards the North: vpon it are two Hills, but one (aboue the reſt) like an Hay-cocke; which our Maſter named, King *Iames* his Cape. To the North of this, lie certaine Ilands, which our Maſter named, Queene *Annes* Cape, or *Fore-land.* Wee followed the North ſhoare ſtill. Beyond the Kings Cape there is a Sound or Bay, that hath ſome Ilands in it: and this is not to be forgotten, if need be. Beyond this, lieth ſome broken Land, cloſe to the Mayne, but what it is I know not: becauſe we paſſed by it in the night. Three Capes. Prince *Henries* Cape. King *Iames* his Cape. Queene *Annes* Cape.

We ſtood to the North to double this Land, and after to the Weſt againe, till wee fell with Land that ſtretched from the Mayne, like a ſhewer from the South to the North, and from the North to the Weſt, and then downe to the South againe. Being ſhort of this Land, a ſtorme tooke vs, the wind at Weſt, we ſtood to the North, and raiſed Land: which when our Maſter ſaw, he ſtood to the South againe; for he was loath at any time that wee ſhould ſee the North ſhoare. The ſtorme continuing, and comming to the South ſhoare againe, our Maſter found himſelfe ſhot to the Weſt, a great way, which made him muſe, conſidering his Leeward way. To the South-weſt of this Land, on the Mayne, there is an high Hill, which our Maſter named Mount *Charles.* To the North and beyond this, lieth an Iland, that to the Eaſt hath a faire head, and beyond it to the Weſt other broken Land, which maketh a Bay within, and a good Road may be found there for ſhips. Our Maſter named the firſt, Cape *Salſburie.* Note. Mount *Charles.* Cape *Salsburie.*

When we had left this to the North-eaſt, we fell into a Rippling or Ouer-fall of a Current, which (at the firſt we tooke to bee a Shoald: but the Lead being caſt, wee had no ground. On we paſſed ſtill in ſight of the South ſhoare, till we raiſed Land lying from the Mayne ſome two leagues. Our Maſter tooke this to bee a part of the Mayne of the North Land; but it is an Iland, the North ſide ſtretching out to the Weſt more then the South. This Iland hath a faire Head to the Eaſt, and very high Land, which our Maſter named *Deepes* Cape: and the Land on the South ſide, now falling away to the South, makes another Cape or Head-land, which our Maſter named, *Worſenhams* Cape. When wee were nigh the North or Iland Cape, our Maſter ſent the Boat aſhoare, with my ſelfe (who had the charge) and the Carpenter, and diuers others, to diſcouer to the Weſt and North-weſt, and to the South-weſt: but we had further to it then we thought; for the Land is very high, and we were ouer-taken with a ſtorme of Raine, Thunder and Lightning. But to it we came on the North-eaſt ſide, and vp we got from one Rocke to another, till we came to the higheſt of that part. Here we found ſome plaine ground, and ſaw ſome Deere; as firſt, foure or fiue, and after, a dozen or ſixteene in an Herd, but could not come nigh them with a Musket ſhot. *Deepes* Cape. *Worſenhams* Cape. Deere.

Thus, going from one place to another, wee ſaw to the Weſt of vs an high Hill aboue all the reſt, it being nigh vs: but it proued further off then we made account; for, when wee came to it, the Land was ſo ſteepe on the Eaſt and North-eaſt parts, that wee could not get vnto it. To the South-weſt we ſaw that wee might, and towards that part wee went along by the ſide of a great Pond of water, which lieth vnder the Eaſt ſide of this Hill: and there runneth out of it a ſtreame of water, as much as would driue an ouer-ſhot Mill; which falleth downe from an high Cliffe into the Sea on the South ſide. In this place great ſtore of Fowle breed, and there is the beſt Graſſe that I had ſeene ſince we came from *England.* Here wee found Sorell, and that Store of fowle and graſſe. Sorell and Scurvy graſſe.

which

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which wee call Scuruy-graſſe, in great abundance. Paſſing along wee ſaw ſome round Hills of ſtone, like to Graſſe cockes, which at the firſt I tooke to be the worke of ſome Chriſtian. Wee paſſed by them, till we came to the South ſide of the Hill; we went vnto them, and there found more; and being nigh them, I turned off the vppermoſt ſtone, and found them hollow within, and full of Fowles hanged by their neckes. Then *Greene*, and I, went to fetch the Boat to the South ſide, while *Robert Billet* and hee got downe a Valley to the Sea ſide, where wee tooke them in.

Fowles hanged.

Our Maſter (in this time) came in betweene the two Lands, and ſhot off ſome Peeces to call vs aboord; for it was a fogge. Wee came aboord, and told him what we had ſeene, and perſwaded him to ſtay a day or two in this place, telling him what refreſhing might there bee had: but by no meanes would he ſtay, who was not pleaſed with the motion. So we left the Fowle, and loſt our way downe to the South-weſt, before they went in ſight of the Land, which now beares to the Eaſt from vs, being the ſame mayne Land that wee had all this while followed. Now, we had loſt the ſight of it, becauſe it falleth away to the Eaſt, after ſome fiue and twenty or thirty leagues. Now we came to the ſhallow water, wherewith wee were not acquainted ſince we came from *Iſland*; now we came into broken ground and Rockes, through which we paſſed downe to the South. In this our courſe we had a ſtorme, and the water did ſhoald apace. Our Maſter came to an anchor in fifteene fathoms water.

Wee weighed and ſtood to the South-eaſt, becauſe the Land in this place did lie ſo. When we came to the point of the Weſt Land (for we now had Land on both ſides of vs) we came to an anchor. Our Maſter ſent the Boat aſhoare, to ſee what that Land was, and whether there were any way through. They ſoone returned, and ſhewed that beyond the point of Land to the South, there was a large Sea. This Land on the Weſt ſide, was a very narrow Point. Wee weighed from hence, and ſtood in for this Sea betweene the two Lands, which (in this place) is not two leagues broad downe to the South, for a great way in ſight of the Eaſt ſheare. In the end we loſt ſight thereof, and ſaw it not till we came to the bottome of the Bay, into ſixe or ſeuen fathomes water. Hence we ſtood vp to the North by the Weſt ſhoare, till wee came to an Iland in 53. where we tooke in water and ballaſt.

From hence wee paſſed towards the North: but ſome two or three dayes after (reaſoning concerning our comming into this Bay, and going out) our Maſter tooke occaſion to reuiue old matters, and to diſplace *Robert Iuet* from being his Mate, and the Boat-ſwaine from his place, for words ſpoken in the firſt great Bay of Ice. Then hee made *Robert Billet* his Mate, and *William Wilſon* our Boat-ſwaine. Vp to the North wee ſtood, till we raiſed Land, then downe to the South, and vp to the North, then downe againe to the South: and on Michaelmaſſe day came in, and went out of certaine Lands: which our Maſter ſets downe by the name of *Michaelmaſſe* Bay, becauſe we came in and went out on that day. From hence wee ſtood to the North, and came into ſhoald water; and the weather being thicke and foule, wee came to an anchor in ſeuen or eight fathome water, and there lay eight dayes: in all which time wee could not get one houre to weigh our anchor. But the eight day, the wind beginning to ceaſe, our Maſter would haue the anchor vp, againſt the mind of all who knew what belonged thereunto. Well, to it we went, and when we had brought it to a peake, a Sea tooke her, and caſt vs all off from the Capſtone, and hurt diuers of vs. Here wee loſt our Anchor, and if the Carpenter had not beene, we had loſt our Cable too: but he (fearing ſuch a matter) was ready with his Axe, and ſo cut it.

Diſcord: ſee *Widhouſe* his Relations following.

Michaelmaſſe Day, and Bay.

Anchor loſt.

From hence we ſtood to the South, and to the South-weſt, through a cleere Sea of diuers ſounding, and came to a Sea of two colours, one blacke, and the other white, ſixteene or ſeuenteene fathome water, betweene which we went foure or fiue leagues. But the night comming, we tooke in our Top-ſayles, and ſtood afore the wind with our Maine-ſayle and Fore-ſayle, and came into fiue or ſixe fathomes, and ſaw no Land for it was darke. Then we ſtood to the Eaſt, and had deepe water againe, then to the South and Southweſt, and ſo came to our Weſtermoſt Bay of all, and came to an anchor neereſt to the North ſhore. Out went our Boat to the Land that was next vs, when they came neere it, our Boat could not flote to the ſhoare it was ſo ſhallow: yet aſhoare they got. Here our men ſaw the footing of a man and a Ducke in the ſnowy Rockes, and Wood good ſtore, whereof they tooke ſome and returned aboord. Being at anchor in this place, we ſaw a ledge of Rockes to the South of vs, ſome leaguе of length; It lay North and South, couered at a full Sea; for a ſtrong tide ſetteth in here. At mid-night wee weighed, and ſtood to goe out as we came in; and had not gone long, but the Carpenter came and told the Maſter, that if he kept that courſe he would be vpon the Rockes: the Maſter conceiued that he was paſt them, when preſently wee ranne on them, and there ſtucke faſt twelue houres: but (by the mercy of God) we got off vnhurt, though not vnſcarred.

Sea of two colours.

Footing of a man.

Sticks on a Rocke.

Wee ſtood vp to the Eaſt and rayſed three Hills, lying North and South: wee went to the furthermoſt, and left it to the North of vs, and ſo into a Bay, where wee came to an anchor. Here our Maſter ſent out our Boat, with my ſelfe and the Carpenter to ſeeke a place to winter in: and it was time; for the nights were long and cold, and the earth couered with Snow. Hauing

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uing ſpent three moneths in a Labyrinth without end, being now the laſt of October, we went downe to the Eaſt, to the bottome of the Bay: but returned without ſpeeding of that we went for. The next day we went to the South, and the South-weſt, and found a place, whereunto we brought our ſhip, and haled her aground: and this was the firſt of Nouember. By the tenth thereof we were frozen in: but now we were in, it behoued vs to haue care of what we had; for, that we were ſure of; but what we had not, was vncertaine. Laſt of October. Nouember the tenth frozen in.

Wee were victualled for ſixe moneths in good proportion, and of that which was good: if our Maſter would haue had more, he might haue had it at home and in other places. Here we were now, and therefore it behoued vs ſo to ſpend, that wee might haue (when time came) to bring vs to the *Capes* where the Fowle bred, for that was all the hope wee had to bring vs home. Wherefore our Maſter tooke order, firſt for the ſpending of that wee had, and then to increaſe it, by propounding a reward to them that killed either Beaſt, Fiſh, or Fowle, as in his Iouruall you haue ſeene. About the middle of this moneth of Nouember, dyed *Iohn Williams* our Gunner: God pardon the Maſters vncharitable dealing with this man. Now for that I am come to ſpeake of him, out of whoſe aſhes (as it were) that vnhappy deed grew which brought a ſcandall vpon all that are returned home, and vpon the action it ſelfe, the multitude (like the dog) running after the ſtone, but not at the caſter: therefore, not to wrong the liuing, nor ſlander the dead, I will (by the leaue of God) deliuer the truth as neere as I can. *John Williams* dyeth.

You ſhall vnderſtand, that our Maſter kept (in his houſe at *London*) a young man, named *Henrie Greene*, borne in *Kent*, of Worſhipfull Parents, but by his leud life and conuerſation hee had loſt the good will of all his frinds, and had ſpent all that hee had. This man, our Maſter would haue to Sea with him, becauſe hee could write well: our Maſter gaue him meate, and drinke, and lodging, and by meanes of one Maſter *Venſon*, with much adoe got foure pounds of his mother to buy him clothes, wherewith Maſter *Venſon* would not truſt him: but ſaw it laid out himſelfe. This *Henrie Greene* was not ſet downe in the owners booke, nor any wages made for him. Hee came firſt aboord at *Graueſend*, and at *Harwich* ſhould haue gone into the field, with one *Wilkinſon*. At *Iſland* the Surgeon and hee fell out in *Dutch*, and hee beat him a ſhoare in *Engliſh*, which ſet all the company in a rage; ſo that wee had much adoe to get the Surgeon aboord. I told the Maſter of it, but hee bade mee let it alone, for (ſaid hee) the Surgeon had a tongue that would wrong the beſt friend hee had. But *Robert Iuet* (the Maſters Mate) would needs burne his finger in the embers, and told the Carpenter a long tale (when hee was drunke) that our Maſter had brought in *Greene* to cracke his credit that ſhould diſpleaſe him: which words came to the Maſters eares, who when hee vnderſtood it, would haue gone backe to *Iſland*, when he was fortie leagues from thence, to haue ſent home his Mate *Robert Iuet* in a Fiſher-man. But, being otherwiſe perſwaded, all was well. So *Henry Greene* ſtood vpright, and very inward with the Maſter, and was a ſeruiceable man euery way for manhood: but for Religion he would ſay, he was cleane paper whereon he might write what hee would. Now, when our Gunner was dead, and (as the order is in ſuch caſes) if the company ſtand in need of any thing that belonged to the man deceaſed, then is it brought to the Mayne Maſt, and there ſold to them that will giue moſt for the ſame: This Gunner had a gray cloth gowne, which *Greene* prayed the Maſter to friend him ſo much as to let him haue it, paying for it as another would giue: the Maſter ſaith hee ſhould, and thereupon hee anſwered ſome, that ſought to haue it, that *Greene* ſhould haue it, and none elſe, and ſo it reſted. *Henry Greenes* bad conditions

Now out of ſeaſon and time, the Maſter calleth the Carpenter to goe in hand with an houſe on ſhoare, which at the beginning our Maſter would not heare, when it might haue beene done. The Carpenter told him, that the Snow and Froſt were ſuch, as hee neither could, nor would goe in hand with ſuch worke. Which when our Maſter heard, hee ferreted him out of his Cabbin to ſtrike him, calling him by many foule names, and threatning to hang him. The Carpenter told him that hee knew what belonged to his place better then himſelfe, and that hee was no Houſe Carpenter. So this paſſed, and the houſe was (after) made with much labour, but to no end. The next day after the Maſter and the Carpenter fell out, the Carpenter tooke his Peece and *Henry Greene* with him, for it was an order that none ſhould goe out alone, but one with a Peece, and another with a Pike. This did moue the Maſter ſo much the more againſt *Henry Greene*, that *Robert Bilet* his Mate muſt haue the gowne, and had it deliuered vnto him; which when *Henry Greene* ſaw, he challenged the Maſters promiſe: but the Maſter did ſo raile on *Greene*, with ſo many words of diſgrace, telling him, that all his friends would not truſt him with twenty ſhillings, and therefore why ſhould he? As for wages he had none, nor none ſhould haue, if he did not pleaſe him well. Yet the Maſter had promiſed him to make his wages as good, as any mans in the ſhip; and to haue him one of the Princes guard when we came home. But you ſhall ſee how the deuil out of this ſo wrought with *Green*, that he did the Maſter what miſchiefe hee could in ſeeking to diſcredit him, and to thruſt him and many other honeſt men out of the Ship in the end. To ſpeake of all our trouble in this time of Winter (which was ſo cold, as it lamed the moſt of our Company, and my ſelfe doe yet feele it) would bee too tedious. *Greenes* conſpiracie. Their hard wintring.

But I muſt not forget to ſhew, how mercifully God deals with vs in this time; for the

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Store of Partridges.

space of three moneths wee had such store of Fowle of one kinde (which were Partridges as white as milke) that wee killed aboue an hundred dozen, besides others of sundry sorts: for all was fish that came to the net. The Spring comming, this Fowle left vs, yet they were with vs all the extreame cold. Then in their places came diuers sort of other Fowle, as

Other Fowles succeeding in their seasons.

Swanne, Geese, Duck, and Teale, but hard to come by. Our Master hoped they would haue bred in those broken grounds, but they doe not: but came from the South, and flew to the North, further then we were this Voyage; yet if they be taken short with the wind at North, or North-west, or North-east, then they fall and stay till the winde serue them, and then flye to the North. Now in time these Fowles are gone, and few or none to bee seene. Then wee went into the Woods, Hilles, and Valleyes, for all things that had any shew of substance in them, how vile soeuer: the mosse of the ground, then the which I take the powder of

Miserable diet

a post to bee much better, and the Frogge (in his ingendring time as loathsome as a Toade) was not spared. But amongst the diuers sorts of buds, it pleased God that *Thomas Woodhouse* brought home a budde of a Tree, full of a Turpentine substance. Of this our

Medicinable budde.

Surgeon made a decoction to drinke, and applyed the buddes hot to them that were troubled with ach in any part of their bodies; and for my part, I confesse, I receiued great and present ease of my paine.

A Sauage.

About this time, when the Ice began to breake out of the Bayes, there came a Sauage to our Ship, as it were to see and to bee seene, being the first that we had seene in all this time: whom our Master intreated well, and made much of him, promising vnto himselfe great matters by his meanes, and therefore would haue all the Kniues and Hatchets (which any man had) to his priuate vse, but receiued none but from *Iohn King* the Carpenter, and my selfe. To this Sauage our Master gaue a Knife, a Looking-glasse, and Buttons, who receiued them thankefully, and made signes that after hee had slept hee would come againe, which hee did. When hee came, hee brought with him a Sled, which hee drew after him, and

Turke.

vpon it two Deeres skinnes, and two Beauer skinnes. Hee had a scrip vnder his arme, out of which hee drew those things which the Master had giuen him. Hee tooke the Knife and laid it vpon one of the Beauer skinnes, and his Glasses and Buttons vpon the other, and so gaue them to the Master, who receiued them; and the Sauage tooke those things which the Master had giuen him, and put them vp into his scrip againe. Then the Master shewed him an Hatchet, for which hee would haue giuen the Master one of his Deere skinnes, but our Master would haue them both, and so hee had, although not willingly. After many signes of people to the North, and to the South, and that after so many sleepes he would come againe, he went his way, but neuer came more.

Fishing.

Now the Ice being out of the Sounds, so that our Boat might go from one place vnto another, a company of men were appointed by the Master to go a fishing with our net; their names were as followeth: *William Wilson*, *Henry Greene*, *Michael Perce*, *Iohn Thomas*, *Andrew Moter*, *Bennet Mathewes*, and *Arnold Lodlo*. These men, the first day they went, caught fiue hundred fish, as big as good Herrings, and some Troutes: which put vs all in some hope to haue our wants supplied, and our Commons amended: but these were the most that euer they got in one day, for many dayes they got not a quarter so many. In this time of their fishing, *Henry Green* and *William Wilson*, with some others, plotted to take the net and the shallop, which the Carpenter had now set vp, and so to shift for themselues. But the shallop being readie, our Master would goe in it himselfe, to the South and South-west, to see if hee could meete with the people; for, to that end was it set vp, and (that way) wee might see the Woods set on fire by them. So the Master tooke the Sayue and the Shallop, and so much victuall as would serue for eight or nine dayes, and to the South hee went. They that remained aboord, were to take in water, wood, and ballast, and to haue all things in a readinesse against hee came backe. But hee set no time of his returne; for he was perswaded, if he could meet with the people, hee should haue flesh of them, and that good store: but hee returned worse then hee went forth. For, hee could by no meanes meete with the people, although they were neere them, yet they would set the woods on fire in his sight.

Being returned, hee fitted all things for his returne, and first, deliuered all the bread out of the bread roome (which came to a pound a piece for euery mans share) and deliuered also a Bill of Returne, willing them to haue that to shew, if it pleased God, that they came home: and he wept when hee gaue it vnto them. But to helpe vs in this poore estate with some reliefe, the Boate and Sayue went to worke on Friday morning, and stayed till Sunday noone: at which time they came aboord, and brought fourescore small Fish, a poore reliefe for so many hungry bellies. Then we wayed, and stood out of our wintering place, and came to an Anchor without, in the mouth of the Bay: from whence we wayed and came to an anchor without in the Sea, where our bread

Belly straits.

being gone, that store of cheese we had was to stop a gap, whereof there were fiue, whereat the company grudged, because they made account of nine. But those that were left, were equally diuided by the Master, although he had counsell to the contrarie: for there were some who hauing it, would make hast to bee rid thereof, because they could not gouerne it. I knew when *Henrie Greene*

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Greene gaue halfe his bread, which hee had for fourteene dayes, to one to keepe, and prayed him not to let him haue any vntill the next Munday: but before Wednesday at night, hee neuer left till hee had it againe, hauing eaten vp his first weekes bread before. So *Wilson* the Boatswaine hath eaten (in one day) his fortnights bread, and hath beene two or three dayes sicke for his labour. The cause that moued the Master to deliuer all the Cheese, was because they were not all of one goodnesse, and therefore they should see that they had no wrong done them: but euery man should haue alike the best and the worst together, which was three pounds and a halfe for seuen dayes.

The wind seruing, we weighed and stood to the North-west, and on Munday at night (the eighteenth day of Iune) wee fell into the Ice, and the next day the wind being at West, we lay there till Sunday in sight of Land. Now being here, the Master told *Nicholas Simmes*, that there would be a breaking vp of chests, and a search for bread, and willed him (if hee had any) to bring it to him, which hee did, and deliuered to the Master thirty cakes in a bagge. This deed of the Master (if it bee true) hath made mee maruell, what should bee the reason that hee did not stop the breach in the beginning, but let it grow to that height, as that it ouerthrew himselfe and many other honest men: but *there are many deuices in the heart of man, yet the counsell of the Lord shall stand.*

Being thus in the Ice on Saturday, the one and twentieth of Iune at night, *Wilson* the Boatswayne, and *Henry Greene* came to mee lying (in my Cabbin) lame, and told mee that they and the rest of their Associates, would shift the Company, and turne the Master, and all the sicke men into the shallop, & let them shift for themselues. For, there was not fourteen daies victual left for all the Company, at that poore allowance they were at, and that there they lay, the Master not caring to goe one way or other: and that they had not eaten any thing these three dayes, and therefore were resolute, either to mend or end, and what they had begun they would goe through with it, or dye. When I heard this, I told them I maruelled to heare so much from them, considering that they were married men, and had wiues and children, and that for their sakes they should not commit so foule a thing in the sight of God and man, as that would bee; for why should they banish themselues from their natiue Countrie? *Henry Greene* bad me hold my peace, for he knew the worst, which was, to be hanged when hee came home, and therefore of the two he would rather be hanged at home then starued abroad: and for the good will they bare me, they would haue mee stay in the Ship. I gaue them thankes, and told them that I came into her, not to forsake her, yet not to hurt my selfe and others by any such deed. *Henry Greene* told me then, that I must take my fortune in the Shallop. If there bee no remedie (said I) the will of GOD bee done. *Wilson & Greene, their wickednesse.*

Away went *Henry Greene* in a rage, swearing to cut his throat that went about to disturbe them, and left *Wilson* by me, with whom I had some talke, but to no good: for he was so perswaded, that there was no remedie now, but to goe on while it was hot, least their partie should faile them, and the mischiefe they had intended to others should light on themselues. *Henry Greene* came againe, and demanded of him what I said. *Wilson* answered, He is in his old song, still patient. Then I spake to *Henry Greene* to stay three dayes, in which time I would so deale with the Master, that all should be well. So I dealt with him to forbeare but two dayes, nay twelue houres; there is no way then (say they) but out of hand. Then I told them, that if they would stay till Munday, I would ioyne with them to share all the victuals in the ship, and would iustifie it when I came home; but this would not serue their turnes. Wherefore I told them, it was some worse matter they had in hand then they made shew of, and that it was bloud and reuenge hee sought, or else he would not at such a time of night vndertake such a deed. *Henry Greene* (with that) taketh my Bible which lay before me, and sware that hee would doe no man harme, and what hee did was for the good of the voyage, and for nothing else; and that all the rest should do the like. The like did *Wilson* sweare.

Henry Greene went his way, and presently came *Iuet*, who because hee was an ancient man, I hoped to haue found some reason in him; but hee was worse then *Henry Greene*, for hee sware plainely that he would iustifie this deed when he came home. After him came *Iohn Thomas*, and *Michel Perce*, as birds of one feather: but because they are not liuing, I will let them goe, as then I did. Then came *Moter* and *Bennet*, of whom I demanded, if they were well aduised what they had taken in hand. They answered, they were, and therefore came to take their oath. *Robert Iuet.* See *Widhouses* notes.

Now, because I am much condemned for this oath, as one of them that plotted with them, and that by an oath I should bind them together to performe what they had begun, I thought good heere to set downe to the view of all, how well their oath and deedes agreed: and thus it was. *You shall sweare truth to God, your Prince and Countrie: you shall doe nothing, but to the glory of God, and the good of the action in hand, and harme to no man.* This was the oath, without adding or diminishing. I looked for more of these companions (although these were too many) but there came no more. It was darke, and they in a readinesse to put this deed of darknesse in execution. I called to *Henry Greene* and *Wilson*, and prayed them not to goe in hand with it in the darke, but to stay till the morning. Now, euerie man (I hope) would goe to his rest, but wickednesse Oath abused.

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kednesſe ſleepeth not ; for *Henry Greene* keepeth the Maſter company all night (and gaue mee bread, which his Cabbin-mate gaue him) and others are as watchfull as he. Then I asked *Henrie Greene*, whom he would put out with the Maſter? he ſaid, the Carpenter *Iohn King*, and the ſicke men. I ſaid, they ſhould not doe well to part with the Carpenter, what need ſoeuer they ſhould haue. Why the Carpenter was in no more regard amongſt them, was; firſt, for that he and *Iohn King* were condemned for wrong done in the victuall. But the chiefeſt cauſe was, for that the Maſter loued him, and made him his Mate, vpon his returne out of our wintering place, thereby diſplacing *Robert Billet*, whereat they did grudge, becauſe hee could neither write nor read. And therefore (ſaid they) the Maſter and his ignorant Mate would carry the Ship whither the Maſter pleaſed: the Maſter forbidding any man to keepe account or reckoning, hauing taken from all men whatſoeuer ſerued for that purpoſe. Well, I obtained of *Henrie Greene* and *Wilſon*, that the Carpenter ſhould ſtay, by whoſe meanes I hoped (after they had ſatisfied themſelues) that the Maſter, and the poore man might be taken into the Ship againe. Or, I hoped, that ſome one or other would giue ſome notice, either to the Carpenter *Iohn King*, or the Maſter; for ſo it might haue come to paſſe by ſome of them that were the moſt forward.

The Carpenter ſpared.

Now, it ſhall not bee amiſſe to ſhew how we were lodged, and to begin in the Cooke roome; there lay *Bennet* and the Cooper lame; without the Cooke roome, on the ſteere-board ſide, lay *Thomas Wydhouſe* ſicke; next to him lay *Sydrack Funer* lame, then the Surgeon, and *Iohn Hudſon* with him; next to them lay *Wilſon* the Boatſwaine, and then *Arnold Lodlo* next to him: in the Gun-roome lay *Robert Iuet* and *Iohn Thomas*; on the Lar-boord ſide, lay *Michael Bute* and *Adria Moore*, who had neuer beene well ſince wee loſt our Anchor; next to them lay *Michael Perce* and *Andrew Moter*. Next to them without the Gun-roome, lay *Iohn King*, and with him *Robert Billet*: next to them my ſelfe, and next to me *Francis Clements*: In the mid-ſhip, betweene the Capſtone and the Pumpes, lay *Henrie Greene* and *Nicholas Simmes*. This night *Iohn King* was late vp, and they thought he had been with the Maſter, but he was with the Carpenter, who lay on the Poope, and comming downe from him, was met by his Cabbin-mate, as it were by chance, and ſo they came to their Cabbin together. It was not long ere it was day: then came *Bennet* for water for the Kettle, hee roſe and went into the Hold: when hee was in, they ſhut the Hatch on him (but who kept it downe I know not) vp vpon the Deck went *Bennet*.

In the meane time *Henrie Greene*, and another went to the Carpenter, and held him with a talke, till the Maſter came out of his Cabbin (which hee ſoone did) then came *Iohn Thomas* and *Bennet* before him, while *Wilſon* bound his armes behind him. He asked them what they meant? they told him he ſhould know when he was in the Shallop. Now *Iuet*, while this was a doing, came to *Iohn King* into the Hold, who was prouided for him, for he had got a ſword of his own, and kept him at a bay, and might haue killed him, but others came to helpe him: and ſo he came vp to the Maſter. The Maſter called to the Carpenter, and told him that he was bound; but, I heard no anſwere he made. Now *Arnold Lodlo*, and *Michael Bute* rayled at them, and told them their knauerie would ſhew it ſelfe. Then was the Shallop haled vp to the Ship ſide, and the poore, ſicke, and lame men were called vpon to get them out of their Cabbins into the Shallop. The Maſter called to me, who came out of my Cabbin as well as I could, to the Hatch way to ſpeake with him: where, on my knees I beſought them, for the loue of God, to remember themſelues, and to doe as they would be done vnto. They bad me keepe my ſelfe well, and get me into my Cabbin; not ſuffering the Maſter to ſpeake with me. But when I came into my Cabbin againe, hee called to me at the Horne, which gaue light into my Cabbin, and told mee that *Iuet* would ouerthrow vs all; nay (ſaid I) it is that villaine *Henrie Greene*, and I ſpake it not ſoftly.

They bind the Maſter.

Now was the Carpenter at libertie, who asked them, if they would bee hanged when they came home: and as for himſelfe, hee ſaid, hee would not ſtay in the Ship vnleſſe they would force him: they bad him goe then, for they would not ſtay him: I will (ſaid hee) ſo I may haue my cheſt with mee, and all that is in it: they ſaid, hee ſhould, and preſently they put it into the Shallop. Then hee came downe to mee, to take his leaue of mee, who perſwaded him to ſtay, which if he did, he might ſo worke that all ſhould bee well: hee ſaid, hee did not thinke, but they would be glad to take them in againe. For he was ſo perſwaded by the Maſter, that there was not one in all the ſhip, that could tell how to carrie her home; but (ſaith he) if we muſt part (which wee will not willingly doe, for they would follow the ſhip) hee prayed me, if wee came to the Capes before them, that I would leaue ſome token that wee had beene there, neere to the place where the Fowles bred, and hee would doe the like for vs: and ſo (with teares) we parted. Now were the ſicke men driuen out of their Cabbins into the Shallop; but *Iohn Thomas* was *Francis Clements* friend, and *Bennet* was the Coopers, ſo as there were words betweene them and *Henrie Greene*, one ſaying, that they ſhould goe, and the other ſwearing that they ſhould not goe, but ſuch as were in the ſhallop ſhould returne. When *Henrie Greene* heard that, he was compelled to giue place, and to put out *Arnold Lodlo*, and *Michael Bute*, which with much adoe they did.

The Carpenter let goe.

In the meane time, there were ſome of them that plyed their worke, as if the Ship had beene

entred

entred by force, and they had free leaue to pillage, breaking vp Chests, and rifling all places. One of them came by me, who asked me, what they should doe. I answered, hee should make an end of what hee had begun; for I saw him doe nothing but sharke vp and downe. Now, were all the poore men in the Shallop, whose names are as followeth; *Henrie Hudson*, *Iohn Hudson*, *Arnold Lodlo*, *Sidrack Faner*, *Phillip Staffe*, *Thomas Woodhouse*, or *Wydhouse*, *Adam Moore*, *Henrie King*, *Michael Bute*. The Carpenter got of them a Peece, and Powder, and Shot, and some Pikes, an Iron Pot, with some meale, and other things. They stood out of the Ice, the Shallop being fast to the Sterne of the Shippe, and so (when they were nigh out, for I cannot say, they were cleane out) they cut her head fast from the Sterne of our Ship, then out with their Top-sayles, and towards the East they stood in a cleere Sea. In the end they tooke in their Top-sayles, righted their Helme, and lay vnder their Fore-sayle till they had ransacked and searched all places in the Ship. In the Hold they found one of the vessels of meale whole, and the other halfe spent, for wee had but two; wee found also two firkins of Butter, some twentie seuen piece of Porke, halfe a bushell of Pease, but in the Masters Cabbin we found two hundred of bisket Cakes, a pecke of Meale, of Beere to the quantitie of a Butt, one with another. Now, it was said, that the Shallop was come within sight, they let fall the Main-sayle, and out with their Top-sayles, and flye as from an Enemy.

The names of the company exposed in the Shallop.

Then I prayed them yet to remember themselues: but *William Wilson* (more then the rest) would heare of no such matter. Comming nigh the East shoare they cast about, and stood to the West and came to an Iland, and anchored in sixteene or seuenteene fathome water. So they sent the Boat, and the Net ashoare to see if they could haue a Draught: but could not for Rocks and great stones. *Michael Perse* killed two Fowle, and heere they found good store of that Weede, which we called Cockle-grasse in our wintering place, whereof they gathered store, and came aboard againe. Heere we lay that night, and the best part of the next day, in all which time we saw not the shallop, or euer after. Now *Henrie Greene* came to me and told mee, that it was the Companies will, that I should come vp into the Masters Cabbin, and take charge thereof. I told him it was more fit for *Robert Iuet*: he said, he should not come in it, nor meddle with the Masters Card, or Iournals. So vp I came, and *Henrie Greene* gaue me the Key of the Masters Chest, and told me then, that he had laid the Masters best things together, which hee would vse himselfe when time did serue: the bread was also deliuered me by tale.

Last sight of the Shallop.

The wind seruing, we stood to the North-east, and this was *Robert Billets* course, contrarie to *Robert Iuet*, who would haue gone to the North-west. We had the Easterne shoare still in sight, and (in the night) had a stout gale of wind, and stood afore it, till wee met with Ice, into the which we ranne from thinne to thicke, till we could goe no further for Ice, which lay so thicke ahead of vs (and the wind brought it after vs asterne) that wee could not stirre backward, nor forward: but so lay imbayed fourteene daies in worse Ice, then euer wee met to deale withall, for we had beene where there was greater store, but it was not so broad vpon the water as this: for this floting Ice contained miles, and halfe miles in compasse, where we had a deepe Sea, and a Tide of flood and ebbe, which set North-west and South-east. Heere *Robert Iuet* would haue gone to the North-west, but *Robert Billet* was confident to go through to the North-east, which he did. At last, being cleere of this Ice, he continued his course in sight of the Easterne shoare, till he raised foure Ilands which lay North and South: but we passed them sixe or seuen leagues, the wind tooke vs so short. Then wee stood backe to them againe, and came to an Anchor betweene two of the most Northermost. We sent the Boat ashoare, to see if there were any thing there to be had, but found nothing, but cockle Grasse, whereof they gathered store, and so returned aboard. Before we came to this place, I might well see, that I was kept in the ship against *Henry Greenes* minde, because I did not fauour their proceedings better then I did. Then hee began (very subtilly) to draw me to take vpon me to search for those things, which himselfe had stolne: and accused me of a matter no lesse then Treason amongst vs, that I had deceiued the company of thirtie Cakes of bread. Now they began to talke amongst themselues, that *England* was no safe place for them, and *Henry Greene* swore, the shippe should not come into any place (but keepe the Sea still) till he had the Kings Majesties hand and Seale to shew for his safetie. They had many deuices in their heads, but *Henry Greene* in the end was their Captaine, and so called of them.

Foure Ilands.

The wicked flee where none pursueth

From these Ilands we stood to the North-east and the Easter Land still in sight: wee rayled those Ilands, that our Master called *Rummies* Ilands. Betweene these Ilands and the shallow ground to the East of them, our Master went downe into the first great Bay. We kept the East shoare still in our sight, and comming thwart of the low Land, wee ranne on a Rocke that lay vnder water, and strooke but once; for if shee had, we might haue beene made Inhabitans of that place: but God sent vs soone off without any harme that wee saw. Wee continued our course and rayled Land a head of vs, which stretched out to the North: which when they saw, they said plainly, that *Robert Billet* by his Northerly course had left the Capes to the South, and that they were best to seeke downe to the South in time for reliefe, before all was gone: for we had small store left. But *Robert Billet* would follow the Land to the North, saying, that he hoped in

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God to find somewhat to releeue vs that way, as soone as to the South. I told them that this Land was the Mayne of *Worsenhome* Cape, and that the shallow rockie ground, was the same that the Master went downe by, when he went into the great Bay. *Robert Iuet* and all said, it was not possible, vnlesse the Master had brought the ship ouer Land, and willed them to looke into the Masters Card, and their course how well they did agree. We stood to the East, and left the mayne Land to the North, by many small Ilands into a narrow gut betweene two Lands, and there came to an Anchor. The Boat went ashoare on the North side, where wee found the great *Horne*, but nothing else. The next day wee went to the South side, but found nothing there, saue Cockle grasse of which we gathered. This grasse was a great releefe vnto vs, for without it, we should hardly haue got to the Capes for want of victuall. The wind seruing we stood out, but before we could get cleane out, the wind came to the West, so that we were constrayned to anchor on the North side.

Cockle grasse.

The next day, wee weighed and doubled the point of the North Land, which is high Land, and so continueth to the Capes, lying North and South, some fiue and twentie or thirtie leagues. To the North we stood to see store of those Fowles that breed in the Capes, and to kill some with our shot, and to fetch them with our Boat. We raised the Capes with joy, and bare for them, and came to the Ilands that lie in the mouth of the streight: but bearing in betweene the Rockie Iles, we ranne on a Rocke that lay vnder water, and there stucke fast eight or nine houres. It was ebbing water when we thus came on, so the floud set vs afloat, God guiding both wind and Sea, that it was calme, and faire weather: the ebbe came from the East, and the floud from the West. When wee were afloat, wee stood more neere to the East shoare, and there anchored.

A Rocke.

Note.

July 27. The next day being the seuen and twentieth of July, we sent the Boat to fetch some Fowle, and the ship should way and stand as neere as they could: for the wind was against vs. They had a great way to row, and by that meanes they could not reach to the place where the Fowle bred: but found good store of *Gulls*, yet hard to come by, on the Rocks and Cliffes, but with their Peeces they killed some thirtie, and towards night returned. Now we had brought our ship more neere to the mouth of the Streights, and there came to an anchor in eighteen or twentie fathom water, vpon a Riffe or shelfe of ground: which after they had weighed their Anchor, and stood more neere to the place where the Fowle bred, they could not find it againe, nor no place like it: but were faine to turne to and fro in the mouth of the Streight, and to be in danger of Rockes, because they could not find ground to let fall an Anchor in, the water was so deepe.

Sauages. The eight and twentieth day, the Boat went to *Digges* his Cape for Fowle, and made directly for the place where the Fowle bred, and being neere, they saw seuen Boates come about the Easterne point towards them. When the Sauages saw our Boate, they drew themselues together, and drew their lesser Boats into their bigger: and when they had done, they came rowing to our Boat, and made signes to the West, but they made readie for all assayes. The Sauages came to them, and by signes grew familiar one with another, so as our men tooke one of theirs into our Boate, and they tooke one of ours into their Boate. Then they carried our man to a Coue where their Tents stood toward the West of the place, where the Fowle bred: so they carried him into their Tents, where he remayned till our men returned with theirs. Our Boat went to the place where the Fowle bred, and were desirous to know how the Sauages killed their Fowle: he shewed them the manner how, which was thus, They take a long Pole with a snare at the end, which they put about the Fowles necke, and so plucke them downe. When our men knew that they had a better way of their owne, they shewed him the vse of our Peeces, which at one shot would kill seuen or eight. To be short, our Boat returned to their Coue for our man, and to deliuer theirs. When they came they made great joy, with dancing and leaping, and stroking of their brests: they offered diuers things to our men, but they only tooke some Morses Teeth, which they gaue them for a Knife, and two glasse buttons: and so receiuing our man they came aboard, much rejoycing at this chance, as if they had met with the most simple and kind people of the World.

Sauages manner of fowling.

Greenes confidence. And *Henry Greene* (more then the rest) was so confident, that (by no meanes) we should take care to stand vpon our Guard: God blinding him so, that where hee made reckoning to receiue great matters from these people, he receiued more then he looked for, and that suddenly by being made a good example for all men: that make no conscience of doing euill, and that we take heed of the Sauage people, how simple soeuer they seeme to be.

The next day, the nine and twentieth of July, they made haste to be ashoare, and because the ship rid too farre off, they weighed and stood as neere to the place where the Fowle bred, as they could: and because I was lame, I was to go in the Boat, to carrie such things, as I had in the Cabbin of euery thing somewhat: and so with more haste then good speed (and not without swearing) away we went, *Henry Greene, William Wilson, Iohn Thomas, Michael Perse. Andrew, Moter*, and my selfe. When we came neere the shoare, the people were on the Hils, dancing and leaping: to the Coue we came, where they had drawne vp their Boates: wee brought our Boate to the East side of the Coue, close to the Rockes. Ashoare they went, and made fast the

Boat

Boat to a great ſtone on the ſhoare, the people came, and euery one had ſomewhat in his hand to barter: but *Henry Greene* ſwore they ſhould haue nothing, till he had Veniſon, for that they had ſo promiſed him by ſignes.

Now when we came, they made ſignes to their Dogges (whereof there were many like Mongrels, as bigge as Hounds) and pointed to their Mountaine, and to the Sunne, clapping their hands. Then *Henry Greene*, *Iohn Thomas*, and *William Wilſon*, ſtood hard by the Boate head, *Michael Perſe*, and *Andrew Moter* were got vp vpon the Rocke, a gathering of Sorrell: not one of them had any weapon about him, not ſo much as a ſticke, ſaue *Henry Greene* only, who had a piece of a Pike in his hand: nor ſaw I any thing that they had wherewith to hurt vs. *Henry Greene* and *William Wilſon* had Looking-glaſſes, and Iewes Trumps, and Bels, which they were ſhewing the people. The Sauages ſtanding round about them, one of them came into the Boats head to me to ſhew me a Bottle: I made ſignes to him to get him aſhoare, but he made as though he had not vnderſtood me, whereupon I ſtood vp, and pointed him aſhoare. In the meane-time, another ſtole behind me to the ſterne of the Boat, and when I ſaw him aſhoare, that was in the head of the Boat, I ſate downe againe: but ſuddenly I ſaw the legge and foote of a man by mee. Wherefore I caſt vp my head, and ſaw the Sauage with his Knife in his hand, who ſtrooke at my breſt ouer my head: I caſt vp my right arme to ſaue my breſt, he wounded my arme, and ſtrooke me into the bodie vnder my right Pappe. He ſtrooke a ſecond blow which I met with my left hand, and then he ſtrooke me into the right thigh, and had like to haue cut off my little finger of the left hand. Now, I had got hold of the ſtring of the Knife, and had woond it about my left hand, he ſtriuing with both his hands, to make an end of that he had begunne, I found him but weake in the gripe (God enabling me) and getting hold of the ſleeue of his left arme, ſo bare him from me. His left ſide lay bare to me, which when I ſaw, I put his ſleeue off his left arme into my left hand, holding the ſtring of the Knife faſt in the ſame hand: and hauing got my right hand at libertie, I ſought for ſomewhat wherewith to ſtrike him (not remembring my Dagger at my ſide) but looking downe I ſaw it, and therewith ſtrooke him into the bodie, and the throate.

Sauages dogges.

Sauages trecherie.

Whiles I was thus aſſaulted in the Boat, our men were ſet vpon on the ſhoare. *Iohn Thomas* and *William Wilſon* had their bowels cut, and *Michael Perſe* and *Henry Greene* being mortally wounded, came tumbling into the Boat together. When *Andrew Moter* ſaw this medley, hee came running downe the Rockes, and leaped into the Sea, and ſo ſwamme to the Boat, hanging on the ſterne thereof, till *Michael Perſe* tooke him in, who manfully made good the head of the Boat againſt the Sauages, that preſſed ſore vpon vs. Now *Michael Perſe* had got an Hatchet, wherewith I ſaw him ſtrike one of them, that he lay ſprawling in the Sea. *Henry Greene* crieth *Coragio*, and layeth about him with his Truncheon: I cryed to them to cleere the Boat, and *Andrew Moter* cryed to bee taken in: the Sauages betooke them to their Bowes and Arrowes, which they ſent amongſt vs, wherewith *Henry Greene* was ſlaine out-right, and *Michael Perſe* receiued may wounds, and ſo did the reſt. *Michael Perſe* cleereth the Boate, and puts it from the ſhoare, and helpeth *Andrew Moter* in: but in turning of the Boat, I receiued a cruell wound in my backe with an Arrow. *Michael Perſe* and *Andrew Moter* rowed the Boate away, which when the Sauages ſaw, they ranne to their Boats, and I feared they would haue launched them, to haue followed vs, but they did not, and our ſhip was in the middle of the channell, and could not ſee vs.

Trecherie iuſt to vniuſt Trayators.

Greene ſlaine.

Now, when they had rowed a good way from the ſhoare, *Michael Perſe* fainted, and could row no more: then was *Andrew Moter* driuen to ſtand in the Boat head, and waft to the ſhip, which (at the firſt) ſaw vs not, and when they did, they could not tel what to make of vs, but in the end they ſtood for vs, and ſo tooke vs vp. *Henry Greene* was throwne out of the Boat into the Sea, and the reſt were had aboard, the Sauage being yet aliue, yet without ſenſe. But they died all there that day, *William Wilſon* ſwearing and curſing in moſt fearefull manner: *Michael Perſe* liued two dayes after, and then died. Thus you haue heard the Tragicall end of *Henry Greene* and his Mates, whom they called Captaine, theſe foure being the only luſtie men in all the ſhip.

Wicked and wretched end of wretched wicked men.

The poore number that was left, were to ply our ſhip to and fro, in the mouth of the ſtreight, for there was no place to anchor in neere hand: beſides, they were to goe in the Boate to kill Fowle, to bring vs home, which they did, although with danger to vs all. For if the wind blew, there was an high Sea, and the eddies of the Tydes would carrie the ſhip ſo neere the Rockes, as it feared our Maſter, for ſo I will now call him. After they had killed ſome two hundred Fowle, with great labour on the South Cape, wee ſtood to the Eaſt: but when wee were ſixe or ſeuen leagues from the Capes, the wind came vp at Eaſt. Then wee ſtood backe to the Capes againe, and killed an hundred Fowle more. After this, the wind came to the Weſt, ſo wee were driuen to goe away, and then our Maſter ſtood (for the moſt) along by the North ſhoare, till he fell into broken ground about the *Queenes Fore-land*, and there anchored. From thence wee went to *Gods Mercies*, and from thence to thoſe Ilands, which lye in the mouth of our Streight, not ſeeing the Land, till we were readie to runne our Boſprite againſt the Rockes in a fogge. But it cleered a little, and then we might ſee our ſelues incloſed with Rockie Ilands, and could find no ground

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ground to anchor in. There our Master lay atrie all night, and the next day the fogge continuing, they sought for ground to anchor in, and found some in an hundred and odde fathomes of water. The next day we weighed and stood to the East, but before wee came heere, we had put our selues to hard allowance, as halfe a foule a day with the pottage: for yet we had some meale left, and nothing else. Then they beganne to make triall of all whatsoeuer: wee had flayed our Fowle, for they wil not pull: and *Robert Iuet* was the first, that made vse of the skins by burning of the Feathers: so they became a great dish of meate, and as for the garbidge, it was not throwne away.

Miserie pursueth the rest.

After we were cleere of these Ilands, which lie out with two points, one to the South-east, and the other to the North, making a Bay to the sight as if there were no way through, we continued our course East South-east, and South and by East, to raise *the Desolations*, from thence to shape our course for *Ireland*. Thus we continued diuers dayes: but the wind comming against vs, made vs to alter our course, and by the meanes of *Robert Iuet* who perswaded the company, that they should find great reliefe in *Newfound Land*, if our Country-men were there, and if they were gone before we came, yet should we find great store of bread and fish left ashoare by them: but how true, I giue God thankes, we did not trie. Yet we stood to the South-west, and to the West, almost to fiftie seuen degrees: when (by the will of God) the winde came vp at South-west. Then the Master asked me, if he should take the benefit of this wind, and shape his course for *Ireland*. I said it was best to goe, where we knew Corne grew, and not to seeke it, where it was cast away, and not to be found. Towards *Ireland* now wee stood, with prosperous winds for many dayes together: then was all our Meale spent, and our Fowle restie and dry: but (being no remedie) we were content with the Salt broth for Dinner, and the halfe Fowle for Supper. Now went our Candles to wracke, and *Bennet* our Cooke made a messe of meate of the bones of the Fowle, frying them with Candle-grease, till they were crispe, and with Vineger put to them, made a good dish of meate. Our Vineger was shared, and to euery man a pound of Candles deliuered for a weeke, as a great daintie. Now *Robert Iuet* (by his reckoning) saith, wee were within sixtie or seuentie leagues of *Ireland*, when wee had two hundred thither. And sure our course was so much the longer, through our euill steeredge: for, our men became so weake, that they could not stand at the Helme, but were faine to sit.

Poore Diet.

Then *Robert Iuet* dyed, for meere want, and all our men were in despaire, and said wee were past *Ireland*, and our last Fowle were in the steep-tub. So, our men cared not which end went forward, insomuch as our Master was driuen to looke to their labour, as well as his owne: for some of them would sit and see the fore-sayle, or mayne-sayle flie vp to the tops, the sheetes being either flowne or broken, and would not helpe it themselues, nor call to others for helpe, which much grieued the Master. Now in this extremitie it pleased God to giue vs sight of Land, not farre from the place our Master said he would fall withal, which was the Bay of *Galloway*, and we fell to the West of the *Derses*, and so stood along by the coast, to the South-west. In the end, there was a joyful cry, a sayle, a sayle, towards which they stood, then they saw more, but to the neerest we stood, and called to him: his Barke was of *Fowy*, and was at anchor a Fishing: he came to vs, and brought vs into *Bere* Hauen. Here we stayed a few dayes, and delt with the *Irish*, to supply our wants, but found no reliefe: for in this place there was neither Bread, Drinke, nor mony to be had amongst them. Wherfore they aduised vs to deale with our Country-men, who were there a fishing, which we did: but found them so cold in kindnesse, that they would doe nothing without present money, whereof we had none in the Ship. In the end, we procured one *Iohn Waymouth*, Master of the Barke that brought vs into this Harbour, to furnish vs with money, which hee did, and receiued our best Cable and Anchor in pawne for the same. With this money, our Master with the helpe of *Iohn Waymouth*, bought Bread, Beere, and Beefe.

Robert Iuets death.

A sayle of *Fowy* *Bere* Hauen in *Ireland*.

Now, as wee were beholding to *Waymouth* for his money, so were wee to one Captaine *Taylor*, for making of our contracts with *Waymouth*, by whose meanes hee tooke a Bill for our Cable and Anchor, and for the mens Wages, who would not goe with vs, vnlesse *Waymouth* wold passe his word for the same: for they made shew, that they were not willing to goe with vs for any wages. Whereupon Captaine *Taylor* swore hee would presse them, and then, if they would not goe, hee would hang them.

In conclusion, wee agreed for three pound ten shillings a man, to bring our Ship to *Plimouth*, or *Dartmouth*, and to giue the Pilot fiue pound: but if the winde did not serue, but that they were driuen to put into *Bristow*, they were to haue foure pound ten shillings a man, and the Pilot sixe pound. Omitting therefore further circumstances, from *Bere* Hauen wee came to *Plimouth*, and so to an anchor, before the Castle: and from *Plimouth*, with faire winde and weather without stop or stay, wee came to the *Downes*, from thence to *Gravesend*, where most of our men went a shoare, and from thence came on this side *Erith*, and there stopped: where our Master *Robert Billet* came aboord, and so had mee vp to *London* with him, and so wee came to Sir *Thomas Smiths* together.

They arriue at *Plimouth*.

Forasmuch as this report of Pricket *may happely bee suspected by some, as not so friendly to* Hudson, *who returned with that Companie which had so cruelly exposed* Hudson *and his, and therefore may seeme*

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to lay heauier imputation, and rip vp occasions further then they will beleeue; I haue also added the report of Thomas Widhouse, *one of the exposed Companie, who ascribeth those occasions of discord to* Iuet. *I take not on mee to sentence, no not to examine; I haue presented the Euidence iust as I had it: let the Bench censure, hearing with both eares, that which with both eyes they may see in those, and these notes; to which, I haue first prefixed his Letter to Master* Samuel Macham.

Master Macham, *I heartily commend mee vnto you, &c. I can write vnto you no newes, though I haue seene much, but such as euery* Engluh *Fisherman haunting these Coasts can report better then my selfe.*

Wee kept our Whitsunday in the North-east end of Iland; *and I thinke I neuer fared better in* England *then wee feasted there. They of the Countrey are very poore, and liue miserably: yet we found there in store of fresh Fish and daintie Fowle. I my selfe in an after-noone killed so much Fowle, as feasted all our Companie, being three and twentie persons at one time, onely with Partridges; besides Curlue, Plouer, Mallard, Teale, and Goose. I haue seene two hot Bathes in* Iland, *and haue beene in one of them. Wee are resolued to trie the vttermost, and lye onely expecting a faire winde, and to refresh our selues to auoyd the Ice, which now is come off the West Coasts, of which wee haue seene whole Ilands, but God bee thanked, haue not beene in danger of any. Thus I desire all your prayers for vs. From* Iland *this thirtieth of May,* 1610.

Ilanders poore.

The cause of their stay at *Iland.*

A note found in the Deske of *Thomas Wydowse*, Student in the Mathematickes, hee being one of them who was put into the Shallop.

THe tenth day of September, 1610. *after dinner, our Master called all the Companie together, to heare and beare witnesse of the abuse of some of the Companie (it hauing beene the request of* Robert Iuet*) that the Master should redresse some abuses and slanders, as hee called them, against this* Iuet: *which thing after the Master had examined and heard with equitie what hee could say for himselfe, there were prooued so many and great abuses, and mutinous matters against the Master, and action by* Iuet, *that there was danger to haue suffred them longer: and it was fit time to punish and cut off farther occasions of the like mutinies.*

It was prooued to his face, first with Bennet Mathew *our Trumpet vpon our first sight of* Iland, *and hee confest, that hee supposed that in the action would bee man-slaughter, and proue bloodie to some.*

Secondly, at our comming from Iland, *in hearing of the companie, hee did threaten to turne the head of the Ship home from the action, which at that time was by our Master wisely pacified, hoping of amendment.*

Thirdly, it was deposed by Philip Staffe *our Carpenter, and* Ladlie Arnold, *to his face vpon the holy Bible, that hee perswaded them to keepe Muskets charged, and Swords readie in their Cabbins, for they should bee charged with shot, ere the Voyage were ouer.*

Fourthly, wee being pestered in the Ice, hee had vsed words tending to mutinie, discouragement, and slander of the action, which easily tooke effect in those that were timorous; and had not the Master in time preuented, it might easily haue ouerthrowne the Voyage: and now lately beeing imbayed in a deepe Bay, which the Master had desire to see, for some reasons to himselfe knowne, his word tended altogether to put the Companie into a fray of extremitie, by wintering in cold: Iesting at our Masters hope to see Bantam *by Candlemasse.*

For these and diuers other base slanders against the Master, hee was deposed; and Robert Bylot, *who had shewed himselfe honestly respecting the good of the action, was placed in his stead the Masters Mate.*

Also Francis Clement *the Boatson, at this time was put from his Office, and* William Wilson, *a man thought more fit, preferred to his place. This man had basely carryed himselfe to our Master and to the action.*

Also Adrian Mooter *was appointed Boatsons mate: and a promise by the Master, that from this day* Iuats *wages should remaine to* Bylot, *and the Boatsons ouerplus of wages should bee equally diuided betweene* Wilson *and one* Iohn King, *to the owners good liking, one of the Quarter Masters, who had very well carryed themselues to the furtherance of the businesse.*

Also the Master promised, if the Offenders yet behaued themselues henceforth honestly, hee would bee a meanes for their good, and that hee would forget iniuries, with other admonitions.

These things thus premised touching *Hudsons* exposing, and Gods iust iudgements on the Exposers, as *Pricket* hath related (whom they reserued as is thought, in hope by Sir *Dudley Digges* his Master to procure their pardon at their returne) I thought good to adde that which I haue further receiued from good Intelligence, that the Ship comming aground at *Digges* Iland, in 62. degrees 44. minutes, a great flood came from the West and set them on floate: an argument of an open passage from the South Sea to that, and consequently to these Seas. The Weapons and

Arts

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Arts which they saw, beyond those of other Sauages are arguments hereof. Hee which assaulted *Pricket* in the Boate, had a weapon broad and sharpe indented of bright Steele (such they vse in *Iana*) riueted into a handle of Morse tooth.

CHAP. XVIII.

The Discoueries of M. M. NICOLO, *and* ANTONIO ZENI, *gathered out of their Letters, by* FRANCISCO MARCOLINO: *whereto is added* QVIRINO *his Ship-wracke.*

They are related by Master *Hakluit*, in his 3. *vol pag.* 121.

IN the yeere 1380. Master *Nicolo Zeno* being wealthy, and of a haughtie spirit, desiring to see the fashions of the world, built and furnished a Ship at his owne charges, and passing the Straits of *Gibralter*, held on his course Northwards, with intent to see *England* and *Flanders*. But a violent tempest assailing him at Sea, hee was carried hee knew not whither, till at last his Ship was carried away vpon the Ile of *Frisland*; where the men and most part of the goods were saued.

Friesland.

In vaine seemes that deliuerie, that deliuers vp presently to another Executioner. The Ilanders like *Neptunes*, hungry groomes, or his base and blacke Guard, set vpon the men whom the Seas had spared: but heere also they found a second escape, by meanes of a Prince named *Zichmni*, Prince of that and many Ilands thereabouts: who being neere hand with his Armie, came at the out-crie, and chasing away the people, tooke them into protection.

This *Zichmni* had the yeere before giuen the ouerthrow to the King of *Norway*, and was a great aduenturer in feates of Armes. He spake to them in *Latine*, and placed them in his Nauie, wherewith hee wonne diuers Ilands. *Nicolo* behaued himselfe so well, both in sauing the Fleet by his Sea-skill, and in conquest of the Ilands by his valour, that *Zichmni* made him Knight and Captaine of his Nauie.

Saint *Thomas* Monasterie in *Groenland*. Hote Spring and the strange effects thereof.

After diuers notable exploits, *Nicolo* armed three Barkes, with which hee arriued in *Engroneland*: where hee found a Monasterie of Friers of the *Preachers* Order, and a Church dedicated to Saint *Thomas*, hard by a Hill, that casteth out fire like *Vesuuius* and *Ætna*. There is a Fountaine of hot water, with which they heate the Church of the Monasterie, and the Friers chambers. It commeth also into the Kitchin so boyling hote, that they vse no other fire to dresse their meate; and putting their Bread into brasse Pots without any water, it doth bake as it were in an hot Ouen. They haue also small Gardens, which are couered ouer in the Winter time, and being watered with this water, are defended from the violence of the Frost and cold, and bring forth Flowers in their due seasons. The common people astonished with these strange effects, conceiue highly of those Friers, and bring them presents of Flesh and other things. They with this Water, in the extremitie of the cold, heate their Chambers, which also (as the other buildings of the Monasterie) are framed of those burning stones, which the mouth of the Hill casts foorth. They cast water on some of them, whereby they are dissolued, and become excellent white Lime, and so tough, that being contriued in building, it lasteth for euer. The rest, after the fire is out, serue in stead of stones to make walls and vaults, and will not dissolue or breake, except with some Iron toole.

Their Winter lasteth nine moneths: and yet there is a faire Hauen, where this water falleth into the Sea, not frozen: by meanes whereof there is great resort of wild Fowle and Fish, which they take in infinite multitudes. The Fishers Boates are made like to a Weauers shuttle, of the skinnes of Fishes, fashioned with the bones of the same Fishes, and being sowed together with many doubles, they are so strong, that in foule weather they will shut themselues within the same, not fearing the force either of Sea or winde. Neither can the hard-hearted Rockes breake these yeelding Vessels. They haue also as it were a Sleeue in the bottome thereof, by which with a subtill deuice, they conuey the water foorth, that soaketh into them. The most of these Friers spake the *Latine* tongue.

Estotiland.

A little after this, *Nicolo* returned and dyed in *Friesland*, whither his brother *Antonio* had before resorted to him, and now succeeded both in his goods and honour; whom *Zichmni* employed in the Expedition of *Estotiland*: which happened vpon this occasion. Sixe and twentie yeeres before, foure Fisher-Boates were apprehended at Sea by a mightie and tedious storme; wherewith after many dayes, they were brought to *Estotiland*, aboue a thousand miles West from *Friesland*: vpon which, one of the Boates was cast away, and sixe men that were in it, were taken and brought to a populous Citie; where, one that spake *Latine*, and had been cast by chance vpon that Iland, in the name of the King asked them what Country-men they were; and vnderstanding their case, hee acquainted the King therewith. They dwelt there fiue yeeres, and found it to bee an Iland very rich, being little lesse then *Iseland*, but farre more fruitfull. One of them said hee saw *Latine* bookes in the Kings Librarie, which they at this present doe not vnderstand.

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ſtand. They haue a peculiar Language, and Letters or Characters to themſelues. They haue mines of Gold and other Mettals, and haue Trade with *Engroneland*. They ſow Corne, and make Beere and Ale. They build Barkes (but know not the vſe of the Compaſſe) and haue many Cities and Caſtles. The King ſent theſe Fiſher-men with twelue Barkes Southwards, to a Countrey which they call *Drogio*: in which Voyage eſcaping dreadfull tempeſts at Sea, they encountred with *Canibals* at Land, which deuoured many of them. Theſe Fiſhers ſhewing them the manner of taking Fiſh with Nets, eſcaped, and for the preſents which they made of their Fiſh to the chiefe men of the Country, were beloued and honoured. One of theſe (more expert it ſeemeth then the reſt) was holden in ſuch account, that a great Lord made warre with their Lord to obtaine him: and ſo preuayled, that he and his companie were ſent vnto him. And in this order was hee ſent to fiue and twentie Lords, which had warred one with another to get him, in thirteene yeeres ſpace: whereby hee came to know almoſt all thoſe parts; which, he ſaid, was a great Countrey, and (as it were) a new World. The people are all rude, and voide of goodneſſe: they goe naked, neither haue they wit to couer their bodies with the Beaſts skinnes which they take in Hunting, from the vehement cold. They are fierce, and eate their enemies, hauing diuers Lawes and Gouernours. Their liuing is by hunting. *Drogio.*

Further to the South-weſt, they are more ciuill, and haue a more temperate ayre: They haue Cities and Temples dedicated to Idols, where they ſacrifice Men, and after eate them; and haue alſo ſome vſe of Gold and Siluer.

Hee fledde awey ſecretly, and conueying himſelfe from one Lord to another, came at length to *Drogio*, where hee dwelt three yeeres. After this time finding there certaine Boates of *Eſtotiland*, hee went thither with them: and growing there very rich, furniſhed a Barke of his owne, and returned into *Frieſland*: where hee made report vnto his Lord of that wealthy Countrey. *Zichmni* prepared to ſend thither: but three dayes before they ſet foorth, this Fiſherman dyed. Yet taking ſome of the Mariners which came with him in his ſtead, they proſecuted the Voyage, and encountred after many dayes an Iland; where ten men of diuers Languages, were brought vnto them, of which they could vnderſtand none, but one of *Iſeland*. Hee told them, that the Iland was called *Icaria*, and the Knights thereof called *Icars*, deſcended of the ancient pedigree of *Dedalus*, King of *Scots*, who conquering that Iland, left his Sonne there for King, and left them thoſe Lawes, which to that preſent they retayned. And, that they might keepe their Lawes inuiolate, they would receiue no Stranger. Onely they were contented to receiue one of our men, in regard of the Language; as they had done thoſe ten Interpreters.

Zichmni ſayling hence, in foure dayes deſcried Land, where they found abundance of Fowle, and Birds egges, for their refreſhing. The Haueh they called Cap *Trin*. There was a Hill, which burning, caſt out ſmoake: where was a Spring, from which iſſued a certayne water like Pitch, which ranne into the Sea. The people of ſmall ſtature, wilde, and fearefull, hid themſelues in Caues. *Zichmni* built there a Citie, and determining to inhabite, ſent *Antonio* backe againe, with the moſt of his people to *Frieſland*.

This Hiſtorie I haue thus inſerted at large, which perhaps, not without cauſe in ſome things, may ſeeme fabulous; not in the *Zeni*, which thus writ, but in the relations which they receiued from others. Howſoeuer, the beſt Geographers are beholden to theſe Brethren, for that little knowledge they haue of theſe parts; of which none before had written: nor ſince haue there beene any great in-land Diſcoueries. *Abrah. Ortel. chart. 6. Hak. vol. 3. Botero. Maginus. Hondius, &c.*

The Ship-wracke of Maſter PIERO QVIRINO, *deſcribed by* CHRISTOFORO FIORAVANTI, *and* NICOLO DI MICHIEL *, *who were preſent there; heere contracted.*

* There is alſo the relation hereof by *Quirino* himſelfe, extant together with this in *Ramuſio*, *Tom. 2.* Out of which I haue heere added diuers annotations.

IT ſemeth to bee a conuenient dutie to make a memoriall, and not ſuffer to bee buryed in obliuion, that moſt lamentable, and cruell Voyage full of innumerable and extreame miſeries, which befell a *Venetian* Ship, wherein wee carryed aboue ſeuen hundred Buttes of Wine, Spices, Cottons, and other Merchandiſes of great value, furniſhed in *Candia* with threeſcore and eight men, to goe towards the * West. The Maſter whereof was Maſter *Piero Quirini*, a *Venetian* Gentleman, in the yeare 1431. Who after many troubles, and misfortunes, and wants befalne him, after his departure from *Candia* towards the West, on the ſixth of Nouember, in the foreſaid yeere of the Lord, by chance came into the mouth of the Channels of *Flanders*, and went farre beyond them, by a ſtorme from the South, towards the North-weſt, about one hundred and fortie miles, running ſtill vpon the Iland of *Vſſenti*, where, by agreement, wee *Chriſtoforo Fiorananti*, and *Nicolo Michiel*, ſay, that at noone wee ſounded the bottome of the

* The *Italians* call the ſayling into the *Mediterranean*, the Leuant or East; and thence into the *Spaniſh* Ocean, and thoſe parts the Ponent or Weſt. * Theſe are particularly related by *Quirino* the Patron or Owner. They loſt their Rudder on a Rocke, not farre from *Cales* in *Spaine*, and were faine to make thither to repaire it: another diaſh followed.

Sea

Sea with the Lead, and found our ſelues in fiue and fiftie fathome of water, and afterward toward the Euening wee ſounded, and found our ſelues in ninetie fathomes and more, but the ſtorme and furie of the windes was ſo great, that it brake fiue of the hinges off our rudder.

On the twelfth, in the morning, the ſtorme not ceaſing, but increaſing euery houre more and more, beat vpon our weake rudder with ſo great violence and furie, that it broke away all that held it, in ſuch ſort, that it hung on the one ſide, where, for the laſt remedie, wee faſtened a great Cable vnto it, with the which, for three dayes wee drew it after vs, not being able to doe it otherwiſe, in which time in our iudgement, wee thought wee had runne two hundred miles and more, againſt our wills.

Afterward we tooke away the two Rudders, and with many pieces of Timber we made another, which might rather be called a ſhadow then a true Rudder, and wee put it in his place to guide and direct the ſhip. But it could not endure longer, then till the ſix and twentieth of November, when the violence of the Sea carried it all away: ſothat then wee remayned depriued of all hope of gouernment and direction. On the fourth of December, the furie of the winde grew ſo outragious againe, that it carried away all this third ſayle, and ſo being ſpoyled and bereft of Sayle and Rudder, we went at aduenture vntill the eight day, alwayes wandering, not knowing by any meanes how to prouide for our ſafetie. Afterward the winde alwayes increaſing from the Eaſt, and with ſo great violence and furie, that the Sea beganne to ſwell ſo high, that the waues ſeemed Mountaynes, and farre greater then we had euer ſeene before, with the darkneſſe of the extreame long night, ſo that we ſeemed to goe in the bottomleſſe depth of Hell: whereby you may imagine how great the anguiſh and trembling of our hearts was, becauſe although we were liuing, yet at that inſtant wee ſeemed to bee dead, expecting death euery houre, which we ſaw preſent: In this darkneſſe the Heauen was ſometimes ſeene to open with the lightnings and ſudden flaſhes of fire ſo bright, that they tooke away the ſight of our eyes. And ſometimes we ſeemed to touch the ſtarres, the ſhip mounted ſo aloft, and then againe we ſaw our ſelues buried in Hell, inſomuch as being all aſtoniſhed, we had loſt our ſtrength and force. And being in this miſerable caſe we did nothing elſe, but with pittie behold one another: & running with ſo great violence for many houres, in the end a ſurge of the Sea came ouer the ſhip vnder the wind with ſuch furie, that the water entred into it, filled it almoſt halfe full, whereby being now much weakened, it was readie to ſinke, and turned vp the Keele. And ſurely that was the laſt houre, and our end, and truly we had beene ſwallowed vp of the Sea, if our Lord Ieſus Chriſt had not beene, who forſaketh not them that religiouſly call vpon him, who put ſuch power and ſtrength into our afflicted minds, that ſeeing the ſhip in ſo dangerous a caſe, full of water, as it could not be caſt out by any humane force, we determined to cut downe the mayne Maſt, and caſt it together with the mayne Yard and Tackling into the Sea, and ſo wee did, whereby the ſhip being disburdened, pauſed awhile, and we then taking courage, beganne to caſt out the water, which with our great trouble and labour we ouercame in the end. In this manner wee went ſcouring away all that long night. Now when the day was almoſt come, they agreed to make readie the Boat and the Schiffe, with that little prouiſion of victuall which was remayning, equally parted. And the Patron ſaid, With your conſent I command you *Nicolo di Michiel* the Notary, that you ſet downe in a note the names of thoſe that are willing to enter into the Schiffe and Boat: ſo preſently he gaue him fortie fiue perſons in a note, who were willing to enter into the Schiffe, which was capeable but of one and twentie men only, and therefore it was neceſſary to caſt Lots who ſhould goe therein: and ſo it was done, and they prepared it, and ſet it in order, and did the like to the Boate, into the which the Maſter with fortie ſeuen men entred. The one and twentie perſons to whom the lot fell, entred the Schiffe, and a rate was giuen them according to the proportion of the victuall which was remayning of Biſket, and alſo of *Friſoppi*, three hundred pound weight, of Cheeſe of *Candia* eightie pounds, of dried Bacon eight pounds, of Tallow to trim their Schiffe fortie pounds, of Oyle about two pound waight and no more: but beſides wee beſtowed there ſeuen *Carrattells* of *Tyrian* Wine, which is a kind of *Maluaſie*, for the Pinnaſſe or Schiffe would hold no more. In like manner fortie ſeuen men, reckoning the Maſter, entred into the Boate or Pinnaſſe, vnto whom rateably fell their proportion of victuals, adding thereto a little Greene Ginger in Sirrope, and Sirrope of Limons, with ſome ſmall quantitie of Spices, which wee had taken. We were (in our iudgement) diſtant from the neereſt Iland or Land about fiue hundred miles or more, from the point of Land to Lee-ward of the North part, and we ſayled with theſe Conſerues in a quiet and calme Sea, that little time of the day together with our one and twentie companions, comforting our ſelues in that which we had ſeene the beginning of ſo faire a fortune. But when the night came, a darke miſt roſe, which was a token of the euill ſucceſſe and end, which our companions of the Schiffe were to haue, of whom we had now loſt the ſight, ſo that we neuer ſaw them any more.

They leaue the ſhip.

The Schiffe loſt.

The ninteenth day, the morning appearing, and not ſeeing any token of the Schiffe, it made vs ſuſpitious of their death, whereupon our mindes were much troubled, doubting what might befall them, becauſe the windes raged in ſuch manner, that a waue of the Sea mounted with ſo great

great violence into the Pinnaſſe, behinde the Poope, where wee *Chriſtopher* and *Nicholas* were let downe, that through the force of the furie thereof, two ſtayes were battered and bent, which left a token of vnſupportable trouble and griefe, by meanes that the Pinnaſſe was more charged with the weight of the water, then with her owne burthen. Wherefore to remedie it, wee ranne all to lade it out with our hands, and being conſtrained through feare and neceſſitie, for the freeing of her, wee were faine to caſt out all that, whether with water or without, which came moſt fit and ready to our hands. The Pinnaſſe becomming drie againe, preſently in this ſtorme, wee agreed to caſt ouer-boord the greateſt part of the Wine, and wee found our ſelues in ſo great extremitie, that if wee would taſte thereof to comfort our troubled ſenſes, no more then one gobbelet of Wine apeece fell to euery mans ſhare for the whole day, and who ſo would drinke more, was conſtrayned to take the Sea-water: and this meaſure and quantitie of Wine held out eight dayes, and no more. Hard dyet.

And afterward being driuen to greater neceſſitie, wee brought our ſelues to a greater extremitie, by reſtrayning our proportion to halfe a goblet a day, and none of vs could ſecurely ſleepe, for the diuers doubts and dangers, wherein wee alwayes preſently ſtood. Wee continued euery day and night, foure or ſixe of vs at the Helme, and thoſe that were at the Pumpe, ſtood alwayes firme and vpright changing their courſes, where wee endured cold beyond compariſon farre greater then that, which not many yeeres ſince was in *Venice*, when all the Channels were frozen, ſo that from *Margara* to *Venice*, not onely Men and Women, but Oxen, Horſes, Carts, and Waggons, went ouer vpon the Ice in great multitudes, to the admiration of all the people, becauſe that Region is (without compariſon) much colder then the Countrey of *Italy*. Now conſider what our caſe was, being without Clothes to couer vs, and not hauing any thing to eate, or drinke, or other neceſſary thing for the maintenance of mans life, except a few *Friſoppi* which were left, and the nights one and twentie houres long, and alſo darke. Through the which cold, wee began to loſe the feeling of our feete, and by little and little, the cold becomming more vehement, poſſeſſed the whole body, procuring a dogged and raging appetite and hunger, ſo that euery one ſought to deuoure that which was hid in a corner, and whatſoeuer hee had next at hand, whereſoeuer hee could finde it, as well as hee might, with that weake and little ſtrength which hee had remayning. Afterward, death ſeaſing vpon them, you might ſee them ſhake the head, and fall downe preſently dead. Great Froſt at *Venice*. Extreame cold

In the which Diſeaſes, of ſeuen and fortie men (which wee found in that caſe) ſixe and twentie yeelded vp the ghoſt, and it was not any wonder, conſidering wee could not haue any ſuccour, nay, it is a diuine miracle that any one remayned aliue. And thoſe few of vs that are remayning, liue onely to commend to memorie, and highly to exalt the great power of God. Thoſe ſixe and twentie dyed, from the three and twentieth of December vntill the fifth of Ianuary, now one, now two, and ſometimes more, in one day, whom we buryed in the Sea. The death of ſixe and twentie.

The one and thirtieth of December, our Wine being wholly ſpent, and hauing ſeene the cruell and lamentable experience of our ſixe and twentie Companions, who dyed with drinking of the Sea-water, neceſſities gaue vs a good ſtomacke, that is to ſay, to take our owne water to quench our thirſt. Now, there were ſome of the companie exceedingly troubled with giddineſſe: for, wanting the abundant plentie of Wine, they were not able to indure thirſt, nor to expell it, but they accounted it a great fauour to bee able to obtayne of their companions, whereof there were ſome who denyed it to their deareſt friend, to keepe it for themſelues. It is true, that ſome of vs warily mortified it, by mingling a little ſirrop of greene Ginger, or Limons therewith, which by chance we had remayning. During this time, vntill the fifth of Ianuary, we were euery houre more accuſtomed to greater extremities. Great thirſt.

The third of Ianuary, 1431. wee had ſight of the firſt Land, which gaue vs great hope, although it ſo fell out, that it was very farre diſtant, where wee ſaw certayne Rockes to weatherward couered to the top with infinite heapes of Snow, to the which, the windes being contrary, wee were not able to approach with the ſayles, and much leſſe with Oares, becauſe our armes were exceedingly weakened: wherefore wee ſtroue to come neere them with the winde, but paſſing beyond them through the current of the water, wee loſt ſight of them altogether. Sight of Land.

And after difficult eſcape from the Rockes, ſayling forward towards a very high Rocke, wee had ſight of a Valley ſcituated betweene the two next Mountaynes, into the which deſiring to enter about the fourth houre of the night, the cruell and outragious windes would not ſuffer vs. Notwithſtanding, inflamed through an exceeding great deſire to goe on Land, wee tooke courage and ſtrength, and (through force of the Oares, and the helpe of God) entred into the ſayd Valley, at a point of Land in the leaſt doubtfull and dangerous place, as it were at the very beginning and entrie thereof, in the which, as ſoone as they perceiued the Pinnaſſe to touch vpon the ſand, fiue of our companie being more deſirous of drinke, then of any other refreſhing and recreation, leaped into the water without any regard, although it were very deepe, and went their way toward the Snow, and ſo glutted themſelues therewith, that it was an incredible Hot ſtrong ſtomackes to cold ſmall drinke.

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thing. And afterward, they brought a great quantitie thereof vnto vs, who remayned in the Pinnasse, to defend it from the beating of the Sea, of the which wee also with great greedinesse, receiued without measure.

And running according to our iudgement, as wee had runne in this Pinnasse for eighteene dayes, from the day that wee departed from the ship, vntill this sixth of Ianuarie, sayling alwayes betweene the North-east and the East, and not with lesse winde then after sixe miles an houre, wee had runne about two thousand fiue hundred miles and more, without euer seeing any Land.

They goe on Land.

On the sixth of Ianuary, at the time of the solemne day of the *Epiphanie*, nineteene of vs went on land in this desolate and drie place, called the Iland of the *Saints*, in the Coast of *Norway*, subiect to the Crowne of *Denmarke*, leauing two other to looke to the weake Pinnasse, that it might not bee broken with the beating of the Sea. And being landed there by meanes of an Oare, we endeauoured to kindle fire, and with a tynder boxe and steele to strike fire, wee retired our selues into the closest place from the winde, and at the sight of the fire, nature thereby receiued a little strength.

Iland of *Saints* or *Santi*, bearing off the coast of *Norway*. See *Ortelius* his Map of *Scandia*: hee placeth *Santi* and *Rustene* in 74. degrees, but too Northerly then they are from the North Cape, from which this Rocke (saith *Quirino*) bare Westward 70. miles other Rockes: not farre distant, some inhabited some not. This is off *Rustene* three miles in compasse, and called in their Language for the extreame remoteneſſe, *The arse of the World*.

Finding this Iland not inhabited, and seeking to goe in the Pinnasse to another Iland fiue miles off, shee so leaked, that part of vs landing, as it were all in the water, and some of vs vp to the middle in shallower water, wee stroue to draw her on land, and despairing to bee euer able to goe in her againe, wee determined to fit her in such sort, that shee might serue our turne to couer vs, after the best manner that wee could. Wee broake her into two parts: and of the greater wee made a shelter, or Cottage for thirteene of vs, and of the lesser a shedde, capable of fiue men, vnder the which wee entred couering them with part of our sayles, and with the rest, and the cordage of the sayd Pinnasse, wee made continuall fire to preserue our liues.

Foure dye and others after.

Now being vtterly destitute of all sustenance of meate and drinke, wee went wandring vpon the Sea shoare, where Nature gaue vs food to maintayne life, with certrine Perewinckles, or Shel-fish and Barnacles. And of these, not as many nor when wee would, but in very small quantitie. And remouing the Snow in some places, wee found a certayne Herbe, which together with the Snow wee cast into the Caldron, and when wee thought it was boyled, wee eate it. Nor could wee satisfie our selues therewith, and thus wee liued for thirteene dayes together, with small charitie amongst vs, by reason of the great scarcitie of all thinges and extreame famine, leading rather a brutish life, then the life of men.

Great weakeneſſe.

Continuing in this rude and homely kinde of life, it happened, that through the intollerable wants foure of our companions of the greater retiring place, failed euen where the afflicted Master was, with those remedies and slender comforts for their soules and bodies: so that you may thinke their bodies remayning neere vnto vs, who being very weake had lost all our strength, wee were not able to remooue them two yardes out of sight: and yet I will say more, that wee had no sooner taken the frozen or warme water in our mouthes, but presently Nature of it selfe cast it vp againe, wee not beeing able to abstaine from it, nor almost to stand on our feete.

Miserable cold

The cold season of the yeere had brought vs to such neceſſitie, that (to warme vs) wee stood close thronged, in such sort, that wee seemed (as it were) to bee sewed together. Wherefore I entred vnder the sayles, which couered both our Cottages round about downe to the ground, the smoake not being able to issue foorth, which proceeded (as I thinke) from the Pitch which was within certaine peeces of the Pinnasse, which we burned, so that our eyes were swolne that wee could not see: neuertheleſſe wee indured all, that wee might bee warme. And our garments which wee neuer put off, were full of vermine, and the Lice swarmed in such number, that taking them from our backes, wee cast them by whole handfuls into the fire, and they had entred into the flesh in such manner through the skinne, euen to the bones, that finally they brought a young man of our company (that was a Notarie) euen vnto death, so that hee was neuer able to defend himselfe from so loathsome a litle vermine. A thing of most manifest example, to abase and abate our pride, and haughtineſſe of minde.

Abundance of Lice.

Now concord sayling among vs, euery one vsed his owne proper aduise, whereupon part of our companie wandring through the Sauage and vn-inhabited place, came to the knowledge of a solitarie and ancient retiring place made by the Shepherds heretofore, for the time of their abode, and it was seated on the highest part of the Coast of the sayd Iland towards the West, distant from ours about a mile and a halfe. Vnto the which, sixe of the companie of the number of those eight, which were found in that first and greater retiring place, determined to remoove themselues to that new-found solitarie habitation, for their lesse inconuenience leauing the other two, their other companions alone, in an abandoned and forsaken place, as well because they were not able to trauell, as also for that wee were altogether vnable to conduct them.

They finde a Fish.

It came to passe, that those sixe through the gracious goodneſſe and gift of God, found an exceeding great Fish, to the which I know not what name to giue, whether Whale, or Porpisse

piſſe of the Sea, which wee are to thinke was ſent from the Diuine and excellent bountie to feed vs. And conſidering that wee ſaw it caſt vp by the Sea vpon the ſhoare, dead, freſh, good and great, and at the time of our ſo great neceſſitie, wee rendred thankes vnto our moſt gracious Lord God, who at that time would ſuſtayne our ſo weake and diſeaſed bodies, with that foode, appeaſed peraduenture through the prayers of ſome vigilant and deuout ſoule.

With this Fiſh, wee fedde our ſelues for nine dayes ſufficiently. And as it happened, thoſe very nine dayes were ſo tempeſtuous with windes, rayne and ſnow, that by no meanes the cruell ſtorme would haue ſuffered vs to goe one pace out of our Cottage.

The miraculous Fiſh being ſpent, the furious tempeſt was ſomewhat aſſwaged, wherefore not hauing wherewith to maintayne life, like Wolues that oppreſſed with famine, goe to ſeeke out other places of abode, wee aroſe out of the Cottage, and went wandring through the deſert Rockes to finde any ſuccour to ſuſtayne our life with Perewinckles of the Sea and Barnacles; with the which wee were of neceſſitie to bee contented, although they were very little thinges, and ſo wee maintayned our ſelues vntill the laſt of Ianuary, 1431. and therefore wee were leane, pale, afflicted, and but halfe aliue. In which time finding certayne dung of Oxen ſcorched and dryed with the cold and winde, (whereof wee gathered euery day to make a fire) wee certainely knew that place to bee frequented by Oxen: which thing gaue vs aſſured hope of ſome good end, and through this perſwaſion wee indured part of our grieuous cares and ſorrowes. 1432. in Foraine account.

In the end the houre came, wherein our benigne Creator and moſt gracious Lord, purpoſed to conduct his little flocke ſo much afflicted, into the Hauen of their ſafetie: and it was in this manner. Two young Heifers of a Fiſher-man neere vnto this Iland within fiue miles, beeing ſtrayed the former yeere from the place where hee vſed to dwell, and neuer vnderſtanding any newes of them within the yeere, nor hauing any hope to finde them againe, on the very firſt day of February, 1431. at night, one of the Sonnes of the ſaid Fiſher-man of *Ruſtene* (for ſo the ſaid Iland was called) being of the age of ſixteene yeeres, dreamed that certainly the two Heifers were eſcaped, and gone vp to the Iland of *Saints* diſtant from them, where wee were lodged, at the point of the Weſt part, vpon the which no man durſt euer goe at the low water. Whereupon the Sonne who had ſuch a viſion or dreame, prayed the Father, and an elder Brother of his, that they would accompany him to goe to ſeeke them. Ile of *Ruſtene.*

And ſo, all three in a Fiſher-boate tooke their way towards the ſayd Iland, and came to the point where wee were, and the ſayd young men landing there, left their Father to looke to the Boate, and hauing aſcended a little vpon the Cliffe, they ſaw a ſmoake ariſe in the ayre, from their retiring place which they had formerly vſed. Whereupon through feare and aſtoniſhment they maruelled, and that not a little, how, whence, and by what meanes it might come to paſſe. Wherefore, they ſtood a long time much amazed. And deſiring to know the cauſe, they began to talke one with another. And although wee perceiued the noyſe, and heard the voyce; yet wee could not conceiue whence it ſhould bee, but rather iudged it to bee the crying of Crowes, then the voyce of men. And wee were the rather induced thereunto, becauſe ſome few dayes before, wee had ſeene (vpon the miſerable Carkaſſes of our eight companions caſt to the winde) multitudes of Crowes, that rent the ayre with their croking, feeding themſelues vpon them: whereupon wee thought it could bee no other.

But continuing from good to better, the voyces of the children of God ſent to ſaue vs, wee cleerely perceiued that they were the voyces of Men, and not the crying of Fowles. And at that inſtant *Chriſtophoro Fiorananti* aroſe out of the Cottage, and ſeeing the two young ſtriplings, crying with a loude voyce came towards vs, ſaying, Reioyce, behold two come to ſeeke vs. Whereupon, inflamed with an earneſt deſire, wee rayſed our ſelues on our feete, going rather with the heart then with the feete, and drawing neere vnto them, wee perceiued that through the ſudden and extreame ſtrangeneſſe of the matter, they were afraid, and their countenances began to waxe pale. But contrarily wee cheered our ſelues, and being comforted with an aſſured hope, ſhewed with actions and geſtures of humilitie, that wee came not to offend them in any wiſe. Diuers thoughts came in our mindes, whether wee ſhould detaine one of them or both, or whether one or two of vs ſhould goe with them. The firſt determination was againſt vs, becauſe wee knew not with whom, nor with how many wee had to doe, for that wee vnderſtood not them, nor they vs.

But being aduiſed by the holy Ghoſt, wee went downe to their Boate, in the beſt and moſt amiable manner that wee could, where the Father was, who expected them: and when he ſaw vs, hee alſo remayned aſtoniſhed and amazed. In this meane ſpace, wee looked whether there were any thing in their Boate to ſuccour our neceſſities, to maintayne life: but wee found nothing there. So, they moued through pitie, ſeeing vs affamiſhed, by ſignes and actions which wee made vnto them, were contented to carrie with them *Ghirardo da Lione*, a Sewer, and *Cola di Otranto*, a Marriner, who had ſome knowledge, and were able to ſpeake the *French* and the high *Dutch*, leauing vs in great hope of preſent ſafetie and helpe.

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Their Boate comming to *Rustene* with our two companions, all the people flocked together, and seeing the countenance and habite of our companions, astonished at so great and strange a matter, they demanded among themselues, whence, & how such like fellowes as these appeared, or from what place they landed: and that they might be the better aduertised, they attempted to speake vnto them in diuers Languages, but in the end an *Almaine* Priest of the Order of the Preachers, spake with one of the said companions in the high *Dutch*, and by that meanes, they were certified what wee were, from whence, and how wee had arriued there. The which matter the morning following, which was the second day of Februarie dedicated to the glorious Mother of Christ, the said Priest published to all the people of *Rustene*, exhorting them, that through our misfortune, they would bee mooued to pitie and to helpe vs, according to their abilitie.

A *Germaine* Priest.

In this meane space, through the Catholike remembrance of the *Almaine* Priest, on the third day of February, 1431. at the very instant of the day of Saint *Biagio*, the curteous and pittifull Inhabitants of *Rustene* came vnto vs with great plentie of all sustenance, which they vse for their prouision, to feed vs and preserue vs, being desirous to conduct vs to their kinde habitations, to refresh our weake bodies. And so wee were guided and receiued into *Rustene* vpon the sayd day, where wee had great restoratiues, which were rather hurtfull for vs, through the exceeding abundance thereof, because wee could neuer satisfie our selues with eating, and our weake stomackes not being able to indure it, it made our hearts to grieue, so that wee thought wee should haue dyed.

There were remayning in the first and greater of our two retiring places, two of the companie which were impotent and weake, who knew nothing of this our so miraculous succour. Wherefore giuing these Catholike Countrey people notice of them, and likewise of the other eight that were dead and vnburied, assembling themselues together, they went with the Priest singing Psalmes and Hymnes, as well to burie those eight that were dead, as to conduct to the Hauen of safetie the two that were remayning behinde, and arriuing at the Iland of *Saints*, they performed a worke of mercy to the eight that were dead, to the which number, one of the two remayning was added, whom they found dead. Now imagine, how the other could continue being depriued of companie and all humaine sustenance, and yet hee was brought to *Rustene* with some little shew of life, where, at the end of two dayes hee departed this transitorie life.

Eleuen of vs being come to *Rustene*, wee landed and went into the house of our Guide, Host, and Lord, as hee and the rest desired, whereinto our most prudent Master, Master *Piero Quirini* entring, vsing his wisedome and discretion, performed an action of exceeding great humilitie, as soone as hee saw the companion of our Conductor and Sergeant Maior, declaring by semblance that hee would acknowledge her to bee the Mistresse of the house, hee cast himselfe downe at her feet: but shee refused and lifted him vp from the ground, embracing him and bringing him to the fire, and with her owne hand gaue him somewhat to eate.

Rustene described.

In this Iland there are twelue little Houses, with about one hundred and twentie persons, for the most part Fishermen, and they are by nature indued with vnderstanding to know how to make Boates, Buckets, Tunnes, Baskets, Nets of all sorts, and euery other thing necessarie for their vse and trade. And they are very curteous one toward another and seruiceable, desirous to please rather for loue, then for hope of any gift or good turne to bee done them againe. Fishes called Stock-fish, in all their payments and bartering, are vsed in stead of coyned money, and they are all as it were of one bignesse and measure, of the which euery yeere they drie an infinite number in the winde: and in the time of May fraight themselues with them, carrying them through the Realmes of *Denmarke*, that is to say, *Sweden*, *Denmarke*, and *Norway*, being all Subiect to the King of *Dacia*: where they barter and exchange the said Fish, for Leather, Cloathes, Iron, Pulse and other things, whereof they haue scarcitie.

Stock-fish in stead of mony.

Their drinke and bread.

Few other things for maintenance of life are found there, except Fish, yet at certaine times, they haue some small quantitie of Beefe, and Milke of Kine, of the which, with Rice, and I know not what other mixture, they make Bread of a naughtie taste. Their Drinke is sowre Milke, displeasing vnto them, who haue not beene accustomed thereunto. They vse also Ale, that is to say, Wine drawne out of Rie. Wee eate of the Plaice or Halibut fish, which are exceeding great, so that you would not beleeue it. Wee saw some of them somewhat longer then sixe feete of the common *Venetian* measure, aboue two foote broad vpon the Chine, and more then three quarters of a foote in thicknesse: a wonderfull thing to bee spoken. They cloath the men with redde Hides, and likewise blacke, able to defend them from the water, and they vse cloathes very course, of azure, redde, and ash-colour, brought from *Denmarke*, of small price and estimation.

Halibuts very great.

Sinceritie.

These Countrey people vse much to frequent the Church, because they are very deuout, and yeeld great reuerence to the worship and seruice of God. Auarice, is as it were altogether extinguished, for, they vnderstand not in any sort, nor know not what thing of anothers may become theirs, but by barter: and therefore they vse not to locke Doore, House, nor Windowes,

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dowes, nor any Cheſt for feare to bee robbed, but onely by reaſon of the wilde Beaſts.

The Inhabitants of this place both young and old, are of ſo great ſimplicitie of heart, and obedient to the Commandement of God, that they neither vnderſtand, know, nor imagine in any wiſe, what Fornication, or Adulterie may bee: but vſe Marriage according to Gods Commandement. And to giue you a true proofe hereof I *Chriſtophoro* ſay, that we were in the houſe of our foreſaid Hoſt, and ſlept in one and the ſame Cottage, [m] where hee alſo and his Wife ſlept, and ſucceſſiuely in one Bed neere adjoyning, were their Daughters and Sonnes of ripe age together, neere to the which Beds we alſo ſlept, almoſt cloſe adjoyning to them: ſo that when they went to ſleepe, or when they aroſe, or when they ſtripped themſelues naked, and wee in like manner, we indifferently ſaw one another, and yet with that puritie, as if wee had beene little children. But I will tell you more, that for two dayes together, our ſaid Hoſt, with his elder Sonnes aroſe to goe a fiſhing, euen at the time of the moſt delightfull houre of ſleepe, leauing his Wife and Daughters in the Bed, with that ſecuritie and puritie, as if he had properly left them in the armes and embracements of the Mother, not returning to his home in leſſe time then the ſpace of eight houres.

Simplicitie. Thus the *Italians* thought in regard of their differing iealouſie, which ſcarſly permits the growne Sonne of Brother to ſleepe vnder the ſame roofe with the Mother or Siſter.

m *Quirino* ſaith in the ſame Chamber, their houſes being built of timber in round forme, with one light in the top, which in winter by reaſon of the vnſupportable cold is couered with skinnes of great fiſhes, which caſt a great luſtre.

The Inhabitants of this Iland, eſpecially the elder ſort, are found ſo vnited in their wils to the will of God, that in euery caſualtie of naturall death, which befalleth Father, Mother, Husband, Wife, Children, or whatſoeuer other Kinſman, or Friend, when the houre of their paſſage vnto another life appeareth, preſently without any griefe of heart and complaining, they aſſemble themſelues together vnto the Cathedrall Church, to thanke and prayſe the Heauenly Creator, who hath permitted ſuch an one to liue ſo many yeeres, and at that preſent, as his creature vouchſafed to call him, or her into his gracious fauour, and neere vnto him: and at the appointed houre they cauſe them to be waſhed cleane, to haue them pure and neate, as they were borne. Whereupon rejoycing and contenting themſelues with his infallible will and pleaſure, they giue him prayſe and glorie, not ſhewing any paſſion either in words or geſtures, as if properly they had but ſlept. Surely we may ſay, that from the third of February 1431. vntill the fourteenth of May 1432. which amounteth to an hundred dayes and one, we were within the circuit of Paradiſe, to the reproch and ſhame of the Countries of *Italie*.

Funerall.

There at the beginning of May we ſaw great varietie and alteration. Firſt, their women vſe to goe vnto the Bathes, which are very neere and commodious, as well for puritie, as for the cuſtome they obſerue, which they hold agreeable vnto Nature: they vſe to come forth of their houſes ſtarke naked, as they came out of their Mothers wombe, going without any regard to their way, carrying only in their right hand an heape of graſſe, in manner of a broome, as they ſay, to rub the ſweat from their backe, and the left hand they hold vpon their hip, ſpreading it as it were for a ſhadow to couer their hinder parts, that they ſhould not much appeare: where hauing twice ſeene them, we paſſed away by them, as eaſily as their owne people, the Countrey was ſo cold, and the continuall ſeeing of them, that it cauſed vs to make no account thereof. On the contrary part, theſe very women were ſeene on the Sunday to enter into the Church in long and comely Garments. And that they might not by any meanes be ſeene in the face, they weare on their head a thing like a compleat Morion with a Gorget, which hath an hole to ſee through at the end, like the hole of a Pipe, through the which they behold within that, no further off from their eyes then the hole is long, ſo that they ſeeme to haue it in their mouthes to pipe: and worſe then that, they can neither ſee nor ſpeake, vnleſſe they turne themſelues a yard or more, from the hearer. I thought good to note theſe two extreame varieties, as worthy to bee vnderſtood.

Bathing.

From the twentieth of Nouember, vntill the twentieth of February, the night continueth and laſteth there about one and twentie houres or more, the Moon neuer wholly hiding her bodie or her rayes at leaſt. And from the twentieth of May vntill the twentieth of Auguſt, either the whole Sunne is alwayes ſeene, or elſe his beames neuer faile.

Long nights. *Quirino* ſaith, that it is three moneths night with continual light of the Moone; and three others day with continuall ſight of light at leaſt of the Sunne.

In this Countrey there is infinite plentie of white Birds, in their Language called *Muxi*, but we called them Cockes of the Sea, which by nature conuerſe, and willingly abide where men inhabit, whether they find them in Barkes or on the Land. And they are ſo domeſticall and tame, as Houſe-doues are with vs.

Birds, *Muxi*.

In this Iland, and in the Countries of *Suecia*, we ſaw very white skins of Beares as white as Armelins, much longer then twelue *Venetian* feete. Wee abode in *Ruſtene* three moneths and eleuen dayes, expecting a fit time to paſſe with our Hoſt into *Sweden*, with his vſuall fraight of Stock-fiſh, which is in the time of May, when theſe Countrey people depart, carrying with them infinite plentie thereof through the Realmes of the aforeſaid King of *Dacia*.

They returne.

On the fourteenth day of May 1432. came the houre ſo much deſired, to turne our faces towards our amiable and beloued Countrey, as our minde and deſire alwayes was, and leaue the charitable place of *Ruſtene*, which was the laſt ſuccour and refreſhing to our miſeries. So wee tooke our leaue of our Domeſticall friends of the Houſe, and of our Miſtreſſe and Hoſteſſe, to whom in token of our loue we left, not that whereunto we were in dutie bound, but what wee had remayning: and that was certayne ſmall trifling things of little value in our opinion, as

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Goblets, Girdles, and ſmall Rings. And likewiſe wee tooke leaue of the Neighbours, and the Prieſt, and generally of all, ſhewing them by ſignes and words, as the Interpeter might vnderſtand then, that we acknowledged our ſelues bound vnto them all. And hauing performed due ſalutations, we entred into a Barke of the burthen of twentie tunnes, or thereabouts, laden with the ſaid fiſh, guided by our Patrone and Hoſt, with three of his Sonnes, and certayne of their Kindred. And we departed on the ſaid day bending our courſe towards *Bergie*, which is the firſt conuenient and fit Hauen for the diſpatch and riddance of ſuch fiſh, which place is diſtant from *Ruſtene*, about ſome thouſand miles. So we conducted the ſaid Barke through certaine direct and ſafe channels, rowing moſt commodiouſly and at eaſe.

Berga.

Tokens of the Skiffe drowned.

But after we were about two hundred miles off from *Ruſtene*, wee found certaine Relikes of the plankes and ribs of our Skiffe, whereby we plainly knew, that our companions which were in it, were periſhed and drowned, the firſt night that they departed from vs.

Trondon.

The nine and twentieth of May 1432. we arriued with the ſaid Barke at *Trondon*, vpon the Coaſt of *Norway*, the Princely Seate of the King of *Denmarke*, where the Honourable bodie of glorious Saint *Olaus* reſteth. There wee ſtayed ten dayes to waite for paſſage, and a fit time for our Voyage: but not finding it, becauſe we would loſe no more time, wee tooke leaue of our beloued Hoſt, his Sonnes and the reſt, to proceed on our journey by Land.

Saint *Olaus.*

Vaſtena.

The ninth of Iune we departed from *Trondon*, trauelling on foot, going towards *Vaſtena*, a place ſubject to the King of *Denmarke*, within the Prouince of *Sweden*, where the cheek-bone and part of the bone of the head of Saint *Bridget* remayneth. Being there, wee vnderſtood by the *Venetians*, that the Inhabitants for the reuerence of their glorious King Saint *Olaus*, vnto whom (as they well knew) our *Signiorie* of *Venice* did great fauour in his going and returning from his Voyage to *Hieruſalem*, were diſpoſed with deeds to prouide for vs by their counſell, helpe and money. And firſt, they aduiſed vs not to goe the direct way into *Dacia*, by reaſon of the dangers of wilde beaſts, which might befall vs, but to addreſſe our ſelues to goe directly to *Stichimborgi*, to find out a valiant *Venetian* Knight called *M. Giouan Francho*, from whom wee ſhould receue fauour and helpe in plentifull manner, for loue of our Countrey, although the way were thirtie dayes iourney, quite contrary to our direct way. On the eighteenth day we came to the Court of the ſaid *Canallier M. Giouan Francho*, an Honourable Baron, and highly eſteemed of the Crowne of *Dacia*, where (with great joy) we found our two ſtraggling companions.

Venetian Knight.

The valorous Knight being now informed of our comming, with a cheereful conntenance declared well vnto vs how great the loue of his Countrey was, and eſpecially knowing the calamitie and penurie of vs his Countrey-men, and being eaſily able to releeue it. And therefore he could not ſufficiently ſatisfie himſelfe in honouring, clothing and feeding vs, but gaue vs money for our neceſſities, and furniſhing vs afterward with good Horſes, in his owne proper perſon, together with his only Sonne *M. Mapheo*, with an hundred and twentie Horſes of his owne Seruants he accompanied vs many dayes journeyes through his Territories, trauelling alwayes at his owne charge. Afterward, vpon his limits and bounds wee tooke our leaue to depart, thanking him with the moſt reuerent and kind ſpeeches that poſſibly we could. Whereupon he being departed, left vs for our Guide, his ſaid ſonne *M. Mapheo* with twentie ſeruants on Horſe-backe, who kept vs company vnto *Vaſtena*, the place from whence about fortie dayes before we had departed, vnto the which place, for the auoyding of two monethes trauell, wee were faine to returne: ſo that on the thirtieth day of Iuly wee entred into *Vaſtena*, where wee abode vntill the ſecond of Auguſt, being alwayes accompanied, and our charges borne by the ſaid *M. Mapheo*.

Lodeſe.

On the ſecond of Auguſt, we tooke our leaue of the foreſaid *M. Mapheo*, yeelding him ſuch thankes as we could. And being departed from him wee went to *Lodeſe*, where wee arriued the eleuenth of the ſaid moneth; in which place we found two paſſages, the one for *England*, and the other for the *Low Countries*: and there we voluntarily diuided our ſelues into two parts.

* *Quirino* ſaith when he ſet foot on *England*, hee ſeemed to bee comne out of Hell and reuiued. Hee came to *Combridge*, an Vniuerſitie where a *Benedictine* gaue him ſixteene Crownes, thence to *London*, where he ſtayed two moneths, &c.

The two and twentiech of Auguſt 1432. we *Chriſtophoro Fioranante*, one of the Councell of the vnfortunate ſhip, together with *Girardo da Lione*, the Sewer, and *Nicolo di Michiel* of *Venice* the Notarie, now Writer of this preſent Diſcourſe, departed from the other eight of our companions, they going towards *London* and we to *Venice*, by the way of *Roſtoch*, pretending to goe to *Rome* for a Pardon: and after many troubles and moleſtations, paſſing ouer Mountaynes, Valleyes, Riuers, ſometimes on foot, and ſometimes on Horſe-backe, through the helpe of the Omnipotent God, we came vnto our ſo much deſired Countrey of *Venice*, on the twelfth of October, 1432. ſafe and ſound, leauing the ſaid *Girardo da Lion* at *Vaſeneck*, who from thence went vnto his Countrey: and thoſe that went into * *England* were theſe; Maſter *Franceſco Quirini*, Sonne of Maſter *Iacomo* a *Venetian* Gentleman, being Merchant of the vnhappie ſhip. Maſter *Piero Gradenico*, Sonne of Maſter *Andrea*, of the age of eighteene yeeres, a young Merchant, *Bernardo da Cagbire*, Pilot of the ſhip, whoſe Wife being young, aſwell through the long delay of time paſſed, as for that it was many times certainly reported, that the ſaid ſhip with all them that were therein, were in great danger, and no token at all appearing to the contrary, being aduiſed more haſtily, then vpon mature conſideration, as is the manner of needie women,

ſhe

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she married her selfe at *Trinisso*. But hearing of our comming, and the certayne newes of her liuing and true Husband, she presently separated the bond of the second Marriage, and shut her selfe vp in an honest Monasterie, aswell to declare the Integritie of her minde, as to expect the returne of her true Husband, who about some three moneths after came to *Venice* safe and sound, and tooke her againe vnto him, &c.

CHAP. XIX.

Ancient Commerce betwixt ENGLAND *and* NORWAY, *and other Northerne Regions.*

GReat *Alexander* is said in hearing a Flatterers Historie of his conquests, making them (how great soeuer in themselues) farre greater then they were, to haue caused that booke to bee throwne into the Sea, with iust indigantion exclaiming, that those incredibilities would make that which hee had indeed done, seeme incredible to posteritie. And a Liar (said *Alexanders* Master, *Aristotle*) gets this by lying, that when he speakes truth he cannot be beleeued. So hath it fared with that *Brittish* worthy, King *Arthur*, whose Great Acts by great Flatterers, seeking to light candles to the Sunne, haue made others suppose it to be night, and his worth to be a worke of darkenesse and lyes. Neither doth the later posteritie know how to distinguish the one from the other; and the Writers for and against the truth of thee *Brittish* storie, as *Iessery* of *Monmouth* and *William* of *Newbridge* of old, and others since, haue seemed to me to let the truth (as in altercation is vsuall) to fall downe betwixt them, for others more moderate spirits to take vp. Although therefore many things related of *Arthur* are absurd, yet so are not all, nor that altogether which is spoken of his Northerne conquests, eleuen hundred yeeres since, and of commerce at least, if not some kind of tributarie acknowledgment, of *Guillaumarius* the King of *Ireland*, *Gunfacius* of the *Orcades*, *Malnasius* of *Island*, * *Doldanis* of *Gotland*, *Aschilius* of the *Danes*, and *Lot* King of *Norway*. Some * adde, that King *Arthur* left people to inhabite the Ilands, and that the *Norwegian* Nobles tooke them *Brittish* wiues, and that the *Norwegians* professing their *Brittish* bloud, and liking *Englands* fertilitie better then that their own sterilitie and rockie barrennesse, sought by force of warres often to conquer that which would not be peaceably yeelded; till King *Edward*, a maintainer of peace, with consent of the Kingdome, permitted them to dwell heere at pleasure, as sworne brethren to the *English*. *Other*, subiect and seruant to King *Alfred* aboue seuen hundred yeeres since, related to his said Lord his voyage from *Helgoland* (where he then dwelt) to the North Cape, and (as probable circumstances argue) along the coast to the Bay of Saint *Nicolas*.

Galf. Monmuth. l.9.c.10,12,19. & l.11.c.17.

* *Ger. Mercator. Lambart his Agnatorum. f.137.*

Others voyage see Hak. to.1.

Ædgar, that famous founder of Monasteries, is said by *Ranulphus Cestrensis* to haue in annuall vse foure thousand ships, and by *Flores Historiarum* foure thousand eight hundred, vsing yeerely to compasse this Iland, with his Nauie quadripartite, twelue hundred in the East, as many in the West, and like proportions on the North, and on the South coasts, to scoure the Seas and secure his subiects: And in the Charter of the foundation of the Cathedrall Church of *Worcester*, he vseth these words; *Mihi autem concessit propitia diuinitas cum Anglorum Imperio, omnia Regna Insularium Oceani cum suis fercissimis Regibus vsque Norwegiam, Maximamque partem Hyberniæ, cum sua nobilissima ciuitate Dublinia, Anglorum Regno subiugare, &c.* Hee also stiles himselfe King and Emperour of the *Ocean*, and the Ilands about *Britaine*, beginning, *Ego Ædgarus Anglorum Basileus, omniumque Regum, Insularum, Oceanique Britannicam circumiacentis cunctarumque Nationum quæ infra eam includuntur, Imperator & Dominus.* So potent was he first of the *English* Kings (for *Arthur* was a *Briton*) by his strong shipping, and well manned and mannaged Nauie.

Ædgars greatenesse.

Florentius Wigornienses stileth him, *Flos & decus antecessorum Regum, Pacificus Rex Ædgarus, nostrisque memorabilis Anglis quam Romulus Romanis, Cyrus Persis, Alexander Macedonibus, Arsaces Parthis, Carolus Magnus Francis*; and addeth, as before is notified, *Is itaque dum viueret* 3600. *robustas sibi congregauerat naues, ex quibus Paschali emensa solemnitate omni Anno* 1200. *In orientali,* 1200. *in occidentali,* 1200. *in septentrionali insulæ plaga coadunare & ad occidentalem cum orientali classe, & illa remissa ad borealem cum occidentali, ipsaque remissa cum boreali ad orientalem classem remigare, eoque modo totam insulam omni æstate consueuerat circumnauigare, viriliter hoc agens ad defensionem contra exteras Regni sui, & suum suorumque ad bellicos vsus exercitium.* Both *Florentius* and *Malmesbury*, and *Mat. Westminster* record, that hee sitting at the Sterne, was rowed by eight Kings his Tributaries; *Kinad* King of *Scots*, *Maselus* of *Cumberland*, *Macon* of *Man* and many Ilands, *Dufnal* of *Demetia*, *Siferth* and *Howel* Kings of *Wales*, *Iacob* King of *Galwales*, and *Inkil* of *Westmar*, hauing the same day there met at his summons, and sworne fealtie and assistance to him by Sea and Land. These rowed him in the Riuer *Dee*, to the Monastery from his Palace, and thence after seruice backe againe: So rightly did he instile himselfe in his Charter

Ranulphus Cestrensis saith 4000. Matthew Westminster hath 4800. viz. 1200. for the South coast also.

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to *Malmesbury*, *Ego Ædgarus totius Albionis Basileus, nec non Maritimorum seu insulanorum Regum circumhabitantium, &c.*

This Sunne being set, darke and stormy times followed, by reason of *Danish* incursions. These *Danes* (as M. *Camden* recordeth) began to be knowne to the world, about the yeere of Christ 570. for their piracies called *Wiccings*; of them *Dudo de S. Quintino* hath this testimony, *Dani è Scanza* (that is, *Scandia*) *velut examen apum è canistro & gladius è vagina, diuersitate multimoda, &c.* The Danes, *like a swarme of Bees out of their hiue, and a sword out of a sheath, in diuersified manner and barbarous custome leaped forth from Scanza* (or *Seandia*) *after that with petulant lust they had multiplied their innumerable generations. These being growne, contended with their parents and progenitors about their possessions, and ouerflowing their native Bankes, a multitude of them (according to their ancient custome) are compelled by lot to seeke forraine places, where by force they might plant themselues. In the consummating this expulsion or expedition, they anciently sacrificed to Thur, not with beasts, but the blood of men, esteeming that the most precious Holocaust. Their Priest vsed to diuine with yokes of Oxen, the heads of each chosen by lot being clouen asunder by one stroke, the heart veyne on the left side being searched, and with the blood thereof the heads of theirs being anointed, they presently set sayle. Ditmarus*, somewhat ancienter then *Dudo*, mentioneth a place, called *Lederun*, where euery ninth yeere in Ianuary, they all assembled and sacrificed ninetie nine Men, and as many Horses, with Dogs and Cocks, in stead of Haukes, to pacifie their Gods. Hereby wee see that by *Danes*, in our *English* stories, are intended not onely those which now we properly so call, but * *Norwegians* also, *Gothes*, *Vandals*, *Frieslanders*, and the Inhabitants generally of those North-eastern parts; three Ships of which, in the yeere 787. landed in the West parts, slew the *Reeue* of *Beorhstricke* King of the West *Saxons*, and were by the Countrie people forced backe to their Ships. *Ann.* 795. a few Ships of them made the like assay in *Scotland*, and soone after some of them entred *Tynemouth* Hauen, in the North part of *England*, and returned with the spoyles of the Churches of *Hercanes* and *Tynemouth*. This was in the yeere 800. Thirtie three yeeres after, in the reigne of *Egbert*, they were beaten at *Dunmoth*, but spoyled *Sheepie*, with murthers and robberies, entring *Thames* with thirtie fiue sayle.

Danes.
Wiccinga Sig. a Pirate.
Scanza is the Chersonesus, containing the Countrie of Norway, Sweden, &c.
Men sacrificed to Thur.
* Mat. West.
Lamberts perambation of Kent.
Mat. Westmins.

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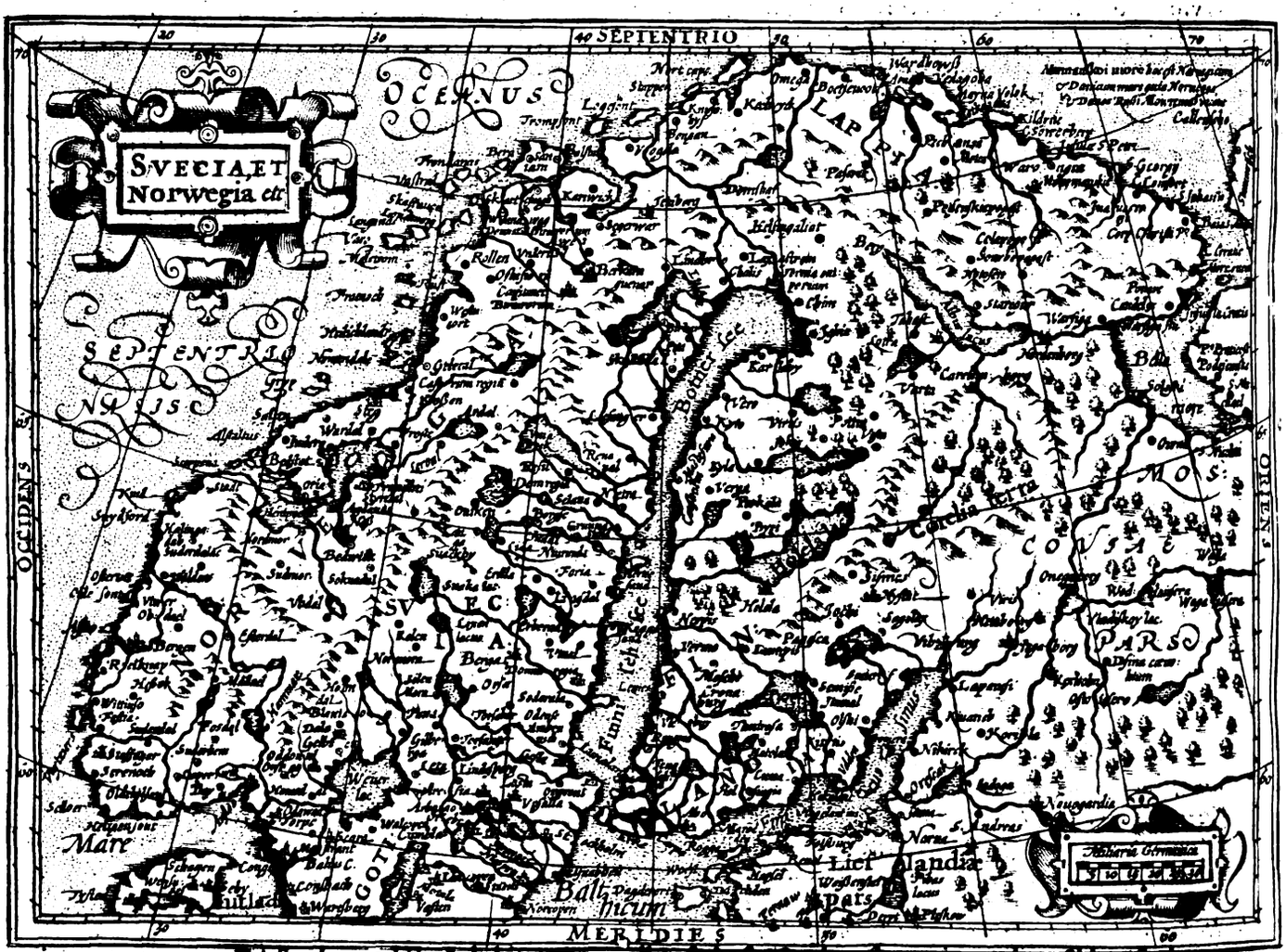
HONDIVS *his Map of* NORVVEGIA *and* SVETIA.



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sayle. The next yeere they preuailed in battell against King *Egbert*, and after that ioyned with the *Welshmen* to inuade and destroy this Kingdome, but were both chased by the victorious power of the King; and *An.* 836. another hoast of them was beaten. Another Fleet of thirtie foure Ships landed at *South-Hamton*, *An.* 838. and slew Duke *Æthelhelm*: after which they proceeded with continuall incursions (two *Hydras* heads still succeeding, when any *English Hercules* had cut off one) that it breeds horror to read or thinke of the spoyles, rapes, fires, murthers, barbarisme, heathenisme, desolation and destruction, which they brought euery where with them. And although *Alfred*, *Edward*, and *Adalstane* somewhat healed the Land of that pestilence; yet in *Ethelreds* time such a mortall relapse happened, that first he charged the people with an insupportable tribute of *Danegelt*, arising to 48000. pounds yeerely (euen after the account of those times) and buying herewith nothing but perfidie on their part, and beggerly on his, by the aduice of one *Huna* the Generall of his Armie, he wrote Letters to all places, that on Saint *Brices* day (which is the morrow after Saint *Martins* night, the *Danes* not hauing digested that drunken solemnitie should be all massacred, which accordingly was effected on man, woman, and child, not sparing those which fled to the Altars. A few in *London* escaped, and caused *Sweyne* with a *Danish* Army and vnspeakable crueltie to repay that butcherie. *Etheldred* fled with his wife and children into *Normandie* (the seed of a new Conquest) so that *Suanus** hauing made the sheepefold a shambles and shepheardlesse, proclaimed himselfe King of *England*, which *Canutus* or *Cnuto* and his two sonnes, *Harold* and *Hardicanute*, held after him some thirtie yeeres space.

Danegelt continued till *Edward* the Confessor. *A.* 1012.

* This *Swanus*, or *Sueno* lived killed his father.

And such was the *Danish* tyranny, that euery *Dane* was stiled *Lord Dane*, and had at his commandement the wiues, daughters, and the whole household where hee became. But after the death of *Hardicanutus*, that title was turned into the reproachfull terme of *Lurdane*, and the day of his death * (as the *Roman Fugalia*) was celebrated with open pastime and feasting in the streets, called *Hocktide* or *Hucktide*, as if *England* (then absolutely freed) made a mocke or scorne of her enemies. *Canutus* by treason of *Eadrike Streona* obtained the Kingdome, first as partner with *Edmund Ironside*, and after his death the whole by other perfidie, slaying *Eadwy* brother of King *Edmund*, and sending *Edmunds* two sonnes, *Edward* and *Edmund*, to the King of *Sweden* to be there made away. But hee hating such crueltie, sent them to *Salomon* King of *Hungary* to bring vp, where *Edmund* dyed, and *Edward* married *Agatha* daughter of *Henry* the Emperour, by whom hee had *Ædgar Athling*, and *Margaret* married to *Malcolm* King of *Scots* (the mother of *Maud* wife to *Henry* the first) and *Christine* a Nun.

* *A.* 1042. *Hocktide.* Hardicanute keeps with publike feasting in the streets, the women binding men, or compelling them to some ransome; the Tuesday following after Easter.

Canutus diuided the Kingdome into foure parts, of which hee reserued West *Saxonie* to himselfe, East *England* hee committed to Earle *Turkill*, *Mercia* to Duke *Edrike*, and *Northumberland* to Earle *Erike*. Soone after, he caused Duke *Edrike* (which treacherously had aduanced him to the Crowne) to bee slaine, (a iust reward of treason) and then banished Earle *Turkill* and Earle *Erike* picking quarrell with them (weary of any stalking horses) the former of which was presently after his landing in *Denmarke* slain. And now did *Canutus* seeke to win the fauour of the *English* by building and endowing Monasteries, making good Lawes, and marrying *Emma* the relict of King *Ethelred*. Thus hauing *Denmarke* by inheritance, and *England* by conquest & treachery, his ambition next aimed at *Sweden*, where first he had the worse, but after compelled *Vlf* and *Eglaf* the Kings of that Countrie to composition with him, Earle *Godwin*, the Generall of the *English*, prouoking and animating the *English* to recouer their pristine glory, and by solid vertue to ouercome them, who had ouercome their new Lord, whose fortune had subiected the *English*. Thus *Canutus* preuailed by *Godwines* policie and *English* valour, they by night without the Kings knowledge, or assistance of the *Danish* Armie, assaulting and ouerthrowing the *Swedens*: hee, the next day, missing the *English*, and fearing they had turned to the Enemy, till giuing the onset with his *Danes* vpon the forsaken Campe of the Enemy, he found there nothing but carkasses and spoyle.

English Conquest in *Sweden*. *A.* 1024.

Anno 1027. hauing intelligence that the *Norwegians* contemned their King *Olaue* for his simplicitie, he sent great summes of Gold and Siluer to the *Grandes* of *Norway*, to corrupt them, and caused them to reject *Olaue*, and to choose him for their King. For peruerted with gifts they sent him word to come to them, whom he should find readie to entertayne him. *An.* 1028. he went with a fleet of fifty sayle to *Norway*, and expelled *Olaue*, subiecting that Kingdome to himselfe. *Olaue* which had beene the King, Doctor, Preacher and Apostle of the *Norwegians*, (as *Florilegus* stileth him) the sonne of *Harald* King of *Norway*, was slayne, *Anno* 1030. and cruelly butchered by his treacherous *Norwegians* with an Axe or Hatchet, for disanulling their Pagan superstitions, and hee since is there superstitiously worshipped for a Saint, whom then trayterously they permitted not to reigne or breathe. The same yeere perished at Sea, or (as some say) was slayne in one of the *Orcades*, Earle *Hacun*, whom *Canutus* fearing had banished in colour of sending him Embassadour.

Saint *Olaue*.

His greatnesse (hauing to wife his sisters daughter) made him grow suspicious: And according to the deuotion of that time. *Anno* 1031. *Canutus* or *Cnuto* went to *Rome* on Pilgrimage, and there made magnificent Offerings, and obtayned diuers Immunities of the Emperour and Pope. After his returne he inuaded the *Scots*, and ouercame King *Malcolme* with two other Kings,

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Romish Pilgrimage a protection for tyrannous vsurpation of *Norway* & *England*, without restitution to the right Heires: as if *Peters* pretended key were a Pick-locke to open Heauen to whomsoeuer.

Kings. He going from *Rome* to *Denmarke*, sent a Letter to his *English* subjects thus beginning: *Canutus Rex totius Angliæ, & Danemercia, & Norreganorum, & partis Suanorum, Aethelnotho Metropolitano & Alfrico Eboracensi Archiepiscopo, omnibusque Episcopis & Primatibus & toti Anglorum genti, tam nobilibus quam plebeijs, salutem. Notifico vobis me nouiter iuisse Romam, orationis pro redemptione peccaminum meorum & pro salute Regnorum, quique meo subiacent regimini populorum. Hanc quidem profectionem Deo iam olim deuoueram: sed pro negotijs Regni & causis impedientibus huc vsque perficere non potui. Nunc autem ipsi Deo meo Omnipotenti valdè humiliter gratias ago, qui mihi concessit in vita mea Sanctos Apostolos suos Petrum & Paulum, & omne Sanctuarium quod iuxta vrbem Romam aut extra addiscere potui expetere, & secundum desiderium meum presentialiter venerari & adorare. Ob id ergo maximè hoc patrauj, quia à sapientibus didici sanctum Petrum Apostolum magnam potestatem à Domino accepisse ligandi atq; soluendi, clauigerumq; esse Regni Cœlestis, & ideo speciale eius patrocinium apud Dominum diligenter expetere valdè vtile duxi, &c.*

HONDIVS *his Map of* Denmarke.

MARE GERMANICVM
MARE BALTICVM
Die Belt
Die Sund
DANIÆ REGNV.
Westergotie pars
Lessoe Insula
Anholt
Funen
Langeland
Laland
Falster
Bornholm
Mekelnburg.
Pomerania
Holtzen
Stormarn
Ditmarsen
Nordstrandt
Eyderstadt
Sudervlu-land
Nordstrandt
Sild
Fore
De Strum
Wagerland
Pilsland
Oyen
Seyeberg
Oldesloe
Lubeck
Rostock
Wismar
Reinbeck
Stralsund
Barth
Tribsees
Gripswald
Wolgast
Camin
Wollin
Samsoe
Aarhuus
Ribe
Ripen
Hadersleuen
Apenrade
Flensburg
Tundern
Husum
Tonningen
Kiel
Plön
Segeberg
Ratzeburg
Schwerin
Gadebusch
Wismar
Rostock
Tribsees
Gripswald
Stralsund
Barth
Ribnitz
Damgarten
Wolgast
Vsedom
Wollin
Camin
Copenhagen
Elsenore
Helsingborg
Malmoe
Landscrona
Helmstadt
Falkenberg
Warberg
Halmstadt
Laholm
Engelholm
Helsingborg
Elfsborg
Bahus
Warberg
Lödöse
Marstrand
Gothenburg
Bohus
Vmeneo
Smaland
Calmar
Kalmar
Ölandt
Gothland
Visby
Ronneby
Carlscrona
Lunde
Lund
Roschild
Ringsted
Slagelse
Korsöer
Nestued
Præstoe
Stege
Möen
Faxöe
Kiöge
Roskild
Elsenore
Copenhagen
Malmoe
Landscrona
Helsingborg
Helmstadt
Falkenberg
Halmstadt
Laholm
Engelholm

herſelfe, and became a Nunne. *Sueno* King of *Norway* after fiue yeeres deceaſed, and *Canutus* his ill-gotten *Engliſh* and *Norwegian* wings were quickly not only pulled, but cut off.

The *Engliſh* had occaſion of further inuaſion to and from *Norway*. For *Suanus* deceſſing, the *Norwegians* choſe *Magnus* the Sonne of Saint *Olaue* for their King; which when *Hardecanutus* vnderſtood (as the *Daniſh* Storie ſet forth by *Erpold Lindenbruch* teſtifieth) hee inuaded *Norway* with his *Engliſh* and *Daniſh* forces, where he and *Magnus* came to compoſition that the Suruiuour ſhould enjoy both Kingdomes. When *Hardecanute* was dead, *Sueno* the Sonne of *Eſtrid* his Siſter, ſucceeded, and *Magnus* King of *Norway* fought with *Sueno* to obtayne his couenanted Kingdome of *Denmarke*, and ouercame him. *Sueno* fled into *Sweden*, and there abode till the death of *Magnus*, after which he recouered his *Daniſh* Scepter. *Florentius* writeth that *Suanus* ſent to King *Edward* the Confeſſor, intreating his aide with a Nauie againſt *Magnus*; Earle *Godwine* counſelled to ſend fiftie ſhips, but Earle *Leofrike* and the people refuſed; and *Magnus* with a great Nauie fought with *Suanus*, and expelled him his Kingdome, which hee after recouered.

Hiſtoria Danica.

Second *Engliſh* Expedition into *Norway*.

Harald Harnager the Sonne of *Siward* King of *Norway* and Brother by the Mothers ſide to Saint *Olaue* obtayned *Norway* after his Nephew *Magnus*, and ſent an Embaſſage to King *Edward*, whereby Peace and Amitie was concluded betwixt both the Kings. He (after King *Edwards* death) inuaded *England* with a great Nauie [m] of three hundred ſhips, and diſcomfited the Earles *Edwine* and *Morcar* neere *Yorke*; but fiue dayes after *Harald* then King (Sonne of Earle *Godwin*) ſlue his Brother *Toſti* and *Harnagre* at *Stamford* Bridge, permitting his Sonne *Olaue* to returne vpon conditions to *Norway*. But whiles he conuerted the ſpoyle to his owne proper vſe, he gaue ſuch diſguſt to the *Engliſh*, that a few dayes after in the battayle with *William* Earle of *Normandie*, they were leſſe zealous of his cauſe; where a new *Norman* period beganne: thoſe Northerne quarrels hauing had no other end but this ſucceſſion.

[m] *Trecentis coggonibus.*

From 787. to 1065.

I ſhall not need to adde what followed (the *Norman* Acts in *Italie*, *Paleſtina* and other places I haue handled elſe-where) little occurring of *Mars*, but *Mercurie*, of which I haue by me Letters from King *Henry* the Third, the firſt yeere of his Reigne to *Hacon* or *Haquin*, then King of *Norway*, for mutuall Trafficke betwixt both their ſubjects. It is remarkable that the Northerne humour of ſpoile, ſlaughter and bloud continued whiles they were Pagans, and expired in manner with their Paganiſme both in *Norwegians* and *Danes*: as if God would firſt by them puniſh the vices of thoſe times, and withall conquer the Conquerours, with the Religion of the conquered, and by ſo ſtrange a way bring the Northerne World (by this way of deſtroying) to ſaluation. Since that time, the State of *Norway*, *Iſland* and other parts hath decayed in numbers of ſhipping, courage of men, and other meanes of Earthly greatneſſe. Somewhat yet for Hiſtory and an Hiſtorians ſake, I will adde of *Matthew Paris* an *Engliſhman* his Voyage to *Norway*.

vid. ſup. l. 8. c. 6. §. 1.

Note.

In the yeere 1247. *Matthew Paris* recordeth, that on the day of Saint *Olaue*, a famous Saint in the Regions and Ilands of *Norway*, *Hacon* was crowned King, and ſolemnely anointed at *Berga* by the Biſhop of *Sabine* then Legate (from the Pope) in thoſe parts. For the honour whereof the ſaid King gaue the Pope 15000. Markes ſterling, beſides inualuable Gifts which the Legate himſelfe had; and fiue hundred Markes by him extorted (ſaith our Author) from the Church of that Kingdome. The King alſo receiuing the Croſſe for the *Holy Land* Expedition, obtayned of the Pope the third part of the Eccleſiaſticall Reuenues of that Kingdome towards his charges. Which *Lewis* the *French* King knowing, writ in friendly termes to *Hacon*, to beare him company in the ſaid Expedition, offering him full power (in regard of his Sea-skill) ouer his Nauie, and ouer the *French* Army. This Letter was carried by our Authour *Matthew Paris*, to whom King *Hacon* anſwered that he gaue great thankes to that deuout King: but knew in part the nature of the *French*, & as ſaith the Poet, *Omnis quę poteſtas Impatiens conſortis erit*; and I ſay, *Omnis quę ſuperbus, Impatiens conſortis erit*. My people is impetuous, indiſcreet, and impatient of wrongs, which might occaſion irreparable damage; and therefore it is fitter for each to goe by himſelfe. But I haue written to the King for quiet paſſage thorow his Countrey, and prouiſions as need required. The Kings Anſwere thereto and Letters Patents were alſo deliuered to him by this our Author in this forme.

Ma. Paris p. 981.

The Pope and his Legates deere friends to all Kingdomes. Saint *Lewis* his offers.

His Letter.

Ludouicus Dei gratia Francorum Rex, vniuerſis amicis & fidelibus ſuis, Balliuis, Maioribus, & Prepoſitis, ad quos preſentes litera peruenerint, ſalutem. Cum clariſſimus noſter Illuſtris Hacon Rex Norwegię in ſubſidium Terra ſancta tranſfretare proponat, ſicut nobis per ſuas literas intimauit, vobis mandamus, quatenus ſi eundem Regem vel ipſius Nauigium per mare contiguum terra noſtra tranſire contingat, vel in Terram noſtram, vel in feuda noſtra alicubi applicare, ipſum & ſuos benignè & honorificè recipiatis, permittentes eoſdem in terra noſtra victualia emere, & ſibi per forum legitimum de ſibi neceſſarijs prouidere. Actum apud Sanctum Germanum in Laia, A. D. 1248.

When the King of *Norway* had read this (for hee is a diſcreet, and modeſt, and well learned man) hee reioyced much, and was gratefull to the bearer, reſpecting him with Royall and bountifull gifts. Thus writeth *Matthew Paris* of himſelfe, and his employment. The cauſe of his going into *Norway* he further relateth, that King *Cnute* (or *Canutus*) hauing founded a famous

M. Par. his voyage to *Norway*. *John Abbie.*

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mous Monaſtery of Saint *Bennet*, of *Holm* in *Norway* (of which title and order hee had founded another in *England*) it happened that the ſaid Abbie, with the appurtenances was almoſt ruined by an impious Abbat, who forſaking his Order, and ſtealing away priuily the Seale of the Chapiter, either ſold, or by forged writings fraudulently engaged almoſt all the poſſeſſions thereof: wherein hee had the Sacriſt, the keeper of the Seale, his copartner, both in this fugitiue apoſtacie and treacherie. Heereupon the Archbiſhop of *Nidroſia*, in whoſe Dioceſſe the ſaid Abbie was ſituate, ſeiſed the ſame and the appurtenances into his hands, alledging that the Monkes had only the habite, but were altogether ignorant of Monaſtike order, and Saint *Bennets* rule, ſome of them alſo theeues and fugitiues. The Monkes appealed to the Pope (which cauſed the Archbiſhop to ſuſpend his proceedings) and the Prior recouering ſomewhat, and gathering together a ſumme of money, went to the Roman Court, where the Abbat had beene a little before, and intangled by writings the ſaid houſe in fiue hundred markes; which cauſed the Prior to returne fruſtrate and full of griefe. But in his way, hearing that the ſaid Abbat was dead, in the Abby of Saint *Alban* in *Selio* (in *Norway*) he and the Conuent made choice of an Abbat, and this Prior, with another Monke, and three hundred markes in mony, together with the Kings letter, being ſent to *Matthew Paris* to take paines for their freedome, it was procured happily that the temporalties of the ſaid houſe were freed from the *Caurſines* (the Popes Vſurers) then reſiding at *London*, within one yeeres ſpace. But their Spiritualities were much maimed, they by bribes purchaſing delayes, leſt the Archbiſhop ſhould take poſſeſſion of the Iland which wholly belonged to the Abby, and of it alſo, expelling the Monkes.

Monkes ignorant of their owne order.

Popes long hands and Lime-fingered Appeales.

Now the Cardinall Biſhop of *Sabine* then comming Legate into *Norway*, the Monkes ſought to him for ſuccour, and hee counſelled them to go and petition the Pope to prouide them of an Inſtructor and Reformer, and he would write in their behalfe.

The Abbat therefore and Prior went with Letters from the King and Legate to the Pope, who gaue them leaue to chuſe any man of whatſoeuer Region or Monaſterie to be their Inſtructer. They anſwered the next day, that all the World had not Monkes of that Order liuing in more compoſed order then *England*, nor *England* any comparable by report, to Saint *Albans*: of which Houſe they deſired *Matthew* to be their Reformer, of whoſe wiſdome and faithfulnes they had had experience; a man alſo almoſt familiar and friendly to their King, and able by his meanes to order the rebellious and vnruly. Hereupon the Pope gaue them this Briefe to the Abbat of Saint *Albans*,

Innocentius, &c. Dilecto Filio Abbati Sancti Albani in Anglia Ordinis S. Benedicti, &c. Cum ſicut ex parte dilecti filij Abbatis Monaſterij de Holm, Ordinis S. Benedicti Niſtorſienſis Dioceſis, fuit propoſitum coram nobis; idem Monaſterium propter Predeceſſorum ſuorum negligentiam, ſit in his quæ ad Monaſticum Ordinem pertinent deformatum; nec inueniatur in illis partibus aliquis qui ſtatuta & obſeruantias eiuſdem Ordinis bene ſciat: Nos ad ſupplicationem eiuſdem Abbatis, diſcretionem tuam rogamus, attentius & hortamur per Apoſtolica tibi ſcripta mandantes, quatenus dilectum filium Fratrem Mattheum Monachum tuum, qui dicitur probata vitæ ac religionis experta, ad idem Monaſterium vt dictum Abbatem & Monachos ſuos in regularibus diſciplinis & ſtatutis quæ ad eundem ordinem pertinent, informet & inſtruat, tranſmittere pro diuina & Apoſtolicæ ſedis ac noſtra reuerentia non poſtponas. Datum Lugduni, &c. Hereto the Abbat obeying, and *Matthew* to his Abbat, the buſineſſe luckily ſucceeded, and Monkerie both in that of *Holm*, and other *Norwegian* Monaſteries was reformed.

I might here ſhew [1] the great ſtirres which in the firſt Ages after the Conqueſt the *Norwegians* haue cauſed in *Ireland*, *Wales*, *Man*, *Angleſey*, the *Hebrides*, and *Orcades*: as alſo of *Harald* (whom the Conquerour ſlue) his two ſonnes and daughter fleeing to *Sueno* King of *Denmarke*, who gaue the daughter in Marriage to *Ieruſlaus*, or *Waldemarus* King of *Ruſſia*: and of *Nicolas de Lynna*, a *Franciſcan* Frier and Mathematician of *Oxford*, before mentioned, of whom *Iacobus Cnoyen* ſaith in his Iournall that he learned of a Prieſt who had deſcended of thoſe which King *Arthur* had left to people the Ilands of *Norway*, *Anno* 1364. that in the yeere 1360. the ſaid Frier had comne into thoſe Ilands, and proceeding further by Art Magicke, had deſcribed thoſe Artike parts (as the [n] Map preſents) with foure Whirl-pooles or In-draughts. Yea (as Maſter *Dee* addeth) at the Northerne Ilands, the Record whereof at his returne he gaue to the King of *England*, the Booke being called *Inuentio fortunata* or *fortuna*, contayning a deſcription from fiftie foure degrees to the Pole. I might alſo adde out of *Thomas* of *Walſingham*, the Trauels of *Henrie* Earle of *Darbie*, (afterwards *Henrie* the Fourth, King of *England*) into *Pruſſia* and *Lettow*, or *Lithuania*, where by his helpe eſpecially was taken *Vilna* the chiefe Citie (*Skirgalle* the King of *Lettow*, hauing fled thither for refuge) his Colours being firſt aduanced on the walls, foure thouſand ſlaine, of which the King of *Polands* Brother, and three thouſand captiued. Alſo I might adde the Voyage of *Thomas* of *Woodſtocke* Duke of *Gloceſter*, ſonne to King *Edward* the Third, along the Coaſts of *Denmarke*, *Norway*, and *Scotland*. Other Letters likewiſe of King *Edward* the Second to *Haquin* or *Hacon*, King of *Norway* in behalfe of *Engliſh* Merchants there arreſted: with Entercourſes betwixt the *Engliſh* and the *Dutch* Knights in *Lieſtland*. But hauing only briefe mentions of theſe, and them or the moſt of them recorded by Maſter *Haklуyts*

1 Of theſe ſee *Hak. tom. 1.*

King *Haralds* children.

n See *pag. ſeq.*

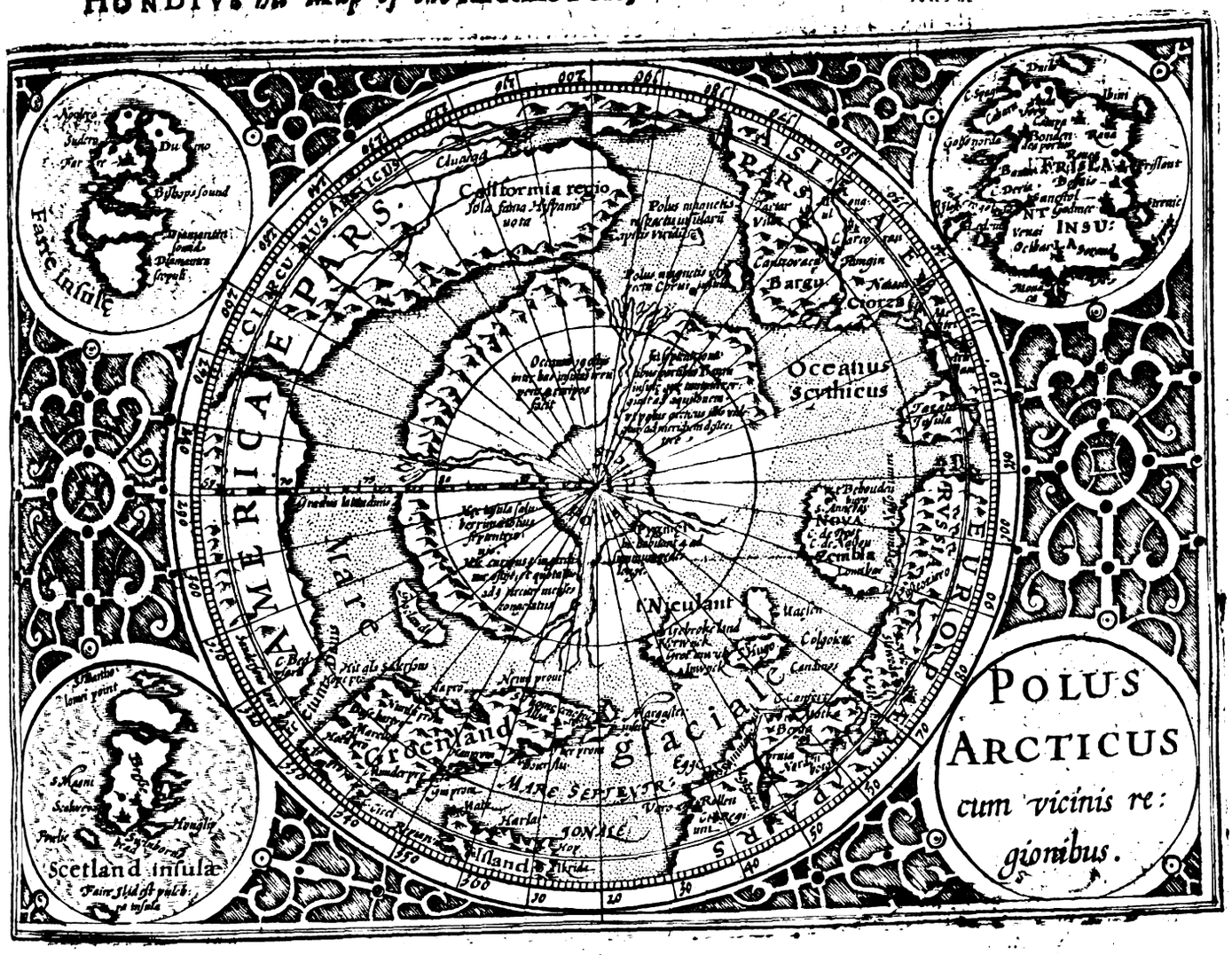
Frier of *Linne.*

Hen. 4.

T. of Woodſtock.

industrie before, I doe here but *Index*-wise referre the Reader thither. I rather choose to giue new things and rare: and such may seeme these Notes which *Anno* 1605. I writ from the mouth of Master *George Barkeley*.

HONDIVS *his Map of the* Arctike Pole, *or Northerne World.*


Faroe insulæ
Bishops sound
Scotland insulæ
Fair Island
Shetland
Orcades
FRISLA
INSU
Groenland
Island
Nova
Zembla
Niculant
Oceanus Scythicus
Bargu
Ciorza
Cathay
Cathaia
Cathaia
Cathaia

meane commoditie: and if they keepe and sell it, they dye for it. Hee hath seene one piece of Amber taken vp, in the middest whereof was to be seene through the transparent Amber a Frog in similitude and full proportion: (Master *Vassall*, his *brother, a friend of mine, told me of a piece of Timber in the keele of a ship, where by occasion of a stiuer, one cutting nine inches within the Timber euery way, he found a great liuing Tode in the hollow thereof at Woolwich*) betwixt this *Frishnering* and the Land is a great water *Frishhoff*, where at Saint *Georges* day they begin to fish, of which there is exceeding plentie, and for three halfe pence one may buy a cast as much as they shall draw the next time. One here in his Net drew vp a company or heape of Swallowes as bigge as a bushell fastned by the legs and bills in one, which being carried to their stoues, quickned and flew, and comming againe suddenly in the cold Aire dyed.

A Frogge in a piece of Amber.

Strange report of Swallowes.

The *Visle*.

From *Danske* he went to *Marienberg*, a Towne also standing on the *Visle*, whereby it runneth in another channell, and betwixt both these makes an Iland wherein stands *Nerdeich*, which Iland is compassed with a wall to fortifie it against the comming downe of the *Visle* in the Spring at the thaw of the snowes, &c. This wall seemeth in some places as high as *Paules* Steeple, and other-where as high as *Paules* Church, where yet it hath sometime beene ouerflowne: full it is of Hoffes and Villages belonging to the Lords of *Danske*.

High wall.

Marienberg.

Marienberg is a free Towne for Religion (*Danske* then professing only *Lutheran*) saue certayne Friers and Nunnes liuing in Cloysters closely. There a *Lutheran* when he preacheth must make an end at his houre, and then a Iesuit preacheth to the *Rom.* Catholikes as long, the former both company, and Preacher being auoyded of himselfe, or by force. It was built by the *Kreitzherne* (*Dei-parini milites*) Knights of the Crosse, who hauing lost their footing in the *Holy Land*, [m] by consent of the Empire assaulted and conquered *Prussia*, being in this Conquest sixtie foure

Dutch Knights of our Ladie. m See *Tom.* 1. *lib.* 8.

HONDIVS *his Map of* BORVSSIA, *or* PRVSSIA.

yeeres

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yeeres, who after carried themselues so tyrannously, that the people yeelded themselues to the *Pole*, and destroyed the *Kreitzherno*, saue those that made a head about the North parts, with whom after some doubtfull fights, was made a league, that This Order should cease; Their Captayne should be married, and should haue seuentie two Townes in *Prussia*, to him and his Heires Males, and in defect of such Heires to returne to the *Pole*. His Townes are not adjoyned together, but the *Poles* Townes betwixt. *Kinningsburge* is the Dukes Court.

Thence he went to *Elbing*, a faire Towne, where our Trade is now for Flaxe, which was before at *Danske*, thence remoued for their insolencies. Here our men only pay Custome: others are free, and this they did voluntarily, and haue in this respect very much authoritie amongst the Lords there: the Towne still flourisheth with buildings, &c.

Thence he went to *Bransperg*, (the Poles Towne) where is a Colledge of Iesuites: From this place to *Kinningsberg*, and thence to *Liba* in *Curland*, thence to *Samaiden*, and thence to *Reca*, or *Rie* in *Liefland* also. (This *Reca* is vnder the *Pole*) thence to *Derpt*, and thence to *Reuel*. At *Derpt* he went to schoole three yeeres: it is vnder the *Pole*. *Liuonia* is exceedingly distracted betwixt *Bransperg*. *Rigato*.

HONDIVS *his Map of* LIVONIA *or* LIEFLAND.

LIVONIA
Finnicus Sinus
Sinus
Livoniæ
Magnus
Semigallen
LIEF LAND
Letten
CUR LAND
LITUANIÆ PARS
Polonki
PARS
Pleſcovia
Harlandia
Eſtonia
Wikke
Oſel
Dachden
Oberpalen
Oldenpoa
Neuhauſen
Wolmer
Wenden
Runeburg
Segewalt
Riga
Dalen
Mitau
Goldingen
Libau
Memel
Polangen
Schawerna
Schenburgs hoff
Radzki
Dubena
Dunaburg
Polotzko
Witepſko
Smolenſko
Moſcouia
Ingria
Carelia
Livonia
Curland
Samaiten
Lituania
Prutenia
Borchholm
Weiſſenburg
Neuſchloß
Talkof
Ringen
Helmet
Karkus
Fellin
Pernau
Arensburg
Schlandenburg
Marienhauſen
Selburg
Kokenhauſen
Lemsal
Wolmar
Adsel
Corſholm
Ostrow
Iſsburgk
Woronetz
Plescow
Peipus Lacus
Ilmen Lacus
Volga flu.
Duna flu.
Dwina flu.
Boristhenes flu.
Memel flu.
Aa flu.
Embeck flu.
Wenda flu.
Windau flu.
Angermind
Windau
Plemen
Groß Iohn
Ilsenberg
Ilsenburgen
Duckern
Grubyn
Schrunden
Ambotz
Riſchaw
Bauske
Salam
Ourey
Dobelen
Mitau
Tuckum
Hafenpoth
Schwarten
Arle
Aſwerd
Lemburg
Dalena
Dubena
Druia
Polotzko
Witepſko
Smolenſko
Ingria
Carelia
Livonia
Curland
Samaiten
Lituania
Prutenia
Borchholm
Weiſſenburg
Neuſchloß
Talkof
Ringen
Helmet
Karkus
Fellin
Pernau
Arensburg
Schlandenburg
Marienhauſen
Selburg
Kokenhauſen
Lemsal
Wolmer

Reuell. Straw Caſtle.

quered all ſaue *Reuell*: againſt which he made a Caſtle with water and ſtraw, the froſt binding them together as faſt as they were laid. The Countrey is inhabited with the ancient *Indigena*, called *Momeſe*, and others of the *Dutch* called by them *Sac's*. Who by occaſion of ſhip wracke being caſt on theſe Countries, did buy of the ſimple Inhabitants ſo much ground as a Roſe hide, &c. ſo building in one place *Reuel*, in another farre diſtant *Rie*, and ſo other Townes; by this meane commanding and ſubduing all the Countrie. *Derpt* was one Turfe of ground bought as before.

Momeſe & Sac's

Idolatry.

The *Momeſes* are almoſt *Saluadoes*, retaining ſtill their old ſuperſtitions, as to worſhip the Sun, or the firſt Beaſt they meet with, and eſpecially they haue in religious reckoning their *Leaue*.

This which they call *Se-leaue*, or *the Groues*, is a company of Trees, which it is religious to touch; and he knew a *Dutchman*, *Martin Tekell* of *Derpt*, who breaking a bough was ſwelled a yeere together as big as his skinne would hold. Heere at Marriages and Burialls they pray, but without Image. Their marriage is thus. The man and his Bride are ſet ſtridling on a Horſe, and blinded; and ſo led into *Se-leaue*, there taken downe and married by their Rites; then ſet vp againe, blinded as before, and conueyed with their company, and Muſicke to their houſe, ſinging *Koſoku Koſoku Coniku, ſeamoha:* there taken downe and had to bed, ſtill blinded till the next morrow, in the meane while they reſt drinking, &c.

Marriage.

They mourne when one is borne, reioyce and make merry at death. Their mourning (in *Curland*) is then, and when they walke alone, or fetch wood, *Yerow, yerou yerou, maſculine babe:* the words themſelues vnderſtand not, but thinke it to haue remained ſince that *Babyloniſh* Towre. When the *Momeſes* die, they are buried in their *Leaues*, with their knife vnder their arme, and their coate hanging ouer the graue. The *Momeſes* are very ignorant, and aske who learne the Hares in the woods their prayers. At *Rie* the women haue a thing of Red veluet on their heads, made like a Ship with the keele vpward, at each end a lock of hayre.

The women of the *Sacs* differ in their faſhion of attire each City from other, a pleted Petticote, with a damaske Vpper-body, a veluet Square on their heads, and thereon a Cloke, &c. The maid vncouered, if ſhe haue had a child and refuſe to goe couered, ſhe is brought to the Pillory, her haire cut off, and there nayled, and a Kerchiefe put on. Here and in *Norway*, and in White *Ruſſia*, &c. ſtrangers pay nothing for entertainment, but ſalute, ſit downe, and expect the Hoſts expences. Their bed they muſt bring with them, which is commonly a Beares skin, or elſe they there haue a locke of ſtraw. To offer money is a diſgrace, which yet might ſeeme to ariſe of the baſeneſſe of the coyne. Their houſes are all of Timber beames laid ſquare, and others laid on them in notches, ſo till they come to the roofe, which they couer with ſtraw, diuided in two roomes; the inner being the Parlour or ſtoue, where they haue as it were one Ouen ouer another: the middle hearth being of ſtones ſet grate-wiſe, the fire is put in on the Back-ſide or Hal-ſide, & there alſo the Sinke iſſueth. Before that mouth in the Stoue is ſet a veſſell of water, which, when they wil haue the heat exceeding, they beſprinkle on thoſe hot ſtones. A fire laſteth a day, at night they renew it. Sometimes the old *Pruſſes* on the borders of *Curland*, according to their old heatheniſh Rites do ſacrifice their Prieſt in fire.

Hoſpitalitie.

Houſes.

Peibus.

From *Derpt* hee went to the *Peibus*, whereinto runne ſeuentie two Riuers making a great Lake full of Fiſh. In the *Peibus* betweene *Pleske* and *Narue*, the Ships (whereof are many, and ſome an hundred Tunne, with one Maſt) are ſowed together with Oſiers, hauing no Iron workes, called *Boidacks*. They goe to Markets in Sleds, where comming to a walled Towne, and waiting the opening of the Gates, the Sled is drawne in ſometime, with his Maſter ſitting as before ſtarke dead with cold. Thence he went to *Narue*, which runneth out of this Lake, where the Riuer being twice ſo bigge as the *Thames*, hath a fall a mile ſteepe on a Rocke. Here the *Sweden* (as is reported) made a Bridge ouer with the bodies of *Ruſſes*, as the *Ruſſe* had done before with his owne people about 40000. hence to *Iuanogrod*. Theſe 40000. were onely bearded men ſlaine, &c. not women or children; theſe hee daſhed by the heeles, the dryed braines whereof hee hath ſeene on the wals, &c. theſe all out of two Townes, *Narue* and *Iuanogrod*. The Caſtle of *Iuanogrod* is ſo fortified, that it muſt bee thrice conquered before conquered, and built in a yeere, of Stone, which none elſe is in *Ruſſia*. Hence hee went to *Yeraſlaue*, where he and his companion were apprehended by the *Ruſſes*, for trauelling without licence, and as they came at any Towne, blinded, and after ſome feares ſent thence into *Letto*, or *Lithuania*: paſſing through Woods full of Beaſts, Beares, &c. none hurtfull but *en luxe*, a kind of ounce or Cat-a-mountaine, with a tayle a handfull long, ſpotted, as big as a Dogge, in forme like a Cat, which would from off a tree leap on Trauellers and kill them. Here they came to the *Weild* or *Vilna*, the chiefe Citie where the old Dutcheſſe a *Caluiniſt* (whom therefore they called the *Engliſh* Queen) kept her Court. Her two ſons being ſummoned to the Parliament in *Poland*, went garded with 30000. Here they vſually ſteale their wiues; a man viewing one to his content, comes with his company to the place where ſhe dwels, and lies in ambuſh till night when ſhe comes forth to make water, and then they catch her, and on a Sled carry her away, &c. her friends not knowing what is become of her perhaps a moneth, and yet know what to ſuſpect becauſe of the cuſtome. Their Churches are thin, and in the Villages they haue a Croſſe of Wood, with a Pentiſe, and a Crucifixe.

Sowed Ships.

Letto.

Vilna.

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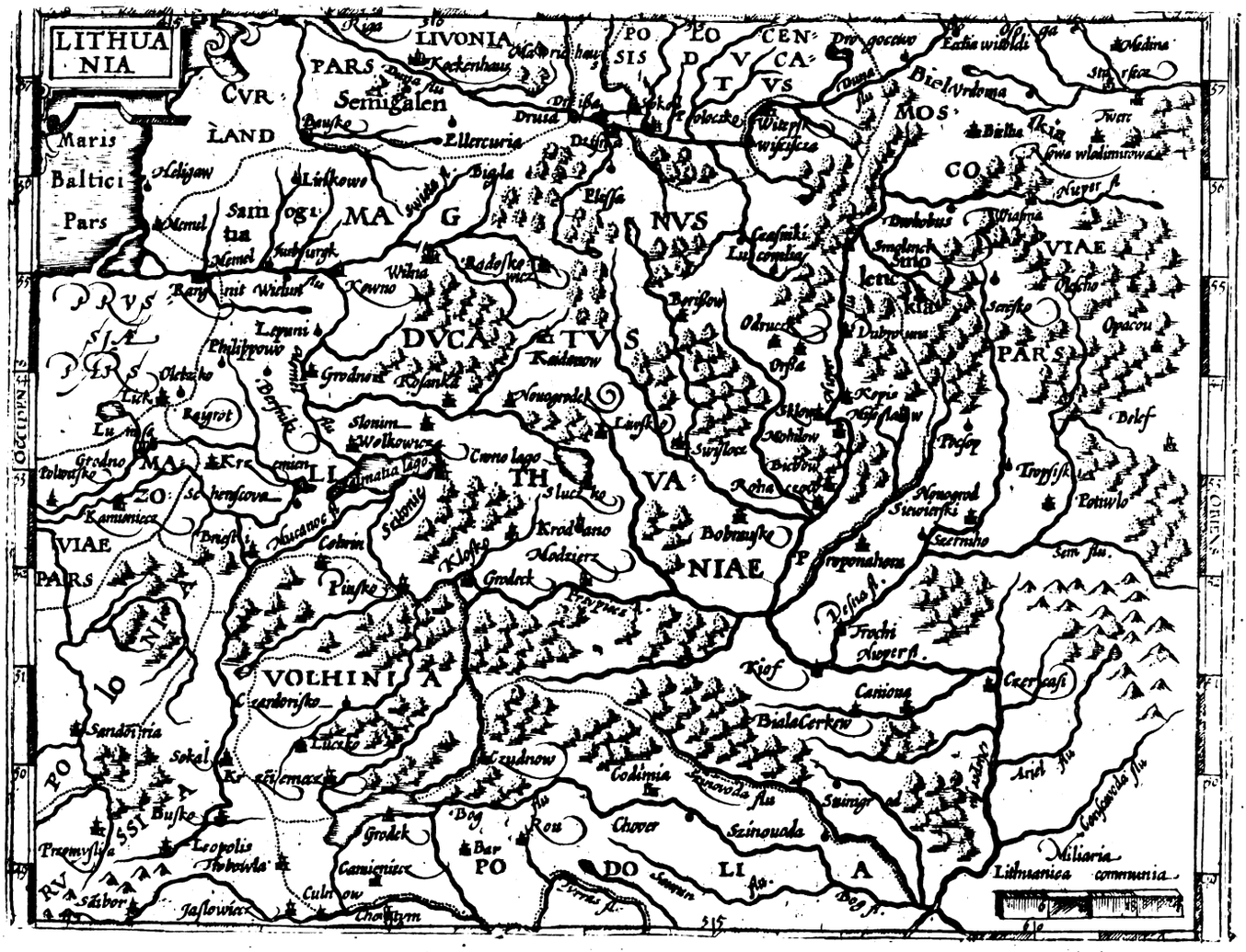
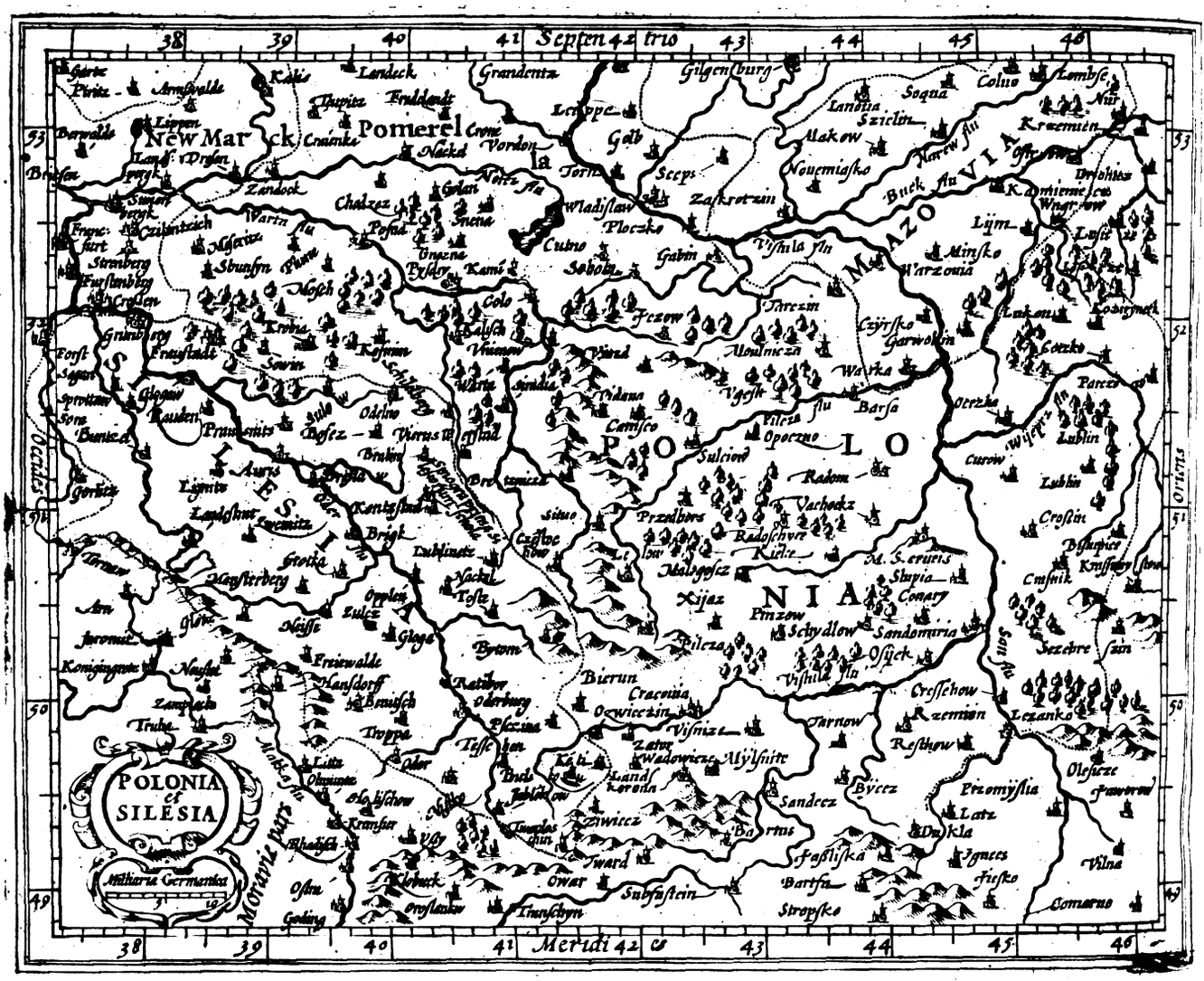
HONDIVS *his Map of* LITHVANIA.


LITHUANIA
PARS
Semigalen
CVR
LAND
Maris
Baltici
Pars
LIVONIA
Kokenhaus
Ryga
Memel
Samogitia
MAGNVS
DVCATVS
Kaidanow
Wilna
Kowno
Grodno
Nowogrodek
Slonim
Wolkowicz
Lida
Lunna
Bayrot
Lutzk
Brisk
Kamieniec
Pinsk
Kobrin
Kloske
Modziers
Grodeck
VOLHINIA
Lucko
Sokal
Buske
Leopolis
Premyslya
Zibor
Jaslowiec
Culmow
Chodzim
Grodek
Bar
Camieniec
Bog
Ros
Chover
Szinquada
Coldimia
Swingrod
Ariel flu
Lithuanica communia
Miliaria
Biala Cerkow
Caniowa
Kiof
Trochi
Nogerst.
Desna fl.
Sem flu.
Potiwlo
Troppisk
Sieweriski
Nowogrod
Bobrauske
Proponahom
Suczmiho
Rohacz
Mohilow
Swislocz
Orsha
Oldrucz
Beriszow
Lucomlay
Smolensko
Dubrowna
Kopis
Mscislaw
Opacou
Orscha
Belef
Wiasma
Dorohobus
Twer
Wlodimirowa
Moscouia
Vrdoma
Biela
Witepsk
Polocko
Druia
Disna
Ellerburg
Biegla
Eliasa
Linkowo
Radoscke
Rosanka
Philippowo
Olchsko
Grodno
Tolowisko
Kreuen
Zombrowa
Sandomiria
Ruthenia
Podolia
Volhinia
Podlachia
Samogitia
Prussia
Livonia
Moscouia
Polonia
Lithuania
Russia
Tartaria
Desna fl.
Ariel flu
Sem flu.
Suinigrod
Chover
Szinquada
Coldimia
Bog
Ros
Bug fl.
Sereth
Dniester fl.
Jaslowiec
Culmow
Chodzim
Camieniec
Grodek
Bar
Leopolis
Premyslya
Buske
Sokal
Lucko
Brisk
Kamieniec
Pinsk
Kobrin
Kloske
Modziers
Grodeck
Lida
Lunna
Bayrot
Lutzk
Olchsko
Philippowo
Grodno
Kowno
Wilna
Radoscke
Linkowo
Biegla
Eliasa
Druia
Disna
Ellerburg
Polocko
Witepsk
Biela
Vrdoma
Moscouia
Twer
Wlodimirowa
Wiasma
Dorohobus
Smolensko
Dubrowna
Lucomlay
Beriszow
Orscha
Oldrucz
Opacou
Belef
Troppisk
Potiwlo
Sieweriski
Nowogrod
Bobrauske
Proponahom
Suczmiho
Rohacz
Mohilow
Swislocz
Kopis
Mscislaw
Nowogrodek
Slonim
Wolkowicz
Kaidanow
Rosanka
Grodno
Tolowisko
Kreuen
Zombrowa
Sandomiria
Ruthenia
Podolia
Volhinia
Podlachia
Samogitia
Prussia
Livonia
Moscouia
Polonia
Lithuania
Russia
Tartaria
Kokenhaus
Ryga
Memel
Samogitia
Maris Baltici
Pars
Semigalen
CVR LAND
PARS
LIVONIA

HONDIVS *his Map of* POLONIA.



Turkes are holden to be slaine by them. No Townes very strong but *Cammeniecx* built within a Rocke, the light let in at holes. The *Turke* went ouer it but could not win it.

The *Polanders* had a great murraine of beasts attributed to the *Iewes*: two *Iewes* comming to a woman offered her mony for some of her milke, she answered, her child but then sucked, they left their glasse there, promising to fetch it anon and to satisfie her: her husband meane while comming home and seeing so strange a thing as a glasse, asked from whence it came, and why; being answered two *Iewes* had left it there for milke for a medicine, bid her fleet Cowes milke and fill the glasse: which the *Iewes* receiuing, and hauing entertained a Boy, caused him to climbe vp one of the Ladders which there stand together with their three square gallowes made of stone, with woodden rafters crosse, and to poure it into the mouth of one of the dead men (which there alway hang after execution) his mouth, who presently cryed like a beast, as the boy reuealed, and they thereupon cryed they were cosined: a murren followed which should haue been a plague. Many *Iewes* executed for it; which yet the *Iewes* said to bee a pretence for their money. The *Iewes* that farmed the Custome at *Samaiden* in *Curland*, killed a *Polonish* Merchant without punishment, beating out his braines for delaying to open his packe. Hee returned out of *Poland* into *Prussia* to *Torne*, the first place obtained by the *Kreitzherne*, where they built a Castle about an Oake which standeth there still, but is dead. Thence along the *Vistle* (where the *Polac* haue their Masts, &c. with wares three miles together tyed downe the streame) to *Dantzike*; thence into *Pomerland* farre more barren then *Prussia*, to *Cassubia*, *Cosslin*, *Colberg*. Thence to *Statin*, euery way exceeding pleasant and good. Thence to *Rostock* in *Meckelberg*. Thence to *Lubeck*, a fairer Citie then *Danske*, so to *Oldsloe*, to *Hamberg*, to *Breme*, to *Limeneburg*, to *Mansuelt*, to *Bamberg*, and thence through *Bohemia* into *Silesia*, to *Bresslaw*, where hee went to schoole three yeeres: whence into *Polonia* againe, and thence to *Pruss*. Thence home into *England*.

Torne.

Norway.

Hee went againe iuto *Norway*, to *Nilus*, *Bashus*, &c. It is a barren soyle, as being nothing but Rockes and Valleyes: the Rockes are couered with grasse, and the ground betweene they digge and sow with Corne, which yet is not able to satisfie the Country. The difference betweene the

Gentlemen

Gentlemen and Bore, is in his command, being otherwise, as raggedly apparrelled as hee, with twentie patches on his breech, and barefoot in winter.

Sweden.

In *Sweden* he was, at *Stockholm* the chiefe Citie. These now * vnder Duke *Charles*, hold warre with their King, yet all things passing vnder his name, but so hating the *Poles*, that though of another Nation, neither the long attire, neither their Curb, or hooked Sword can passe safely among the Bores for suspition of being *Poles*: and the rather becaus they were made beleeue that the *Pole* was ayded against them by the *Tartars* that were man-eaters. They are strong in shipping and had giuen the *Dane* the ouerthrow at the battle at *Bornaholm*, had he not beene assisted by the *Lubeckers* with money, &c. One also of whose Ships with a shot fired and blew vp the Admirall of the *Sweden*. The *Lubeckers* therefore pay no custome to the *Danes*, and for their costs hold *Boraholm* till they be satisfied out of the Reuenewes thereof.

* When he was there.

In *Sweden* (as in *Friesland* and other those Countries) the Lord holdeth the other his Tenants as Villaines and Slaues, and at his pleasure ships their Horses and Daughters to *Reuell*, and there sells them; a bushell and halfe a Culmet of Salt for a woman, which yet is of person and complexion very comely, and very able to doe worke. He came againe to *Leefland*; and thence to *Finland*, where hee was with an *English* Captaine in a Castle: and thence into *Liuonia*, and so into *Russia*, &c.

His other trauells.

Besides those his Easterne trauels, he hath bin in our neerer neighbor places, as in *Belgia*, *France*, *Spaine*, *Portugall*, *&c.* and passed to the West *Indies* by the Ilands of Cape *Verd*: in three of which *S. S. Anton. Vincent*, *Lucie*, the Inhabitants cannot prosper nor liue long, saue in those Ilands which yet are vnkind to other forrainers. He hath also beene in *Guinea*, in *Barbary*, in the Straits, at *Carthage*, where the old ruines remaine, and the stones of Marble, &c. worth the bringing home, in *Italy*, *Slauonia*, *Morea*, at *Venice* often, at *Ferrara*, *Padua*, *Mat. Angelo*, thence to *Ferme*, to *Loretto* (where he visited the Ladie of *Loretto*) it is one street, walled about, the Temple faire, and in the Temple of our Ladies house, inscriptions innumerable of diuers languages, affirming it to haue fled the *Turkes* conquests from *Iury* into *Sclauonia*, and from thence also hither. Here forsooth it was placed in a piece of ground belonging to two Brethren, which because of this new queſt and requeſt could not agree on the proprietie: and to auoyde further suite, in the night it was found remooued to a vacant place by the high-way, and there this Temple built whither resort Pilgrimes in troopes, as to a Mart from diuers Nations. The street on one side all Innes, on the other makers of Images, Beades, and such other holy bables heere sanctified by touch of *Madonne*.

Loretto.

The Temple is hanged about with Monuments of her exploits, vpon vowes conceiued in distres of Warres, Diseases, &c. heere hang the old Swords, &c. There are two Vestries of incredible wealth, and Priests of diuers Nations for their proper Pilgrimes. The House low and meane builded with white Brickes, such as in *Barbarie* they burne in the Sun. There are two roomes, in one whereof the Chimney where shee dressed her meate, and her dishes, &c. In the other her selfe, or statue with a Childe, aloft of blacke colour: to whom one whose office it is, on a staffe like a Musket-rest doth lift vp Beades, &c. by her touch to bee hallowed. The *French* Queene sent her a Present to hang about her necke, which present would pull her in peeces by the weight. It is round, two foot in diameter made like a Sunne, in the center a Carbuncle, the rest set with Diamonds, the rayes pointed with orient Pearles, the Brickes (miraculously) cannot bee remooued, to which end they report of a Bishops superstitious steale: who was not able to passe without restitution.

Trauelling in diuers places of *Italy*, *Rome*, &c. hee returned by the *Alpes*, from *Venice* to *Mestre*, thence to *Treuise*, so to *Seranalle*, a Towne of Blade-smithes, which with Water-workes grinde and hammer their Mettals: thence vp the *Alpes* by a passage so narrow cut out of the Rocke, that sometime the Horse hoofe hung ouer, it beeing a steepe mile high, a Riuer running vnder. Thus to *Basill*, thence backe to *Tiroll*.

Alpes.

After all these trauels in these parts of Europe *better knowne, and those others in the more vnknowne,* and in Africa *and* America, *hee much affecting the* Virginia *businesse and especially that of* Bermuda, *went thither to order publike affaires. And after all this (as you haue heard) went in place of Cape Merchant to the East* Indies, *and being Captaine of the* English *House at* Bantam, *there and thence trauelled to his long home. This I thought good to adde to the former relations, which I receiued many yeeres since from his owne mouth, beeing my louing and familiar friend, and for a generall Traueller by Sea and Land, in hote and cold Countries of the old and new world, not easily matchable. Had hee liued, I would haue better perfected these short Notes; but Death it selfe hath not taken from mee his loue, shall not from the world his memory; I rather chusing to giue the world these vnpolished Notes, as his, then either to burie them with him, or by refining and illustrating to make them mine. The best illustration seemes that of Mappes, some of which out of* Hondius *I haue added.*

CHAP.

CHAP. XXI.

Collections out of MARTIN BRONIOVIVS de Biezerſedea *ſent Ambaſſadour from* STEPHEN *King of* Poland, *to the* Crim Tartar: *Containing a Deſcription of* Tartaria, *or* Cherſoneſus Taurica, *and the Regions ſubiect to the* Perecop *or* Crim Tartars, *with their Cuſtomes priuate and publike in Peace and Warre.*

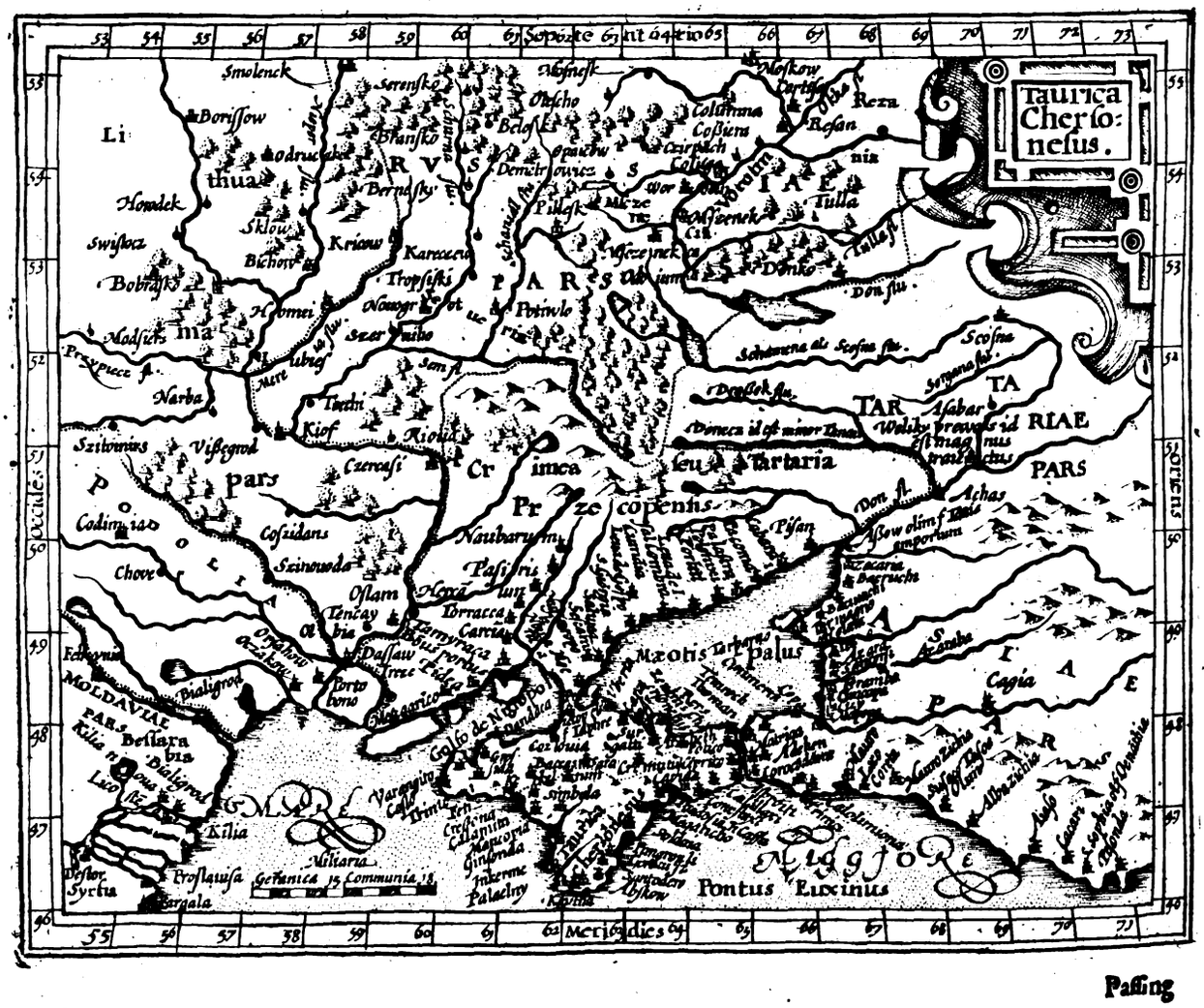
The fields *Sauramenſes* and *Oczacouienſes*, betwixt the Riuers *Bogus* and *Neſter*.

BRaſlaw is a Towne in *Podolia* with a Caſtle, numbreth aboue fiue hundred Inhabitants, good Gunners, and well exerciſed in *Tartarian* skirmiſhes. They are good Guides in the Playnes to auoyde the *Tartars* and *Kozackes*. From thence thorow Woods not very thicke, after ſome miles journey to the ſmall Riuer *Silnica*, where the *Braſlawens* keepe good guard alwayes againſt the Excurſions of the *Tartars* and *Walachians*. Downe the Riuer *Bogus* or *Hipanis*, you may goe almoſt to *Oczacow*. In the way are the Riuers *Triſtenet*, *Berſad*, *Olſank*, *Sauran* (whence they are called the Fields of *Sauran*) a ſtone Bridge and Bathe ſometimes belonging to *Vitoldus*, Great Duke of *Lithuania*, ruines and graues, *Sinawod* Riueret, the ſtrong rockie Ile *Probite*, a good refuge for ours againſt the *Tartars* (the *Braſlawens* in May and Iune, vſe there and in the other many Ilands of *Bogus* to fiſh, armed with their Pieces) *Certelna* Riuer the greater and the leſſe, and that of *Capcacley*, and *Hancocricus* (the *Tartars* call it *Cham*) and the Lake *Berezania*. That Field is fiftie miles, or as they call it ſeuen dayes journey to a ſpeedie traueller, from *Braſlaw* to *Oczacow*. There are wilde Beaſts, Biſonts, Elkes, Horſes, Harts, Rammes with one horne, Goates, Swine, Beares: which ten yeeres ſince were ſayd to bee killed with the ſharpneſſe of the Winter, and huge heapes of their bones are found in the fields. They had alſo innumerable herds of Horſes, *Turkiſh* and *Tartarian*; Kine and Sheepe which fedde there, by the borderers of *Ruſſia*, *Volſinia*, *Kiow*, *Podolia*, and *Moldauia*, not long ſince deſtroyed. The hills called *Mogili*, are teſtimonies of Burials and Warres. The Field is fertile, rich of paſture and pleaſure.

Long miles in thoſe parts: and ſo vnderſtand in the reſt of this ſtorie.

Sharpe winter.

HONDIVS *his Map of* TAVRICA CHERSONESVS.



Paſſing

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Passing ouer *Prut* or *Hierat*, a Riuer of *Moldauia*, you come to *Stepanowetia* or *Iassi*, chiefe Towne of *Walachia*; or righter to *Prutum Technia*, a Towne and Fort of the *Turkes*, not long since fortified on the *Nester*; and there are found some *Moldauian* passages in the *Nester*, right into the champaines. It diffuseth it selfe into the Lake *Vidono* or *Obidono* (so called, as some fabulously conceiue of *Ouidius*) and soone after disembokes into the *Euxine* Sea, ouer against *Bialogrod* (named by the antients *Moncastrum*) not long since taken by the *Turkes*, from the *Valachian* or *Moldauian* Princes, & holden by them. In the very mouth of *Tyras* or *Nester*, bearing name of *Neoptolemus* as may seeme by *Strabo*, who there-awayes placeth *Nicouia* on the right hand, and *Ophiusa* on the left hand of the Riuer.

Part of *Moldauia* or the lower *Walachia*, called sometimes *Bessarabia*.
Lake *Vidono* in *Nester*.
Bialogrod.

After followeth *Beriboncum* with deepe and large ditches neere the Sea, washed by the Lake where sometimes was a good Port. *Adrigoli* hath three Ditches, many salt Lakes nigh the Sea, where many *Cozaks* resort and often kill each other in mutuall warres and quarrels, which makes it terrible to Trauellers. Then follow *Domnina Dolnia*, and the Lake *Berezania*, and the Bay *Caremusa*. *Strabo* placeth fiue hundred furlongs in the Sea, from the mouth of *Tyras* the Iland *Leuca* sacred to *Achilles*.

Beriboncum.
Adrigoli.
Domnina Berezania, Carinitus.
Leuca.

Ocz.acouia called antiently *Olbia*, *Olbis*, and *Olbiopolis*, is seated on *Boristhenes* or the *Carcenite* Bay; sometimes builded by the *Meletians*: the Tower is of Stone, the Towne but meane, is subiect to the *Turkes*. *Boristhenes* or *Neper*, a deepe, wide and swift streame, runneth from the North into the Bay, and neere to *Ocz.acouia* into the *Euxine*. Foure miles higher *Bogus* empties it selfe into *Boristhenes*. There the *Turkes* exact Customes. The *Isthmus* betwixt *Boristhenes* and the Sea, is a dayes iourney, ouer sandie plaines, with Hills, Lakes, Salt-pits; with Deeres, Beares, Goates, wilde Swine well stored. It is extended to *Perecopia* aboue thirtie miles in length, containing Medowes, Riuers, and *Tartarian* Cottages (which they call *Vlus*) made of small pieces of wood, daubed with mud or myre and dung of beasts, and thatched with reed. The *Tartars* liue not in them in Summer and Autumne, but in April begin their progresse, with their wiues, children, slaues, and houses which are round, couered with clothes, scarsly commodious for foure or fiue men, carried on two-wheeled carts, with one or two Camels or Oxen, together with their houshold. They carry with them Camels, Horses, Flockes, and Herds innumerable, leauing others in commodious pastures. They goe towards *Perecopia*, and sometimes into *Taurica*, or ouer against *Perecopia*, to *Ossow* or *Azaph*, as the *Turkes* call it, a Towne by the *Don* (*Tanais*, a great and swift Riuer) sometimes fortified by the *Greekes*, and since by the *Genuois*; where the *Turkes* now haue a Garrison, and a Commander. They alway trauell into the *Isthmus*, or the large Plaines which are betwixt *Boristhenes*, and the Lake *Meotis*, and the *Pontike* Sea, where they find best pastures. In October the raines, colds, and perpetuall windes force them to returne to their Cottages. For they are afraide of our *Nizouian Cozaks*, which passe downe the streame in Boats, and the Gunners, which then make incursions on them. *Neper* is frozen ouer in Winter. *Ptolemey* calls that *Isthmus*, *Zenos Chersonesus*, and *Strabo* writes that the *Roxans* and *Roxolans* (whom we call *Russians*) pastured those Fields twixt *Tanais* and *Boristhenes* (describing their life like that of these later *Tartars*)

Ocz.acouia.
Borestinenes or Neper.
Bogus.
The *Isthmus*.
Their houses and pasture-progresse.
Tanais or *Don*.

Perecopia (antiently called *Eupatoria*, *Pompeiopolis*, Holy *Grone*, *Achilles* Race, *Gracida*, *Heraclea*) is seated in the confines of *Taurica*, or the *Scythian Chersonesus*, the Towne obscure and small, the Tower of stone, not well fortified; in which the *Tartar Chans* haue their perpetuall *Palatine* or *Beg*, which keepeth the Marches and passages of *Boristhenes* and *Don*, with all the borders, and is Generall Lieutenant ouer all the *Tartars* in the Playnes adioyning. *Strabo* writes that there was a deepe Ditch made, whence the Towne had, and still in the *Tartarian* and *Turkish* language hath the name. When *Sachinbgieres* raigned there (hee ouerthrew the *Nagay Tartars* at *Perecopia* with a memorable victory) there were seuenteene stone Forts raised in that Ditch, some of them of the Skuls of the slayne, and the ditch repayred. Heere the *Tartars* keepe continuall Guard, permitting no Stranger thence to passe without the *Chans* Letters. And there in occasions of Warres is their principall assembling.

Perecopia.

Coslow is seuen miles distant on the right hand, on the shore, where the *Chan* hath a perpetuall garrison. *Ingermenum* is hence twelue miles or more: it hath a stone Fort, a Temple, and Vaults vnder the Castle and ouer against it, with wonderfull Art cut in the stone, being situate in a great and high Mountaine; and therefore the *Turkes* giue it the name of the *Vaults*. It hath beene a wealthy Towne. Ouer against it the Promontorie trendeth some furlongs broad, and three or foure miles long. There appeare euident signes in the stonie Mountaines, that the ancient *Greekes* thence cut huge stones and carried them by Ships to build *Cherson* a Citie in those times famous, as the *Greeke Christians* still report. The *Heraclians* of *Pontus* sent thither a Colony. The Fort of *Ingermenum* was also built by the *Greekes*, as appeareth by *Greeke* Inscriptions and Scutcheons therein: and thorow all the *Isthmus* to the walls were sumptuous buildings, and innumerable Wells digged. There were also two great High-wayes or Causies of stone. There were many good Vineyards and Gardens, now called *Belbec*, and possessed by *Greeke Christians*, or *Italians*, and *Iewes*, and a few *Turkes*. Of the ruines the *Turkes* and *Tartars* make great Stalls and Enclosures for their beasts. This *Cheronesus*, *Corsunum*, or *Cherson* the *Turkes* called *Suri*

Coslow.
Ingermanum.
Cherson.

Germa-

Germenum, or *Yellow Tower* of the colour of that Tract; whereof admirable ruines remaine to testifie the *quondam* splendor. There are channells or conduits of hewen stone vnder ground foure miles to the Citie walls, still containing cleere water. From a place where is a Village of note, and not farre off, neere the Sea is a *Greeke* Monastery of Saint *George*, with anniuersarie deuotion frequented of the *Greekes* remaining in *Taurica* with great concourse. The Citie hath not beene inhabited these many ages; the Walls and Towers sumptuously built are yet seene entire. But the *Turks* carry thence excellent Marble, and Serpentine Columnes and great stones by Sea, for the vse of their publike and priuate buildings. Of the Temples the very ruines are vtterly ruined, and the houses lye buried in that Monument and Selfe-sepulchre.

The walls of a *Greeke* Monasterie remayne very large, but without roofe, and the ornaments spoyled. The *Russian* and *Polonian* Chronicles relate that *Volodomir*, great Duke of the *Russians* or *Kiou*, carried thence two doores of *Corinthian* Brasse, and some artificiall *Greeke* Images which *Broleslaus* the second King of *Poland* translated from *Kiou* to *Gnesna*, there yet in the great Church to be seene. *Volodimir* tooke that Citie from *Iohn Zemisca* the *Constantinopolitan* Emperour: but after, marrying *Anna* the sister of Emperour *Basilius*, and being baptized in that Monastery after the *Greeke* Rites by a certayne Patriarch, hee restored it, as is still related by the *Christian* remainders in those parts. Before the Citie was the Promontorie *Parthenium* with a Temple and Image of that Goddesse, and other Antiquities by *Strabo* related.

Kiou.

Parthenium.

The Citie *Balachei*, or *Lamboli.*

That which the *Greekes* called *Iamboli*, the *Turkes* haue stiled *Balachei*, as the *Towre of fishes*, in regard of the plentie in that Sea. It was fortified in a high, great and stonie Mountayne by the *Genuois*, whiles the proud cowardly *Grecians* which held that part of *Taurica* quarrelling amongst themselues, lost it to them. There they had a notable Port, a strong and sumptuous Fortresse; and there the Towres, houses and walls with the *Genuois* Ensignes and Inscriptions, lye ruined. It is now inhabited of a few *Greekes*, *Iewes* and *Turkes*, and frequented by fewer Merchants and strangers by Sea.

Marcopia, or *Mangat* a City.

Marcopia stretcheth further to the Mountaynes, and Woods, and is not so neere the Sea: it hath had two Castles, *Greeke* Temples and Houses sumptuous, with many cleere Rils running out of the stone: but eighteene yeeres after that the *Turkes* had taken it (as the *Greeke Christians* affirme) it was destroyed by a sudden and horrible fire. Neither hath any thing remayned of note but the higher Fort, in which is a goodly Gate, adorned with *Greeke* writing and store of Marble, and a high house of stone. Into that house the Messengers of the *Muscouites* are by the barbarous *Chans* sometimes thrust, and there endure hard keeping. There remaynes the *Greeke* Church of Saint *Constantine*, and another meane one of Saint *George*. One *Greeke* Priest and some *Iewes* and *Turkes* dwell there; Obliuion and Ruine hath deuoured the rest; nor are there men or Stories of the *quondam* Inhabitants, which I with great care and diligence euery-where sought in vaine. An old Priest which I saw there, said that a little before the *Turkes* besieged it, two *Greeke* Dukes of the Imperiall bloud of *Constantinople* or *Trapezond*, there resided, which were after carried aliue into *Constantinople*, and by *Selim* the *Turkish* Emperour slaine. In the *Greeke* Churches on the walls are painted Imperiall Images and Habits. The Tower and Citie *Marcopia* is nigh to *Cercessigermenum* a new *Turkish* Fort taking name from *Cercessimo*; but the *Turkes*, and *Tartars*, and *Greekes* also haue now lost the name. The *Greeke* Dukes are said to haue there committed much wickednesse. And in that stony Hill whereon it is seated, it hath houses cut with admirable Artifice in the Rocke, which still for the most part remayne entire, although the place be become wooddie. A Temple adorned with Marble and Serpentine Pillars, now laid prostrate on the ground, testifie the *quondam* glorie.

Cercessigermenum.

Admirable Vaults.

The Palaces or Houses of the *Chans* reach vnto the *Mediterranean Taurica* (as *Strabo* calsit.) It hath a famous Towne, and a principall Store-house, called *Baccasaray*, wherein he perpetually resideth. That Towne is situated betweene two Mountaynes, and a little Riuer flowes betweene, whereof the Towne is named. There is a stone *Mosche*, and the *Chans* Sepulchres built within the Townes Liberty of the *Christians* ruines. Not farre also from that Towne there is a *Mahometan* Monasterie, and very many *Tartarian* Graues curiously rayled out of the *Grecian* ruines. In the further end of that Towne, there is another Towne called *Salaticum*, adorned with faire buildings by the *Turkes* there inhabiting. The Royall Seate or Mansion of the *Chans* is sumptuously garnished by the ancient *Tartarian* Princes with Houses, Temples, Sepulchres, and exquisite Baths. When the Princes with their Wiues, oft giue themselues to ease, pastimes, pleasures, and recreation, they go thither. For that place or Region is commodious for huntings, it hath Orchards, Vineyards, Gardens, and many store of good grounds, and it is watered with Chrystaline streames. There are Mountaynes and store of Woods, wherein are seene very many ruines of Houses, and large Forts and Cities, yet they remayne desert, and are of few or none inhabited.

Baccasaray.

Salaticum.

Almassarai.

Almassaray at the meeting of the Riuer *Alma*, is a house of the Kings, where he is woont not often to reside, because he liues not there so commodiously, as in other places, and cannot lodge there with his Court: for there is only one base Village. There are some more obscure bordering Townes and Fortresses, where they are woont to maintayne their Wiues. Also not a few

Castles

Castles where the *Sultans*, the *Chans* brothers, or their sonnes and wiues perpetually dwell. That part of *Chersonesus*, which the *Chan* with his *Tartars* possesse from *Perecopia*, toward the Fenne or Lake to the Citie *Cremum*, is cultiuated, plaine, champian, fertile, and plentifull of grasse; but toward the Sea and the Palace of the *Chan*, and his Townes, Castles, and Villages, the Countrey is Mountaynous, woodie, well husbanded, and very fruitfull. The Mountaynes in that Coast are huge and remarkable. But the greatest is the highest of all, and hath in the top a Lake of no small quantitie. And although I did not ascend it, yet it is well discerned many miles off, and demonstrates no ordinary height and greatnesse. Plentie of Riuers and no small ones runne from those Mountaynes. Also they haue much fish, but not of any greatnesse (for the Riuer is shallow) yet very sauourie and daintie. But because the *Tartars* doe not often feed on fish, the *Christians* only and our strangers when they come thither take paines to catch them. There is also abundance of delicious Fowles, which sometimes *Christian* or *Turkish* Gunners are woont to seeke after, seldome our strangers. There is much game of Harts, Goates, Boares, and Hares neere the Sea vnder the *Tartars* and *Turkes*. Oftentimes also the *Chan* himselfe is wont to hunt some dayes there, but more often he goes into the champion with *Turkish* and *Tartarian* hunting Dogges. *Perecopia.* *Cremum.*

Sortassus is a *Tartarian* Village adjoyning to the *Chans* Regall Mansion, wherein the *Lettow* and *Muscouie* Ambassadors doe often lodge; it is spacious and delightsome. But when *Taurica* or the *Peninsula* beganne subiect to the *Chans* Dominion, diuers *Italian* Gentlemen *Genuois* after *Capha* was taken by the *Turkes*, or *Tartar* Princes, hauing their Charters written and sealed of their right and proprietie (which I haue seene among them) they held that Village with speciall Priuiledges, or purchased it with that Gold which they carried with them out of their Countrey, or with their seruice to the *Chans*. In going Ambassador to *Christian* Princes, it was permitted them to build a Catholike Temple in that Village, wherein I sometimes entred while I abode there. There was in that Temple one Priest a *Franciscan* Fryer, whom those *Christians* had then redeemed with their money from *Turkish* slauerie. *Sortassus.*

Cremum, or as the *Tartars* call it *Crimum*, is a Citie and a Castle much vnlike in the antiquitie, magnitude, and height of the wall, ampleneſſe and renowme, to the other Cities of *Taurica*; It is vnlike the *Mediterranean* (for so *Ptolomie* cals it) perhaps this was called by *Ptolomie Taphros*, but by *Plinie Taphrę*. Now in these latter times before the comming of the *Genoes* into *Taurica*, it seemes to haue beene husbanded and inhabited by a great *Mahometan* Nation, who remooued thither out of *Asia*. For there are seene ancient *Mosches* or *Mahometan* Temples not only in the Citie it selfe, but also beyond the Citie very many with *Chaldaicke* Characters engrauen in great stones. There are very few *Turkish* or *Tartar* Inhabitants, yet the *Greekes* are fewer, who report this, that their Ancestors haue constantly deliuered, that that Citie was whilome dwelt in by the *Persian* Nation, and that it was a *quondam* noble and excellent Store-house of Mechanick Mysteries. A man may certainly conjecture by the ruines and largenesse of the place that it hath beene a famous Citie and a great Colonie of people. The *Tartars* are now vulgarly nominated from that place *Crims*. They haue a Mint in that Citie. In the Towre which is the greatest in the Citie, the *Chans* wiues are alway kept and spend their liues. *Cremum.* *Crim Tartars* why so called.

Sidagios of the *Greekes*, but *Sudacum* of the *Genoes*, was called a Castle and Citie. The *Tartars* are vtterly ignorant of it. In a loftie rockie and spacious Mountaine standing neere the Sea in the top of it, it hath a higher Towre, a second indifferent, and a third of baser esteeme. The *Greekes* or *Italian Genoes* founded their Castles enuironed and fortified with Walls and Towres. There are seene innumerable *Grecian* Churches, and seeme but few, as though they were Chappels, not a few vndemolished, but very many are ruinated, and lye ouerturned in the dust. The haughtie dissentious and idle *Greekes* being ouerthrowne and weakened by the *Italian Genoes*, lost that Citie. There are seene no contemptible signes of the *Genoes* much more illustrious then those of the *Greekes*. *Sidagios* or *Sudacum.*

But it is euident by the ruines, that it was once a famous place, & so it is reported by the *Greek Christians*, of whom there are a very few Relikes. Moreouer, many *Christians* haue erected a multitude of Temples which they report to haue beene some hundreds. There are three great Catholike Churches, Houses, Walls, Gates, and faire Towres with Arrace and Ensignes of the *Genoes*, are seene in the lower Castle. I heard from a certayne Metropolitane a *Greeke* and an honest man, who then came thither from the *Grecian* Iles to visit their Priests, and entertayned mee, That when the most barbarous Nation of the *Turks* had besieged that Citie with a great Armada, it was valiantly and manfully defended by the *Genoes*: but when the *Genoes* could no more hold out the daily siege and famine, neither could longer sustaine the violence of such a great Armie of *Turkes*, some hundreds, or, as hee auouched, about a thousand stout-hearted men conueyed themselues into the greatest Church which yet abides entire, and some dayes hardly and couragiously preseruing themselues in the lower Towre, into which the *Turkes* forceably entred, hauing made a notorious and memorable slaughter of the *Turkes*, at the length they were all slaine in that Temple. The doores and windowes of that Temple being stopt vp with a wall by the *Turkes*, the slaine bodies lye vnburied to this day. I was prohibited by the *Saniak* of *Capha* sometimes

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times a *Turke*, that I should not enter into that Temple. The Custome of the Citie is not meane: it hath very fruitfull Vineyards and Orchards, which doe extend aboue two miles, now manured by *Caphaes*, *Turkes*, *Iewes*, and *Christians*: For the best Wine of all *Taurica* growes there; all that tract abounds with pleasant Riuers, which runne downe from the highest and middle Mountaynes and Woods, which are there very frequent.

Hauing now passed ouer those vpper Cities, and at the last *Sudaco*, also as farre as *Theodosia*, which the *Italian Genoes* call *Capha*, the banke of *Taurica* is in Longitude a thousand furlongs, craggie, mountaynous, and tempestuous with North windes. Before the Citie the Promontorie that is there seene, doth hang out into the Sea on the South-side toward *Paphlagonia*, and the Citie *Amastrum*, and *Strabo* relates, that it is called of the *Greekes*, *Orium* and *Oxon*, the Rammes forehead. And there is another Promontorie *Carambis* of the *Paphlagonians* opposite to it, whereby the *Euxine* Sea is diuided into the double Sea, and *Euripus* straightens them both. *Strabo* sayth, that *Carambis* is distant from the Citie of the *Cheronesitay*, two thousand fiue hundred furlongs, but from the Rammes forehead, a farre lesser quantitie. Behind that hilly Countrey, as *Strabo* calls it, hee affirmes the Citie *Theodosia* to bee founded, and that it hath large Fields notable for fertilitie, and a Hauen able to receiue a hundred Ships, and that that Limit was assigned to the territorie of the *Bosphorines* and *Taurikes*.

Orium and *Oxon.*

Capha or *Theodosia*, is the excellentest and best defensed Citie of all *Taurica*. It was built by the *Italian Genoes*, and is placed by the Sea. It hath a Hauen alway frequented. It is perspicuous, that in the times of the *Genoes*, it was a wealthy and populous Citie. But after it was taken from the *Genoes* by the *Turkes* aboue a hundred yeeres since, the *Italian* Christians were brought into such a straight, that there are but a very few and obscure remaines of them left. The Citie hath in a manner lost her pristine splendour. The Romish Churches of *Christians* are demolished, the Houses cast downe, the Walls and Towers, wherein are seene many tokens of honour of the *Genoes* and *Latine* inscriptions, are fallen. Onely two *Catholicke* Temples and two *Armenian* remayne whole, in which it is granted them of the *Turke*, after their owne custome to maintaine their proper Priests, and to bee present at their publike deuotions. It is replenished with *Turkes*, *Armenians*, *Iewes*, but very few *Italian* and *Greeke* Christian inhabitants: Now also it is famous ouer all that part of *Taurica* for Nauigation and the Hauen. It hath almost innumerable Vineyards, Orchards and Gardens. Men sayle often to *Capha*, from all the bordering and remote Ilands of *Greece*, but oftner from the Citie *Constantinople*; for with a prosperous winde they come thither by Ship, in the space of two dayes or little more.

Theodosia, now *Capha.*

The *Petigoren* Prouince, or *Colchis* is inlarged, as farre as the *Caspian* or *Hircan* Sea, and is much subiect to Mountaines and very large Woods, which are now seene in these Confines. It is a very free people, and hath many braue Commanders, to whom all the Nations and Families obey. Moreouer they professe themselues *Christians*, and it is manifest in the time of the *Genoes* very many of them were *Christians*, but now wanting Priests and Churches, they onely retayne the opinion of Religion. Most and the greatest part of them are Idolaters, amongst themselues rapacious and cruell, but to Strangers hospitall and free-hearted. The Parents, although they bee of the more Noble or of the Rustickes, sell their owne Children, their Sonnes for Slaues, their Daughters for Wiues to the *Turkes* and *Tartars*, also to many *Christians*, and those which they are wont to steale secretly among themselues, they sell closely beyond the Sea to barbarous strangers after a more then barbarous manner.

Petigorenses or *Colchis.*

Idolaters.

Betweene *Perecopia*, *Cremum*, and *Customa*, are Townes on the North. *Taurica* or the *Peninsula* is exceeding plaine, not very hilly, and altogether champaine. It hath a very fertile soyle, in great part stonie, but great scarcitie of good water. Yet there are found in diuers places very many extraordinarie deepe Fountaynes or Wells of a wonderfull profunditie and difficultie, in times past digged and made by the elder *Greekes*, or those great and antique Nations, who inhabited the *Peninsula* before the *Greekes*.

Deepe Wells.

From *Perecopia* the space of a mile, there is a great Lake congealed naturally of admirable Salt, from whence the purest and best Salt is continually gathered, as if it were frozen; it hath many other Salt lakes. In certayne commodious and in very many places, in Mountaynes and Groues are found in great number, ancient huge *Grecian* ruines of Castles, Cities, Temples and Monasteries, which while they haue many ages beene destitute of inhabitants, by reason of their antiquitie, haue lost their names. All *Taurica* or that *Peninsula*, from the West and North is plaine and champaine, and hath few Townes, many Villages; extends in length the summe of fiftie miles. But from the South and East, it is mountaynous and wooddie, and hath euery where maruellous high, large, stony Mountaynes. In which, betweene *Cremum* and *Capha*, it is reported that veynes of Gold and Siluer, and the best Iron, were whilom found by the Inhabitants. It hath a very fruitfull ground, Floods, delightsome Riuers, Fishes, Meadowes, Pastures, abundance of wilde Beasts, Harts, Goates, Boares, Beares, Vineyards, Orchards, Territories, Champaines, Townes, Villages, Hamlets, many and large Granges. *Taurica* or the *Peninsula*, is spread in Latitude after a sort into a circle; in some places, the distance of one or two dayes journey, but in most places about the quantitie of one.

Salt Lake.

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The Castles and Sea-cities, and the rest of all the *Peninsula*, which are described in their order, with many Villages and Hamlets of *Greeke Christians*, except the Holds and Sea-townes, and many lesse suspected walled Townes in *Perecopia* and *Cassiouia*, and a few Villages of *Greeke Christians*, are subiect to the *Turkish* Emperour, and all obey his behests, and are kept with a sure Garrison. The *Peninsula*, which lyes in the middle from the East and South against *Perecopia*, hath a milde winter and temperate ayre. For in the end of December is the beginning of winter, but in the midst of Februarie the sharpenesse of winter, which is more snowie then cold, or subiect to Ice, neither yet doth that endure aboue three dayes together, neither continues it any longer then to the beginning of March. Therefore about the beginning of the Spring, and alway in a hot Autumne the ayre is very contagious.

In *Bratislauia*, the *Sauranen*, *Oczaconien*, and *Bialodogroden*, Plaines are situate betweene *Hipanis* or *Bogus*, *Tyra* or *Nester*. From the North toward *Neper* or *Boristhenes* and *Bogas*, are somewhat plaine and champion grounds, but from the West towardes the Riuer *Nester* and *Pruth* or *Hieraſus*, more wooddie and hilly. *Podolia*, *Camenecia*, and *Moldauia* betweene the streames *Nester* and *Pruth*, euery where border on the middle *Tachnia* and *Bialogrod*, which is by the Lake *Vidouo* or *Obidouo*, and the *Euxine* Sea, on the West confine on the Plaines, and on the *Euxine* Sea, on the South *Bralogrod*, *Kibia*, and the Riuer *Danubius*. *Oczacouia* hath on the North *Boristhenes*, (into which *Bogus* there dischargeth it selfe) and spatious Plaines, on the South the *Euxine* Sea, and the ouerflowing Salt meere *Berezania*, from the West the adioyning Riuer *Nester*.

Further, that Continent which is betweene *Oczacouia* and *Boristhenes* in the fashion of an Ile, hath into the West *Boristhenes*, as though it were betweene *Boristhenes*, the Fen *Meotis*, and the *Euxine* Sea; on the North the Riuers *Tanais* or *Donum*, on the South the *Euxine* Sea, and that *Isthmus* or Continent, but beyond *Oczacouia* and *Boristhenes*, as far as *Perecopia*, that Continent is verie narrow in many places: but beyond *Perecopia* to the Castle *Ossonum*, a ranke soyle, and all champion and plaine: For in that neck of Land almost all the *Perecopian* and *Ossonen Tartars* feed their Flockes and Cattle, and liue there all Summer and Autumne. That Continent or *Isthmus* from *Oczacouia*, as farre as *Ossonum*, for there it is limitted, is stretched out in Longitude, as is manifest out of the *Tartars* Diaries more then a hundred miles, but in Latitude not after an equall manner. For it is larger, as well beyond *Perecopia*, as toward *Oczacouia*, or *Boristhenes*.

The *Taurican* or *Chersoneſen Tartars*, who are now called *Perecopen* or *Crims*, doe certainely seeme by the ancient Writers of the *Schythians* to haue been the *Ianolgenses*, and to haue had their originall and appellation from *Rha*, or the Riuer *Volga*. Moreouer between the famous, deepe, and great Riuers of the North *Tanais*, or *Don* and *Boristhenes*, it manifestly appeare that they passed by little and little into the Plaines, and a hundred and sixtie yeeres since, or very little more to haue come into *Taurica* or the *Peninsula*.

The stocke of the *Chans*, or of their *Tartar* Princes was anciently called *Cygis* race, from whom was *Lochtonus* a certaine *Chan*, of whom all the *Chans* take their originall. Hee was the first Emperour of *Taurica* or *Chersonesus* in *Taurica*, or the *Peninsula*. They haue procreated the *Sirinen*, *Bachinien*, *Manguten*, and other *Kinazij* or Dukes, from whom are the *Caiacei*, who are the *Chans* Counsellours and chiefe Officers, who also marry the *Chans* daughters and sisters. The *Vlani*, which are anciently descended of the *Chans* bloud, and (if the lawfull posteritie faile) succeed in the Regall Throne. It is very true that the *Mursies* are the noblest of each, now also their posteritie remaine & other warlike *Tartars*; of whom it is certaine he had diuers Hords, of some ten thousand a piece in his company passed into *Taurica*, or the *Peninsula* with him. *Cygis.* *Lochton.*

The *Chans* predecessors sincerely and constantly much esteemed the *Grecian* Chiefetaines, who inhabited at *Mancopia*, and *Ingermene*, and the *Italian Genoes*, who dwelt at *Iambold* and *Capha*, as also the other people they found in the *Peninsula*, with whom they had friendship, peace, and league, vntill they were ouercome by the *Turkes*, and consumed in warre: they had also many yeeres common mony which I haue seene there.

But *Selim*, Emperour of the *Turkes*, compelled and subiugated *Mechmet Gererius Chan* to his Empire. Those Nations being weakned, almost all the Castles and Cities of the *Maritime Peninsula*, being taken and possessed: *Sachmates* the Prince of the *Ianolgan Tartars* put him to flight, with a singular and memorable slaughter hauing destroyed his Armie of a hundred thousand. Since which time the *Chans* acknowledge, as chiefe, the Empire of the *Turkes*. The Viceroyes, or Princes of the *Tartars* of *Taurica*, or the *Peninsula* are constituted by them, they receiue thence a Banner, and giue their sonnes and brothers *Soldans* for perpetuall pledges to the *Turkes*. *Selim.* *Gerey Chan.* *Sachmates.*

Notwithstanding, after the ancient custome of their Nation, they make a Galga or successor to the Empire (as the *French* doe their Dolphines) the brother or eldest sonne and more sufficient, who hath the greatest sway in peace and warre, but the *Chans* themselues perpetually depute and elect them, but with the approbation of the *Tartar* Nobles. And if also any dissention or war be raised betweene the *Soldans* or the *Chan* about the Empire, the *Turkish* Emperour neglects not to *The Galga or heyre apparant.*

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dispatch the *Soldans* pledge, with an Armie and Standard into *Taurica* or the *Peninsula*: and it is sufficient for him to be Prince, the *Chan* and *Sultan* being appeased or forced to goe away by warre, for which cause he hath alwaies many *Ianizaries* in *Taurica*, of the *Peninsula*.

Election of the *Chan*.

The election of the *Chans*, after the ancient custome of the Nation, did whilelome consist in the free suffrages of the *Dukes*, *Mursies*, and noblest *Tartars*. Furthermore, for their frequent discord and hidious warres which were occasioned by the *Nogaien Tartars* bordering on *Taurica*, or the *Peninsula* about the Empire, *Sachibgiereius* and *Dealetigereius*, being *Chans* ouer the *Tartars*, hauing by subtilty destroyed the more noble and potent *Tartars*, and cast them into fetters, began absolutely to domineere ouer the *Tartars*, and by force to draw the election to their posteritie, the Emperour of the *Turkes* ayding them.

Sachibgiereius.

But if the *Chan* will not constitute his brother *Galga*, but his owne sonne, as it often fortunes, by reason of those discords and reciprocall butcheries among themselues, hee circumuents craftily and subtilly all the *Soldans* brothers, and couertly makes them away. Yet most of them flye to the *Turke*, of whom they are bountifully entertained and comforted, and receiue a perpetuall stipend of him.

The *Soldans* younger sonnes of the *Chans* are educated and tutered by the *Tartars*, or more noble *Mursies*, lest that when they are at mans estate, by reason of their pluralitie, dissentions, or warres might arise: for each *Chan* acknowledge a supreme Dominion, and when they are growne vp, those that are fit are set ouer certaine *Tartar* troupes, and allure many voluntary *Tartars* vnto them, notwithstanding they make leaders of the *Nogaien Tartars*, and remunerate with monyes and horses most of their parents, whom they esteeme more speciall and substantiall. Very often also through feare of treacheries or seditions among themselues, being ayded by their Gardians fauour, they flye vnto the *Christian* or bordering Princes of their people.

Attalich.

The *Chan* hath *Attalike* Councellours, whom they so terme from the care of their women, parents, or their wiues, by whom those *Sultans* also are continually from their youth educated and

Haniati.

prouided for: hee hath *Haniatts*, who are the Agents for exotick Princes affaires with him, and also perpetuall Court Officers. But especially hee conuocates to him the Dukes, *Coracei*, *Vlani*, and the nobler *Mursi*, and alwayes vseth to consult with them in weightie affaires. Hee hath principall and meet men Ministers of his Court, whose seruice hee vseth in his Ambassages, and in his diuers other necessary businesses and imployments, who also are exalted to Counsellours and Court Officers. He alwayes maintaines those who are chosen out of the more renowned and illustrious *Tartarian* youth, who are conuersant in his Court by moneths interchangeably, and when they are made fit, are honoured with those dignities. Yet hee is chiefly and most delighted with the *Cercesins*, *Nogaiens* and *Petegorens*, who are very industrious, valiant, bold, and warlike. On the principall hee bestowes honourable gifts and annuall pensions, and of these his Court is alwayes repleniished. In the Princes Court, the better reputed and nobler *Tartars*, are very richly and ciuilly decked, not to pride or superfluous luxurie, but for necessitie and decencie. For they are so inriched by the lazie cowardise, and especially by the irreligious impiety of the neighbouring *Christians*, through making often inrodes, and getting rich booties, that the greater nobler of them in priuate wealth and domestick splendor, are little inferiour to the *Turkes*. They

Wiues and children.

may haue as many women by the *Mahometicall* Law as they will, and for the most part, they buy wiues of the *Petigorens*, which although they sustaine and maintaine, not proudly, but very comely and ciuilly according to the countrey guise, but those by whom they haue issue very ho-

Arabike letters

nourably and gorgeously. They deliuer their sonnes in their infancie to be instructed in the *Arabike* Letters, but they keepe not their daughters at home, but commit them to the neerest in bloud to be prouided for. They place their sonnes growne to mans age in the *Chans* or *Sultans* seruice, their mariageable daughters in wedlock to the more honourable and nobler *Tartars* or *Turkes*.

Mahumetan Religion.

Those *Tartars* are *Mahometans*, and haue Priests and *Mosches*, they vse the *Chaldaick* or *Arabike* Letters, which they haue receiued somewhat corrupted from the *Turks*, although before they came into *Taurica* or the *Peninsula*, they seeme to haue beene a sauage and brutish Nation, and of very sauage conditions, which now also is very perspicuous by the rusticks: for they wanted then altogether those Lawes, Rites, Letters, and Manners. But the *Tartars* being taught by the *Turks* humanitie, and that false worship, the more nobler now generally practise hospitality.

Gouernment and Lawes. The *Cadi* and *Begs*.

Law or Iustice, is administred in the Towns or Cities of the *Chan* & other *Sultans* among the *Tartars* after the *Mahometane* Law. There are alwayes presbiterall *Cadi* or Iudges in the Villages. *Begi* or Iustices, who heare and decide particular iniuries: but causes of life, bloud, theft, which we call Criminall, or of Land, which we call Ciuill or Officiall; the *Chan* himselfe decideth with his

No Attornies nor Lawyers: they plead their owne cause.

Counsellours. In resoluing of which they need no Lawyer, nor vse tricks of law, calumnies, excusations nor procrastinations. The *Tartars* or Strangers, of meane condition, lay open themselues very freely their wrongs before the Iudges and *Chan*, of whom they are alwayes heard and speedily discharged, for at any time any may haue accesse to him. When hee comes in publike, men of the basest degree are not excluded, but being seene of the *Chan* are examined, to wit,

if

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if they haue any suit, that they relate it. For they doe not onely performe great obedience to the Lawes: they adore and venerate their Princes in Gods steed. All spirituall Iudges (after *Mahomets* Law) are accounted among them for Saints, men of all equitie and integritie, fidelitie and opinion. The Princes and Magistrates execute and dispatch whatsoeuer is bidden or commanded suddenly and faithfully, with alacritie, promptnesse, and great feare. They are far from controuersies, criminations, iustices, vnnecessary and personall brawlings, enuy, hatred, filthy excesse, luxury, and ambition in their victualls and array. I abode their nine moneths, neither heard I Criminall or Ciuill Act to haue happened among them, or any composition by reason of enmitie. Great peaceablenesse to the shame of alway lawing Gospellers.

In the Princes Court they weare not, nor at home Swords, neither Bowes nor any other weapon; except Wayfarers and Trauellers, to whom they are very courteous and friendly. They are alwayes secure from Spoylers; but except they keepe perpetuall watch, they are lesse safe from High-way-theeues, and Night-robbers, who steale nothing from them but their Horses. No daily vse of weapons.

Although they haue a rich soyle, yet very few Gentlemen, or Plebeians prouide for the houshold estate, for many neither till nor sow their ground: they abound with Horses, Camels, Oxen, Kine, Sheepe and Flockes of all Cattle, and thereof liue. Yet the Gentlemen haue bread, flesh, meate, distilled * wine and *Metheglin*; but the rusticks want bread, but vse stampt Millet, and macerated with milke and water, which they vulgarly call *Cassa*, for meate (and for drinke they vse Mares milke) and cheese. They feed on Camels, Horses, and Oxen vnprofitable for burthen, and kill them when they are about to dye, sometimes eate sheeps flesh. The Gentlemen dwell not in the Plaines, but in the Villages of *Taurica* or the *Peninsula*. They which are neere Woods liue in them, although many doe not possesse proper Villages; yet they haue peculiar Lands and Manors. They vse the *Vngarian*, *Russian*, *Moschouian*, *Valachian*, or *Moldauian* slaues, which they keepe, and whereof they haue great plentie, as beasts to euery worke. Their houses are of Timber, much after the *Turkish* fashion: but the *Greeke Christians*, who are in a few Townes, labour and till their grounds as beasts. The *Tartars* serue the *Chan* or *Tartarian* Nobles, being hired at no price, but onely that they may haue meate and apparell: but the rest, and the greatest part of them are alwayes idle. In the Cities or Townes are very few Merchants: but some few practise Mechanick crafts, and some Merchants or Artificers are found there, either *Christian* Slaues or *Turkes*, *Armenians*, *Iewes*, *Cercessians*, *Petigorens*, (which are *Christians*) *Phylistins*, or *Cyngans*, men of obscure and lowest degree. Those *Tartars*, which liue in the Plaines beyond *Perecopia*, or in the *Peninsula* haue no woods, euery where digge Wells. They vse in stead of Wood Beasts dung, which their Bond-men gather in the Fields, and dry in the Sunne, and houses of the same forme, whereof mention is made in the former description. Those *Tartars*, which are Slaues and Subiects of the *Chans*, *Sultans*, and other Noble-men, are drudges, and alwayes keepe and pasture their Lords innumerable Herds of Cattle; and although they goe from place to place, into the Plaines and Pastures, in seuerall Streets, Hamlets, Townes, or Villages, by separated troupes (or hords) whereof they beare the Names, and of their Masters, so that men may easily find there, those *Tartars* Slaues which they seeke to buy.

* *Aquauitæ.*

Meat and drinke.

Slaues.

Merchants.

Tartar slaues.

The *Chan* hath alwayes by the leagues and agreements, an annuall Donatiue of the King of *Polonia*, the great Dukedome of *Lituania*, the *Palatine* of *Moldania*, and *Cercasian*, and *Nogaien Tartars*. The Legats, Orators, Messengers, Truchmen of those Princes come to him yeerely, whom sometimes he entertaines benignely and bountifully, but sometimes receiues, misuses, and detaynes a great while after a more then brutish manner. When therefore they come into *Perecopia*, one of the *Chans* men meets them in the Summer, in the Medow or Plaine, where they rest vnder a Tent: in the Winter they are opportunely and commodiously conuayed into the Village of *Alma*, or *Bacchasanium* more safely bordering on the Towne of the Kings Palace. But after they are lodged there, they are saluted by the Counsellours or Seruants of the Court in the *Chans* name, which procure them refreshing or victuals, two oxen, or one, some sheep, bread, wine, and barley, not liberally, but in a kind of hospitalitie, and moderately sufficient for once. But when they are called to the *Chan*, hee heares them, the *Soldans*, *Tuians*, *Vlans*, *Marzies*, chiefe Counsellours, and many other Ministers of his Court and principall *Tartars* being present, they are conducted onely by one man to the *Chans* gate, but are brought in by two Counsellours. When as therefore they are entred in, they reuerence the *Chan*, after the ancient custome of the Nation, and hauing saluted him on bended knees declare their message, and are admitted to eate with him. They are honoured with cups and goblets gilded and embossed with gems, filled with Mead or Methegline reached from the *Chans* hand, after the order of that people, in signe of clemencie and beneuolence, which they drinke on bended knees. And when they are dispatched, the *Chan* inuites them againe to a Feast. The Feast being ended, they goe backe a little from the Palace doores, and are rewarded with Silke Vests wouen with Gold as low as the anckles, prepared after the guise of the Nation, with one Horse or two, not seldome with Captiues of their owne people. And so attired with those Vests they returne againe to the *Chan*, and render thankes to him for his hospitalitie and liberalitie, and hauing saluted him, depart from the Banket.

Tribute.

Embassadors.

Alma.
Bacchasanium.

Audience.

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ket. Sometimes a ſmall prouiſion is procured for them by one of the *Chans* men in his Dominions when he takes his iourney, and he is conuayed by him as farre as *Boriſthenes*.

Baſſa of Capha. The *Turkiſh* Emperours haue made that authoritie conſtant to the *Chan*, in *Taurica*, or the *Peninſula*, ſo that when the *Baſſa* of *Capha*, or the *Saniak* dye, he rules all the *Signiories* in the *Peninſula*, vntill the *Turke* hath ſent thither another *Saniak*, or whom he will preferre ouer *Capha*. The *Chan* hath a common Cuſtome-houſe with the *Turke*, at *Perecopia*, *Caſſlouia*, *Capha*, and other Cities of *Taurica*, or the *Peninſula*, which are of the *Turkiſh* Empire. Hee demands annually a contribution of the *Tartars*, *Armenians*, *Iewes*, *Cercaſians*, *Petigorens*, and *Grecian Chriſtians*, of whom he hath very few in his Dominion; the *Turkes* are only excepted: euery day are paid for a perpetuall ſtipend out of the *Turkes* Exchequer twentie fiue Dollers to the *Chan*, twelue Dollers and a halfe to the *Galga*, to the *Soltan* pledge two and a halfe, and to the ſame Hoſtage, Villages, and ample Farmes neere *Adrianople*, called *Ianboly*, are giuen by the *Turke*. To the Dukes, *Caiaks*, *Vlans*, and *Murzies*, and many others which take pay, are giuen conſtant wages according to each of their eſtates. Notwithſtanding the *Chan* alwayes payes euery yeere to the *Turkiſh* Emperour Captiues taken in warre of both ſexes, the moſt excellent and precious Furs, and alſo baſer, Butter and Salt, wherewith *Taurica* or the *Peninſula* abounds. And into whatſoeuer warre he ſhall bee ſent or called, he may refuſe; neither may hee wage warre with any, but the Duke of *Moſcho*, without the Emperour of the *Turkes* leaue or knowledge. The *Chan* exacts annuall pecuniarie Rents from the better ſort of Captiues taken in warre, three pieces of Gold; of the raskalitie one Doller, and a tenth of them; but from each of the Fountaines, which are many in his Dominions, in the Plaines of *Taurica*, or the *Peninſula*, one Horſe of the *Tartars*; but any neceſſitie enforcing the *Chan*, all the *Tartars* decree a certaine contribution to him. The *Tartars* Nobles, alwayes at home, and in warre alſo, yeeld him ſuſtenance of diuers ſorts; for hee neither tills nor ſowes. Hee hath alwayes proper Herds of Horſes, Camels, Oxen, and infinite Flockes of Sheepe. Hee hath a peculiar money of baſe Copper, which is coyned in *Crimum*, a Towne of his Dominion, round money, whereof tenne are eſteemed at a *Turkiſh* Siluer Aſper, which makes one *Polonian* Groat or leſſe. But I being preſent, there were ſtamped greater Copper money ſiluered ouer, which was valued at fiue Aſpers. In coyning it he hath a great and plentifull gaine; for in three or foure yeeres, of the ſame money, which is carried by all the *Tartars* or Strangers into the Mint, new inuented money is alway ſtamped. For in all *Taurica*, or the *Peninſula*, it is lawfull for none (*Tartar* or ſtranger) euen in the Cities of the *Turkes* Dominion, vnder a capitoll puniſhment and confiſcation of goods, of what eſtate ſoeuer hee bee, to exchange *Turkiſh* pieces of Gold, or the Doller of Strangers, or the *Turkes* Siluer Aſper into *Tartar* coyne of the other value. Neither is it lawfull to buy with Gold or Siluer coyne, but *Tartarian*, which all ſtrangers (none excepted) perpetually receiue by the *Chans* Edict.

Warres.

Money.

Prouiſion for warre. When the *Chan* is about to go to any war, he firſt ſignifies to all the *Tartars* of his Dominions by the Seruitors of his Court, and commands them that they prepare themſelues for war, within three (or at the moſt) in foure weekes, and that they prouide for themſelues victualls for three or foure moneths. That ſuſtenance is carried in Leather-bags, and thoſe Bags among the Gentlemen are carried on Horſes. And they carrie with them food of Millet parched in the fire, or ſtamped, or ground; for they haue Mills, and thereof ſteeped in water, the moſt make meate or drinke. They carry Cheeſe and Fleſh, and Mares-fleſh dried in the Sun: they cut them in pieces boyled or drie, and taking out the bones put them in Sackes. They liue with Mares-milke and Cheeſe, and ſowre milke, which they tempering with a certaine Art, hold an excellent food. The *Chan* hath only one Chariot with him for any danger of ſickneſſe; alſo a few Camels, whereon is carried for his owne perſon *Aquauitæ*, or ſome other prouiſion wherewith he is eaſily ſatisfied. But the *Tartars* ſeuerally ſet meat before him and his Courtiers, the gentlemen (yet very few of them) not ſeldome carry a little drie bread, and a little *Aquauitæ* on Camels, or in lighter Carts.

Manner and Art of warre. But after the *Chan* hath determined any warlike Expedition, he prepares very ſpeedily ſome exerciſed men in an indifferent number, and chooſeth them ſometimes *Tartars*, but more frequently *Cerceſians*, *Petigorens*, and thoſe which are accounted ſpies of Regions and Prouinces of other Princes, and expert Way-leaders, they verie well know each particular paſſage of Places and Borders, and Fords of Riuers. And when they come into the Marches, they goe into the neere confining circuits, and each in ſundrie places view all things, and diligently ſeeke for Captiues, which when they haue intercepted, they returne with them ſpeedily to the *Chan*, of whom, vſing interrogatories, the *Chan* quickly is acquainted with the eſtate of thoſe Prouinces where his skouts haue beene. Forthwith therefore hee aſſignes the day of progreſſion to the *Tartars*, wherein hee ſtirres alone, and premiſeth ſpeedily ſome ſeruants of his Court, through all that Hord or Prouince. They conſtraine and inforce to goe to warre and follow the *Chan* all *Tartars* and *Chriſtians* of his gouernment, men and youth, if they can but ſit on horſes (beſides impotent old men and children) who although they want Armes and Horſes, yet are accommodated by the welthier in hope of ſpoyle. But in eight, or at the vtmoſt in ten dayes after the *Chans* departure, al of them follow him into certain new defined places, which are beyond *Perecopia* toward *Boriſthenes*; the *Galga*, *Soltans*, *Dukes*, *Murzies*, & the moſt approued valiant and chiefe

Warriours

Warriours and Souldiers, being gathered and conuocated together: and they being called to his Councell, first the later Captiues and priuie Searchers also are examined, at length they suddenly consult of the seasonablenesse of time, places, occasion of well ordering the matter, and whether the warre be then commodiously to be prosecuted. And mutuall consent and counsell being made and determined; yet none of these things is confusedly diuulged to the multitude.

From the same place therefore the Ministers of the Court of the *Chan*, *Galga*, and *Soltans* going before the companies of the Dukes, *Murzons* and other *Tartarian* Nobles (which they lead and rule according to the ancient claime of their kindred, and call them by various appellations in their Language) the *Chan* moues the Armie vnder the Enlignes, following in a meane order after the ancient custome of the Nation: but after they haue set foot in their enemies Land, againe he sends before a certaine number of the most experienced and skilfullest Espials. They goe before the Armie, and send backe to the *Chan* whatsoeuer Countreymen or others they shall take and meet with; from whom hee may bee certified of the condition and armie of the enemies. But when the *Chan* is certainly informed that no armie of enemies comes out against him, he againe makes a Campe-councell with his Nobles and Peeres, how farre and wide he ought to endamage his enemies Dominions. Then at length he goeth slowly forward in a perfect order with all his Hoast, and commands vpon penaltie of their heads to kill all the obuious Rustickes, lest after they should be taken by the *Tartars*, they should peraduenture make an escape, and certifie his enemies of his bands to the hurt of his men. Moreouer, they kill not women nor children, nor lay hold on them, nor dare lay hands of any of the prey, lest his armie should be surcharged with it, and cause some stay in his proceeding.

But when the *Chan* comes with his armie to the Castles, Townes, Villages, Hamlets and manured places, he elects ten, or at the most fifteene thousand Souldiers with their Dukes, *Murzons*, and chiefe of his Court, and most notable, best tryed, and principall men of Armes of all his Hoast, and leaues them in his owne jurisdiction in his standing Campes, or in the siege of some Fortresse; then he makes ready the *Galga*, other *Soltans*, Dukes, *Murzons*, and the rest of the Armie, which then is mustred some thousands. And that Armie being spread abroad in diuers bands, ouer each of which the best esteemed and ablest men are made Captaynes, is extended in longitude more then ten miles, and in latitude as much. And as they assemble among themselues at the farthest in seuen or eight dayes, but at the soonest in three or foure running about in troupes through diuers places, and leading straying preyes, and wasting with fire and Sword whatsoeuer they meet with, returne to the Campe: but if they come not backe at the prefixed day to the fortified Campe, they waite not for them, but all the Armie with wonderfull celeritie moue in their arrayes, out of the standing Campe.

And when as then also the *Chan* is truly signified that no Armie pursues him, he prouides for places not medled with by his troupes, an Armie of some thousands of selected Horsemen; and as yet vnwearied. He employes as many more also in ambushes in diuers places neere the Townes and Castles obuious to the *Tartars*, lest that Armie might without delay fall into the lying in waite on any of their companies. But if he bee certified by his Scouts of any numerous hoast of Enemies, he neuer commits the matter to an vniuersall fight, but goes forward slowly and cautelously with his bands: but if the *Chan* be certainly assured that the Troups of his Aduersaries are many and valiant, he retires a little, and seekes for the better husbanded and peaceabler places, and with wonderfull agilitie in his precipitious flight, spoyles them with fire and sword, and intends to returne home with the bootie that hee had hastily driuen away. But if then hee hopes his enemies cannot ouertake him, he marcheth with his Armie, yet not too securely, almost in the order to his confines.

The *Chans* tenth.

But assoone as the *Chan* is entred into his Borders, he takes the tenth of the principall Captiues throughout all the Armie. But the Captaynes of companies, and they which haue brought a greater number of captiues, cull out of each Band the principall for themselues. The other *Tartars* of the promiscuous multitude diuide the Prisoners among their troupes. Notwithstanding before they come to that partition, they first satisfie all those which running about by Bands haue lost Horses, Garments, or any thing else. They sell to the *Tartars* both Noble and Ignoble captiues, if they shall appoint no price whereby they may free themselues, because the *Chan* being vitiated with the Merchants gifts hath set a great value on them.

Misery of Captiues.

The condition of captiues is very miserable among the *Tartars*, for they are grieuously oppressed by them with hunger and nakednesse, and the Husbandmen with stripes, so that they rather desire to dye then to liue. Many of them moued with the present calamitie, and follie, tell the *Tartars* that they are Gentlemen, and haue wealthy and rich parents and friends. They promise of their owne accord a great and almost inestimable ransome, which the barbarous, impious, couetous, hungry, and cruell Nation seekes almost daily to increase with all kind of subtilties and Examinations, tyes them in fetters, vseth them therefore more hardly. But when they vnderstand that an Agent of their people is come to the *Chan*, they meete him with their captiues, of whom sometimes they require the price falsly nominated by themselues, or some-

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times promised by the Prisoners: but the Agent who wel knowes the craft and deceitfulnesse of the *Tartars*, finds fault with the captiues foolishnesse, and tell the *Tartars* that they are neither noble nor rich, and that they knew not, nor will euer be able to pay the price, and as though they were neither moued with Pietie nor Religion reiect them. Yet the Agent is diligent that they be inscribed in the Catalogue, and if they haue a purpose to ransome any with their own mony, they hold it expedient to suborne *Iewes* or *Tartars*, and other Merchants being corrupted with mony: by whom, being as it were neglected and rejected by the Agent, they are relealed at a far easier rate. Nothing therefore is more frequent to the captiues, then to promise and offer to the *Tartars* this price, for which they are sold to the *Turkes*, *Iewes*, and stranger Merchants, and others beyond the Sea, or a little more, or twice so much, if they bee able to performe it: but if they cannot learne of the Rustickes or others what they are, as the *Tartars* are for the most part, went often to enquire of their captiues, they are content with little. Neither doe they sell them to strangers, but rather to the Agent of their Nation: but if they are not redeemed by the Agent, they command them to write to their Parents or Kinsfolke. Also many captiues are deliuered with the exchange of *Tartar* captiues, in prouiding for and freeing of whom, the *Tartars* exhibite and shew farre greater pietie, friendlinesse and care, then our *Christians*. For disrepecting all price, they first demand their *Tartar* captiues in exchange of ours, which often promising the same and not able to performe it, vse to bring vpon themselues a farre greater discommoditie. For they aske of them almost an vnualuable summe, wherewith they prize their *Tartars*, which when they are not able to pay, they sell them to barbarous Nations ouer the Sea for perpetuall slaues, for as great a price as they can, and very often at an excessiue rate, or if the *Tartars* are wealthy, they condemne them to perpetuall slauery.

Manner of redemption.

Ars deluditur arte.

The *Chan* hath all his *Tartar* Armie gathered of Horsemen, except some hundred Gunners *Ianizaries*, Footmen, which are either *Turkish* Auxiliaries, or some of his owne which he maintaynes. He is accustomed to carrie with him some smaller Ordnance to warre. From *Taurica* or the *Peninsula* the *Perecopens*, and *Crims*, *Ossouiens*, *Nogariens*, *Cerceßians*, are Tributaries and Souldiers for aide, the Duke of the *Cerceßians*, *Petigorens* are Stipendaries and Mercenaries, and are wont to goe voluntaries to the *Chans* warres. The *Oczacouiens* and *Bialogrodens*, also they who by the continuall couenants which they haue with the *Turkish* Emperour, sometimes also the *Dobrusen Tartars* and Inhabitants of *Danubius*, by the command of the Emperour of the *Turkes* follow him to warre. All that Hoast collected out of those *Tartars*, is wont to make the number of a hundred and twentie thousand, sometimes also thirtie thousand more, but not seldome to exceed that Summe. I haue bin truly informed by many credible *Christians*, which often follow the *Chans* warres, and by some captiued Gentlemen of our Nation, who haue many times seene his Armie.

All haue according to their vse *Tartarian* Horses, neat, excellent, stomackfull, swift, and indifferent good and commodious to vndergoe great labours. The *Chan*, most of the *Soltans*, and *Tartar* Nobles vse in warre *Turkish*, *Caramanian*, *Arabian*, and other *Asian*, *Tartarian*, and the best Out-landish Horses. The swiftest Horses are accounted among them at a great and almost inestimable price. They alwayes feed them Summer and Winter in the Plaines of *Taurica* or the *Peninsula*, but very often as farre as the Riuers *Boristhenes* and *Tanais*: the Gentlemen nourish at home very few Horses, only for their vrgent occasions, not for any arrogancie or luxurie. They seldome put their Iades and vnprofitable Horses for riding in the Waggon, for they doe all their businesse with Camels and Oxen.

Their Horses.

The *Tartars* vse their ancient weapons, a two-edged Sword, or *Tartarian* Cymiter somewhat long, and a *Turkish* Dart, or a *Persian*, shorter and broader of the best Iron, and well wrought; a peculiar *Tartarian* Bow, a long Arrow, and swift, a Quiuer, sometimes a short Speare after the old guize of their people. They goe with Brest-plates and Helmets, and in *Persian* or *Moscouian* Armes, wherewith they abound being enriched by the spoyle of *Christians*. They haue ancient Saddles and Bridles after the custome of the Nation, very fitting, not for pride or superfluitie: the Nobles haue them prepared very elegantly, strongly and compendiously for their vse. But most in the *Tartar* Armie are altogether vnarmed and cowards, and they carrie with them to warre by reason of their great Hoast, almost an infinite number of Horses. For a *Tartar* euen of the basest condition will scarcely be content with one or two Horses, but three, foure, and more, which he may haue alwayes readie with him at his hand. Therefore the Armie of the *Tartars* is made so numerous, great and terrible, which when it is seene afarre off, is deemed by our men almost an infinite and innumerable Hoast.

Their Armes.

Store of Horses.

Now when the *Tartarian* Armie is come into their enemies Country, the *Tartars* ranke not themselues in bands or troupes, but all set forward and proceed leisurely. They dispose many Watchmen in all parts throughout their companies, which they make greater or lesser for their supply, but after that the foremost of them haue descryed their enemy, they counterfeit a flight, that they may more easily allure them into those troupes, which they haue laid in ambushments, and

Flight fayned.

and so ouer-charge him. But when they espie a great Armie of enemies, they make a retraite quickly and speedily to their Armie, Rankes, and Banners.

There is great celeritie in constituting and gouerning their troupes, seeing that they are not ruled ~~onely by the aduertizements of the Generals and Prefects~~ of their Regiments, but also by the shew of Whips, as is the long continued practice of the Nation: and they are subject so to a becke, that they are very easily brought into their Ranges, whensoeuer it is necessary. Their Discipline.

The *Chan* is alwayes fortified in warre, with a band of some thousands of noble and courageous *Tartars* in number, some hundreds of *Ianizaries*, Footmen, and some small Ordnance. In the *Chans* Regiment a very great white Mares tayle, and a piece of Greene and Red Silke of the *Turkish* Emperour is carryed before on a great Pike for the Standard. There appeare in the troupes of the other *Tartars*, many Ancients and Ensignes of various colours. His strength. The principall Ensigne a Mares tayle.

The more famous Souldiers, and they which are notable in reputation, dexteritie and warlike Prowes, and haue atchieued in warre some Noble Seruice and Enterprize, are greatly honoured by the *Chan, Soldans, Kiuiazons*, and *Murzons*. And that respect is had to them, that the *Chan* doth not only reward them with certayne great benefits and such liberalitie, as he can shew them, but also is so mindfull of their deserts and merits, that he assignes them and their successors in the Assembly, and as the fashion is, at his Table a perpetuall place of honour among his more noble *Murzons*. That dignitie among the *Tartars* is the greatest, and Hereditary, for they going to warre able and experienced men which possesse that place, are dignified by the *Chan*, with the glorie of leading the Troupes. The *Chan* also frees some *Tartar* captiues with the permutation of captiues, and in ransoming others he largely powres out his owne Treasure, and willingly comforts them as he is able.

CHAP. XXII.

DITHMAR BLEFKENS *his Voyages, and Historie of* Island *and* Groenland.

IN the yeere 1563. ■ two *Hamburg* Merchants ships determined to sayle to *Island*, the Mariners, by an ancient custome, desirous to haue a Minister of Gods Word with them, commend this care to the Ministers of the Church of *Hamburg*, and intreat them to prouide them a Minister. One Doctor *Paulus ab Etzen* was then Superintendent of the Church of *Hamburg*. While therefore I stayd at *Hamburg*, expecting my Library from *Rostock*, I entred into some familiaritie with *Paulus*, and the rest of the Ministers. This Office was bestowed vpon me, which I vndertooke the more willingly, because I had a longing desire to know strange things, and diuers Countries, yeelding to their perswasion. Taking ship therefore the tenth of Aprill, wee sayled vpon the Coast of *England* and *Scotland*, and passing beyond the *Ilands Orcades*, in number fifteene, whereof the most part lye vnmanured for the barrenesse; *Ferow* and *Hitland* are inhabited: Here wee saw a very high Rocke, which in the top representeth the head of a cooled Monke, where also there is a safe Harbour against all winds, and this Monke deliuereth many from present dangers. The fourteenth of Iune we descryed *Island*, which seemes afarre off, like winter clouds. The next day we attayned the Land and Hauen of *Haffenefordt* toward the South. ■ He published this Booke *Anno* 1607.

Iseland is a rough, hilly and snowie Land, which is supposed to bee twice bigger then *Sicilia*: it is thought to be a hundred leagues in length, which also *Olaus Magnus* testifieth in his eleuenth Booke. It hath the name of the perpetuall Ice, and coldnesse of the Ayre, which is there most sharpe: for eight whole moneths it is troubled with Ice: It burneth notwithstanding with heat and inward fire in many places. The extremitie of cold increaseth this heate in the bowels of the earth, which cold continueth the greater part of the yeere (a few Summer moneths excepted) and so bindeth the pores in the vpper part of the Earth, that it can haue no free vent. And this Iland hath so great a Latitude from the Æquator, that the Arctick Circle diuides it in the middest, that is to say, sixtie fiue degrees and a halfe. The Ilands called *Ebuda*, are obiect to the North part of this Iland. But whether that be of these, which *Ptolemie*, and ancient Writers call *Thule*, or rather *Iseland*, that great Iland, I dare neither affirme, nor altogether denie, because there is no Iland found where *Ptolemie* set *Thule*. Now, the later Writers make another manner of longitude about *Scotland*, and the bordering Ilands, then *Ptolemie* euer thought.

I will draw the Descent of this Nation from their first originall, following the truth of the *Iseland* Chronicles. In the yeere of Christ 900. in the time of *Alebrand* Bishop of *Breme*, certayne of the Nobilitie of East *Frisia*, and of the Countrey of *Breme*, desirous to discouer strange Countries toward the North, set sayle from *Weser*, and passing beyond the *Orcades*, found this Iland almost in the vtmost skirts of *Europe*, yet habitable, but full of Snow: which they called *Iseland*, for the coldnesse and roughnesse thereof. And when they had sayled further towards the North about two hundred leagues, they found another Iland, which (by contraries) they

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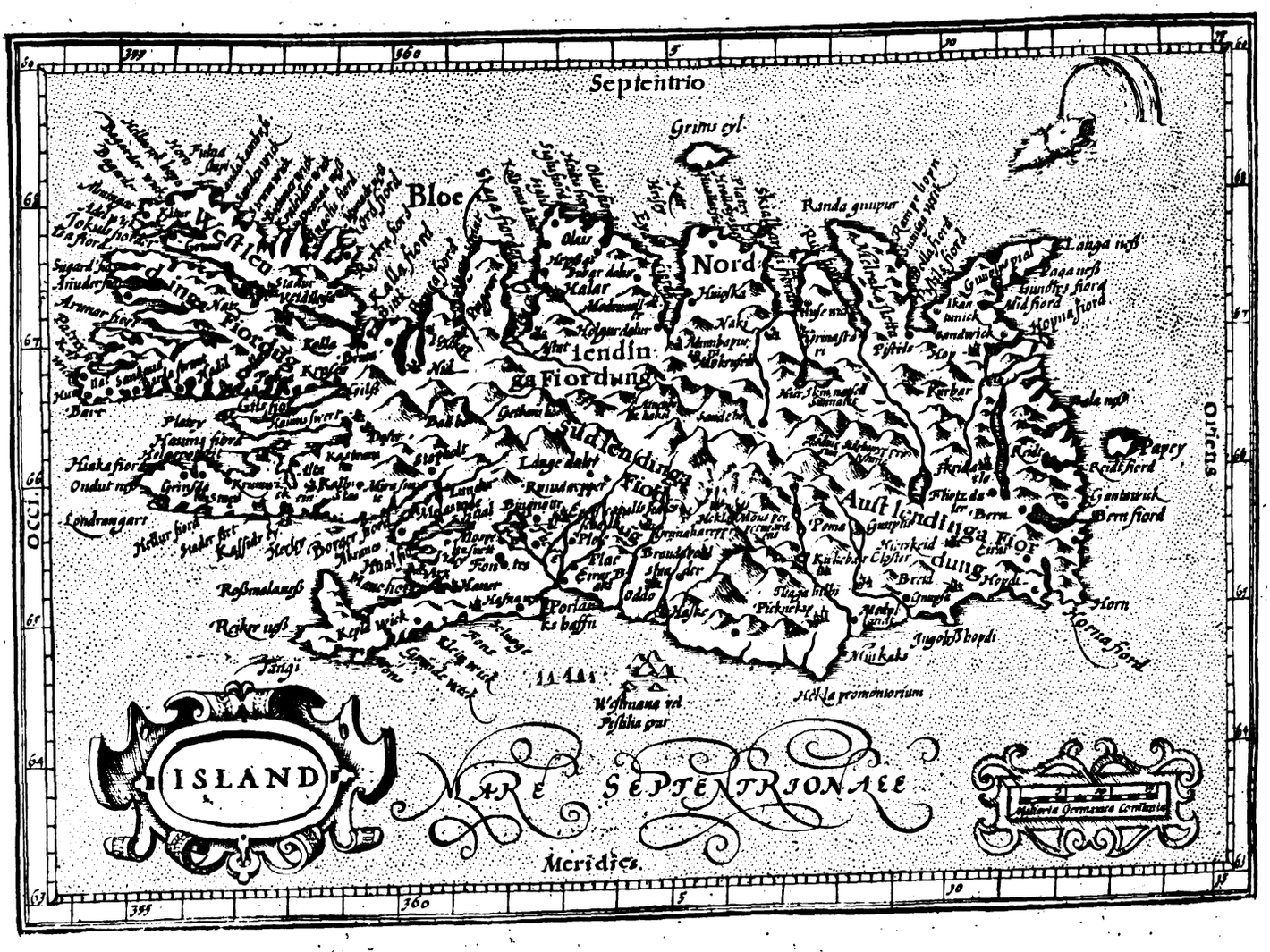
HONDIVS *his Map of* ISLAND.



Groneland. Mists ordinary in those Seas.

See of *Island* originall the next Chapter. Antiquities are often mystical, or mythical & fabulous

they named *Groneland.* Endeauouring to sayle further towards the North, through the frozen or congealed Sea, being long hindred by the Ice, at length with great labour getting out, they fell into whirle-pooles of the Sea, and thicke darkenesse. 40

In these whirle-pooles and darknesse, this Fleet (one onely Ship excepted) perished. They that were preserued, after many long labours and perils, sayling through the *Tartarian* Sea, came into a very hote Countrey, and entring into a large Bay, they went on shoare vpon the next Land. And when the Inhabitants had hid themselues in secret places, by reason of the great heate and scorching of the Sunne, they saw Gold, and other precious things set heere and there, without a guard. And when they had carryed away asmuch as they would, and hasted to the Ship, they saw some pursue them with Dogs of strange bigneſſe. One, who was hindred and laden with a prey that hee could not escape, was torne in peeces of the Dogges. The rest, after long sayling, shunning these Whirle-pooles, arriued in *Muscouia*, thence by the *Baltick* Sea returning vnto *Breme*, they brought backe these tidings to *Alebrand* the Bishop, with part of the prey. 50

Much about this time, the *Norwegians*, by example of the *Heluetians* in *Iulius Cæsars* time, are supposed to haue come out of *Norway*, who then long time possessed that part of *France*, which now also is call *Normandie*. And when they had performed great attempts by Sea and Land against the *Britaines*, they did not onely scoure the Sea by hostile incursions, but also expelled the *Saracens*, who at that time came into *Italy*, and sought to seat themselues in *Calabria* and *Apulia*. After they brought Colonies Northward into *Hitland*, *Ferow*, and *Island*: which way, they learned of the *Bremians*, by meanes of the Nobilitie of *Frisia* aforesaid. And euen the very propriety of their speech doth testifie, that they came out of *Norway*: for the pronunciation of the *Islanders* doth agree with the antient Inhabitants of *Norway*. For vpon the Sea coast of *Norway*, especially where the famous Hauen and Citie of *Bergen* is, by reason of the resort and familiaritie with the *Germaines* and *Danes*, the Language is changed. 60

Of

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Of the Iſelanders *Religion.*

IN the yeere of Chriſt 1398. *Woldemarus*, the ſecond of that name gouerned the *Daniſh* Kingdome, whereunto *Norway* was added, whoſe poſteritie held it, vntill *Ericus* Duke of *Pomerania*, and *Chriſtopher Banar*. Vnto this *Waldemarus* all the *Ariſtoian* Colonies obeyed, ſo that now, vnder that *Woldemarus*, the *Iſelanders* were firſt inſtructed in the Chriſtian Religion, when before they had worſhipped ſtrange Gods. And when almoſt all Chriſtian people, in that lamentable darkeneſſe and title of a Church, as it were by Witchcraft deceiued, were detayned in moſt deepe bonds of ſuperſtition; it could not bee but they, who were furtheſt remoued from the ſocietie of Learned men, and dwelling vnder an vnciuill and barbarous Climate, ſhould fall into moſt foule Idolatrie, when ſometimes (as hereafter ſhall bee declared) they had Deuils to ſerue them, as familiar as domeſticall ſeruants. But after *Luther* began to bee knowne, *Chriſtianus* the King of *Denmarke* procured purer Doctrine to himſelfe, and purged the Churches in the Kingdome of *Denmarke*, *Norway*, and all the Ilands ſubiect vnto him; ſending Miniſters into *Iſeland*, to ſow the ſeede of the Goſpell there. Hee ſent a Printer alſo out of *Denmarke*, to ſet forth the Bible, the common places of *Philip Melanchthon*, the Workes of *Vrbanus Regius* and others, in the vulgar Tongue, to the Paſtors who were ignorant of the *Latine*, as at that time almoſt all of them were. And alſo ſent for fit and apt young men out of *Iſeland*, whom hee maintayned in the *Haffnian* Vniuerſitie at his owne coſts, and gaue them charge ouer Churches and Schooles.

The Chriſtian care of King *Chriſtian.*

King *Woldemare*, as ſoone as they ſhould profeſſe *Chriſtian* Religion in *Iſeland*, ordayned them two Biſhops, one in *Scalholden* in the Eaſt part, and another in *Hollen* in the Weſt, whoſe Succeſſours at this day retayne nothing but a ſhadow, and a bare Title, for they haue no other reuenues but Butter and Fiſh. But when that reformation (whereof I ſpake) was made by King *Chriſtian* in the Churches of *Iſeland*, one of the Biſhops in *Scalholden*, conſpiring with the people, reiects the Doctrine of the Goſpell, and making a rebellion they kill the Kings Lieutenant. The yeere following, which was 1535. the King ſent a Noble man of the Order of Knighthood, one *Paul Hitfelt* (whom I ſaw an old man in *Denmarke*) furniſhed with a Fleet, Souldiers, and Munition into the Iland. The ſeditious being ſlaine, hee renueth the reformation of the Doctrine of the Goſpell, and returneth into *Denmarke*, leauing a certayne Noble man to take charge of the Church and Iland.

Two Biſhops in *Iſeland.*

The greateſt man in *Iſeland* at that time was one *Tadde Bonde*. Hee, after the Kings Armie was departed, conſpiring with the principall men (whom by his Authoritie hee drew to take his part) reuolted from his Allegiance, and perſwaded the reſt of the Ilanders to follow. They meete together in a place called *Waloe*, and conſpiring to rebell, and caſt off the Kings ſubiection, they impart their counſels together, and *Tadde* had his poſſeſſions not in one place, and many retayners, and for theſe cauſes hee thought they could not eaſily bee ſuppreſſed. The Biſhop who dwelt in the Eaſt, had a ſpeciall care to acquaint the Kings Lieutenant with all that was done (for the Lieutenant was abſent in the Weſt part of that Iland) and the Biſhop hated *Tadde* a long time. For in that firſt Rebellion, hee had falſly accuſed him to the Lieutenant as guiltie, and author of the Rebellion. This accuſation onely brought great and extreame calamitie vpon him.

Tadde Bonde.

Waloe.

The Lieutenant being certified what was done, hee perſwadeth by fit inſtruments, ſome of the Complices of the faction, to continue in their Allegiance, propounding rewards and puniſhments. Then many of them when they ſaw the greatneſſe of the danger, leauing him, came humbly to the Lieutenant, and begge pardon, and obtayne it. *Tadde* therefore is adiudged an Enemie, both of the King and of his Countrey, they promiſe therefore by an Oath and giuing of their Faith, that they will purſue him.

Then hee, through feare of the danger, with a few of his Domeſtickes which hee had gathered together, kept himſelfe at the foote of *Hekelueld*, but being circumuented they were all ſlaine, and hee taken. They that tooke him, brought him to the Biſhop, to commit him to Priſon, but hee refuſed to receiue him. Therefore they draw him to another certaine man of thoſe who had the chiefe place in Iuſtice, neither would hee receiue him, fearing the hatred of the people. There was at that time there a certayne *Iſelander*, *Ionas* by name, a man of courage. I know (ſayth hee) to whom I will commit him, that will diligently keepe him, and foorthwith hee ſlew him and buryed him. And ſo the Sedition was appeaſed. And from that time vntill this day, the Word of God is taught amongſt Barbarous men, after the manner of the Confeſſion of *Auguſta*.

The Life and Manners of the Iſelanders.

IN the whole Iland, there are three ſorts of men, who are held in any reckoning and account: for the common people, by reaſon of the ſcarcitie of Ships wherewith they fiſh, make themſelues ſlaues to the richer. Of thoſe three ſorts, the firſt is of them whom they call *Loſhmaders*, that

Three ſorts of people.

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that is to say, *Men of Iustice:* for *Loch* in their language, signifieth *Law.* These men administer Iustice, and there are many of them, but twelue of them onely haue the yeerely charge of Iustice. All men obey their Iudgement and Decrees. Another sort is of them, who are called *Bonden:* They are in the place of Nobles, and as euery one of them is richest in Shipping, and Cattle, so hee hath most Fishers, and followers. This onely power they know. The third sort is of Bishops and Ministers of the word of God, of the which many are found euery where throughout the whole Iland.

Twelue Iustices each yeere

Strength.

There are many of the *Islanders* very proud and high minded, especially by reason of the strength of body which they haue. I saw an *Islander*, who easily put an *Hamburg* Tunne full of Ale to his mouth, drinking off it as if hee had had but one small measure.

Habite.

Both Sexes in *Iseland* haue the same habite, so that by the garments you shall not easily discerne whether it bee Man or Woman. They want Flaxe, except it bee brought vnto them by our Countrey-men. The Women-kinde there are very beautifull, but ornaments are wanting.

Superstition and Witchcraft.

The whole Nation of the *Islanders* is much giuen to Superstitions, and they haue Spirits familiarly seruing them. For they onely are fortunate in Fishing, who are raised vp by night of the Deuill to goe a fishing.

Night Rauens.

And although the Ministers of the Gospell vse all diligence in disswading them from this impietie; yet this wickednesse hath taken roote, and sticketh so deepely in their mindes, and they are so bewitched of Sathan, that they can admit no sound Doctrine and Dehortation. Yea, by the Deuils meanes, if you offer them money, they promise a prosperous wind and performe it, which I know, as hereafter shall bee spoken. *The like* Olaus Magnus *writeth of the* Finlanders *in his third Booke.* They hold Ships also by inchantment almost immoueable, and that in a prosperous wind.

Sweet sacrifice for the Deuill, letice sutable his lips.

And truely it is a wonder that Sathan so sporteth with them. For hee hath shewed them a remedie in staying of their Ships, to wit, the Excrements of a Maide being a Virgin: if they annoynt the Prow, and certaine planckes of the Ship, hee hath taught them that the Spirit is put to flight, and driuen away with this stinke.

Learning:

In the rest of the carriage of their life, they thus behaue themselues. The Parents teach their male Children (euen from their child-hood) letters and the Law of that Iland, so that very few men are found throughout the whole Iland, but they know Letters, and many Women vse our letters, and haue also other characters, with the which they expresse some whole words of theirs, which words can hardly bee written with our letters. They giue themselues to hardnesse, and fishing from their Infancie; for all their life consists in Fishing. They exercise not Husbandrie, because they haue no Fields, and the greatest part of their foode consisteth in Fish, vnsauerie Butter, Milke and Cheese. In stead of Bread they haue Fish bruised with a Stone. Their Drinke is Water or Whay. So they liue many yeeres, without medicine or Physitian. Many of them liue till they bee one hundred and fiftie yeeres old. And I saw an old man who sayd hee had then liued two hundred yeeres. Nay, *Olaus Magnus* in his twentieth Booke sayth, that the *Islanders* liue three hundred yeeres.

Fiwing & fish.

Drinke.

An old man or a loud lie.

Bread.

The greater part of *Islanders* hath neuer seene Bread, much lesse tasted it. If our men at any time sell them Meale or Corne, they mingle it with Milke, and lay it vp for a long time, as delicates for Nobles. They call this sauce or mixture, *Drabbell.*

Commodities.

The *Germaines* that trade in *Iseland* haue a place in the Hauen of *Haffenefords* fenced by Nature, where vnder Tents they set their Merchandise to sale, as Shooes, Garments, Glasses, Kniues, and such kinde of Merchandise of no price. The *Islanders* haue Oyle molten out of the bowels of Fishes, knowne to our Tanners and Shoomakers: they haue Fish, Brimstone, white Foxe skinnes, Butter and other things. They barter all these for our Commodities, nor is the bargaine ratified, before they bee well stuffed with our Meat, Wine or Beere, together with their Wiues and Children whom they bring with them, how many soeuer they haue.

Whoores.

Comming into the Hauen, they haue their Daughters with them which are marriage-able: they after they haue inquired of our companie, whether they haue Wiues at home, or not, they promise a nights lodging for Bread, Bisket, or any other trifling things. Sometimes the Parents yeeld their Daughters freely, euen for a whole moneth, or as long as they stay. If shee proue with Child by that lying with her, the parents loue their Daughter better then before, and the Child being borne, they bring it vp some yeeres, while either the Father returne, or they giue it to their Sonne in law that shall bee, for a Dowrie with their Daughter, who doth not despise it, because it is borne of the *Germaine* blood. If any Virgin haue familiaritie with a *Germaine*, shee is honoured among them, and therefore shee is sought of many Suiters. And the time was before this, that Whoordome, which was without the degrees of Consanguinitie and Affinitie, had no Infamie. And although Preachers crie out against it, and the offenders are seuerely punished, yet they hardly abstaine.

Drinking and singing.

They lay not vp Wine and Beere which they buy of our Countrey-men, but quaffe it vp house by house by course one with another, and that freely or for nothing. While they drinke, they sing the heroicall acts of their ancestors, not with any certaine composed order or melodie, but as it commeth in euery mans head. Neither is it lawfull for any one to rise from the Table to make

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make water, but for this purpoſe the daughter of the houſe, or another maid or woman attendeth alwayes at the Table, watchfull if any becken; to him that beckeneth ſhee giues the chamber-pot vnder the Table with her owne hands; the reſt in the meane while grunt like Swine, leaſt any noiſe bee heard. The water being powred out, hee waſheth the Baſon, and offereth his ſeruice to him that is willing, and hee is accounted vnciuill who abhorreth this faſhion. They entertaine them that come vnto them with a kiſſe, and they behold and looke each on other, if paraduenture they may ſee Lice creeping on their garments, which greatly trouble them for want of linnen: if thy ſee any, each taketh them from the other, and as often as he taketh away one, ſo often doth he thanke him, with his head diſcouered, and this they doe one to the other, as long as they ſee one. Louing wormes. Louſie loue.

By night the Maſter of the houſe, with all his family, his wife and children lye in one roome, couered with a cloth made of Wooll which they make. And the like clothes they lap vnder them, without ſtraw or hay put vnder. All of them make water in one chamber-pot, with the which in the morning they waſh their face, mouth, teeth, and hands; they alledge many reaſons thereof, to wit, that this makes a faire face, maintaineth the ſtrength, confirmeth the ſinewes in the hands, and preſerueth the teeth from putrifaction. If Cattle periſh in the waters or ſnow (which often commeth to paſſe) they ſay, they are killed of God, and are accounted among the delicates. And it happened in the yeere 1564. in a place called *Ackermiſſe*, that in the month of Ianuary ſome Kine ſtrayed in the darke, and the fogge was ſo great, and the depth of ſnow, that they could not be found. In the moneth of April they were firſt found vntainted, and without any euill ſmell, and being diſtributed among the neighbours, ſome part was brought to the Gouernour, with whom I liued at that time, which was not lawfull for him to deſpiſe, yet he commanded it to bee giuen to the poore. Lodging.

In the Winter time, before and after the *Solſtitium*, when the Sunne declineth, and being in *Sagitarius*, *Capricornus*, and *Aquarius*, it departeth from them, neither doth it aſcend aboue the Horizon, while it touch *Piſces*, therefore they haue no light but of the Moone and Starres. In like manner about the Summer *Solſtitium*, when the Sunne aſcendeth to *Gemini*, *Cancer*, and *Leo*, it neuer goeth downe vnder the Horizon, therefore at that time they haue no Night. In the Winter time, they keepe their Beds many dayes, and exerciſe themſelues in the game of Cheſſe, the inuention wherof is due to *Xerxes* the Philoſopher: the meane while the ſeruants bring them their meate dreſſed to their beds. They keepe Lampes of the oyle of Fiſh continually burning, others burne Tallow candles. Long night. Cheſſe.

In the moneth of Februarie, as ſoone as the Sunne aſcends aboue the Horizon, by little and little the dayes grow longer, then they begin to Fiſh, whereof there is ſo great plentie, that it is ſcarce credible; for the Fiſhes which for three whole moneths ſwamme in the darke, as ſoone as they ſee a fiſh of Tinne faſtened to an Iron, they ranne to it in ſchoales, that they are not onely drawne vp by the jawes, but whereſoeuer the Iron toucheth them. Hauing taken them, they plucke out the bones, and lay vp their bowels, and make Fat or Oyle of them. They heape vp their Fiſh in the open ayre, and the puritie of the ayre is ſuch there, that they are hardened onely with the winde and Sunne, without Salt, better ſurely then if they were corned with ſalt. And if they kill any Beaſts, they preſerue the fleſh without ſtinke or putrifaction, without ſalt, hardened onely with the winde. Dryed Fiſh.

Of the wonderfull ſtanding Pooles, Lakes and Fountaynes in Iſeland.

IN diuers places almoſt throughout the whole Iland, are Bathes and ſcalding Fountaynes, which flow out in great abundance. This water as ſoone as it begins to coole, hath a Sulphurie ſubſtance in the top thereof. In theſe ſcalding waters, wherein I could ſcarſe dippe my finger, red Diue-doppers are ſeene afarre off, if you come neerer, they vaniſh, if you depart, they appeare againe, ſo all day long (if any pleaſe) they play boe-peepe with men. Whether they bee Diue-doppers indeed, I leaue it to others to decide. Hot Bathes. Diue-doppers.

At the Weſt of this Iland, there is a huge ſmoakie Lake, and very cold, which turneth all things that are caſt into it into ſtones, and that in few dayes, and (which is worthy of great admiration) if you put a ſticke vpright into the bottome, the lower part which is ſtucke into the earth, hath the reſemblance and hardneſſe of Iron after two dayes, that which was in the water hath the hardneſſe and ſhew of a Stone, the vpper part which remayned aboue the water, keepeth his wonted forme: And I twice proued the truth of this thing, but when I put the lower part (which repreſented Iron) to the fire that it might melt, it burned like a Coale. Stone-making water. Note.

There are two Fountaynes of moſt different qualitie, in a place vpon the Sea coaſt, which is called *Turlocks* Hauen, the one cold, the other hot; theſe Fountaynes by pipes are drawne into one place, and tempered for bathing, they make a moſt wholeſome Bath. Not farre from theſe Fountaynes, there is a certaine other Fountayne, which bubbles foorth liquor like Wax, which notably cureth the *French* diſeaſe, which is very common there. *French* diſeaſe.

Not farre from the Hauen *Haffneford*, there is a cleft in a Rocke like to a Fountayne of vnmeaſu-

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meaſurable depth. If you looke into it, you cannot ſee the water, but if you caſt in a ſtone, halfe an houre after, you ſhall heare it falling, as if it fell into brazen Veſſels, and forthwith the water ariſeth, and it is filled to the top of the Wels brimme, and it is a moſt cleere water, which notwithſtanding no man dare touch, nor taſte, neither doth it flow out, but ſo long after, as the ſtone which is caſt in, ſinketh to the bottome. There is another Lake in the middle of the Iland, which caſteth forth a peſtiferous fume, inſomuch as it killeth Birds flying ouer it with the poyſon thereof.

Of the wonderfull Mountaynes in Iſland.

THere are three Mountaynes in *Iſland* very admirable, the one is called the Mountayne of the *Croſſe*, the other *Snenelſiockell*. Theſe two pierce the cloudes with their heigth, whoſe heads, or tops no man euer ſaw, nor are they euer ſeene without Ice and Snow; in thoſe, Lightnings and horrible Thunders are daily heard, when neuertheleſſe, in the neighbouring Valleyes the Aire is faire and cleere, as in Summer time. The third Mountayne lyeth on the North of the Iland, and not very high, but it hath burned very many yeeres; with what fire or matter, it is vnknowne; but ſeeing Brimſtone is digged out of the Earth throughout the whole Land, it ſeemeth, that the Sulphurie matter is ſometime inflamed. This Mountayne is not farre from the Sea, and the Sea on one ſide beates vpon it: it is called *Hecla*, ſometimes it caſteth forth flame, ſometimes fierie water, then blacke aſhes and Pumis ſtones, in ſo great abundance, that it darkeneth the Sunne. No man alſo can dwell neere it by ſixe mile, neither are there any paſtures about it. Sometimes bold men, and ſuch as regard not their liues, caſt ſtones into the hollow places; for ſometimes there is a wonderfull calme in the Mountayne; eſpecially when the Weſterne wind blowes, it caſteth backe the ſtones flung into it with an horrible noyſe and ſound: the common people thinke the ſoules of the damned to be tormented heere: it is certayne that diuers and horrible ſpirits are obſerued in this Mountayne and about it; for if a Battaile be fought in any place, the *Iſlanders*, eſpecially they that ſayle and fiſh in the Sea neere to *Hecla*, know the day of the Battaile fought, although they know not where it be done: for they ſee (as they report) wicked ſpirits going forth, and returning, and bringing ſoules with them. And ſuch a ſtorie is reported all *Iſland* ouer.

Hecla a burning Hill.

Conceit of Purgatorie.

A Fiſherman ſayling by *Hecla*, met with another ſhip, both had a proſperous wind, and when (after the manner of Saylers) he was demanded who hee was and of what place, hee anſwered, that hee had the Biſhop of *Breme* in his ſhip, whom hee would conuay to *Hecla*: and it was knowne that the Biſhop dyed the ſame day, which notwithſtanding, I would not ſet downe for truth. If any periſh by Sea, or otherwiſe dye, ſometimes leauing their Friends and Acquaintance, they appeare very heauie, being demanded whither they goe, and from whence, they anſwere they are brought to *Hecla*, vnder a cruell Maſter the *Deuill*, and ſo vaniſh. And they are ſo bewitched of Satan, that they thinke them the ſoules of the departed.

Colluſions of men, or Illuſions of Deuils. *Arngim Ionas* an *Iſlander* ſcoffes at it as fabulous.

But becauſe no man that is well in his wits, will thinke that Hell is in this Mountayne, yet it may be demanded, whence the Hill hath this matter, whereby it ſhould bring forth ſo many yeeres flames, ſo many aſhes, and ſuch abundance of Pumis ſtones? For wee ſee the moſt ſollid and firme bodies, and all things to be conſumed by fire: and for that cauſe ſome thinke, that it ſhall come to paſſe that theſe flames ſhall once be extingiſhed? for the cauſe fayling, they deny that any effects can follow. But heere (what I thinke) I will freely ſpeake, yet ſauing other mens iudgements. It is manifeſt by watry Meteors, that there is a continuall generation of water, by the vapours gathered together in the cauities of the Earth; which iſſueth forth by Fountayns; but the efficient and materiall cauſes abiding perpetually, the effects alſo continually remayne: ſo alſo in the bowels of the Earth, there are certayne places, which by their owne nature draw vnto them a hote and dry exhalation, and that it reſolues it into flames, aſhes, and Pumis ſtones, which may eaſily be done in this Mountayne, by reaſon of the Sulphur matter, which is found in *Iſland* throughout the whole Land. And as Fountaynes ſend forth more abundance of water in the Winter time, then in the Summer, nay, ſome of them are dry, becauſe matter failes; ſo is it with this Mountayne: for ſometimes matter failing, it hath neither flames, nor ſmoke, and all is quiet, whereby it appeareth that the matter and efficient cauſe faile. Howeuer it bee, I know this, that no man may come to the foot of the Mountayne without danger and feare, as hereafter ſhall be declared.

Strange Story.

The ſame yeere I was in *Iſland*, the nine and twentieth of Nouember, about midnight in the Sea, neere *Hecla*, there appeared a flame, which gaue light to the whole Iland, ſo that all of vs aſtoniſhed, wondred, and carefully expected the iſſue thereof: the elder ſort and ſuch as were skilfull in this matter, ſaid, that this light came from *Hecla*: an houre after, the whole Iland trembled, as it ſhould haue beene moued out of the place: after the Earthquake followed a horrible cracke, that if all warlike Ordnance had beene diſcharged, it had beene nothing to this terrour. It cannot be thought, much leſſe expreſſed by word, how horrible it was. Wee thought that the whole frame of the World would fall, and that the laſt Day was at hand: but it was

knowne

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knowne afterwards that the Sea went backe two leagues in that place, and remayned dry.

About the beginning of Iuly, at a certayn time of the yeere great ſtore of Ice ſuddenly floteth to the Iland about *Hecla*, and there goes a rumour through the whole Iland, nay it is beleeued, that the damned ſoules are tormented in this Ice by courſe, in the Flame, in the Mountayne, and after in the Ice. This Ice for three whole moneths ſwimmeth only about *Hecla*. If you take any part of this Ice out of the Sea, and wrap it in a linnen cloth, and lay it vp in a Cheſt, it remayneth ſo long vnmelted, as it ſwimmeth in the Sea; but if the Ice in the Sea vaniſh, which ſuddenly in one night happeneth, this appeareth not, nor leaueth any ſigne of moyſture in the linnen cloth, which is not a hard thing for Satan to doe, to take away the Ice without moyſture, to increaſe their incredulitie. *Olaus Magnus maketh mention of this Ice in his eleuenth Booke.* But becauſe I determined to ſearch out all things diligently, I ſayled not without great feare vnto this Ice, and I obſerued, that this Ice was violently caſt againſt the Rockes by force of the winds, and ſo made a mournfull ſound afarre off, as if miſerable howlings were heard there. Hereupon the *Iſlanders* thinke the ſoules of the damned are tormented in this Ice. Another wonder.

Of the Riches of the Islanders.

I Haue ſaid that *Island* was a rough and ſnowie Countrey, and beſides, it is full of Rockes and ſtones; and ſo truly, that there is not a field in the whole Iland: they haue not ſo much as Gardens, wherein they may haue Pot-herbes or Pulſe: they know no kinde of Corne nor Apples, Peares, nor Cheries, nor any fruit of Trees. And, which is almoſt incredible, they neither vſe Bread nor Salt, yet they are well liking, and ſtrong. There is no Citie in the whole Iland: they ſeldome haue two or three dwellings together. They haue their Cottages on the Sea ſide for fiſhing, and vnder ground by reaſon of the fierce windes. No fruits.

There is no lone of money among them, for wares are changed for wares. Brimſtone groweth on the South part, and almoſt throughout the whole Iland, which is digged out in great abundance: they ſell this ſtuffe purged for a ſmall price. Mines of Gold or Siluer, nor of any other mettall they haue none. They vſe Iron, but ſuch as is brought vnto them. You ſhall ſcarſe finde a man, who hath not Iron Nayles in a Bagge, wherewith Horſe-ſhooes are faſtened. Barter. Brimſtone.

All their houſes are vnder ground, for they haue no matter for building. There is not a tree in the whole Iland, except the Birch-tree, and that in one place, which alſo exceedeth not the ſtature of a man in length, and that by reaſon of the vehemencie of the winds, that it cannot grow higher. This Birch-tree after the Summer *Solſtitium* beginnes firſt to bud, the leaues haue a moſt ſweet ſmell, and of ſo fragrant a ſauour, that the *Germanes* put them in their Tents, and vpon their meats for a ſingular delight. Yet ſometimes great abundance of Firre-trees from *Tartaria*, or elſe-where carried by force of the waues and the Ice, arriued in *Island*. The chiefe vſe of them is in building Cabbins vnder the ground: you ſhall ſcarſly find a houſe out of the earth, by reaſon of the ſtrong winds, which ſometimes ouerthrow Horſes and their Riders. They haue great plentie of Butter, for the fatnes of the graſſe: for the *Island* graſſe is ſo fat, that Oxen after a certaine time are to be driuen from the Paſtures, leſt they burſt. And it is of ſo pleaſing a ſent, that our men lay it vp in their Cheſts with ſingular care for their garments. The moſt part (for ſcarcitie of Veſſels) lay their Butter aſide in the corners of their Houſes, (as we doe Lime or other matter) and that without Salt. They haue domeſticall cattle, as kine; but many of them are without hornes. Al their Horſes are amblers & very fit for carrying of burdens. They haue very great ſheepe, they keepe not a Hogge nor a Hen, for want of graine, if fodder or hay faile them in the Winter, they feed their cattle with fiſh. They haue rough Dogs bred without tayle and eares for their pleaſure, which they ſell deere and greatly eſteeme, when notwithſtanding they offer their children to any that will aske them, and that freely. Beſides, this Iland hath white Foxes, and huge Beares of the ſame colour. They haue no Birds but water-fowle, whereof there are diuers kinds and ſorts found there, vnknowne vnto vs. Crowes ſometimes are changed white; and excellent Falcons, and ſome among them white, which being taken and gotten, with the great coſt of the *Spaniards* and *Portugals*, are alſo carried away in great number, which thing was done, while I was in *Island*, to my great profit. *Island* alſo hath white Partridges. There are alſo euery where through the whole Iland moſt pleaſant Riuers, which yeeld the Inhabitants fiſh in great plentie, Salmon Trowts, and Sturgeons. There is one only bridge in all the Iland, made of the bones of a Whale. They that goe from one part of the Iland to another by the Continent, haue no way which they may follow, for the ſolitarineſſe thereof: but as Saylers in the Sea, ſo they by the helpe of the Load-ſtone performe their journeyes. The depth of the Sea neere *Island* is very exceeding. In theſe gulfs there are Whales of wonderful bignes, and many Sea-monſters which cannot bee killed or taken of men, the Ice only through the force of the winds daſheth them againſt the Rockes, and killeth them. I ſaw ſuch a Monſter caſt vpon the ſheare dead, whoſe length was thirty ells, his heigth more then a very long Warlike Pike. Great winds. Fat graſſe. Their kine, horſes, and ſheepe. Dogs of more price then children. Beares and Foxes. White Crowes Riuers. Whale-bone-bridge. Trauell by compaſſe. Whales.

A Whale being dead or killed, the Inhabitants make Buildings and Dwellings of the bones thereof with great dexteritie and skill, they make alſo ſeates, benches, tables, and other Huge Whale.

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vtenſils, ſmoothing them ſo that they ſeeme like Iuory. They that ſleepe in theſe houſes, are ſaid alwayes to dreame of ſhipwrack. And although it bee a huge and fearfull creature, and haue great ſtrength, yet notwithſtanding oftentimes he is not onely withſtood, but ouercome of his capitall enemie (not ſo great) which is called *Orca*; this fiſh hath the ſhape of a ſhip turned vp-ſide-downe, and vpon his backe very ſharpe and long finnes, wherewith hee woundeth the ſoft of the belly of the Whale, and killeth him; and the Whale ſo feareth this fiſh, that in ſhunning him, he often daſheth himſelfe againſt the ſhoare.

Note.

Orca.

The *Iſeland* Sea hath a Monſter alſo, whoſe name is vnknowne. They iudge it a kinde of Whale at the firſt ſight, when hee ſhewes his head out of the Sea, hee ſo ſcarreth men that they fall downe almoſt dead. His ſquare head hath flaming eyes, on both ſides fenced with long hornes, his body is blacke, and beſet with blacke quills; if he be ſeene by night, his eyes are fiery, which lighten his whole head, which he putteth out of the Sea, nothing can either bee painted or imagined more fearfull. *Olaus Magnus maketh mention of this Monſter in his twentieth Booke*, and ſaith, *that it is twelue cubits long*. Such a Monſter at that time tore in pieces with his teeth a Fiſher-boate, wherein there were three Fiſher-men, ſo that they were drowned, one of them, who held in his hand a little cord, wherewith hee vſed to draw the hooke, and the fiſhes, laid hold of the boord which floted in the Sea; ſo he was ſaued getting out of the bottom vpon the planke and ſwam foorth, and declared this to the Kings Gouernour in my preſence, adding moreouer that he was ſaued from heauen, that he might get maintenance for his children, who otherwiſe were readie to periſh with hunger, when the other two though married, yet were without children.

A Sea-monſter.

Another Monſter alſo is often there ſeene and taken, of ten or twelue elles long, it is called *Hacfal*, it is all fat; it is taken after a wonderfull manner: they haue a very long pike whereunto they faſten an Iron with a forked point, that it cannot goe backe, vnto the ſtaffe a cord of a maruailous length is faſtned; they ſticke this ſpeare in the Monſter, which ſwimmeth vnto it for prey, perceiuing a man in the little boates; as ſoone as the Monſter feeles himſelfe ſtrooken and wounded, forthwith he hides himſelfe in the Deepe, and there (his bloud being powred out) dyes, afterward the Fiſhers draw him to the land by the long cords faſtned to the ſpeare.

Hacfal another Monſter.

Beſides, it hath diuers Sea Monſters: a Dogge fiſh, which putting his head out of the Sea barketh, and receiueth his whelps ſporting in the Sea againe into his belly, while they come to more growth. It hath Horſes and Kine, and what not? and it is a maruell, how skilfull Nature ſports, in expreſſing the ſhape of all earthly Creatures and Fowles in the Sea. Neither ſhould any man perſwade me that theſe things are true, although ten *Ariſtotles* ſhould affirme them vnto me, vnleſſe I had ſeene moſt of them with mine eyes. Let no man therefore preſently cry out, that what he knowes not is fabulous.

Dog-fiſh.

Note.

The men of *Lubeck*, *Hamburg*, and *Breme*, were often wont to goe to this Iland, and leaue their ſeruants in the winter lodgings; but now it is prouided by the Kings authoritie, that no *Germaine*, either by reaſon of trading or learning of the language, leaue his ſeruants there in the winter; but vpon what occaſion this came to paſſe, the matter ſtandeth thus. In the yeere of Chriſt 1561. there was a Citizen of *Hamburg*, one *Conradus Bloem*, left by an other in *Iſeland* in the winter lodgings with the Biſhop in *Scalholden*, for trading and learning of the tongue: the Biſhops fiſhers find a whole Vnicornes horne in the Ice, brought out of *Groneland* (as it is thought) where yet at this day Vnicorns are ſaid to be, & thinking it to be a Whales tooth, nor did the Biſhop beleeue otherwiſe, they bring it to their Maſter, who gaue it to *Conradus* begging it; he being ſomewhat craftie, ſold it after at *Antwerp* for ſome thouſands of Florins. When this thing came to the King of *Denmarks* eares, he forbad that no *Germaine* ſhould winter in *Iſeland* in any cauſe.

Horne of a Sea-fiſh. See *Ionas Poole* and *Baffin*, *l.* 4.

Of the iudgement of the Iſelanders.

THere is a moſt pleaſant place almoſt in the midſt of the Iland, you would ſay it were a Paradiſe in the Spring time, where ſometimes there was a high Mountaine, which burned with inward fire, as *Hecla* doth at this day; which matter after it was conſumed, made a Plaine, but the Rocks which were erected about the Mountaine, ſtand yet, therefore this place is ſo fenced by Nature, that they that enter it, muſt goe one by one. This place is famous for two great falls of water, where two Riuers from the higheſt Rocks caſt themſelues ſteepe downe one againſt the other, with an aſtoniſhing and horrible daſhing of the waters againſt the Rocks. Theſe Riuers meete together in the middle of the field, and by a great whirlepoole are ſwallowed vp into the ground.

Heere yeerely the nine and twentieth of Iune, the Inhabitants who haue any controuerſie, meete together: for in no other place or time Iuſtice is adminiſtred: after they are entred, ſtandings are placed by the Gouernours guard, who admit all that deſire to come in, no man hath libertie to goe out, without the conſent and authoritie of the Gouernour. When they are come thither, the Gouernour offreth his Charter to bee publikely read, whereby hee procureth credit to his Office, and hauing ſpoken before ſomewhat of the Kings goodwill, and his owne towards the Ilanders, he exhorteth them to communicate Iuſtice vnto all, without reſpect of perſons, hee after

Iſlanders terme

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after departeth, and keepes himſelfe in his Tent, hauing heard a godly Sermon, the twelue men, whom they call *Lochmaders*, as it were men of Iuſtice, ſit downe on the ground, each of them hath a Booke in his hand, contayning the Law of that Iland, written in the vulgar tongue. Accuſation and anſwer being made, they goe apart into ſeuerall places, euery one reades ouer his Booke diligently, going afterwards againe to his place, without Scribe, without replication or doubling, and iuglings of ſuch brabling Lawyers, they conferre of the ſentence and pronounce it: If any thing bee worthy of deliberation, it is brought to the Gouernour for conſultation and for his honours ſake, when notwithſtanding they leaue no power of deciding it to him. Manner of trials and ſuites.

There are many accuſations of Theft and Adulteries, they make no queſtion of their Bonds, of their Fees, their Hereditarie fields, or any ſumme of money: there are no controuerſies there. Theſe twelue men, ouer which one is chiefe, are greatly honoured amongſt them. Theſe doe determine, and diligently inquire of all publike Controuerſies. If there bee any wicked Act committed that yeere, if Murther bee committed any where, if Theft, if Adulterie, if Cattle be ſtolen away (which vſeth oft to bee done) then theſe men ſet downe the puniſhment. They that are condemned to dye, are beheaded: the reſt, who are any way to bee puniſhed, they burne with a marke, this puniſhment with them is moſt grieuous: for they are marked in the forehead: they that are ſo marked are accounted in the number of wicked men: others are beaten with roddes: and I ſaw when the Father and the Sonne for theft (for they were Cattell ſtealers) were held Captiues, that the Father was compelled to beate his Sonne with roddes, and hee afterwards beheaded. Sentence and execution.

Of Groneland.

ISeland by Nature is ſomewhat long, it hath *Norway* on the Eaſt, the *Orcades* and *Scotland* on the South, *Groneland* on the Weſt, and the *Hyperborean* or *Congealed Sea* vpon the North. Although I purpoſed to paſſe ouer *Groneland* with ſilence, yet ſeeing I touched vpon the Land, and ſaw ſome few things, I thought it was to bee added. There was in a certaine Monaſterie in *Iſeland* called *Helgafiel*, a certayne blinde Monke left (for the Abbot of the Monaſterie had conuerted the Reuenues to the Kings vſe) who liued miſerably there: hee was borne in *Groneland*, of a darke complexion and broad face. The Gouernour commanded him to bee brought vnto him, that hee might know ſome certaintie of the ſtate of *Groneland*. Hee ſayd, there was a Monaſterie of Saint *Thomas* in *Groneland*, into the which his Parents thruſt him when he was but young, and after that, hee was taken out by the Biſhop of *Groneland*, when hee was thirtie yeeres of age, to ſaile with him into *Norway*, to the Archbiſhop to *Nidroſia* (or *Dronten*) to whom the *Iſeland* Biſhops are ſubiect: in his returne hee was left in a Monaſterie by the Biſhop, whoſe Countrey *Groneland* was: this was done (as hee ſayd) 1546. Hee ſaid, that Iland was called *Groneland*, Antiphraſtically. For that it ſeldome or neuer waxeth greene, and that there is ſo great cold there throughout the whole yeere, except Iune, Iuly and Auguſt, that being clothed and couered with Furres, they could ſcarſe bee warme; and that they had at home certayne round peeces of wood, which being continually mooued with the feete, kept their feet warme. Hee ſayd, it aboundeth as *Iſeland* doth with Fiſhes, and that they had Beares and white Foxes, nay *Pigmies*, and *Vnicornes*, and that day did not appeare, till the Sunne had runne through *Piſces*. Their *Pigmies* are Beaſts and Vnicornes. Fiſhes.

This Monke told vs maruellous ſtrange things: that there was in the Monaſterie of Saint *Thomas* (where hee liued) a Fountayne, which ſent forth burning and flaming water, that this water was conueyed through pipes of ſtone, to the ſeuerall Cells of the Monkes, and that it made them warme, as Stoaues doe with vs; and that all kinde of meates might bee boyled in this Fountayne and fierie water, no otherwiſe, then if it had beene fire indeed. Hee added moreouer, that the walls of the Monaſterie were made of Pumice ſtones, out of a certayne Mountayne (not farre from the Monaſterie) like to *Hecla*: for if yee powre theſe burning Waters vpon the Pumice ſtones, there will follow a ſlimie matter, which in ſtead of Lime they vſe for Morter.

After the Gouernours conference with the Monke, I came priuatly vnto him, to demand certayne particular things touching the *Pigmies* and other things; hee had little skill in the *Latine* tongue, hee vnderſtood mee ſpeaking *Latine*, but anſwered by an Interpreter. Hee ſayd, the *Pigmies* repreſent the moſt perfect ſhape of Man, that they are hairy to the vttermoſt joynts of the fingers, and that the Males haue beards downe to the knees. But although they haue the ſhape of men, yet they haue little ſenſe or vnderſtanding, nor diſtinct ſpeech, but make ſhew of a kinde of hiſſing, after the manner of Geeſe; that his Abbot kept two of them in his Monaſterie, male and female, but they liued not long, and that they were vnreaſonable Creatures, and liue in perpetuall darkneſſe. That ſome ſay, they haue warre with the Cranes, that hee knew not. *Pigmies*, our men haue not ſeene ſuch.

He affirmed, that the ſame maner of food was in *Groneland*, as in *Iſland*, to wit, of fiſh but not of cattle, becauſe they haue no cattle, & that the country is not populous. Forthwith from *Iſland* begins the *Hyperborean Sea*, which beats vpon *Groneland*, and the Country of the *Pigmies*, which at this day is called *Nona Zembla*, & there the frozen Sea hath a Bay which is called the *White Sea*, Of this the *Engliſh* Diſcouerics in this and the next Booke will giue better light.

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or *Mare Album*, and there are there certayne paſſages whereby they ſayle into the *Scythian* Ocean, if they can for Ice. And the Gouernour had the King of *Denmarkes* Ship, furniſhed with all neceſſaries: but when hee heard (by the Monke) of theſe paſſages, and ſhort cut into the Kingdome of *China*, hee affected this commendation, that hee might open theſe paſſages and Ice vnto the Kingdome of *China* by the *Tartarian* Sea, which had often beene attempted by others, but in vaine.

The Authors Voyage for Diſcouerie.

The laſt day therefore of March, in the yeere 1564. hee commanded that Ship to ſayle to thoſe places, and mee alſo together with them, being willing of mine owne accord: and enioyned me to marke diligently the ſcituation of the places, and whatſoeuer wee met with worthy of ſight or report. Wee were in the Ship threeſcore and foure men, as well *Danes* as *Iſelanders*, and the twentieth day of Aprill wee arriued at a certayne Promontorie of *Groneland*, and when wee found no Hauen, to the which wee might ſafely commit our ſelues, and letting downe the lead, wee had ſounded the depth of the Sea, it was ſuch as wee could not anchor there, and the abundance of Ice was ſo great, that it was neither ſafe nor poſſible to ſayle neerer to the Rocks; foure and twentie therefore of vs armed, with great labour and danger went on ſhoare in our Skiffes among whom I alſo was) to trie whether wee could finde a harbour, and what kinde of men *Groneland* had. In the meane time, the great Ship floated in the Sea and Ice, in a great calme, halfe of our companie abode in the ſhoare to keepe the Skiffe; another part (and I with them) ranne abroad to diſcouer: they that were left on ſhoare to keepe the Skiffe, going hither and thither, found a little man dead with a long beard, with a little Boate, and a crooked Hooke of the bone of a Fiſh, and a leather cord: foure fiſh Bladders were bound vnto the Boate (as is ſuppoſed) that it ſhould not bee drowned, whereof three were ſunke and fallen flat: This Boate (becauſe it was very vnlike ours) the Gouernour ſent to the King of *Denmarke*.

Olaus Magnus *in his firſt Booke writeth, that there is a Rocke in the middeſt of* Iſeland *and* Groneland, *called* Hutiſocke, *which wee ſayled by, and that there they haue Ships of leather, which hee teſtifieth hee ſaw, but it was not ſuch an one: but* Petrus Bembus *in his ſeuenth Booke, in the* Venetian *Hiſtorie, deſcribeth a Ship, which was like vnto this, where hee writeth thus: While a* French *Ship kept her courſe not farre from* Britaine, *ſhee tooke a Boate built of Oſiers the middeſt beeing cut out, and the ſolid barke of Trees ioyned together, wherein there were ſeuen men of a middle ſtature, ſomewhat darke coloured, of a large and broad face, marked with ſtrange ſcarres and violet colour; theſe had their garments of Fiſhes skinnes, full of ſpots, they bore a painted Crowne of reede wouen in, as it were with ſeuen eares; they did eate raw Fleſh, and drunke Blood, as wee doe Wine; their ſpeech could not bee vnderſtood, ſixe of them dyed, one young man was brought aliue to the* Aulercos, *where the King was.*

In Sir *Thomas Smiths* Hall in *London* is a kind of Boate ſomwhat like, of Barke ſowed Seales skins.

It is not vnlikely to bee true, that this Ship with theſe ſeuen men, were driuen out of Groneland, *into the* Britaine *Ocean: ſeeing the deſcription of* Bembus *his Ship agreeth with that found in* Groneland.

Wee wandred in the meane ſeaſon, in a Land vnknowne vnto vs, which was couered with Snow and Ice, wee found neither footing of men, not any habitation, nor fit Port, but the Sea was cloſed and fenced on euery ſide with craggie Rockes. Yet we met with a great white Beare, which neither feared vs, nor could bee driuen away with our cryes, but came full vpon vs, as to his certaine prey, and when hee came neere vnto vs, being twice ſhot through with a Gunne, hee ſtood bolt vpright with his fore-feet as a man ſtandeth, till hee was ſhot through the third time, and ſo fell downe dead: his Skinne was ſent to the King of *Denmarke*. We agreed amongſt our ſelues before wee went on ſhoare, if wee found a fit Harbour, or elſe had need of their helpe, that wee ſhould plucke vp our ſtanderd, which wee carried out with vs for that purpoſe, and that they, if they would call vs backe, ſhould ſignifie the ſame with their Ordnance. A tempeſt ariſing in the meane while, the Maſter of the Ship giues vs a ſigne to returne, by the diſcharging of a piece of Ordnance, and calls vs backe vnto the Ship: all of vs therefore returned with great labour after three dayes vnto the Ship with the Beares skinne; wee ſayled therefore to the other ſide of the Iland toward the North, to the Countrey of the *Pigmies* or *Noua Zembla*, that by the mouth of the *White Sea*, wee might come into the *Scythian*, or *Tartarian* Sea, from whence (they ſay) there is a paſſage to the Kingdome of *China*, and *Cathay*; but beeing hindred by the Ice, wee could not paſſe the mouth of that Sea: therefore without doing any thing, wee returned into *Iſeland* the ſixteenth of Iune.

A Beare.

The Authors Iourney to Mount *Hecla*.

I ſayd before, that the *Iſelanders* the nine and twentieth of Iune yeerely came together almoſt in the middle of the Iland to Iudgement, and after our returne, the Gouernour went thither, and I with him. Some of the next inhabitants of *Hecla* then came to Iudgement, whom the Gouernour inuited twice or thrice to dinner and ſupper. Theſe men while they were at ſupper, reported wonderfull things of the Mountayne *Hecla*, and other things; I was foorthwith inflamed with a deſire to ſee and heare all. Wherefore the Gouernour commended mee to theſe men, that they ſhould bring mee thither, and commanded all things ſhould bee ſhewed me, which they knew there worthy to bee ſeene. This Gouernour was a *Dane*, a Noble man, and excellently well learned: to this man ſurely I am much bound for his great liberalitie towards mee, in that

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that he cauſed me to be conueighed at his charge to diuers places of the Iland, where any notable thing was to be ſeene. I accompanied with two *Iſlanders*, and a certaine *Dane*, who carried prouiſion, and a Tent on Horſe-backe, ſpent foure whole dayes, while we go through rough places, Hilly and deſolate vnto this Mountayne. For ſome Miles about *Hecla*, all was full of blacke aſhes and Pumis ſtones. The *Iſlanders* aduiſed me that I ſhould goe no neerer, leading away the Horſe, which they had lent me.

I, becauſe I purpoſed to ſee, and ſearch out all things diligently; accompanied with the *Dane*, came neerer, as though I went to climbe the Hill, and although at the firſt ſight we were afraid, yet I would not leaue off my purpoſe, and by reaſon of my young yeeres, not vnderſtanding the danger, I went through the aſhes and Pumis ſtones alone to *Hecla*, leauing the *Dane*. There was there at that time a wonderfull calme, ſo that I ſaw neither fire nor ſmoke. But behold, ſuddenly in the bowels of the Earth, a great noyſe was heard, after this, followed flames of a greene colour, which had almoſt killed me with their Sulphurie and filthy ſtinke, ſo that I ſcarſe eſcaped to my forſaken horſes and companions. Vpon that ſudden aſtoniſhment I fell into a ſickneſſe, and vehement cogitation, ſeeing theſe horrible flames were alwayes preſent before mine eyes: inſomuch that my *Iſland* companions were compelled to carry me away vnto their houſe, with whom I lay ſicke two whole monethes: while in the meane time the *Dane* returned to the Gouernour, and to the *Hamburgers*, and acquainted them with my ſtate. I liued miſerably amongſt the *Barbarians*, ſicke and vnknowne; they had Biſket which I ſteeped in Milke, and and ſo for that time, I indured hunger, while (being ſtronger) I might returne to the Gouernour.

The *Hamburgers*, by reaſon of the time of the yeere, leaſt they ſhould looſe the opportunitie of ſayling, deſpairing now of my returne, ſet ſayle (for they depart before the foure and twentieth of Auguſt, leſt being hindered after by the Ice, they cannot get out) yet with ſpeciall care commended me to the Gouernour (if at any time I did returne) leauing Biſket, Wine, and Beere. The Gouernour hath a dwelling fit enough for the manner and faſhion of this Countrey, on the South of this Iland, not farre from the Hauen of *Hafneforde*, the place is called *Beſtede*. I was brought hither of the *Iſlanders*, to the Gouernour, who, for our common ſtudies, entertayned me willingly and honorably. But although wee were plentifully furniſhed with all neceſſaries, yet being very wearie of that life in ſuch darkneſſe, I expected the ſhips out of *Germany* the next yeere with great deſire.

Hafneforde. His abiding there two winters.

There grew then warre betweene *Ericus* of *Suetia*, and *Frederick* the Second King of *Denmarke*; which was continued with great courage for ten yeeres after. The *Lubekers* were Conſorts and Confederates of Warre vnto the *Dane*. So moſt part of the Cities on the Sea-coaſt, vpon the *Balthicke* Sea, hindred or intangled with this Warre, intermitted their ſayling into *Iſland* this yeere, therefore wayting in vaine, I muſt ſtay. The yeere following, when I had wayted till the end of Iune, all hope of returning into *Germany* that yeere was taken away, and which was worſe, the yeerely ſhip came not from *Denmarke*: and bread and Wine failed vs almoſt foure monethes.

There lay *Portugals* at anchor at that time in *Iſland* in a ſmall ſhip; who came thither to fowle, they caried away excellent Falcons, and white ones among them, in great number. I thought good rather to croſſe ouer into *Portugall* with them, then to wayte another yeere, either for *Danes* or *Germanes*. And when they gaue the Gouernour his Cuſtome, he dealt with them in my behalfe concerning the charge, that I might paſſe with them, and he liberally paid the charges, and honorably ſent me away with a worthy Preſent. Not far from the Kings houſe, there was a certayn Miniſter, *Ionas* by name, he familiarly ſaluted me before I departed: for the time I was in *Iſland*, I had ſome familiaritie with him, to whom alſo I left my Bookes when I departed: he for friendſhips ſake, knit three knots in a handkerchiefe, and promiſed me a proſperous wind, ſaying, if by chance the winds at any time grow contrary at Sea, open theſe knots, and then remember me. When therfore about the twentieth of September we had ſayled, and now *Spaine* was in our view, there was ſo great a calme, that we felt not a breath of wind, and that for three whole dayes. In this calme my friends promiſe came into my minde, and I deſired to proue it. I looſed the firſt knot, by and by, after one houre, there aroſe a very proſperous winde, but blowing very gently, I vntye the ſecond and the third, forthwith a Tempeſt beganne more and more to grow, ſo truly that after two dayes we ridde in the Riuer *Tagus*, which beateth vpon *Liſbone*.

His Nauigations on the Coaſt of *Africa*, &c. hee mentions in his Preface, which I haue for breuitie omitted.

CHAP. XXIII.

Extracts of ARNGRIM IONAS * *an* Islander, *his* Chrymogæa *or Historie of* Island: *published*, Anno Dom. 1609.

* This learned *Islander* published *A.* 1593. one Booke of *Island*, which M. *Hak.* translated and set forth in the first Tome of his Voyages. This worke is larger in three Books out of which I haue taken some things which I held conducent to our purpose. In the former worke he confuteth the errours of diuers Authors which write fasly many things of his Countrey.

§. I.

Of Island, *the Situation, Discouerie, Plantation and Language.*

Hola in 65. degrees 44. minutes.

ISland is an Iland of the North, compassed about with the huge Ocean: whose Gosmographicall latitude towards the North, to wit, at *Hola*, the Episcopall Seat of North *Island*, is 65. degrees, and 44. minutes: and the longitude 23. degrees and 30. minutes, or thereabouts: for I will not precisely affirme the same, by reason of that scruple, arising from the Paralaxis of the Moone in the obseruation of the Eclipses to be doubted: which only way of finding out the longitude, that most famous man, *Gudbrandus Thorlacius*, now Bishop of North *Island*, hath hitherto shewed: who hath imparted vnto vs this longitude and latitude of his Sea: and was the first, that I know, among our Countreymen, who hath deliuered any certaintie in Writing, concerning this matter.

And surely, that which at this day, and so from the first entrance of Inhabitants, beareth the name of *Island*, (while as yet it remayned barren and desolate) had diuers names allotted orgiuen vnto it from diuers Discouerers: whereof three are mentioned.

Diuers names of *Island*.

Sneland.

Naddoc first Discouerer.

Farre Ilands.

For first of all it was called *Snelandia*. For a certaine Pyrate called *Naddoccus*, going towards the *Farensian* Ilands (commonly called *Farenar*, for the multitude of Egges) was brought vnto the shoares of East *Island*, through a Tempest, not farre from the Mountayne *Reidarsiall*, (so called afterward) to the Bay *Reidarfiard*: who ascending the Mountayne, and beholding the bordering Countrey farre and neere, found it all Desert. And departing from the Coast about Autumne, he perceiued the higher tops of the Mountaynes to bee couered with exceeding much Snow; and therefore, as the present case required, he called the Iland *Snelandia*, that is to say, *The Snowie Countrey*.

Gardar second Discouerer.

Another following him, one *Gardarus* the sonne of *Suanarus* a *Suecian* borne, perswaded through the report which *Naddoccus* had brought concerning *Snelande*, went to seeke it: he found it, who arriued also neere the Easterne shoare, and from thence being carried about the Iland, he abode in the Bay of North *Island* called *Skialfanda*, and wintered there in the yeere of

A.D.864.

Christ 864. and called the name of the Hauen, *Husawich*, from the wintering places, or houses built there. But the Spring beginning, *Gardarus* being about to depart into *Norway*, the ship Boat was driuen away by a tempest, into an Hauen neere vnto the former, and in the same Boat there was a certayne Mariner called *Natfare*: from whom also this hauen had the name of

Gardarsholme.

Natfarawicke. Moreouer, *Gardarus* returning to his friends, called that new Countrey *Gardarsholme*, as it were, the Iland of *Gardarus*, neglecting the name of *Snelanda*.

Floco third Discouerer.

Moreouer, the desire also of visiting a Countrey newly discouered, possessed many. For the third also, one *Floco*, and he a most famous Pirate purposing to visit *Gardarsholme*, set sayle out of an Hauen of *Norway*, which lyeth neere the watch-towre or rather *Pharus Flokawarda*, situate in the limits of the Prouinces of *Hordaslandia*, and *Rogalandia*: and passing by *Hietlandia*, (misnamed by some *Schetlandia*) called a certayne Hauen by the name of *Flokawogur*, and there the deepest part of the Sea (where *Geirhilda* the daughter of *Floco* by chance was drowned) was caled *Geirhildarwata*, from her: no otherwise then that Sea was called *Hellespontus*, wherein by misfortune *Phryxus* lost his sister *Helle*. There was yet no vse of the Mariners Compasse: wherefore *Floco* leauing *Hietlandia*, tooke certayne Rauens vnto him: and when hee thought hee had sayled a great way, he sent forth one Rauen, which flying aloft, went backe againe to *Hietlande*, which she saw behind. Whereupon *Floco* perceiuing that he was yet neerer to *Hietland* then other Countryes, and therefore couragiously going forward, he sent forth another Rauen: which because she could see no Land, neither before nor behind, light into the ship again. But lastly, the third Rauen was sent forth by *Floco*, and hauing for the most part performed his Voyage, through the sharpnesse of her quicke sight attayning the Land, which the Mariners desired, she speedily flew thither: whose direction *Floco* following, beheld first the Easterne side of the Iland, as his Predecessors did: and from thence directing his course to the South, found a very wide and open Bay twelue *Islandish* miles broad, betweene the two Promontories or high Lands, afterwards called *Renkanes*, and *Snafelsnes*. And hearing by a certayne Mariner (whom he had with him) a *Scot* borne, named *Faxa*, that the Bay they now met with, was the huge mouth of a Riuer or Floud;

Rauen Guides.

Floud; *Floco* to reproue the folly of *Faxa*, supposing so huge a Bay of the Sea to be the mouth of a Riuer, called the name of the Bay inclosed betweene the foresaid Promontories, *Faxaos*, which signifieth *the mouth of Faxa*. This Bay, by reason of the multitude of Hauens, was afterwads called *Hafnafiordur*: which name *Hafnafiordur* at this day is more specially vsed of a most safe Hauen of the same Bay.

After this, *Floco* saying along the West side of the Iland, entred somewhat within the Bay *Breidafiord*, remaining in a certaine Hauen of the Prouince *Bardestraund*, called *Watnsfiordur* (for I vse the names giuen them afterwards) and there preparing wintering places, he liued very commodiously and well with fish of diuers kindes, wherewith that Bay doth abound. But hauing the Spring time here very vntemperate through cold, hee found a Bay (which entreth this part of the Land on the North) to be filled with Ice of the Sea, which wee call *Gronelandish* Ice. From which Ice, *Floco* deuised the third name for the Iland, and called it *Island*. Moreouer also *Floco* turning to the South side, passed another Winter in *Island*: and returning into *Norway* (from the Rauens, which hee vsed in stead of the Mariners Compasse) he allotted it the surname of *Rasnasloke*. The name *Island* of Ice.

And *Island* surely obtained these names consequently from the finders, or discouerers thereof. For as touching the fourth, *Thule*, imposed vpon this Land by some, I cannot bee perswaded to beleeue, it is true; chiefly by this argument; That *Thyle*, or *Thule* among the ancient Writers, was often in the mouth and writings not onely of *Pliny* in his second booke of *Naturall Histories* 75. Chapter and fourth booke, and sixteenth Chapter (and *Pliny* flourished about the eightieth yeere of Christ) and of him who was more ancient then *Pliny*, *Pythias Massilienſis*: but also of *Pub. Virgilius*, who liued not aboue fourteene yeeres after Christ: but *Island*, till the yeere of Christ 874. remained altogether desert, as hereafter I shall speake. *Thule* therefore, which *Virgil* said should serue *Augustus* (*Geor.* 1. *tibi ſeruiat vltima Thule*: where euen euery child knoweth that *Thule* is *Synecdochically* spoken, for the Inhabitanes of *Thule*) not onely inhabited in the times of *Augustus* and *Virgil*, but also knowne to the *Romanes*, is not *Island*, which many ages after began first to be inhabited. Besides, *Plinie* himselfe seemeth in the later place recited to reckon *Thule* with the Ilands of *Britaine*: for, saith hee, *Vltima omnium quæ memorantur eſt Thule*: to wit, of the *Brittish* Ilands, for hee speaketh of them. It is likely also that *Virgil* meant the same, who said *Thule* was the last, in the place before recited: and likewise, *Pentus toto diuiſos orbe Britannos*: that is to say, the last. Let me yet vrge the same argument further, from the age of *Claudianus Alexandrinus*, and *Pub. Papinius Statius*, farre more ancient then he. For *Claudianus* about the yeere of Christ 390. writeth thus concerning the successe of the *Getick* Wars atchieued by *Theodosius*. *Island* is not *Thule*. *Thule* further of the *Brittish* Iles.

Famaque ingrantes ſuccincta pauoribus alas,
Secum cuncta trahens, à Gadibus vſque Britannum
Terruit Oceanum: & noſtro procul axe remotam
Inſolito Belli, tremefecit murmure Thulen.

Then blackwing'd Fame Feare girt, frights all the World with Warre.
From *Cades* to *Britaine*, from Our World shakes *Thule* farre.

But did Report and Fame cause *Island* not inhabited, and desert to tremble? And *Statius* more ancient by three hundred yeeres then *Claudian*, in his third Booke *Sylua*, writeth thus.

Quanquam etſi gelidæ iremanſurus ad Arctos,
Vel ſuper Heſperiæ vada caligantia Thules.

Though I should dwel in *Artike* frosts,
Or mystie shelues of *Thules* West coasts.

You heare, not onely a slight report of *Thule* came to *Statius* eares, but that the shallow places, quicke sand, or shelues found in approching to the Iland were sufficiently knowne vnto him, by the often relation of Nauigators: of which sort in the circuit of *Island*, there are none that I know, which experience speaketh: but in comming to the Ilands of *Britaine* they are very ordinarie and common, as they say.

The Longitude thereof from the East vnto the West, hath not hitherto beene expressed by any certaine or assured measure that I know, nor yet the Latitude from North to South; saue that in an ancient Codicall or Writing I found that the Longitude was twentie dayes iourney: and the Latitude (where it is broadest) foure dayes, but the iourneyes, as elsewhere, so also with vs are not alike, (yet here I vnderstand *Pyngmannaleid* twentie, in the Authors owne hand-writing it is *Dagleider*) nor is it expressed whether of Horse-men or Foot-men. But the Latitude it selfe is not euery where the same; by reason of *Bayes* on both sides, to wit, from the Sotth and North entring the Land it selfe with vnequall distances. The Easterly bound is *Austurhorn*: the Westerne *Randesandur* (for the Promontory *Sua-fellenes* lyeth more toward

* The Author proceedeth in this disputation, further then our Reader perhaps would permit vs. The learned and curious may there find enough: and more yet in *Ortelius* his both. *Thesaurus* and *Theatrum*,

who proueth out of *Pompeius*, *Ptolemæus*, and *Procopius*, that *Island* is not *Thule* but (as the name sounds) *Tylemarke*, a Region in *Norway*, or all *Scandia*, of which that is a part, still retaining the name.

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the South-west) but the North bound is *Langanes*, and the South *Reikranes*. The Iland also from the foure quarters of the World, is diuided into North, South, East and West, and the Promontorie *Langanes* diuideth North *Island* from East *Island*; from West *Island*, the Bay *Rutafiordur*: from South *Island*, the vast and huge deserts of rough, and inaccessable places extended the whole length of the Iland. But South *Island*, opposite to the North, through these rough and inaccessable places lying betweene the Riuer *Ioculsa*, running through the deserts of *Solsciuasande*, diuideth from East *Island*: from West *Island* also, a famous Riuer, named *Albis*, emptying it selfe into the Bay *Borgarfiord*. So that, if it pleased me to represent the Iland in humane shape, East *Island* should haue the proportion of the head. The two more famous Promontories *Langanes* and *Reikranes*, or bounds; the one Northerly, the other Southerly (as hath been said) should serue in stead of armes. And the deserts extended the whole length of the Iland should make the backe, or backe bone: then North and South *Island*, the shoulders with the sides; the two opposite Bayes *Borgarfiords*, and *Ratafiordar*, the one on the South, the other on the North, should diuide the forepart about the short ribs, from both the thighes or hips. But West *Island* should resemble the rest of the parts of a mans bodie, from the forepart about the short ribbes: which the Bay *Breidisiordur* comming in from the West, should contract and straighten into the right and left foot.

The Circuit.

The circuit also of the Iland, is no more certainely knowne; yet an ancient rumour and opinion (as in another place where it is noted) reckoneth one hundred and fortie foure *Norwegian* miles (as I thinke) that is to say, two hundred eightie eight *Germane* miles, *Chytraus* accounting the *Norwegian* mile, to equall two *Germane* miles, sayling from one Promontorie to the other, not by the Bayes: whereof North *Island* is esteemed to haue eleuen, East *Island*, twentie one, South *Island* sixe, and West *Island* seuentie.

* *Harald Harefagre* finding many pettie Princes made an absolute Monarchy of *Norway*, whereupon some sought to free themselues by new discouries: and hence arose the plantation of *Island*

Haraldus Pulcricomus * swaying the Scepter in *Norway*, much neglected the chiefe Nobilitie of *Norway*: which the *Norwegian* Historie setteth downe at large, yet particular Histories of noble Families expulsed by *Pulcricomus*, more largely prosecute the same, as hereafter wee purpose to write. For *Pulcricomus* not contented with Kingly authoritie, or chiefe soueraignetie, that is to say, with the right of Lawes, Magistracie, and appeale of Warre and Peace, challenged all vnto himselfe, by the right of a proprietarie. Insomuch, as very many chose rather to leaue their Countrey and rich inheritances, then to exchange their Generositie for slauerie and tributes: for they thought it altogether vnworthy and ill beseeming their owne valour and their ancestours. Hence, for the most part arose mutuall iniuries against the King, or the Kings partakers; as murdering of the Kings friends, allyes, or faction; then the exercises both at Sea and Land were rapines and robberies. From these noble Families therefore, refusing the violence of *Harald*, this our *Island*, with the neighbouring Ilands began first to be inhabited, and that almost by these steps and voyages.

A.D. 874. *Ingulfus.*

In the yeere of our Redemption 874. a certaine Inhabitant of *Norway*, one *Ingulfus*, going out of his Countrey, following the steps of *Naddocus*, *Gardarus*, and *Floco* mentioned before, was made Standard-bearer of the Inhabitants which were to bee conueyed into *Island*, and that vpon this occasion. *Ingulfus* was famous for his parentage and riches, whose father, called *Orne*, which signifieth an Eagle, was Duke of *Fyrdafylce* in *Norway*; the sister of *Ingulfus* was *Helga*, a Virgin indued with all womanly ornaments, and his cousin germaine *Leifus*; who for a notable sword, which through his singular warlike prowesse he got in *Ireland*, was named *Hiorleifus*. For *Hir* is a Sword. Moreouer, at that time among the Nobilitie of *Norway*, there were three naturall brothers, *Hallstenn*, *Holmsten*, and *Herstenn*; the sonnes of *Atlas*, or *Atlantes*, a certaine Baron of *Norway*: who bore certaine priuie grudges to the foresaid *Ingulfus* and *Hiorleifus*; which presently after brake forth into cruell and bloudie slaughters. For when by chance they feasted together, after the manner of that age, they inioyned euery one to make some solemne Vow. *Herstenus* therefore first vowed, that he would take *Helga*, *Ingulfus* sister to wife, or marrie none. Then presently *Ingulfus* vowed, that hee would admit none into his Fathers Inheritance with him, saue only *Hiorleifus*: meaning thereby that his sister *Helga*, by his consent should marry none but *Hiorleifus* (contrary to the vow of *Herstenus* for the marrying of her only.) After that *Helmstenus* vowed, that if he were chosen Arbitrator betweene the aduerse parties, he would by no meanes be compelled, to suffer an vniust sentence. And so the rest after them. Not long after succeeded the Vow of *Ingulfus*, for *Hiorleifus* tooke his Cousin Germane *Helga* to wife. For at that time the Marriages of Cousin Germanes were lawfull. From hence arose the extreame hatred, and enmitie of *Herstenus*, against the foresaid *Hiorleifus*, and *Ingulfus*: who therefore joyning with his Brother *Holmstenus*, with sixe ships filled with Souldiers, set vpon *Hiorleifus* vnawares, hauing but three ships only, preparing his Voyage into forreine Countreyes. Whose violence *Hiorleifus* a long time, and stoutly sustayning, holpen by a certayne friend comming in the meane-while, hauing slaine *Herstenus* got the vpper hand. But *Holmstenus* prouiding for himselfe by flight, and not a little exasperated and grieued through the violent death of his Brother, after some few monethes, came with an armed power to *Ingulfus* and *Hiorleifus* to surprize them suddenly at home. Whereof they being certified by Spies, receiue him with an armed force, and kill him. *Halstenus* the third brother, wiser then the rest, who

Rash vowes and bloudie quarrells ensuing.

consorted

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consorted not with the vnjust routes of his Brethren, remayned yet aliue; to whose arbitrement *Ingulfus* with *Hiorleifus* commit the whole matter to be determined, holding him mindfull of his Vow, concerning equitie not so be violated. *Halstenus* therefore pronounceth his brother *Herstenus* to be justly slaine: But not *Holmstenus* who compelled through bitter griefe, desired to reuenge the death of his brother, by any slaughter whatsoeuer. For killing therefore of him, he commanded them both to be banished out of the Prouince of *Fyrdasilfe*. They readily obey his award, to whom they willingly committed the censure, & with a purpose to leaue their Countrey, they sell their Lands and Possessions for mony and Merchandizes, and conceiue in their minds a worthy attempt of planting a strange people in a strange Country: and that not to gratifie *Halstenus* (with whom through this agreement they returned into fauour; with whom they might otherwise easily haue contended in strength) but also for feare of *Pulcricomus* himselfe, raging against his Countrey, and innocent Countreymen, for the obtayning (as hath beene said) not only of the Monarchie, but *Pampesia*, of all their Possessions: nor was that to bee doubted, concerning the violence and oppression of *Harald*: for in the Historie of *Haquinus Adalstenius* his succeeding Sonne it is expressly read, that he was contented with Kingly authoritie, and restored to euery one their owne, which his Father vnjustly challenged vnto himselfe.

It was the yeere of Christ 870. wherein *Ingulfus* with *Hiorleifus* first visit *Island*, but they inhabit it not presently, but foure yeeres after, in the yeere 874. as hath beene said: bringing many Families thither. *Island* first inhabited, A. 874

Moreouer *Ingulfus* comming within view of the Iland, casteth the postes of the houses which he had in *Norway* into the water, after the manner of *Ethnickes* accounting it for an Oracle, that that place was fatally chosen for his Habitation, which the postes cast out vpon the shoare should note or signifie. That custome many of the *Norwegians* retayned by turning vp the ground. But *Ingulfus* arriued not where he cast in the postes, but at the Promontorie of the South shoare (else-where erroniously, the West shoare) called by his name *Ingulfshofde*. Yet notwithstanding wanting the postes of the houses three whole yeers, at length he found them in that place, which is named *Reychiarwich*, and there he erected his Habitation. But *Hiorleifus* more estranged from *Ethnick* superstition, seated himselfe in the Promontorie *Hirleifshofda*; so called likewise from his name. There he built great houses: one of one hundred twentie six, and another of one hundred thirtie fiue feet long: who, the first yeere being ended, began to till the ground and sow seed. In which worke, when he had exercised ten seruants or slaues, which hee brought with him out of *Island*, they fayned that *Hiorleifus* his labouring beast was slaine by a wilde Beare (for it was afterwards manifestly knowne, that *Island* hath no Beares, but such as came thither by chance) which when *Hiorleifus* (with a purpose of reuenge) sought in the next neighbouring Wood, he was deceitfully slaine by these slaues lying in ambush: together with some other companions which he tooke with him: the Seruants aswell rauishing the Wiues as spoyling the goods of the slaine; and flying into the Ilands not very farre distant from the shoare: which after of the same slaues, were called *Westmasyar*, because they were of *Ireland*. The *Norwegians* call the *Irish*, *English*, and *Scots Westmen*, that is, men of the West: seeing those Countries are distant from *Norway*, to the West. *Ingulfus* pursuing these Murtherers, set vpon them suddenly, and destroyed them euery man in the same Ilands, being much grieued in minde for the vntimely and cruell death of his deere friend and allyes.

Superstition.

First houses. *Island* had anciently fairer houses then now; (hauing Timber from *Norway*, &c.) & likewise Tillage was then in vse.

Hiorleifus slaine. *Westmasyar* and Westmen.

But *Ingulfus* found and possessed *Island* altogether barren and desolate; on euery side beset with very thicke Woods, and scarsly fertile of any but Birches, so that hee was faine euerywhere to open the Woods with the Axe, for journeyes and habitation. Yet in the meane space, we might gather by certayne signes, I know not what Mariners had sometimes touched vpon certayne shoares of the Countrey, but not inhabited them. For *Ingulfus* found little sacring Bels and wooden Crosses, and other things made by the workmanship and arte of the *Irish* and *Britaynes*: but no tokens of culture, or habitation. Whereupon it is likely, that *Irish*, or *Scottish* Fishermen (as also the *English* at this day) accustomed to fish neere *Island*, as sometimes it commeth to passe, went ashoare, and so by chance left sacring Bells and Crosses, the Vtensils of Christian Religion. For at that time the *Irish* were instructed in Christianisme as they say. And those whosoeuer were the ancient *Islanders*, they called *Papa*, or *Papas*: from whom, as seemeth probable to me, the Iland of East *Island* called *Papey*, derined the name; because they were often wont to touch there: or their Monuments (such as I sayd) were chiefly found there.

Woods.

Bels and Crosses.

This side of *Island*, to such as sayle from *England*, *Ireland*, and *Scotland*, is most exposed towards the North-west. Moreouer, what and from whence these *Papæ*, or *Pappæ* came, I cannot sufficiently speake: vnlesse peraduenture from the Ilands of *Scotland*, whereof one is named *Pappa*, and another *Westrapappa*, as we may see in the Mappes: vnto which conjecture let euery one giue what credit he pleaseth. Furthermore, very many of the *Norwegians*, afterwards boldly following the steps of *Ingulfus* going into *Island*, with their wiues and children, and great multitudes of their Kindred and friends, restored themselues to libertie. Whose names and large Families are recited in the Chronicles; as by the second Booke is vnderstood. Besides, it is there recounted what coasts, what shoares, what middle-land places euery one possessed: and at what

time

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time: and also how the first Inhabitants gaue name to Straights, Bayes, Hauens, narrow straights of Land, Ferryes, Clyffes, Rockes, Mountaines, Hills, Vallies, rough and inaccessible Places, Fountaines, Flouds, Riuers, Villages, Farmes or Habitations: whereof at this day many are yet retained and in vse. Which *Topography*, supposing it would bee tedious, especially to a forraine Reader, I haue here omitted; applying my selfe rather to the description of the Inhabitants, who in sixtie yeeres space so replenished with their multitudes, the habitable parts of *Island* now possessed.

Chap. 3. Of the language of the Nation. *Islanders* only retaine the ancient *Gottish*

Concerning the language of the *Islanders*, the matter it selfe speaketh, that it is the *Norwegian*; I say, that old and naturall speech, deriued from the ancient *Gothish*, which onely the *Islanders* now vse vncorrupted: and therefore we call it *Islandish*. Of the letters of which tongue we will first speake somewhat: and afterwards in the Chapter following there shall be a short discourse of the originall thereof.

Two kindes of letters.

And surely that language seemeth to haue double letters: to wit, the Old, and New. The New, which commonly wee vse at this day, are common almost to all *Europe* together with vs. Which, when they first began to bee vsed is not certainely knowne. Surely as yet, some crosses written in ancient letters, are yet seene among our Country-men, which letters also many yet know, and both reade, and write: and this naturall language it selfe is contained in the same, nothing at all changed. Moreouer it seemed good to mee, thus to present the name and shape of the ancient Characters, such surely as was offered vnto mee, placing the New or Common ouer against them, expressing the validitie thereof, adding also the agreement and discrepancie of ours, with those of *Vlphila*, the Bishop of the *Gothes*: whom *Iohannes Theodorus*, and *Iohannes Israel*, brethren and Citizens of *Francofurt*, report to haue inuented these letters: by whose relation hee agreeth with vs in all things, saue where the disagreement shall bee noted here. Moreouer also, I thought it not amisse to set downe in writing the letters of certaine other Nations, to some of our Country letters, out of the same *Francofurt* copie, which the Types or Figure subscribed will demonstrate.

A	*Ar*	ᚨ	
b	*Biarkan*	ᛒ	
z	*Knesol*	ᛋ	
d	*Stunginntyr*	ᛏ	or ᚨ and *Vlphila* thus ᛑ.
e	*Stunginn Is*	ᛖ	
f	*Fe*	ᚠ	
g	*Stunginn kaun*	ᚲ	
h	*Hagall*	ᚺ	
i	*Is*	ᛁ	
k	*Kaun*	ᚴ	
l	*Langur*	ᛚ	or ᚢ: *Vlphila* thus ᛦ: it is also ᚢ, the *Moscouit L.*
m	*Madur*	ᛘ	
n	*Nand*	ᚾ	*Vlphila* thus ᚿ
o	*Os*	ᚬ	
p	*Plastur*	ᛕ	*Vlphila* thus ᛓ
r	*Reid*	ᚱ	
s	*Sol*	ᛋ	*Vlphila* thus ᛋ
t	*Tyr*	ᛏ	*Vlphila* thus ᛐ
u	*Ur*	ᚢ	*Vlphila* thus ᚢ
y	*Yr*	ᛦ	*Vlphila* thus ᚹᚹ *th.* ᚦ *tha.* of the *Arabians.*
p	*Puss*	ᚦ	ᛋ the *æthiopian* ᚦ *d.* ᛞ *dha.*

Here wee see twentie one Characters, bnt the ancient numbred onely sixteene. And the third ᛋ, they would not acknowledge for theirs: because *z.* of the *Greekes*, that is to say *ts.* or *ds.* (as they would haue it) they might write it in their language with distinct letters. But the fourth ᛏ from the eighteenth, they distinguish with some point, or an ouerthwart line, almost thus ᛑ: otherwise it is altogether the same in shape and name, *Tyr*, but *d. Stunginn tyr*, that is to say, pointed *Tyr*, as ᚦ. *kaun k.* and pointed *kaun* ᚲ. *g.* So *Is* pointed for *e.*

but

but *Plaſtur* reſembleth *B.* with both the bellies open aboue and beneath. Beſides theſe, the reſt are numbred ſixteene, as I ſaid. For they reckoned the Diphthongs to the Syllables.

Moreouer, it retained the laſt new Conſonant of the old Alphabet, changed in name, but not in ſhape: which is *p.* This being ſet after a vowell in the ſame ſyllable, hath the ſound of *d.* as *Blap* for *Blad*, which is a leafe: which kind of writing was more vſuall with the ancient, but at this day is almoſt growne out of vſe: but being ſet before a vowell, it hath a peculiar force and pronunciation, not altogether *Th.* but ſounding ſomewhat more groſly, as it were *Tzh.* putting forth the tongue almoſt between the fore-teeth: as *þa*, that is to ſay, then. In times paſt it had the name of *Puſs:* at this day it is called *Porn*, or *Thorn*, if you put *þ.* for *th*: and therefore it cannot be written or pronounced at all, but by it ſelfe.

They alſo of later time write the Conſonant *f.* after this manner *ƒ.* The Moderne Writers alſo doe ſometimes aſpirate *L. N. R.* the ancient very ſeldome, and almoſt neuer: as *Hlutur* in old time *Lutur*, that is, a thing. *Hnifur* in times paſt (as alſo ſometimes at this day) *Knifur*; that is to ſay, a Knife. *Hrutur*, in old time *Rutur*, that is to ſay a Ram. In like manner ſometimes *Iod*, and *Vaf*, or *I.* and *u.* Conſonants: as *Hiel*, that is, a Wheele: *Hualur*, that is, a Whale: which alſo I thinke the ancient did concerning *Iod*, and *Vaf.*

In Vowels and Diphthongs, as alſo abbreuiations proper to this language, the varietie is farre greater, which I purpoſe not to touch. Moreouer alſo, the due handling of the letters, as of the reſt of the *Etymologie* and *Syntaxis* of this tongue, would bee the copious matter of a peculiar worke, eſpecially if any would adde the Poetrie, purpoſing to write the Grammer of the *Iſlandiſh* tongue, which would bee no more difficult, then that wee haue ſeene done, concerning the *Germane* and *French* tongue, beſides others.

Iſland Grammarian.

About the yeere of the Lord 1216. one of our Country-men wrote in his Countrey language, concerning the letters of the proper, or mother tongue: where hee affirmeth theſe ancient Characters to be peculiar to this language, and handleth them both, as well new as old after a legitimate and due manner of tractation, by his definitions and diuiſions of the letters into Vowels and Conſonants, and of the fiue *Latine* Vowels, maketh eighteene of his language, diſtinguiſhed in ſound and pronunciation: He diuideth the Conſonants naturally into halfe Vowels, and Mutes, and thoſe into Liquids and Firmes, theſe into open and ſhut; performing the part of a pretie Logician. And in deliuering the force and pronunciation of the letters, hee artificially aſſumeth for euery definition all the Inſtruments of framing the voyce, as well the lungs and throat, as the auxiliary parts of the mouth and tongue. The letter *þ.* alſo, he calleth *the*, peraduenture in imitation of the *Greeke Theta* (which almoſt, as we ſaid, although not altogether it expreſſeth) or *Tau* of the *Hebrewes*, which *Hebrew* letter, if *th.* or *t.* of the *Latines* rightly expreſſe, as is reported by ſome, *Thau* ſhall come nothing neerer to our *þ.* then *Theta.* The ſame Country-man of ours, from abſolute letters, proceedeth to ſet downe in writing, the figures of the word and ſentence in the Mother tongue, and illuſtrate them with examples of our language, retaining the *Greeke* titles of the Figures, or names of *Epizeuſis*, *Anadiploſis*, &c.

Norus of whom *Norway* is named.

And from this Writer of our Countrey, we receiued the Types of the old Alphabet: for there are Hiſtoricall fragments yet extant, concerning *Norus* the Name-giuer of *Norway*, and founder of the Kingdome, and thoſe *Toparchi*, or little Kings, whom hee vanquiſhed before hee obtained the Monarchie.

§. II.

A diſcourſe of the firſt Inhabitants of the Northerne *World, ſuppoſed to be Giants expelled from* Canaan. *Of the* Iſlanders *Houſes, Fewell, Victuall.*

Chap. 4. Of the firſt Inhabitants of the North parts of the world.

MOreouer concerning ſome of the anceſtors of *Norus*: among whom his father *Porre* (whom they call *Thorro*) King of *Gotland*, *Finland*, and *Kuenland*: an excellent Prince of his age, from whom the moneth of the old *Norwegians*, and now *Iſlanders* hath the name of *Thorre*, which in the *Iulian* Calender beginneth the 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. or 16. of Ianuary: for it hath a moueable beginning after the manner of their Calender. And ſeeing King *Thorro* this month accuſtomed to ſacrifice vnto his gods; the *Kuenones* inſtituted yerely ſacrifices in the ſame month to him, being dead, as to a certaine god, in token of an happy yeere, which they began with the winter, after the maner of the old *Lacedemonians*; & called the ſame month *Porre*, of *Thorro*; no otherwiſe then the *Lacedemonians* gaue diuine honor to *Lycurgus* being dead, building a Temple in memory of him, where hee was honoured for a god; to whom his familiar friends inſtituted ſet Feaſting-dayes, and ſolemne aſſemblies which remained a long time; and the daies wherein the aſſemblies were celebrated, they called *Lycurgidæ:* concerning which matter looke *Cragius* in his third booke of the Common-wealth of the *Lacedemonians.*

Thorro.

Of

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Fermotus. Of the Anceſtors alſo of *Norus*, all are mentioned euen to his Great-grandfather, who was *Fermotus* King of *Finland:* Moreouer, one of the three ſonnes of *Fermotus*, and therefore Great vncle of *Norus*, called *Legie*, which ſignifieth a flame; who for the excellencie of his beautie was called *Halogie*, that is to ſay, an high or excellent flame. Hee was Monarch of the *Halogienſian* Prouince, bordering vpon the Prouince of *Nidroſia*.

Goe. *Goe* alſo the daughter of *Thorro*, by the ſiſter of *Norus*, is there recorded, for recouerie of whom, being ſtolne away (as *Cadmus* was ſent by his father *Agenor* to ſeeke his daughter *Europa*) *Norus* was ſent by his father *Thorro:* which, that it might more happily ſucceed, *Thorro* inſtituted new ſacrifices to the Gods, in the moneth next following the former (afterwards called *Thorra*) and intituled the ſame moneth with the name of *Goa*, after the name of his daughter *Goe:* which name of the moneth likewiſe the *Iſlanders* that now liue doe yet retaine. Furthermore, ancient Hiſtories make mention of *Gorus*, the naturall brother of *Norus:* as alſo the nephew of *Gorus*, named *Gylnus*, hauing the ſoueraigne authoritie in *Suecia*, in whoſe time *Odinus* happened to come (others call him *Othinus*) Standerd-bearer of the *Aſian* Immigration, made in the foure and twentieth yeere before Chriſt was born, which we mentioned before: and *Gylnus* had a father called *Geiterus*, and an Vncle *Besterus*, the ſonnes of *Gorus*; from *Beiterus*, the Hauen neere the Citie *Nidroſia*, is named *Beitſted*.

Gorus.

I thought good to exhibit theſe things in a Table.

Fermotus King of *Finland*,

Hlar.	*Kare.*	*Legie.*
The ſame alſo is *Agier*, which other-wiſe ſignifieth the *Sea*; hee is ſuppoſed another *Neptune*, to haue dominion ouer the Sea.	That is to ſay, the *Winde*, for in the number of the Gods, after death, he is thought to be another *Æolus*, to rule the Windes.	Signifieth a *Flame*, honoured in ſtead of *Vulcan* after death (as hauing power ouer the Fire) and for the excellency of his beautie was called *Halogie*, ſo named of the Prouince of *Halogalande* in *Norway*.

Froſte.
Otherwiſe called *Iokul*, both from the Froſt and Cold.

Snar.
That is to ſay, *Snowe:* ſurnamed the *Ancient*, becauſe hee is reported to haue liued three hundred yeeres: he left one ſonne, and three daughters.

Dryfa.	*Porre.*	*Fiunn.*	*Miol.*
A ſnowy ſhower.	King of *Gothland*, *Kuenland*, and *Finland*.	Signifieth Snowe gathered together in thicke heapes by a Tempeſt.	Is thin Snowe deſcending without winde.

Goe.	*Nor.*	*Gor.*
A daughter.	Of whom *Norway* is named, and the firſt Monarch.	*Beiter-Geiter.*

Gylni.
The ſaid *Aſian* immigration happened in the time of this *Gylni*.

From this *Norus*, *Haraldus Pulcricomus* is the twelfth of them that deſcended from the right Line, whom ſome make the firſt Monarch of *Norway*, but amiſſe, being ignorant of Antiquitie: ſeeing hee was the third Reſtorer of the Monarchy of *Norway:* for betweene him and *Norus*, *Hemngus* the ſonne of *Odinus* * obtayned the Monarchy alſo.

* This *Odinus* is ſaid to haue made his plantation with his *Aſian* followers, about four and twentie yeeres before Chriſt was borne.

Theſe (I ſay) beſides many other things, are the manifeſt tokens of the Inhabitants of the Northerne World, farre more ancient then the immigration of *Odinus:* of whoſe originall notwithſtanding, there is not one word. But becauſe it is moſt repugnant to a Chriſtian man, knowing the Bookes of *Moſes* concerning Originals, to affirme themſelues to be *Autochtone*, as both others, but eſpecially the *Greekes* did concerning their Anceſtors (yet with better leaue then the reſt of the people of *Europe:* who next to the *Chaldees*, *Egyptians*, and *Iewes*, might worthily boaſt of Antiquitie in compariſon of other people.) It were better truly to confeſſe the vnknown originall of Anceſtors, then to be carried away with the opinion and error of Earth-bred men: leſt ſurely wee ſhould heare ſome ſuch thing, as ſometimes one wittily vpbraided the *Grecians* with, ſo much boaſting by reaſon of their pretended ſelfe-originall, to wit, that *Moſes* the Law giuer of the *Iewes*, was more ancient then the Gods of the *Grecians*.

Earth-bred or Land-ſprung men, which had their originall in that Land.

In the meane ſpace, becauſe through the onely confeſſion of ignorance or doubt, truth doth

not

not so soone appeare; somewhat is to be alleaged touching the proposed question: that the historicall Reader may haue some thing here which hee may either confute or confirme. Wee are therefore by probable reasons to inquire, who were the first inhabitants of the Northerne World, and from whence they came: then, when they began to inhabit this our World: that from hence some coniecture may arise concerning the originall of the language. And that I may here acquit my selfe without circumstances; I thinke the first inhabitants of the Northerne World, were of the number of Giants, nay, mere Giants; men that inhabited the mountaines of an huge and sometimes a monstrous body, and of monstrous and exceeding strength: and that they were the posteritie and remnant of the *Canaanites*, expulsed from the Territories of *Palestina*, about the yeere of the World 2500. by *Iosua* and *Caleb* remooving into *Palestina* through Gods pleasure and direction: and that this Countrey of the World euen vntill those times, or peraduenture longer, remayned altogether not inhabited.

Giants first inhabiters of the Northerne parts of the World. Their originall from the *Canaites*.

For thus *Saxo Grammaticus* argueth in the Preface of his *Dania*. *But* (sayth he) *the stones of exceeding bignesse fastened to the Tombes and Caues of the ancient, testifie that the Countrey of* Denmarke *was sometimes troubled with the inhabiting of Giants. But if any doubt, that it was done by monstrous strength; let him looke vp to the high tops of certayne Mountaynes, and say, if he know it well, who hath brought Rockes of such huge greatnesse to the tops thereof? For euery one that considereth this Miracle, shall perceiue that it is beyond common opinion, that the simple labour of mortalitie, or vsuall force of humane strength, should rayse so huge a weight (hardly, or not at all moueable vpon the plaine ground) to so high a top of mountaynous sublimitie.*

A long discourse of the Author to proue that there haue bin Giants, is omitted.

This *Saxo* writeth, who shall be a sufficient Author vnto vs concerning the first Inhabitants of *Denmarke*, that is to say, his owne Countrey. So concerning *Norway* and *Suecia*, and the bordering Countreyes, as whatsoeuer is most ancient; so it most resembleth a Giant-like disposition and nature. Whereof examples are to be taken out of Histories, which would bee tedious here. For that I may omit ancient examples, those things are knowne of late memory to haue beene done: Concerning the Giant *Doffro*, inhabitant of the Mountayne *Doffræfiall* in *Norway*; and Foster-father of *Haraldus Pulcricomus* King of *Norway*. Also concerning *Dunubo* who liued in the time of *Droffon*: from whom the Bay *Boddick* or *Bothnicke*: in time past was called *Dumbshaff*, who in a Sea-fight, encountring eighteene Giants alone, sent twelue of them first to Hell before he himselfe was slaine. Of thirtie Giants at once destroyed by fire, by *Dumbos* Sonnes left, in reuenge of their Fathers death. There is yet a later example of certayne Giants of *Norway*, destroyed by authoritie of *Olaus Triggo* King of *Norway*, about the yeere of Christ 995. But the latest in the yeere 1338. *Magnus* the Sonne of *Ericus*, being King of *Norway*, that a Giant of fifteene Cubits was slaine by foure men: as it is found recorded in the Chronicles. Hereunto adde, that a certayne Prouince of *Norway*, [or bordering vpon *Finmauchia*, in ancient time was called *Risalande*, that is to say, the Land of Giants (for *En Rise*, and *Rese*, signifie a Giant) from whence *Iotum Heimar*, that is, the habitation of Giants is not farre dissonant (whereupon as yet, *En Iæt*, is said to be a Giant) that I may speake nothing heere of *Iotumland*: by which name, that which at this day is called *Iytland*, was sometimes called by our Countrey men, and very many other also, the Land of the *Cimbri*, or *Chersonesus*: the same name also being giuen it of *Kemper*, that is, fighting Giants of *Nephilheimar*, and *Karnephill*, else-where, and peraduenture by others shall be spoken, as also of the *Gothes*, and *Getts* (peraduenture also *Ietts*) and such like others. Moreouer, the remnant of the Giants came into *Island*, whose Names, Habitations, worthy Acts and Enterprizes, are sufficiently knowne, and before our eyes. Seeing therefore Giants first inhabited this our World; it is demanded, when, or whence they came?

Giants in the time of *Haraldus Harefayre* and since.

1338. a Giant reported of 15. Cubits.

Iutland.

Gilb. Genebrand. Chronol. Lib. 1. *The first Age*, sayth hee, *(from the Creation of the World vnto the Flood) seemeth to haue beene passed and spent within the mid-lands of the World, and that they came not to the borders of* Asia, Africa, *and* Europe. *Bodinus* sayth, that *Moses* wrote the Historie of the whole World (he meaneth inhabited) euen to the yeere of the World, 2450. And *Genebrand* againe, *Lib.* 1. *Chronol. pag.* 11. *As the first Originall of Mankind was in* Armenia, Mesopotamia, Chaldæa, *and* Syria: *and men before the Flood dwelt only there: so other Countreyes themselues, were first inhabited after the Flood.* Also *Genebrand* sayth yet further, *ibid. pag.* 35. *Before three thousand yeeres (for hee wrote in the yeere of Christ* 1597.) *almost all* Europe *was emptie, that is, about the yeere of the World* 2541. which is chiefly to bee vnderstood of the Northerne World, if of the rest of *Europe*. But hee said, almost, not altogether, that hee might not take away the migrations of the Nations then presently beginning after the yeere of the World 2500. wee doe not therefore tye the time (wherein this further *Europe* began to bee inhabited) to the yeere of the World 2500. But wee say, that that troublesome time wherein the Nations (and among them the Giants of *Canaan*) were cast out of their places and dwellings, and compelled to seek new habitations, euen in *Europe*, happened in this yeere; as was proposed by vs in the beginning. And that *Europe* receiued her Inhabitants from hence, among the Ancient, *Procopius* is my Author, a Writer borne at *Cæsarea* of *Palestina*, Collector of the worthy Acts of *Iustinianus*, about the yeere of the Lord 530. who to proue this very thing, allea-

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geth diuers Writers of the Hiſtorie of the *Phœnicians*. The words of *Procopius* are theſe, in his fourth Booke of the Warres of the *Vandalls*, not in one place only, cited by *D. Cythræus*: out of the which, among other things, I gather mine opinion. *The* Hebrewes (*ſaith* Procopius) *after they returned out of* Egypt, *and remayned ſtill in the borders of* Palæſtina, Moſes *(who led them in their iourney) dieth: whom* Ioſua *the ſonne of* Nun *ſucceeded, who alſo brought the people into* Palæſtina, *and ſhewing ſtrength and courage far beyond the nature of man, obtayned the Country; whereby deſtroying Nations, he eaſily vanquiſhed many Cities, ſeeming inexpugnable vnto all. Then therefore all the Countrey vpon the Sea-coaſt, from* Sidon *euen to the borders of* Egypt, *was called* Phœnicia: *ouer which one long ſince raigned; as all witneſſe, who writ the ancient Hiſtory of the* Phœnicians; *here great multitudes of people dwelt: the* Gergaſites, Iebuſites, *and others named in the* Hebrew *Volumes, who when they ſaw the Armie of the ſtrangers to be inexpugnable, leauing their Country bounds went into* Egypt *next adioyning, and there increaſing in number and poſteritie, when they found not ſufficient, and conuenient place for ſo grat a multitude, they entred into* Africa, *where inhabiting very many Cities, they poſſeſſed all that Coaſt, euen vnto the Pillers of* Hercules, *vſing the halfe* Phœnician *Tongue and Dialect, and built the Towne* Tingen *in* Numidia, *moſt ſtrongly fortified in the ſituation thereof: where two Pillers of white ſtone are erected neere the great Fountayne, whereon in the* Phœnician *Language theſe Letters are ingrauen.* Nos ſumus *Cananæi, quos fugauit Ieſus Latro.* For *Ioſua* in the *Hebrew* is *Ieſus*. This *Procopius* writeth, to which purpoſe the Hiſtorians of the *Hebrewes* are cited by *Genebrand*: *Ioſua (ſaith he) partly expelled the* Canaanites; *and partly ſlue them. The remnant of theſe are reported to haue gone into* Germany, Sclauonia, *and the next adioyning Countreyes, &c. Into* Seder Olam, &c. *Alſo: And ſurely in that Age, that the whole Weſt was emptie and vnpeopled, ſaue that the Nations of the Eaſt came by little and little into the Countreyes thereof, it appeareth by the often infuſions.* This *Genebrand* writeth. And *Bodinus Method. Hiſt. chap. 9.* The *Canaanites* being caſt out of the Land of *Palæſtina*, by the *Hebrewes*, went into *Illyricum* and *Pannonia* (to wit, by thoſe migrations and remoues, which out of the place before alleadged by *Procopius*, wee vnderſtand) as *Rabbi Dauid Kimchi* witneſſeth at the end of *Abdias*.

Chap. 5. Of their Cuſtomes and manner of life.

The ancient *Iſlander* ſeeme to haue beene ordayned for great frugalitie, wherein firſt their habitations or buildings are briefly to be touched, next their food and manner of apparell: and laſtly, the reſt of the exerciſes of their common life.

Separate dwellings.

For firſt as touching their habitations, the *Iſlanders* haue followed the firſt and moſt ancient manner of dwelling. To wit, not by Cities and Townes; but as *Tacitus* ſpeaketh of the *Germanes* of his time, they dwelt aſunder, as a Field, as a Fountayne, as a Wood, as an Hill, or Valley, Shoare, or Bay of the Sea pleaſed them: Not only imitating here the example of the firſt Age of the World, but alſo of the latter Age: as the people of *Athens* and *Laconia*, in the beginning dwelt by Villages (as they write) not together or by Cities: and as in the time of *Tacitus*, about the yeere of Chriſt 120. with the *Germanes* there was no vſe of Mortar nor Tyles: (whereupon any man may rather judge the like concerning the Northerne World) ſo, nor after, with the *Iſlanders*, but they built their houſes with Timber and Turffe. Nor ſurely was it momentany worke which laſted but a while, nor yet deformed in ſhew, the walls were ſometimes made only of Turffe, ſometimes of rough Stones, adding Turffe in ſtead of Mortar: which afterwards they couered with workmanſhip of plankes, as alſo the raftering it ſelfe; eſpecially in more notable buildings. And ſo you might ſee the Roofe with the walls before mature old age ouer-growne with greene graſſe euery yeere, for you muſt vnderſtand, that the Roofe and walls were couered with greene Turfe. Windowes were made in the Roofe, ſeldome in the walls, and certayne Roofes not very high, ſuch as is reported the building of houſes with the Eaſterne people was wont to be. The Inhabitants had ſtore of Timber, caſt vpon the ſhoare by the ſwelling of the waues of the Sea; through the miraculous teſtimonie of Gods Prouidence, conſidering their Woods at home yeelding plentie, as I thinke only of Birches, were not ſufficient for their huge houſes: which yet were a great helpe alſo; with thoſe which the Inhabitants, as oft as they would, fetched out of bordering *Norway*, and peraduenture alſo out of *Groneland*: for the *Iſlanders* ſayled yeerely to both a long time. Euery one therefore had the houſes of their Villages almoſt joyning together on their ground: beſides the ſtalls of their Herds, ſeated ſome diſtance from the houſes themſelues. Alſo certayne piles of fuell, not altogether joyning together, to auoid the danger of fire: peraduenture alſo certayne ſtore-houſes, which being ſolitary, might better receiue the Ayre and drying winds.

Houſes.

Fewell.

Some maintayned their fires with home-growing Wood: others with clammie Turfe (as I thinke *H. Iunius* aptly calleth it) whereof there are two kindes with vs: the one ſoft and ſpongie, growing vnder the ſuperficies of the Earth; which wee call *Suordur*: Another more thicke, and therefore more weightie; which peraduenture wee may very well call digged Turfe, by the opinion of the ſame *Iunius*: becauſe it is taken out of the deepe Quarries or Mines, digged a great depth out of the Earth. And both kindes of Turfe (but this much more) muſt bee firſt baked with the Sunne and winde, before it be fit to burne. This latter kind we, as alſo ſome of the *Germanes* call it *Torff*: the inuentor whereof in the *Orchades* a certayne *Orchadenſian* Duke is ſaid to be; one *Einarus* the Sonne of *Rangnualdus* a *Norwegian* Duke of *Mære*, in the time

Turfes of two ſorts, both vſed in *England*; the one in fennie, the other in heath grounds.

Einarus the Inuenter of Turfe-fewel in the *Orcades*.

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time of *Pulnicomus* King of *Norway*, who was therefore called *Torffeinarus*. He had a brother called *Rolfus*, whom *Crantzius* nameth *Rollo*, who possessed part of *France*, afterwards called *Normandie* of the *Normans*, or *Norwegians*. The Inhabitants chiefly wanted fewell to expell the distemper of cold, besides other vses sufficiently knowne: especially in the Winter time, when Hot-houses and Chimneyes are in vse, heaped together of Rocks and stone, through which the flame might easily breake forth, which as soone as through the force of the fire they were throughly heate, and when the Hot-house began now to leaue smoking, the cold parts of the Chimney were besprinkled with hote glowing stones: by which meanes heate vseth effectually to disperse it selfe throughout the whole house, which also is very well so preserued by the wall, and Roofe couered with Turfe. Stoues.

Yet lest the *Islanders* might seeme through meere pouertie or want of knowledge, to haue vsed rude buildings and poore houses; I can cal to remembrance certayne houses of an hundred and twentie sixe foot long, and some of one hundred thirie fiue, as I haue before declared concerning the buildings of *Ingulfus*: and some of one hundred and twentie feet in length, and sixtie feet broad: whereof we shall hereafter speake; some also, whose hollowed rafters, and boarded seeling of the walls carued by art, report the ancient Histories, of worthy and memorable Acts. They therefore incloſed their habitations built after this manner, with certayne spaces of fruitfull fields ordayned for tillage, which spaces through toylesome labour, they afterwards compassed about with a banke cast vp, to keepe out the Heards of cattle. Moreouer, sufficient huge pastures were assigned to euery Farme or plot of ground, diuided by certayne limits, or inclosures from others, whereof we shall speake in the eight Chapter. And euery Farme or Habitation for the most part, and in like manner euery plot of ground receiued the name from the first Founders: sometimes also from some other: so Mountaynes and Riuers as hath beene aduertized before; so that by this meanes the places themselues, euen by their names only declared to all posteritie their first Inhabitants, and *conquest*. Greater houses in *Island* in old times.

I proceede from buildings to their victuals, and tillage of the field and ground, which partly succeeded well to the first Inhabitants, to procure Corne and fruit from thence: but I know not whether euery where alike. Yet in the meane space, that *Hiorleifus* mentioned before, exercised his slaues in tillage of the ground: and one *Gunnerus* of *Lidarwalle*, sowing his Seed, was wounded by the enemie on the ball of the cheeke; and likewise *Hofebuldus Huitarneſsode* busily imployed in sowing the Seed, was slaine. Hence from the fields there are proper names of certayne places. Hence came that Law concerning the gathering together, and carrying of Corne after Harueſt (where they speake of the seruices which the Lawyers call *precatil.*) All which are manifeſt tokens of the tillage of the ground, amongst the first *Islanders*: which also, euen vnto this day, I heare, is practised by some Inhabitants of South *Island*, but with lesse increase: the ground and temper of the Ayre degenerating from the first goodnesse thereof after so many Ages: peraduenture also the care of the Husbandmen beeing lesse diligent, may bee the cause; since Corne comming from forreigne parts began more to be in vse. And because that tillage of the ground seemed in the beginning either not vsed of all, or lesse fruitfull for Corne, and all manner of graine; a peculiar manner of tillage of the ground presently began: whereby they compassed with dunge those fields or spaces, which I said they incloſed within their owne circuit, especially with kowes dunge, at the mowing of the best hay, to the intent they may the better feed the Heards; and especially the Kine, that they might yeeld the more plenty of Milke. Which tillage of the ground is yet retayned: and they only exercise the same for the most part, almost by mid-land Inhabitants: seeing such as dwel vpon the Sea-coast liue most by fishing: whither also those more remote or mid-land people yeerely send their Seruants to fish. Both Plaines, that is to say, the ground and the Sea, was to bee ploughed after a sort by the *Islanders*, for the comforts of life. To whom besides instead of victuals, Sheep, Oxen, Swine and Kiddes, sufficiently abounded: and also fishes of diuers kindes, besides Sea-fish out of the Flouds, Lakes and Riuers, they met with euery where: so that they might take them as it were out of a certayne weele, especially in that Age: also Milke and White-meate, with goodly plentie of Butter from the Heards of cattle. Besides Fowle in great number, some tame, as Hennes and Domesticall Geese, or Fowle of another kind liuing in the open Ayre, wandring also solitarily in Mountaynous places: which the possessors marked in the feet, that euery one might more easily demand his owne. They had others also not tame, which they tooke by certayne ginnes: as Geese and Duckes of the Medow, Partridges, and Swannes: and very many Sea-fowle, whose names and properties I doe not know. But Fowle of either kind tame or wilde, they either presented their Egges or themselues, or both, for the vse of men. Besides the naturall Drinke or pressed Whay of Milke (whereof the great plentie is so much the better, as the Milke is more excellent: so that halfe an ounce of water mixed with an ounce of Whay, doth not wholly diminish the taste thereof; but that it relisheth more of the Whay then of the water) they also boyled Barley Flowre, sometimes adding thereto the Honey Combe, or Water mingled with Honey: sometimes also a Liquour made of certayne Berries growing heere. Moreouer, the ancient *Islanders*, Victuals and Husbandry. Tillage anciently in vse. Beasts. Fowle. Fish. Drinke. Whay. Meade. Ale.

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brought in drinke made of Corne, from forreigne parts, as alſo all manner of graine, and other things: for they were furniſhed with ſhips of their owne, wherewith they yeerely viſited at their pleaſure, *Denmarke, Norway, Suecia, Scotland, Saxonie, England*, and *Ireland*.

Our ancient *Iſlanders* wanted not honeſt Banquetings and meetings: and that ſurely without miſerable ſparing, whether we reſpect the number of the gueſts, or the time of the Banquets exhibited. For *Theodorus* and *Thornaldus*, brethren, and Citizens of *Hialtedal* of North *Iſland*, ſolemnizing the Funerals of their Father *Hialta*, made a Banquet for fourteene dayes together, of twelue hundred perſons, preſenting the men of better note with ſome gift. And an Inhabitant of Weſt *Iſland*, ſurnamed *Olaus Pa*, with his two brethren, were at the charge to banquet nine hundred men, euen for fourteene dayes ſpace; not ſending the chiefe men away without reward.

I find money was not vſuall with the *Iſlanders*, I meane, thoſe of ancient time: but ſiluer was weighed by the ballance: and bartering of Merchandizes was very commonly vſed. Moreouer, Rings of Gold, and Bracelets, were both often ſent for tokens of remembrance from Superiours to priuate men, or from one friend to another.

§. III.

Of their Politie, and Religion in old times.

Chap. 6. Of their Common-wealth & Religion.

THe *Iſlanders* going about to eſtabliſh an *Ariſtocratie*, or State of Nobilitie (conſidering they dwelt ſcattered in the Countrey, and not together) firſt diuided their Citie into Fourths or *Tetrades*, named from the foure principall quarters of the World, and diſtinguiſhed beſides by ſetting of bounds (ſuch alſo as was the Geographicall partition of the Iland it ſelfe, mentioned before at the end of the firſt Chapter) diuided into North, Eaſt, South, and Weſt quarter. And againe, they diuided the Fourths into Thirds, except the North quarter: For this, as it was larger then the reſt, was parted into Fourths. But theſe Thirds they ſubdiuided againe into their parts: ſome Tenths and others ſomewhat otherwiſe. For the which not finding a fit name, I haue retayned the proper name of the Countrey, that which with them is *Hreppar*, wee may counterfeitly call *Reppe*: vnto the which alſo we may imagine no vnapt *Etymon*, from the word *Repo*. For here was the firſt ἀρχὴ or ἀρχεῖα of them that executed any publike Office, for equitie either of opinion and judgement, and the equall ballancing of mindes, to be preſerued in the reſt of the Magiſtrates, worthily ought to begin there, vnleſſe any would rather thinke they had reſpect heere vnto *Reeb*, that is to ſay, Coards, with the which the diuiſion was made, after the moſt ancient manner of the *Hebrewes* themſelues. Euery *Reppa* regularly contayned twentie Inhabitants at the leaſt (for oftentimes it contayned more) limited by a certayne increaſe of the wealth of their Family, vnder which they might not be reckoned to the poorer *Reppes*; to the richer they might.

Moreouer in euery Third, as alſo in the Fourths of the North *Tetrade*, (which Iuriſdictions in times paſt they called *Pyng*, at this day alſo *Syſſa herad*) they appointed three more famous places conſecrated to the Seat of Iuſtice and Iudgements; beſides alſo dedicated to *Ethnicke* Sacrifices, which they call *Hoff*: we call them Holy Places, and *Temples*. Euery Chappell after the manner of this Countrey was ſumptuouſly built: whereof wee reade of two, of one hundred and twentie foot long. One in the Iuriſdiction of *Waſhdall* of North *Iſland*: the other in *Rialarnes* of South *Iſland*: and this ſurely ſixtie foot broad. Moreouer, euery ſuch holy place had a kind of Chappell adjoyning. This place was moſt holy. Heere ſtood the Idols and Gods made with hands, vpon a low ſtoole or a certayne Altar; about which the cattle which were to be ſacrificed vnto them, were orderly placed. But the chiefe and middlemoſt of the Gods was *Iupiter*, by them called *Por*, from whom theſe Northerne Kingdomes yet call *Thors* day *Thorſdagh*. The reſt of the Gods were collateral vnto it; whoſe certayne number, and names I haue not heard. Yet in the ancient forme of oath (whereof mention ſhall be made hereafter) three beſides *Thorus*, are ſpecially noted by name: *Freyr*, *Niordur* and *As*: whereof the third, to wit *As*, I thinke to be that famous *Odinus*, not accounted the laſt among thoſe *Ethnicke* Gods (of whom I made mention before) Synecdochically called *As*: becauſe hee was the chiefe of the people of *Aſia*, who came hither into the North: for in the ſingular number they called him *As*, which in the plurall they called *Æſer*, or *Æſer*. This *Odinus*, as aforeſaid, for his notable knowledge in Deuilliſh Magicke; whereby like another *Mahomet*, hee affected a Diuinitie after his death; was reckoned among the number of the Gods: from whom at this day, *Wedneſday*, is called *Odens Dagur*, the day of *Odinus*: whereupon iperaduenture, I ſhall not vnaptly call *Odin Mercurie*, as *Thor Iupiter*. Yet the ancients honoured *Odin* in the place of *Mars*: and ſuch as were ſlaine in the warres, they ſay were ſacrificed to *Odin*. And the companions, or Sonnes of *Odin* were *Freyr* and *Niordur*: who through

Seats of Iuſtice and Religion.

Idols.

Por and *Thors* day.

Freyr Niordur and *As*.

Odinus the ſame that *Woden* in our *Saxon* ſtorie. *Odinus, Odin*, or *Oden* by his Sorcery (which made him a Deuill) made a God.

Wedneſday, or *Wedneſday*.

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through the same artes which their Father or Prince *Odinus* practised, obtayned an opinion of Diuinitie. I haue before aduertised you, that chiefly in the North Countrey, Kings, after their death, are honoured for Gods. But the worshipping of them hath not yet come vnto the *Islanders:* wherefore we will speake nothing of them in this place.

Before that seate of the Gods placed in the foresaid Temples, stood an Altar erected, couered aboue with Iron, that it might not be hurt with fire, which must bee continually there. A Caldron also or brasen vessell was set vpon the Altar, to receiue the bloud of the sacrifices, with an holy water sticke or sprinkle, to bedew the standers by with the bloud of the sacrifices. The Altar. Holy water sprinkle.

Besides, on the Altar a siluer Ring was kept (or of copper) of twentie ounces, which being anointed with the bloud of the sacrifices, they who executed any office pertayning to Iustice, being now readie to take their oath, religiously handled while they were sworne. Foure-footed beasts, for the most part, were appointed for sacrifices; to bee conuerted to the food of the Sacrificers. Although in the meane space, I finde (a lamentable matter) that the blinde *Ethnicks* in the foresaid place of *Rialarus* vsed also humane sacrifices: where at the doore of the Temple, was a very deepe Pit, wherein the humane sacrifices were drowned; which Pit was called *Blotkelda*, from the Sacrifice. Holy Ring. Sacrifices. Humane-inhumane sacrifices

Also in West *Island*, in the Prouince of *Thornsthing*: in the middle of the Market place there was a round circle, into the which, men appointed to be sacrificed to the Gods, were gathered: who being violently smitten against an exceeding great stone set there, were cruelly slaine. The indignitie whereof, that stone is reported to haue declared many ages after, by the bloudy colour, which no shower of raine, or water, could euer wash away. An abominable crueltie surely, yet not wanting examples, deriued euen from the most ancient times. I omit those of later time, and found in the neare bordering Countries, as the humane sacrifices of the *French*, whereof *Cicero pro Fonteio*, speaketh: and also the custome of nearer bordering Countries. I doe not mention the *Roman* sacrifices: among which, *Luperca Valeria*, appointed to be sacrificed, was deliuered from present death by an Eagle. Let the παρθενοκλονία, and sacrificing of noble Virgins of the *Greekes*, not be remembred: with whom *Helena* was likewise freed from imminent perill of sacrificing, by the benefit of an Eagle. But who is it, that can be ignorant of *Benhennon* or *Gehennon* of the *Hebrewes*, and their crueltie farre greater then this, exercised not vpon slaues or guiltie persons, but euen vpon their dearest children? Concerning which matter I thought good to set downe the wordes of *Christoph. Adricomus Delphus*. *Gehennon*, saith he, *was a place in the suburbs of* Ierusalem *ouer against the East, vnder the Mountayne of Offence, neare the Fish poole of the Fuller, most pleasant, like* Tempe. *In this Valley stood a Pauilion, and the brasen Idol of* Moloch, *cunningly wrought in the shape of a King, hollow within; whose head resembling a Calfe, the other parts a man, had armes stretched forth to sacrifice children: who through the vehement heat of the Idol, were burned amidst those cursed embracements: For when by the fire put vnder in the concauity of the Idoll, it became all fiery, then the most wicked parents, with incredible crueltie, deliuered their dearest children, to wit, their Sonnes and Daughters to be burned within these detestable embracements. And least the miserable cry of the children in horrible torment being heard, might moone the bowels of the parents, the Priests of* Moloch *filled the ayre and skie on euery side with the harsh sound of Trumpets, and striking vp of Drummes, so long as the sacrifice continued. Whereupon also the place was named* Tophet, *which signifieth a Drumme.* This *Adricomus* writeth. And I aske any might thinke, that the common people onely of the *Iewes* became thus blinde; behold Kings: *Ahaz*, 2. *King.* 16. 2. *Paralip.* 28. *Manasses* there in the 21. and 33. where also the ancient custome of the Nations may bee alleaged. Deuill-circle. Of this place and the cries of the children confused with sounds of instruments and the vnnaturall horror, Hell was called *Gehenna* and *Tophet.*

But that crueltie, and those sacrifices of *Saturne* seeme not to haue continued long with the *Islanders:* and surely, they were vsed no where else, saue in the two places assigned. Nor yet of all the Inhabitants of that Prouince, where it was exercised. For it is reported of *Hiorleifus*, the companion of *Ingulfus* before mentioned, that he altogether abhorred the worshipping of Idols. And *Helgo* also surnamed *Biola*, descended from the Barons of *Norway*, an inhabitant of the Prouince of *Rialarues* fauoured the *Ethnick* Religion but a little: for he receiued an *Irish* man, a banished *Christian*, into his neighbourhood; one named *Ornulfus*, with his families (which came with him:) and did not onely receiue him, but also permitted him to build a Church consecrated to Saint *Columbe*, in the Village of *Esenberg*. A yong man also of the same Prouince, called *Bue*, destroied that most accursed Temple of humane sacrifices with fire, and burned all the Gods, although afterward it was repaired by the Proprietors.

Moreouer, *Torchillus* surnamed *Mane* (it may bee becaufe hee honoured the Moone, called *Mane*, and the rest of the Starres, with more Religion then the rest) a man of a very vpright life, and famous among the Nobilitie of *Island*, a little before the agonie of death, caused himselfe to bee set forth ouer against the Sunne, and openly admiring the workmanship of Heauen, and the whole World, commended his Soule departing when he was readie to die, to that God who created the Sunne, and the rest of the Starres. He liued about the yeere of Christ 970. The same, or the like may be reported of very many others, while *Ethnicisme* yet continued. As of *Hallerus* a certaine inhabitant of South *Island:* who, because hee followed not the worship of

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Idols, was called *Godlaus*, that is to ſay, ἄθεος, as was alſo his ſonne *Helgo*.

Chap. 7. Of Magiſtrates and Courts.

The publique Offices, ſome of them are diſtinguiſhed from hence; others haue their originall from ſome other place. Thoſe which are taken from hence, are a *Reppagogie* (that I may deuiſe a word) and the adminiſtration of Prouinces, to wit, as that partition into *Reppes*, and Prouinces, ended as it were in ſundrie *ſpecies*, but both had ſome kinde of gouernment ioyned with it. For aſwell the *Reppagogi* (for ſo I may call the Maſters of *Reppes*) as the prouinciall Gouernours, proclaimed Aſſemblies, eſtabliſhed Iudgements (euery one in their Court) and puniſhed the guiltie: whereby it is euident that they alſo vſed the Law of Appeale in forren Cauſes (for in their own, euen priuate men had libertie of Appeale) ſo that I need not doubt that the *Reppagogi* alſo were comprehended vnder the Title of a Magiſtrate. Who is defined by *Bodinus* to bee *Hee, that hath part of a publique gouernment. Metho. hiſt. cap.* 16. I added, ſaith he, the word *Publique*, that it might be diſtinguiſhed from the gouernment of a Maſter, or a Father. If therefore any would deſire a more perfect diſtinction of a Magiſtrate, it ſhould be ſuch: A Magiſtrate is inferior, or ſuperior. The inferior is a *Reppagogie* or Gouernour of fiue men, which fiue inhabitants choſen for gouernment of the *Reppes*, vſed in euery *Reppe*, whom we are here compelled to call *Reppagogie*, and *The fiue men*, they call them *Hreppſtior ar*, appointed firſt for their wiſedome and integritie, next for the poſſeſſion of immoueable goods; vnleſſe concerning this latter, it ſeeme good to doe otherwiſe, by the common opinion.

A Magiſtrate, who.

Care of the Poore.

Moreouer, the Office of the *Reppagogi*, is limited by the care of the Poore. But that which the care of the Poore required, euery one within the bounds of their *Reppe*, endeuored to attaine by theſe two meanes. Firſt, that they ſhould prouide, that none ſhould bee ſuddenly brought to extreme pouertie: as much ſurely as conſiſteth in mans pollicy. Secondly, how they might prouide for ſuch as were become Beggars, to be maintayned by the common aide.

Lawes againſt Beggars.

And ſurely, they attempted the firſt part of their office three manner of wayes: firſt, by making Lawes againſt ſuch as through their owne fault (ſpeaking after the manner of men) became beggars: of which ſort are thoſe, *titul. de exheredandis, cap.* 3. *Parentibus mendicis natus, & ipſe hoſtiatim victum quærendo educatus (niſi morbo affectus) hæreditatem nullam adito &c.* that is to ſay, So long as he liueth from doore to doore: The 18. chapter of the ſame; and the firſt three yeere, next from the time of begging, *cap.* 20. Leaſt any vnder a feigned ſhew of vertue, ſhould deceiue and abuſe the Lawes. Alſo, *Altera lex de eiuſmodi mendicis impunè caſtrandis, etiamſi cum eorundem nece coniunctum foret, titul. de pupillis, cap.* 33. to wit, Leſt liuing from doore to doore, they might beget children like vnto the parents, which afterwards ſhould be a burden to the Commonwealth. Alſo, a third Law, *De ijſdem mendicis non alendis, titul. de mendicis cap.* 39. 63. (not repugnant to the commandement of the Apoſtle, *Hee that laboureth not, let him not eate*, 2. *Theſ.* 3.) and of not receiuing them, ſo much as into their houſe, *cap.* 45. of the ſame: a grieuous penaltie being inflicted, if any offended againſt this Law; in the ſame place.

By which Decree, what other thing I pray you is meant, then the cuſtome of the *Athenians* in times paſt? among whom the *Areopagita* inquired of the particular Citizens, by what art euery one liued; and prouided to haue them called in queſtion, who gaue themſelues to filthy and ſlothfull idleneſſe? What other thing, I ſay, then what was meant by the Decree of the *Maſſilienſes*, who forbad them to enter their Citie, who knew no arte whereby to ſuſtaine their life? and leſt any ſhould practiſe either vnprofitable or diſhoneſt artes: they gaue no place to Players, counterfeit Ieſters, laughing Companions, ſawcy Scoffers and Iugglers. To conclude, What other thing, then what the Decree of *Solon* meant, who ordayned a Law, that the children ſhould owe no thanks nor fauour to their parents, by whom they had beene inſtructed in no honeſt arte to get their liuing? The ancient World had ſo great and vehement prouocations vnto Vertue, euen with our Countrimen, which in this laſt age (ah, too degenerate) you may finde wanting with griefe; all theſe Conſtitutions being taken away. Wherefore the number τῶν ἀτάκτων (that I may vſe the word of *Paul*) is more abundantly increaſed, that is to ſay, of them, who being void of all diſcipline, liue infamous to themſelues, and grieuous and troubleſome to their common Countrey, in ſlothfull and filthy idleneſſe, inuerting and changing that order inſtituted by God himſelfe. The care of which thing, if the Magiſtrate would yet vndertake, ſurely many ſhould fare the better.

Inordinate men.

The ſecond meanes and way of preuenting pouertie, was a Law or Edict, concerning thoſe who deſired to be admitted into a *Reppe*, or become Citizens of *Reppes*. For none was to be receiued into a *Reppe*, vnleſſe hee had firſt gone vnto the ſolemne aſſembly of that *Reppe*, and deſired that he might be admitted; which they might not iuſtly denie, vnleſſe to one conuicted of theft, or otherwiſe of ſome other crime, or ſo poore, that therefore hee was vnfit for the *Reppes*, and that hee could not ſuſtaine himſelfe and his family without the common almes of the beggars. But if any could not be preſent at this aſſembly, hee was bound to intreat leaue of cohabitation of fiue inhabitants, hauing lands of their owne, and next vnto him, whom hee was about to goe vnto. If any of honeſt fame and rich in abilitie, would notwithſtanding goe into the *Reppes* without demanding leaue, he retayned his habitation, but yet was excluded from the Law and priuiledges of the *Reppes*. But if any wicked and diſhoneſt perſon had thruſt himſelfe in with-

Our tithings and hundreds in their originall, had ſome reſemblance thereof.

out

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out leaue (although he had lawfully hired void and emptie land from the Lord and Owner ther-of) the ſame was to be expelled by force: *Titulus de Reppis cap.* 48. To the ſame purpoſe appertaineth that Edict concerning ſeruants taken out of the *Rep. cap.* 47. of the ſame.

The third Statute againſt pouertie was, concerning the reſtitution of priuate loſſe in the title recited before *cap.* 47. whereof an example ſhall bee giuen, firſt in houſes by chance conſumed by fire: and thoſe of foure ſorts. For if a Store-houſe, Kitchin, Bed-chamber, or Bed, and Chappel had been burned; the loſſe receiued was to be valued within fourteene dayes, by fiue of the next neighbours, as well of the houſe it ſelfe, as of the moſt neceſſary things contained therein: as of the prouiſion of victuals, apparell, and houſhold-ſtuffe daily vſed onely, properly belonging to the Maſter of the family, excluding other mens goods, as treaſures, and other things more precious; becauſe a man might bee a ſufficient Citizen of *Reppes* without theſe. Then the halfe part of the loſſe valued by the whole *Reppe*, was to bee reſtored within an appointed time, by Subſidies contributed in common, according to the abilitie of euery Inhabitant. Another example of this liberalitie enioyned by the Lawes, is, concerning Cattle deſtroyed by the Murren or Rot: for if the fourth part of any mans Cattle, or more dyed, the loſſe likewiſe being valued within fourteene dayes after the Murren ceaſed, was to bee releeued by common ſupplies for the halfe part, as the former was. But concerning both, there was a caution added, that this benefit ſhould not be performed the fourth time; leaſt any thing through too much careleſneſſe, and retchleſſe negligence, ſhould procure damage to himſelfe, *De Reppis cap.* 47. & 48.

The other part of the Office of the *Reppagogi* was imployed about the care of the poore, concerning the maintaining of ſuch with certaine contribution of almes as were now become beggers, either through ſickneſſe or age, or other caſualties not in their owne power: and alſo concerning the excluding of others, who ſhould not appertaine vnto the almes, and diuers caſes thereunto belonging. This almes was either priuate or publike. Priuate, for the which a law was made concerning the receiuing of the beggers, into the number of their family by their kindred, or couſins, one or more, inabled by a certaine increaſe of wealth limitted by law, and to bee maintained by certaine lawes, according to the degree of hereditarie ſucceſſion: For as any was next to the inheritance of the begger, if hee poſſeſſed goods, ſo was hee accounted the firſt that ſhould ſuſtaine him. But the next degree failing, or the ſame being poore, or not hauing wherewith to maintaine himſelfe and his, beſides that begger, that neceſſitie was impoſed vpon the ſecond, or third degree of kindred, &c. to be releeued. Lawes of Almes.

Publike almes was, as often as the kindred or couſins of the beggar failed, they liued by the helpe and reliefe of the *Reppes*: euery one was to bee maintained in his *Repp*; whereof there are preſcript conſtitutions of lawes, to wit, what beggars ſhould belong to what *Repp*, and what not; and concerning the driuing away and expelling of them by proceſſe of law, who appertaine not thereunto. Therefore the *Reppagogi* partakers of a publike Office limited with theſe bounds, proclaimed aſſemblies: Some ſurely both in time and place, ſtanding, or ordinary: others not ſtanding, or extraordinary; that is to ſay, as often as any new matter came pertaining to their charge to bee determined. Alſo priuate men might call extraordinary aſſemblies, to wit, they who had any cauſe worthy of an aſſembly and iudgement. But the ſigne and token of hauing an aſſembly (after the thouſand yeere, when they had now ſworne to the *Chriſtian* Faith, peraduenture before *Iupiters* Hammer and battle Axe, *Hamor pers*) was according to the religion of that time, a woodden Croſſe, which euery Inhabitant carryed to his neighbour at the day, place, and occaſion of the aſſembly proclaimed, of which ſigne intermitted or neglected, a certaine penaltie was inflicted. There therefore the *Reppagogi*, concerning the matters appertaining to their charge, conſulted according to equitie and right, determined them, and puniſhed the guiltie: There the guiltie perſon, if the iniury were priuate, was cited into the Court of Iuſtice by him that was iniured, euen without publike authoritie (which alſo wee reade was vſed by the *Spartanes:*) but if the iniury were publike (or if the partie iniured in a priuate offence would not cite the guiltie perſon, or could not) then was hee cited by ſome of the *Reppagogi*. Priuate men alſo had libertie and power to ſue the *Reppagogi* negligent in their Office, or otherwiſe iuiurious: where a penaltie of money fell to the Citizens of the *Reppes*: all which, and other things here belonging are handled, *in codice legum de Reppagogijs, cap.* 43. And concerning the inferiour Magiſtrates, that is to ſay, the *Reppagogi* onely, to wit, the firſt *ſpecies* of the Ciuill Magiſtrate.

Now followeth the ſuperiour Magiſtracie, which is diſtinguiſhed into Gouernours of Prouinces, and Iuſtices. They were each of them Gouernours in euery Prouince (which before I called *Thirds*, to wit, of euery *Tetrade*) executing as well the publike Offices of the Courts of Iuſtice, as of holy myſteries: or they were Interpreters of the Law, and matters of Religion: (although afterward the interpretation of the Law belonged more to the Iuſtices.) As with the *Romanes*, the *Ædiles* alſo vſurped part of the *Prætorian* Iuriſdiction. Among the ancient *Hebrewes* alſo the High Prieſts: alſo among the *Romanes* the High Prieſts were ſacrificers. Whereupon *Horatius carm. lib.* 3. *Ode* 23. *Victima Pontificum ſecures cernice tingit.*

Theſe Gouernours therefore, in that they had the charge of holy Myſteries, were Prieſts: in that they had to doe with the Court of Iuſtice and Iudgement, they were Iudges: we call them Noble-men

Noble-men in this place, and the state of the Common-wealth gouerned by their ouersight, an *Aristocratie*. The same are called by our Country-men *Godar*, and *Hoffsgodar*; from the Church or Temple (which is *Hoff*) as it were Ouer-seers of the Church, and their Office or Dignitie was called *Godord*; to wit, their name being next deriued from their *Ethnick* gods, which they called *God*: that euen by the name it selfe, they (who almost represented the Name and Office of the Gods) might bee put in minde of the Vertues, Wisdome, and Iustice, &c. requisite in such a Gouernour.

And that they might shew themselues such, I suppose the same place was appointed to iudgements of the seate of Iustice, which was ordained for Sacred Mysteries; to wit, at the foresaid Temples. And also therefore, because the place of holy Mysteries, was religiously thought fitter for *Augusta*, or the taking of good counsell, whereof there is especiall vse in the Court of Iustice. Moreouer, the Prouinciall Gouernours had their two-fold assemblies, as the *Rappagogi* had; yeerely or ordinary meetings, and proclaimed: or extraordinary, any necessitie requiring (those former assemblies, containing many dayes: *vid. Kaph. cap.* 8. *Torn. Log.*) and that, as it is likely, assembled by some signe of holding a meeting; as we haue already said of *Reppagogies*: which surely, what it was in times past, is not well knowne; vnlesse it were that, which afterwards, and yet remaineth in vse; the forme of a *Norwegian* axe of Wood, carried about after the same manner, among the prouinciall Citizens: as we said a little before, of the woodden crosse. This token of the Iudiciall Court, is called *Bod* in our language, which signifieth a message.

Moreouer, euery one paid some yearely tribute or reuenue to the Temples: whereof the Guardian or Ouerseer of the Church was the Collector: for speaking of holy mysteries pertaining to the Church, I call euery Noble man so. To him also came the penaltie of the Temple, and Court of Iustice prophaned: who likewise ought to maintaine the Temple, or keepe it in reparations, at his owne charge. Lastly, the necessity, and specially care to amend and make good whatsoeuer damage done vnto the Prouince, or to foresee and preuent it being imminent, vsing the helpe of the Prouincials, lay wholly vpon him: so that, for the destroying of Theeues and publique Robbers, you may finde some who were prodigall of their owne life. Contrarily, it is a lamentable case, how at this day we see it euery where come to passe, where they make a great conscience to condemne a notorious Theefe by the Law, or any other conuicted once or twice of any capitall crime, much more to put him to death. These are the Gouernours of Prouinces: The *Nomophylaces* or Iustices follow. The *Nomophylax* was the other kinde of the superiour Magistrate, somewhat later then these: of which sort, in the whole auncient Citie of *Island* (for we yet describe it) at one and the same time, there was onely one: who of pronouncing or deliuering the Law, was called *Logmann* and *Logsogumann*. For the Commonwealth began not suddenly, but by little and little to be framed: therefore the Prouinciall Lawes were first, of the like meaning, though peraduenture not euery where the same, before they had them compact, and gathered into one body: which when they attained, for the custody and preseruation of the same, they admitted trustie and wise men, whom I call *Nomophylaces*; and whose Office I shall very well describe in the words of *D. Nicolaus Cragius*, declaring the Office of the *Spartan Nomophylaces*. *The Office of the* Nomophylaces (*saith* D. Cragius Li. 2. cap. 6. de Repub. Lacedæm.) *was, as we perceiue by the matter it selfe, to haue charge of the custody and preseruation of Lawes, for the benefit of the Commonwealth; and that they should not suffer them to be abolished, changed, or taken away by any. Moreouer, they indeuoured that the force of the Lawes might not grow out of vse, or the memory thereof be forgotten: but they compelled the Magistrates to the often obseruation of them, and execution of their duties. And further, we may thinke these very men were the interpreters of Lawes, if peraduenture any thing doubtfully set downe, or hardly vnderstood, should come in disputation.* This *Cragius* writeth: the same which I doe ours; adding this, that they had some manner of authority in their power, together with the rest of the Nobility, of changing, or renewing Lawes, and also inlarging them, as it were Orators and Counsellours; the consent of the people being added. Therefore the *Nomophylaces* or chiefe Iustices, tooke nothing away from the forme of an *Aristocratie*: but were, as hath beene said before, Interpreters, and preseruers of the Law, armed with publique authority for this purpose, in whose power also the custody of the Booke of the Lawes remained.

But I dare proceede no further with our Author in his Law Suites and Courts, lest I be therein detained with Demurs and tedious delaies. I am a Traueller, and howsoeuer I haue (not so much for Island, *as for the knowledge of the* Arctoan *antiquities) waded thus farre: I will not tire the Reader further, but remit the more curious to the Author himselfe, who hath added much of their Lawes, and a whole Booke of their auncient Grands, and another of their Kings, both here omitted,* The Kings of Norway *began to haue dominion in* Island, A. 1261. *diuers immunities reserued: which Kingdome descending vpon* Margaret, *by her was linked with that of* Denmarke, *and so hath continued about* 200. *yeares.*

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ENGLISH NORTHERNE NAVIGATIONS, AND DISCOVERIES; RELATIONS OF GREENELAND, GROENLAND, THE NORTH-WEST PASSAGE, AND OTHER ARCTIKE REGIONS, WITH LATER RVSSIAN OCCVRRENTS.

THE FOVRTH BOOKE.

CHAP. I.

A Voyage set forth by the Right Worshipfull Sir THOMAS SMITH, *and the rest of the* Muscouie *Company, to* Cherry *Iland: and for a further discouerie to be made towards the North-Pole, for the likelihood of a Trade or a passage that way, in the Ship called the* Amitie, *of burthen seuentie tuns; in the which I* IONAS POOLE *was Master, hauing fourteene men and one boy:* A.D. 1610.

THE first of March 1609. I wayed at *Black-wall* and went to *Grauesend*. The third day I went downe to the *Noore-head*. The ninth, wee wayed and put out to Sea (blessed bee God:) and by the fifteenth day I was in the Bay of *Rosse*, on the Coast of *Norway*, in Latitude 65. degrees: at what time the wind came Northerly, and blew extreame fierce, with great store of Snow and Frost. The sixteenth day, wee had the like weather and winds, so that wee could not maintaine a * mayne-course, and we lost some of our Beere. The seuenteenth day, we had Snow, and all the Beak-head was so laden with Ice, that it seemed a firme lumpe, and the wind at North, which blew so fierce that we could not maintaine a * fore-course, and draue vs backe to the altitude 63. degrees, 56. minutes. The storme continued so exceeding violent, that I was faine to spoone before it fortie eight houres, and the same wind and weather continued till the twentie one day, and in that time wee were driuen as farre to the Southwards as *Shottland*. And being faire by the Land, and seeing no likelihood of faire weather, I got a Fisher-man to conduct mee to a good Harbour, called *Hamersound*, not so much to eschew the stormy weather, as to stop some leakes, and to amend our tackling. I tarryed in *Shottland* till the twelfth of April 1610. at which time the wind was Southerly. The former wind came to the North at midnight, with great store of Snow, which froze as fast as it fell: which wind continued till the fourteenth at noone. At two of the clocke it came to the East north-east, and I stood to the Northwards, after many stormes, much cold, Snow, and extreame Frosts. I had sight of the North-cape the second day of May. Then I stood towards *Chery* Iland, the winde being at West North-west. The third day at noone, the Cape bare South South-east; seauenteene leagues off, we had much Snow with Frost. The fourth day, it was thicke weather with

A.D. 1609. *Secund. Comput. Ang.*

* The Mainsayle without a Bonnet.

* The Foresayle without a Bonnet.

Hamersound in *Shetland*.

North Cape in 71. degrees 20. minutes. May the second.

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with great ſtore of Snow and Froſt, the winde at North-weſt and by North. The fift day, it was faire weather, the winde at North North-eaſt. The ſixt day, at two of the clocke in the morning, I met with ſome Ice, but not very thicke, ſo that I held my courſe toward *Chery* Iland, the winde being at South: at fiue of the clocke, I ſaw the Ice ſo thicke, that I could not poſſibly get through it. Then I ſtood to the Weſt wards with a ſhort ſayle, and ſounded, but had no ground at a hundred fathome: thicke foggie weather, at eight of the clocke it began to cleere vp, and I ſtoode into the Ice finding it ſcattered in ſome places; and at twelue at noone, I found the Pole eleuated aboue the horizon 74. degrees 7. minutes, and ſounded, but had no ground at one hundred and ſeuentie fathomes. From twelue till foure, I ran North North-weſt two leagues, and ſounded, and had a hundred and ſixtie fathomes. Then *Chery* Iland did beare, as I iudged, North North-weſt, about fifteene leagues off or more: from foure till eight it was calme, at eight of the clocke the winde came Southerly, and I ſtood towards the Iland and found the Ice ſo thicke, that the Ship had no roome to wend, and withall ſuch a fogge that I could not ſee one Cables length; in which time the Ship had many a knocke, but thankes be to God, no harme was done. By twelue of the clocke, the ſeuenth day, I got out of the Ice and lay a hull till the North Sunne, at which time it began to be cleere weather: then I ſet ſaile, and ſtood to the Eaſtwards, cold froſty weather.

Chery Iland.

Ice.

The ſixt day of May wee were in 74. degrees 7. minutes.

The eight day it was very foggie, the winde at North and by Eaſt, with Snow and Froſt: I ſtood to the Eaſtwards, in hope to get the Eaſter end of the Ice, and ſo to *Chery* Iſland; and I ranne into a Channell betweene two firme bankes of Ice, and could finde no way through, but lay in the Ice till the ninth day at a South Sunne. Then I obſerued, and found the Ship in the altitude 74. degrees and 17. minutes, the winde being at North North-weſt, very faire weather, but froſtie.

Abundance of Ice.

I ſailed in the aboueſaid Ice, one while one way, and another while another, in hope to finde ſome opening towards the Iland: but which way ſoeuer I ſtood, I ſaw all the Sea couered with Ice. At a South Sunne, the tenth day, I obſerued both with my Aſtrolabe and Croſſeſtaffe, and found the Poles height 74. degrees and 15. minutes: and the variation 13. degrees and 30. minutes the North point Weſterly: by a North Sunne I got out of the Ice into the open Sea, and to write each courſe, way, and winde, with all other accidents, would be too tedious: but the thirteenth day of May, at midnight, I ſounded, being in very thicke Ice, and had a hundred thirtie eight fadoms; there preſently I eſpied the Lioneſſe ſtanding into the Ice, I kept her company till eight of the clocke at night, and then I ſteered as followeth, from eight aboue ſaid, till twelue at noone: The foureteenth day I ſailed North-weſt and by North twelue leagues, the winde at South South-eaſt, thicke foggie weather; from twelue till foure at night, I ſailed ſeauen leagues North, the ſame winde and weather with raine. And by the fifteenth day at foure of the clocke in the morning, I had ſailed North twentie ſeauen leagues, the ſame winde and weather: at what time I ſuppoſed, that I was not farre from land, becauſe I ſee great ſtore of Sea-Foule* about the Ship: at eight of the clocke I ſounded, but had no ground at a hundred and fortie fathome: very foggy weather: likewiſe I ſounded at twelue of the clocke at noone; no ground at a hundred thirtie fiue fathomes, where I met with Ice and great ſtore of Fowle, as before, winde at South, and foggie weather.

74. degrees 15. minutes. variation 13. degrees. 30. minutes.

The Lyoneſſe was ſent to *Chery* Iland.

* As *Cobodines* wildgeeſe and Willocks.

Ice.

I ſtood through the Ice, till eight of the clocke at night, holding no courſe by reaſon of it, at which time I ſounded, and had nintie fiue fathom greene oze, the weather being all one, and very much Ice from eight, till ten of the clocke. I ſayled North, one league and a halfe, and had ſeuentie fiue fathoms rockie ground. From ten till twelue at midnight I ſayled North one league and a halfe, and ſounded, and had thirtie ſeuen fathoms, the wind being at South, with great ſtore of raine and fogs, and abundance of Ice round about, but ſomething broken. Then I ſtood off Weſt and by South, and tooke in all the ſayles, except the fore-ſaile and maine top-ſaile: and at one of the clocke the ſixteenth day ſounded, and had fortie fathomes oze: likewiſe I ſounded at two of the clocke, and had fiftie two fathomes: I could neither perceiue Current nor Tide in all this time, and it did raine as faſt as I haue commonly ſeene in *England*: then I ſtood to the Eaſt wards, and at three of the clocke ſounded, and had fortie fathomes oze: and thus I ſailed among the Ice Eaſt and Eaſt and by South, and Eaſt North-eaſt, keeping no certaine courſe, by reaſon of the Ice, and had theſe depths following, 30. 20. 19. 16. and fifteene fathomes, and then I ſaw the Land within two leagues and leſſe of me, bearing betweene the South and by Eaſt, and the North-weſt: then I ſtood in Eaſt and by South, ſuppoſing to haue found a harborough within a ledge of rocks that lay off a low point, which ſeemed like an Iland, and ſtanding in, I found depths, 10. 9. 8. 7. 6. 7. 4. and three fathomes, ſtanding in it a ſhoald bay, and full of rockes.

Much raine.

Land the 16. day of May.

Then I ſteered away North-weſt and by Weſt, and had ſix, ſeuen, eight, and ten fathome foule ground; this part of this Land is foule ground a great way off, therefore come no neerer this place then ten fathome, and that will carry you cleere of all dangers that I could ſee. Towards noone it cleered vp, and I did looke the Meridian altitude of the Sunne, which was 34. degrees and 20. minutes, the declination being 21. degrees and 10. minutes North, the Equator muſt

Note.

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must bee 13. degrees and 10. minutes aboue and beneath my Horizon. The Complement being 76. degrees and 50. minutes, the Poles height. Likewise I found by true obseruation the Compasse to vary 16. degrees, and before I had sayled foure leagues I saw a Sound that lay East and by South in, the winde comming to the East South-east; then I sent the Skiffe on land in the mouth of the Sound, because I supposed I had seene Morses on the land, but they proued Rocks. I followed into the said Bay with the ship, but standing in I had a stiffe gale of winde off the shoare, which draue abundance of Ice out of the Sound, through the which I enforced the ship, in hope there to haue found an Harbour; in turning in I found these depths, thirtie fiue, thirtie, twentie, and eighteene fathoms. The Boat came aboard about a North-west Sunne, and the men told me they found deepe water within and foule ground; they saw great store of Mohorses lying on the Ice, but none on land, and they brought a piece of a Deeres horne aboord, therefore I called this Sound *Horne Sound*, and a Mount that lyeth foure leagues to the South of it, the *Muscouy* Companies Mount, because it was my first landfale.

76. degrees 50 minutes, Pole height.
Variation 16. degrees.
The North point westerly.
Rockes.
Mohorses or Morses.
Hornsound.
Muscouy Mount.

Then finding no benefit here to bee had, nor Hauen for the ship, I stood to Sea, and sayled North-west and by North foure leagues: at midnight it blew very hard, and I stood to the Westwards with a short sayle, and sayled foure leagues West by eight of the clock the seuenteenth day. Then I stood to the Landwards, the winde being at South South-west thick weather: and three leagues from me I saw a Point, which I named the *Ice Point*, because there lay abundance of Ice vpon it. Then I saw another Point beare North North-west fiue leagues off, which I named *Bell Point*, because of a Hill formed like a Bell on the top, and to the Northwards of *Bell Point* goes in a great Bay with two Sounds in it, the one lieth in East South-east, the other North-east and by East; the last Sound you can hardly discerne, by reason there is a long Iland lying in the mouth of it. But the going into the said Sound is on the North side, yet there is an Inlet vnder Point-partition, but very narrow and full of Rocks, and an exceeding strong Tyde setteth in there. This day I found the weather very warme and farre temperater then I haue found it at the North Cape at this time of the yeere: this place lying in 77. degrees and 25. minutes, and the Cape in 71. degrees and 20. minutes; this place being to the Northwards of the Cape 6. degrees and 5. minutes: and note, two leagues to the Southwards of *Bell Point* is a ledge of Rocks three miles off the shoare, and come no neerer the shoare then fifteene fathom: vpon the North side of the Bay is low land, which I named *Lowneſſe Iland*. I called the North Sound *Lowe Sound*. Into the Bay I turned, the winde at East North-east faire weather; turning in I had no lesse then fortie fathoms close by the shoare, and in the middest no ground at sixtie fathoms, and being neere the Point that parteth both the Sounds, the winde increased with raine. Then I saw the Sound frozen ouer from side to side, and vpon the Ice a Beare and great store of Mohorses, but the winde blew so extreme hard, that the Boat could not row to windwards, to trie if we could kill some of them. The fogs and raine continued till ten of the clock the nineteenth day, at which time the raine ceased, and it did freeze with snow and winde and fogs, as before.

Ice-point.
Bell point.
Point partition.
The ayre temperate.
Lowneſſe Ile.
Lowsound.
The Sounds season.
Very thicke fogs.

From twelue at mid-night the nineteenth day, till foure in the morning the twentieth day, I sayled three leagues South-west and by South, then I found the Ice thicker then before. It was very thick fogs, with winde, frost, and snow, and cold, that I thinke they did striue here which of them should haue the superioritie. I put into the Ice aforesaid in hope to get through, and after many a sore stroke with the ship in it, I got through at a South-west Sunne, at what time it began to be faire weather. Then I stood through the Ice towards the land againe, in hope that that land would proue worth the labour and trauell; and going to set the mayne top sayle, it was frozen as hard as euer I saw any cloath in all my life time, so that all my company could very hardly set it; and whereas I supposed, and haue often said, that this climate is not so subiect to foggs in May and Iune, as it is in Iuly and August, it is contrarie; for I haue not seene the Sunne on the Meridian these fiue dayes, nor seene it at all in sixtie houres: I had not sailed three leagues North-east, when it was as thicke as it was before with Frost and Snow: yet I stood still towards the Land.

Extreame cold weather.
Sailes frozen.

The twentie one, I saw the Land at an East Sunne, and stood towards it, and at a South and by West Westerly, I obserued the Sunne, and found the Meridian altitude of it 33. degrees 30. minutes, the declination being 21. degrees 56. minutes, &c. the altitude of the Pole was 78. degrees 26. minutes. The winde at North North-east: cold frostie weather: This place I called the *Black-point* Ile: I called a point (that lyeth foure leagues to the North-west of *Black-point*) *Cape-cold*, and to the South-east of *Black-point* is a great sound, which because it was couered with Ice, I called *Ice-sound*, and standing neerer to the shore, I could not see any Sound or Harbour open; therefore I determined to stand to the Northwards to seeke what good might be done that way to profit the Merchants, and also to get some Wood, for we had but little left. I sounded at the *Black-point*, and had twentie three fathomes streamy ground. At two of the clocke I stood off, and at midnight stood to the shore againe, cold weather with frost, the winde at North and by East. The two and twentieth day, at an East Sunne, I was faire by the Land, betweene *Cape-cold* and *Black-point*, a league off where it fell calme, and I sounded there, and had twentie eight fathoms, where I tried for Fish, but could take none.

Black-point Ile
Cape-cold.
Ice-sound.

The

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The three and twentieth day, at an East North-east Sunne, I was within three leagues of *Capecold*: this day it was faire weather, and I tooke the Suunes height at twelue of the clocke, and found it to be 33. degrees 30. minutes, the declination being 22. degrees 13 minutes, the distance of the Pole from my Zeneth, was 11. degrees 17. minutes, the complement thereof being 78. degrees and 43. minutes, the Poles altitude. All this day it was calme all the forenoone, warme sunshine weather, and whereas I named this place *Cape-cold*, if I had falne with it this day, or the like, I should haue giuen it another name. Here I tried to take fish, but could perceiue none. *Item*, there is a point that beareth from *Cape-cold* North & by West which I called *Faire-forland*: this *Forland*, and *Cape-cold*, and *Black-point*, are all one Iland. At sixe of the clocke at night, the winde came to the North North-west, then I determined to view the Ice-sound better; but comming neere it, I perceiued it packt ful of Ice, so that I could see no end thereof at the Top-mast-head, neither could I see any open water in it. At a North Sun, the wind came to the North-east, and by North, then I stood to the Northwards, as before.

Faire weather.

Fayer-forland.

The foure and twentieth day, at a North-east Sunne, the wind came to the South-west, faire weather and warme. At a North north-east Sun, I tooke the Meridian Altitude, which was eleuen degrees aboue the Horizon, and by working accordingly, I found the eleuation of the Pole aboue the Horizon, to be 78. degrees, 37. minutes. The fiue and twentieth day, at an East-south-east Sun, I set the boat to the land, neere *Fayer-forland*, and it being calme I sounded fortie fiue fathoms, where I proued for fish, but could find none, and within one league of the shoare I had fiue and thirtie, and thirtie fathome streamy ground. At a South-east Sunne, the Boat came aboord laden with Wood, and some Whales fins. The men told mee there was great store of Morses in the Sea, about the shoare side, and about thirtie on Land. Immediately I sent my Mate, *Nicholas Woodcock* with the Boat on Land againe, to see if they could kill any of the said Mohorses, and also to search what other thing they should hap to find that might proue beneficiall. Moreouer I was certified, that all the Ponds and Lakes were vnfrozen, they being Fresh-water, which putteth mee in hope of a milde Summer here, after so sharpe a beginning as I haue had, and my opinion is such (and I assure my selfe it is so) that a passage may bee assooneattayned this way, by the Pole, as any vnknowne way whatsoeuer, by reason the Sun doth giue a great heat in this climate; and the Ice, I meane that that freezeth here, is nothing so huge as I haue seene in 73. degrees.

No fish.

In all this land by the sea side is good store of Drift-wood, but none groweth here.

N. Wood cock.

Whale-fins.

Hope of a Polare passage.

The sixe and twentieth day, at a North-east Sunne, the Boat came aboord againe, hauing slaine but two Morses, at twelue at midnight the wind came to the North, and blew so hard, that I was enforced to try with a Mayne-course, cold frosty weather, with snow. The sayd wind and weather continued till a South Sun, the seuen and twentieth day, at eight of the clocke at night, the wind came to the North-west and by West faire weather, then I stood towards the Land again. And at a South-east sun, the eight & twentieth day, I was within three leagues of *Fayer-forland*, and standing in I sounded diuers times, and had these depths, 15. 17. 19. and 18. fathoms, within fiue, sixe, and seuen myles of the shoare, and when *Fayer-forland* did beare South and by East by the Compasse. It being two miles from me, I saw the Land beare North-east and by North, about nine leagues off, the which because it was full of knottie Mountaines, I called *Knottie-point*, and betweene *Knottie-point*, and *Fayer-forland*, I saw a great Bay, which because it was foggy on the sudden, I could not discouer. In the Sea, about the *Forland*, I saw great store of Mohorses and Sea-fowle, I sounded in the Bay and had nintie fiue fathomes rockie ground. I stood to Sea, and had very foule weather, with snow, and fogs, and frost, which weather continued till the thirtieth day, at foure of the clocke in the morning, at which time I was within one mile of *Fayer-forland* in nine fathomes, and then I sayled East North-east about two miles, and had these depths, 18. 17. 16. 14. and 12. fathomes all rockes. Then I steered South with the like depths and grounds, but when I had runne South South-east three miles further, I had sandie ground, then did *Fayer-forland* beare West and by North, about three leagues of, the next cast I had tenne fathomes foule ground, and from thence I steered two leagues South and by East, hauing these depths, 10. 9. 8. and 7. fathomes, then I saw the Bay couered ouer with Ice. I turned out the wind at North. This Sound I named *Fowle-sound*, for in this Bay are three Sounds; this I spake last of, which lyeth in South, and goeth out at *Black-point*: another lyeth in East South-east, which I named *Deere-sound*: another goeth in North, which is called *Closse-coue*, and being neere the point betweene *Fowle-sound* and *Deere-sound*, it fell calme, and I sent the Skiffe on Land, and standing after, with a little wind at West, I found the sayd Point very shoale, with a ridge of Rockes, where I had these depths, 4. 5. 6. 7. 9. 10. 18. and then 30. fathomes. At a South Sun, the Boat came aboord and brought Wood, and some Whale-fins.

Knotty-point.

Thirty day of May.

Foule-sound.

Deere-sound.

Close-Coue.

The last of May, at an East North-east Sun, I was within three leagues of *Knotty-point*, at which time I saw Ice all the Sea ouer betwixt the West and the Land: then I saw another Point foure leagues distant from *Knotty-point*, the one bearing of the other North and by East, and South and by West, and it is smooth Land, the which I named the *Gurnerds-nose*, in different warme weather: and finding the Ice to bee so thicke that I could not passe it, and the wind comming to the West, I stood to the Southwards againe, determining to search the Sounds better for a Road, and

Ice.

Gurnerd-nose.

for

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for commodities, because I saw no good to bee gotten in keeping the Sea amongst the Ice, and at a North Sun, I was in the entrance of *Close-coue*, where I had no ground at one hundred & twenty fathomes, and yet I was within two Cables length of a sunken ledge of Rockes, that lyeth on the Larboord side of the Bay a mile from the shoare. Note.

The first of Iune I found a good Road in *Close-coue*, on the South-west side, where I rid in seuen fathomes sand mingled with oze, at an East Sun I sent a Skiffe to a low Point, that lyeth on the North side of the Bay, where they found some Whales fins, and three pieces of Mohorse teeth, and vpon a little rockie Iland, they saw neere one hundred Mohorses, which were there sleeping. In this time I went towards the bottome of the Sound, and slue a white Beare. At a South-west Sun, I went towards the rocke, to see if I could kill any of the Morses that lay there, and as wee went by the shoare side I espied Deere, three of them I slue, and one of my company one. But when I came to the rocke, the Ice that the beasts lay on, was hollow, and the rocks that was betwixt the Ice and the sea stood sloping toward the Sea; the which when I saw, I determined to go aboord and let them alone, yet afterward I went on the rocke betwixt the Ice and the Sea: and as I with the rest of my company were killing them, the Ice brake, and Ice and beasts slid into the Sea together, and carryed one of the men with them, so that he escaped out of that danger very hardly; for besides the weight of dead Mohorses, and Ice that bruised him, the beasts that were aliue strook at him in the water, and bruised him very soare. I had beene in the same case, if I had not beene the nimbler, and slipt on one side. I killed three Morses, whose teeth I tooke off. Then I espied the Beare, which my Mate had hurt before with a shot; hee went into the Sea, when hee saw the Boate, where I slue him with a Lance, and brought him aboord. Iune. A Beare slaine. Foure Deere slaine. His name was *Thomas Whitman*. A Beare slaine.

The second day at a North and by East Sunne. At a South Sunne, I went to the South shoare of *Deere-sound*, where I found a good quantitie of Fins, and came aboord, at a North North-west Sunne. The third day, being Sunday, I rid still, hauing the wind at West South-West much wind. Then vpon the side of a Hill, a mile to the Westwards of the Road, I set vp a Crosse, with a writing vpon it, signifying the day of my arriuall first in this Land, by whom I was set out, and the time of my being heere. This Road I called *Crosse-road*. At a South-east sunne the fourth day, I wayed, the wind at West South-west, and when I was almost out, the wind increased with fogs, which made me put back into the Road, where I anchored the same day at six of the clocke, at afternone. The fifth day, at a North-east and by East sunne I wayed, and it fell calme, then I went to the East side, and killed some Fowle, which I found in great abundance: and when I was readie to go aboord, I saw fourteene Deere, at which time I spent all my powder, and shot but one shot, with the which I slue a fat Buck. The same day, at a South sun, I went on Land and slue two Deere more. And at a South-west sun I went on Land and slue a Doe, and took the Faune aliue, and brought it aboord, but it dyed the next day. The calme continued till the sixth day, at an East North-east sunne (and we droue in the Bay, with a little soaking tyde that runneth there.) Then I sent the skiffe to the rocke aforesaid, to see what store of Mohorses were there; at three of the clocke they came aboord, and told mee there was neere two hundred beasts. I tooke both the boat and skiffe, with all my company, and went to the rock, and in going thither I slue a Beare: but when I came to the rocke, the beasts began to goe into the sea, then I presently went on land, with all my company, and slue eightie beasts, whose teeth I tooke, and in going aboord slue another Beare, and came aboord the seuenth day, at a North-east sun. Then I saw two white fishes, which at the first sight I supposed to be Beares, they had long snouts like Sturgeons, two flat Fins close by their gils, flat bodied, small towards their tailes, and a broad taile. A crosse set vp. *Crosse road*. A good Road for all winds. There is great store of Fowle in this Land. A Buck slaine. Three Deere slaine. A fawne taken Beares slaine. Mohorses. White fishes.

The tenth day, I went on shoare and slue fiue Deere, with the which, and them that I slue before I haue lengthened out my victuals, blessed be the Creator of the World, * which hath not made any part thereof in vaine, but so that in these parts (which hath seemed vnpossible to our Ancestors to bee trauelled vnto, by reason of the extreame cold which they supposed to bee here) I find the ayre temperate in the Lands, and nothing so cold as I haue found at *Chery* Iland in fiue seuerall Voyages. Moreouer, in this Land I haue seene great store of Deere, which haue neither bush nor tree to shelter them from the nipping cold of Winter, nor yet any extraordinarie pasture to refresh them. If these (I say) hauing nothing but the Rockes for a house, and the Starry Canopie for a couering, doe liue here; why may not man, which hath all the gifts of God bestowed vpon him for his health and succour? Fiue Deere. * *Isa.* 45. 18.

The eleuenth day in the morning, I sent the skiffe to a Beach, that lyeth Northwards from the Rocke where we slue our beasts, but when they came to the Rocke, it beganne to blow hard at North North-west, that they could not proceed any further, vpon the Rocke they found a Beare, and slue him, and came aboord. In which time I tooke the boate and went to the East side, and slue two Beares and two Deere.

The twelfth day, at a North-east sunne I wayed, and hauing very little wind, I sent the skiffe to goe to the place abouesayd, at a North sunne, they came aboord and brought some Whales Finnes and a Beare, and told mee that it did blow very much wind at Sea, yet I had Two Beares, and two Deere slaine.

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Crosse-road. in 79. degrees 15 minutes. Compasse vary 18. degrees 16. minutes.

it all this time calme in the Bay. Yet before I could get out of the Sound, the wind came to the North-west, and blew very hard, which made mee to put roome for *Crosse-road*, where I rid till the fourteenth day, in which time I caused both the boates to bee trimmed, and the thirteenth day at noone, I obserued on Land, in this place, and found the Poles height 79. degrees, fifteene minutes, and the variation of the Compasse 18. degrees, 16. minutes North-west: the same day I slue a Bucke.

Ice.

The fourteenth day, at a South-east Sunne I wayed, the wind at South-west foggie weather, at a South-west Sunne, I went on Land and slew a Buck. The fifteenth day, at East Sunne, I got out of the Bay, at which time I saw abundance of Ice to the Sea-wards, but the wind came to the South-east, and I sayled betwixt the Ice and the shoare. At a North-west Sunne, I sent the skiffe (with seuen men in it) to the Land vnder *Knottie-point*, at which time the wind came to the North-east, and I stood to the North-wardes, where I had these depths, fifteene, thirteene, and eleuen fathomes foule-ground. These depths were about a league, and to the Northwards of *Knottie-point*, I saw great store of Whales, the like I saw in *Deere-sound*. The sixteenth day, the Skiffe came aboord, and brought a few Finnes, and fiue Deere, and they told mee that within the Bay, that lyeth betwixt *Knottie-point* and *Gurnerds-nose* is a Hauen, in the entrance whereof is an Iland, and seuen fathomes going in, but within eight, nine, fifteene, and twentie fathomes good ground. This maketh *Gurnerds-nose*, an Iland, for this Hauen goeth out on the North-west side of *Gurnerds-nose*. I named this Hauen, the *Fayre-hauen*; I found a great tyde heere, which runneth South South-west, the floud commeth from the Southwards.

Great store of Whales.

Fiue Deere slaine.

Faier-Hauen.

Abundance of Ice.

79. degrees 50. minutes. the Latitude of *Gurnerds nose.*

The first place of my being this Voyage

This Vnicorns horne is the Horne of a fish of which see after in *Baffins* discouery.

Ten Beares slaine.

Then standing to the Northwards, I saw the Sea couered with Ice, which lay close to the Land which made me stand to the Southwards again, I obserued at *Gurnerds-nose*, and found the Poles height 79. degrees, 50. minutes. At a North-west Sun, the same day, I sent the skiffe on Land to search the Coast to the Southwards of *Knottie-point*, where I sounded and had twenty foure fathomes Foule-ground, and in the Fayre-way I sounded, hauing these depths, 30. 35. 45. and 48. fathomes all Rocky-ground. By the seuenteenth day, I was in the entrance of *Close-cone*, at a South Sun, at which time the Skiffe came aboord, and brought a Beares skin, and a Buck, and a good quantite of Whales Fins and an Vnicornes horne, which was fiue foot and seuen inches long, and in the biggest part of it, it was seuen inches and a halfe about. The eighteenth day, at a South Sun, I came into the Road, where I rid all that day, hauing very much wind and raine that wee could doe nothing. At a North Sunne, I sent my Mate, with the Skiffe, and sixe men to seeke for more Fins, &c. The ninteenth day, at a North Sun, they came aboord, hauing slaine ten Beares, three of their skins and fat they brought aboord, and a good quantitie of Fins, and six paire of teeth. The twentieth day, in the morning, I sent both the Boat and Skiffe to flay the other seuen Beares, the wind being at North faire weather. But they were no sooner gone, but it blew very hard at North, which brought abundance of Ice out of the bottome of the Sound, but did the Ship no hurt. At a West South West Sunne, the Boats came aboord with the Beares skins, the wind aboue said set so much Ice out of the sound vpon the Ship, that it inforced mee to set sayle.

Fiue Deere slaine.

A yong beare taken.

A Beare slaine

Take heede of this point.

The one and twentieth day, at a North Sun, I stood towardes *Fayer-forland*, and sent out the skiffe. The two and twentieth day, at a South-east sunne, they came aboord, with the skiffe laden with Fins, and killed fiue Deere. Then I went on Land to search what I could find, and I slew a Beare, and tooke a young one aliue, and at three of the clocke in the afternoone I came aboord with the skiffe laden with Fins. The three & twentieth day, at a South-east sun, the Boat came aboord, and brought a good quantitie of Finnes, and a Beares skinne. Then I stood toward *Cape-cold*, and the same day, at a South sunne, I sent the skiffe on Land to the Northwards of the Cape, where they found sixteene Mohorses on a rocke, which they slue; and at a North-east sun, the foure and twentieth day, they had brought all the teeth and blubber of them aboord; at which time the wind came to the North-west, and blew verie hard: then I stood towardes the *Ice-sound* to seeke what commodities it would yeeld. At a North sunne I was neere *Black-point*, which hath a great many sunken Rockes lying on the southermost end of it, therefore you must come no neerer that shoare then twentie fiue fathomes. The fiue and twentieth day, till a South sun, it was calme, and the tyde droue the ship so farre from the Land, that I could not send the boat on shoare.

A Bucke slaine

The sixe and twentieth day, at a South South-west Sunne, I came aboord, more laden with trauell then commodities, at which time I slue a Buck. Then I stood toward *Ice-sound*, and at a Point which parteth *Foule-sound* and *Ice-sound*, I had thirtie fathomes oze, & so to ten fathomes Rockes, then I steered East along the shoare, and had betwixt thirtie and fifteene fathomes oze and sand. In fifteen fathomes I anchored, hauing the wind at North North-west, faire weather at a North-west sun, at a North sun, I sent the skiffe to the shoare to search for commodities. The seuen and twentieth day of Iune, at an East North-east sun, they came aboord, and brought a good parcell of fins. At six of the clock I sent the Skiffe to the Land againe, and set sayle with the ship; but it being calme, and the tide setting the Ship towards a ledge of rocks, made mee to anchor againe.

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gaine. At a South South-eaſt Sun, they came aboord againe, and brought a good quantitie of fins: at a South Sunne I ſent the Skiffe towardes the mouth of *Ice-ſound*, and in the entrance thereof I found a Coue in the which was twentie fathomes, and ſo to thirteene, but by reaſon of the tyde, and edy-winds, I could not get into it; here the Skiffe came aboord and brought a few finnes. Then I ſteered to another Sound, in the South ſide of *Ice-ſound*, where I anchored in twentie fathomes oze, the ſame day at a North Sun. The eight and twentieth day I ſtayed at the place abouesaid, and tried the Beares greaſe to bring it into oyle, and when we were all buſied, a Beare came ſwimming ouer the Bay, towards the ſhip, which I ſlue, and ſplit my Peece; the wind being at Weſt. The nine and twentieth day, at a South-eaſt Sunne, I ſent the skiffe to ſearch the Coaſt to the Weſtwards of this Bay, the wind at North-weſt. The laſt of Iune, the skiffe came aboord, at a South-eaſt Sunne, and brought a few Finnes, and a Bucke, the wind at North.

A Beare ſlaine.

A Bucke.

The firſt of Iuly, being Sunday, I rid at the place abouesaid, in hope to haue more Mohorſes on Land; I obſerued heere and found this place in 78. degrees, 24. minutes, and the variation Weſtwards, ſeuenteene degrees. Then I ſent the skiffe to ſee if any more beaſts were on Land. The wind at North-weſt, faire weather. The ſecond day, at a North North-eaſt Sunne, they came aboord and brought two Deere. The third, wee ſlue a few Morſes, whoſe teeth and blubber wee brought aboord, at a North-weſt Sunne, at which time I ſlue a Pricket: this place I named the *Green-hauen*. Immediately I ſent the skiffe to take the teeth, and fat of ſeuen beaſts, which lay ſlaine in another place. The wind at Weſt, thicke foggie weather. It floweth here on the Change day South, and by Weſt, and hyeth ſixe foot water, and runneth halfe tyde halfe quarter. The fourth day, we rid ſtill the wind at South-weſt with fogs and raine, and very much wind: at the ſame time I ſaw great ſtore of Ice in *Ice ſound*. The fifth day at a North-eaſt Sunne I wayed, the wind at Weſt thicke weather, and in ſtanding out wee ſlue a ſhe Beare, and tooke her two young ones. Indifferent faire weather, we lay becalmed all this day.

Iuly the firſt.

78 degrees, 24. minutes, var. 17. deg. W.

Two Deere ſlaine.

Greene-harbour one Deere ſlaine.

Ice.

A Beare ſlaine, two yong ones taken.

The ſixth day, I was off *Lowneſſe* (at a South Sunne) the wind being at Eaſt blew ſo hard, with raine and thicke weather, that I was enforced to take in all the ſayles ſaue a Mayne-courſe, which ſtorme continued till eight at night, at which time I ſet more ſayle, and ſtood to the Southwardes, hoping to get ſome goods that way. The ſeuenth day, at noone the wind came to the North-eaſt, and then it began to bee cleere weather, at what time I ſaw the Land of *Bel-ſound*, whither I purpoſed to goe, yet could not by reaſon of abundance of Ice, which lay aboue three leagues from the Land, which I could not poſſibly paſſe. At a North-weſt and by Weſt ſun, I ſaw abundance of Ice all along the Land, to the Southwards of *Bel-ſound*. The eight day, at twelue at noone, I ſtood into the Ice, in hope to get to the ſhoare, the wind at North and by Weſt haſie weather, *Horne-ſound* bearing Eaſt North-eaſt, nine leagues of, I ſtood to the landwards till foure of the clocke, at which time I found the Ice ſo thick that I was forced to ſtand to the Southwards to eſchew it. I ſayled by, and amongſt the Ice, till a North North-weſt Sunne, at which time I was within three leagues of the ſhoare. Then I ſounded, and had thirtie ſixe fathomes. Then I ſtood to the Weſtwards, and finding all this part of the Land full of Ice, I purpoſed to ſtand to the Northwards againe to ſearch for commodities that way: the wind being at North-weſt, I turned to windwards, till the tenth day, at eight of the clocke before noone, at which time wee found a part of a dead Whale, which I cauſed to bee made faſt to the Ship, determining to get into ſome Harbour, there to make the beſt of it I could. Before I could get into *Bel-ſound*, at which time I ſaw all the bottom of the Sound full of Ice, ſo that there was no refuge for the Ship. Then I was faine to turne out with the winde at Weſt, and beganne to blow verie hard. At a North-weſt Sunne, it was fayre weather, and I ſent my Mate with the skiffe to ſearch the Coaſts towardes *Bel-point*. The fourteenth day, at a North-eaſt Sunne, the skiffe came aboord, and brought three Beares, which they had ſlaine. Immediately I ſent the Boat for water and wood, and then I ſtood through the Ice, and got through it by a North Sun the fifteenth day, the wind at North-weſt foggie weather. Then I turned to windwards, to double *Lowneſſe*, and got cleere of it: at ſixe of the clocke at night thicke foggie weather.

Ice.

A dead Whale.

Three Beares ſlaine.

The ſixteenth day, at fiue of the clocke in the afternoone, I got to *Black-point*, the wind comming to the South, thicke weather. Then I ſent the skiffe to range the Coaſt, and to ſearch what they might find. The ſeuenteenth day, at ten of the clocke they came aboord, and brought ſome Fins, and three Deere. Then I ſtood towards *Croſſe-road*, and anchored there at a North-ſun, the wind and weather as abouesaid. The eighteenth day, about fiue of the clocke in the morning, I ſent the skiffe to ſee if they could find any Morſes on Land, on the Rocke, or in *Deere-ſound*, and in the meane time, I, with the reſt of the company got drift-wood and water readie, and about a South ſunne, a Beare with two young ones; the Dam I ſlue, and tooke the young ones aboord the ſhip, the wind Northerly, cold, foggie weather. The nine and twentieth day, in the morning, I went to the Eaſt ſide, to ſee if any Mohorſes were on land; there I ſlue foure exceeding fat Buckes and a Doe. In which time the skiffe came aboord and brought two Beares ſkins, but found no beaſts, and in *Deere-ſound* they found Sea-coales, which burnt very well.

Three Deeres ſlaine.

A Beare with two young ones taken.

Fiue Deere ſlaine.

Two Beares ſlaine.

Sea-coales.

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The twentieth day, I sent the Skiffe into the bottome of *Closse-eone* to search it for commodities, the wind at South close weather with raine: at eight of the clock at night they came aboord, but found nothing; immediately I got wood and water aboord, which was ready before, preparing to set sayle the wind and weather abouesaid, we slue three Deere. The one and twentieth, I wayed, the wind at North faire weather. The two and twentieth day, the wind came to the West, and then I stood to the Northward, at eight of the clocke hasi-weather. At twelue of the clocke at noone the wind came to the North, and I stood to the Southwards by *Fayer-forland*. The three and twentieth day, at an East north-east Sunne, the Boat brought some Whales finnes, and three Buckes, and one Doe: In which time I thought I had seene Land beare West from me. I stood to the Westwards, and by a South South-east sunne, had run fifteene leagues West and by South, then I perceiued it to be fogs. The foure and twentieth day, at seuen of the clocke in the afternoone I came into *Bel-sound* and found but little Ice, then I sent the Skiffe to seeke for a Road for the Ship, and also for commodities. The fiue and twentieth day, at three of the clocke in the morning, the Skiffe came aboord, hauing beene in the mouth of the North *Inlet*, which I call *Low-sound*, they went into it by *Point-partition*, but there is no good Channell that way for a Ship: neuertheless there seemeth to bee an Inlet or Channell, but it is full of Rockes from side to side, and the men told mee, that vpon the Land lay some Mohorses, which I sent them to kill. At eight of the clocke, the Skiffe came aboord, and brought the teeth of the sayd beasts, and some blubber. Immediately I sent them into *Bel-sound*, to seeke for a Road for the Ship, the wind at West thicke foggie weather. About an North West Sunne, I anchored in *Bel-sound*, in sixteen fathomes ozie ground, this Harbour lyeth about two leagues aboue *Point-partition* on the South-side of it, and here a ship may ride safe from all windes. At a North Sunne my Mate slue a Beare. The six and twentieth day in the morning, it blew hard, and I went on Land and slue a Beare, and a Bucke which had three inches and an halfe in thickenesse of fat on the haunches. At nine of the clocke I sent both the Boats to fetch the fat of those Mohorses which were slaine the day before, and likewise to search if they could find any more, the wind at North with fogs. At six of the clocke at night the Boats came aboard with the fat, and brought two Buckes, but found no beasts on Land.

Three Bucks slaine.

No good channell.

A Beare slaine. A fat Bucke. And although I haue not written of the fatnesse of the rest, yet the most of them were two and three inches thicke of fat.

The seuen and twentieth day, at a South South-east Sunne I weighed, the winde being at North and by West faire weather, and I steered out (betwixt an Iland and the point where I rid) South-west and by West, hauing these depths, 10. 7. 6. 5. and 4. fathomes: then I was in the middest betwixt the said point, and a shoald which lay South and North, one of the other, and after keeping the same course, I had these depths, 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 12. and 13. fathomes, in all these depths I had sand, and after oze. At sixe of the clocke the wind came to the South-west with fogges, and I turned to the wind-wards. And at twelue, the eight and twentieth day *Lowneese* did beare North-east about foure leagues off, where I sounded hauing thirtie two fathomes streamie ground with blacke stones, at which time it was calme, and continued so till the nine and twentieth day at sixe of the clocke in the morning, then the wind came to the North with fogges, and I stood to the Southwards, and to see what Commodities I could find that way.

My departure from the land, Ice.

At nine of the clocke I was neere the *Ice-point*, where I met with much Ice, which put mee from the Land, and I was enforced to steere South-west and by South to shunne it, the winde at North-west which blew hard with fogges. The wind increased, I stood towards *Cherrie* Iland (if possible I could attayne it) for fogges and Ice. The thirtieth day, at foure of the clocke in the morning I saw no Ice, hauing kept no certayne course, by reason of the Ice which I had past, the winde at North and by West, cold foggie weather with raine. From the time aboue-said till twelue of the clocke at noone I sayled South South-east, and ranne fifteene leagues, the same wind and weather, at which time I sounded & had eightie fathoms greene oze like Kowes dung. I sounded at two of the clocke, and at foure of the clock, the first, eightie eight, the second, eightie two fathomes, and sayled sixe leagues, the former course wind and weather. At which time I heard a breach which proued Ice, then I steered West to eschew it, the fogges being so thicke that I could not see one Cables length.

A fish seene, Ice & fogs two of the greatest hinderances in the Northerne Nauigations.

The last of Iuly at noone, I had sayled South and by East halfe a point Southerly eight leagues hauing little wind, and sounded, and found one hundred and fortie fathomes thicke foggie weather, and in haling vp the Lead, a fish followed it to the top of the water: then I tryed to take fish but could not. At foure of the clocke in the afternoone, the winde came Southerly, and I stood to the Westward, by reason the Ice lay both to the South and East of vs, at a North Sunne it was cleere weather, and I saw the Ice round about vs, cold weather with frost.

The first of August, we beat in the Ice till noone, but could finde no end thereof, because it was so foggie, and the Ice packed very close; yet after many intricate courses, I got to the Westwards of it at mid-night the same day, the winde at South-east, cold weather with raine and fogges. And after I had seene so much Ice that I could not come neere *Cherry* Iland, to prosecute the rest of my Voyage, I determined to stand for *England*, as God would giue me leaue. From mid-night the first day, till eight of the clocke the second day before noone, I sayled South-west and by South fiue leagues, the wind at East South-east, thicke fogges with raine. From the se-

I stood towards *England*.

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cond day at eight of the clocke, till the third day at twelue of the clock at noone, I sayled West South-west fifteene leagues, the wind at South and by East, wet foggie weather. From noone abouesaid, till twelue at noone the fourth day, I sayled foure leagues South, the winde variable, and the most part of that time calme, and so continued till eight of the clocke at night, at which time the wind came to the South and by East, and blew very hard; from the fourth day at noon till the fift day at noone I sayled South-west Westerly seuen leagues. The sixt day, the winde was at South-east cleere weather, at noone I found the shippe in 73. degrees, the North Cape bearing by my computation, East South-east Easterly. The seuenth day at noone, I found the ship in 72. degrees 22. minutes, indifferent faire weather. And from the seuenth day at noone, till the eight day at noone I sayled foure and twentie leagues, the course South South-west, the wind at South-east and by East, at which time it beganne to be very foggie, and the winde came to the South, but immediatly it was calme, and continued so till mid-night. Then the wind came to the North, little wind, and at a South Sunne the ninth day, I had sayled South seuen leagues. From the ninth day at noone till the tenth day at that time I sayled South, and ranne seuen leagues South, it being calme most part of the day, with much rayne and fogges. From twelue the tenth day, till noone the eleuenth day, I sayled South and by West, and ranne seuenteene leagues, the wind Northerly. And from the eleuenth day at noone, till the twelfth at that time, I sayled South and by West eighteene leagues, the winde at North North-west faire weather. From noone the twelfth day, vntill twelue at noone the thirteenth day, I sayled South and by West fortie eight leagues, the wind betweene the North, and the West North-west gustie weather. From the thirteenth at noone, till the fourteenth at noone, I sayled South and by West fortie fiue leagues, the wind betwixt the West North-west, and the West South-west gustie weather, latitude 64. degrees 21. minutes. From the fourteenth day at noone, till the fifteenth day at that time, I sayled South and by West nine and twentie leagues, at which time I obserued and found the ship in 62. degrees 53. minutes faire weather, the wind at North. At foure of the clocke the same day, I saw *Skutsnesse* in *Norway* seuenteene leagues off, and bearing South-east, from whence I hold it superfluous to write it, being a place well knowne. The last of August I arriued at *London*, Blessed be God for euer and euer. *Amen*.

In 62. degrees 15. minutes.

A briefe note what Beasts, Fowles, and Fishes were seene in this Land.

BEasts: Buckes, and Does, white Beares and Foxes, of colour dunne and grey.

Fowles: white Partridges, a small land Bird, like a Sparrow, partly white, and partly browne, a Fowle with a combe and a tayle like a Cock, a redde Fowle of the bignesse of a Pidgeon; a white Fowle with a greene bill, the top of the bill of it and the eyes were redde, with blacke feet. Wild Geese, Coluidines, Gulls, Sea-mewes, Willockes, Noddies, Ice-birds, Reeks, and Sea-pidgeons.

The Coluidine is as big as a Mallard, the male is neerer of the colour, and the female browne.

Fishes: great store of Whales, Grampuses, Mohorses, the white fish I spake of the seuenth of Iune, a small fish like Cuplen, likewise I saw the bones of Cods, or Haddocks; but could take no fish: I often looked for Shel-fish, but could take none: diuers of my company did see two Beauers.

CHAP. II.

A Commission for IONAS POOLE our Seruant, appointed Master of a small Barke called the *Elizabeth*, of fiftie tunnes burthen, for Discouerie to the Northward of *Greenland*, giuen the last day of March 1610.

INas much as it hath pleased Almightie God, through the industry of your selfe and others, to discouer vnto our Nation a Land lying in eightie degrees toward the North-pole: We are desirous not only to discouer farther to the Northward along the said Land, to find whether the same be an Iland or a Mayne, and which way the same doth trend, either to the Eastward or to the Westward of the Pole, as also whether the same be inhabited by any people, or whether there be an open Sea farther Northward then hath beene alreadie discouered. For accomplishing of all which our desires, we haue made choice of you, and to that end haue entertayned you into our seruice for certayne yeares vpon a stipend certayne: not doubting, but you will so carrie your selfe in the businesse, for which you were so entertayned, as God may be glorified, our Countrey benefited, your selfe credited, and we in our desires satisfied. And for your better instruction to proceed in this your Voyage, we haue thought good to set downe our opinions what course wee thinke fit to be obserued in the same: which is, That forasmuch as by your owne report of the great

Poole entertayned by a certaine stipend. He was as I haue heard, miserably and basely murthered betwixt *Ratcliffe* and *London*, after his returne from this Voyage.

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ſtore of Whales in thoſe Seas, wee are at an extraordinary charge this yeare, of ſetting out a ſhip and men for that purpoſe, which ſhip is called the Marie Margaret *of* London, *in burthen one hundred and fiftie tunnes or thereabout: Our meaning is, that you doe keepe company with the ſaid ſhip, and not to leaue her, till God ſend you to the places, where ſhe may make her Voyage: which by your report ſhould be at a place named by you the laſt yeare* 1610. Whale Bay.

And God ſending you to the ſaid place, we would haue you to ſtay there the killing of a Whale, or two or three, for your better experience hereafter to expedite that buſineſſe, if through extremitie of the Ice you ſhould be put from your Diſcoueries. And in the meane time while you are ſtaying about killing of the Whale, you may cauſe ſome of your people to bee ſearching the Coaſt with their Shallops for Whale finnes, Morſes teeth, Amber greeſe, or any other commodities, that may be found vpon that Coaſt. And hauing thus ſtayed a conuenient time with the ſaid great ſhip for the purpoſe aboue ſpecified, wee would haue you then to proceed on your Diſcouerie for the ſatisfying of our expectations formerly mentioned, which is, to diſcouer further to the North Pole as farre as poſſibly you can, and how the Land alreadie diſcouered doth trend, and whether there be any inhabitants in the ſaid Land, and whether there be an open Sea to the Northward beyond the ſaid land. And in this your coaſting the land, we doubt not but you will endeauer with your Shallops to gather vp all the Whale finnes you can finde, and to kill the Morſes which you can come by on land, and to reſerue the teeth and blubber to the moſt aduantage that may bee, the better to beare out the great charge which you know we are at in theſe Diſcoueries. And to that end we haue laden in you eleuen Tunnes of emptie caske.

Further diſcouerie to the North.

And hauing ſpent ſo much time in this your Diſcouerie, and in gathering vp of ſuch commodities as that Coaſt will affoord, and as the ſeaſon of the yeere will permit you, then we would haue you returne for England, *and in your way homeward to touch at the place where you left the* Mary Margaret, *to ſee if ſhee be not gone; and finding her there, and that the time of the yeere will permit, wee would haue you melt your Blubber into Oile before your comming from thence, to auoid the great trouble and inconuenience you know we fell into the laſt yeere* 1610. *by bringing the ſame hither in Blubber. But if the ſaid ſhip ſhould chance to be full fiſhed, and ſo to be gone before your comming thither, yet we would haue you ſtay there, or at* Cherie *Iland ſome ſmall time to melt your Blubber: to which end we haue appointed* Thomas Edge *our ſeruant in that ſhip to leaue a Copper, and ſuch neceſſaries as ſhall ſerue your turne, for the performing of that buſineſſe, behinde him; and haue deliuered him likewiſe aduertiſements at that place of their proceedings in the voyage, and of their intent, what courſe they purpoſe to take, together with their opinions, what courſe they would haue you take.*

Thomas Edge, See ſup. l. 3. c. 2.

In theſe matters of Diſcouerie and vncertaine Voyages, the varietie of occurrences and Sea dangers is ſuch, as we cannot directly preſcribe a courſe certaine to be held: yet we hold it fitting to ſet downe Our opinions of the needfull. which are, that at your firſt departure out of England *you keepe counſell together, and agree vpon your places of meetings, if by tempeſt of weather you chance to bee ſeparated; ſtill ſhaping your courſe directly for* Chery *Iland, where we would haue you ſtay. And if at your comming thither you finde the ſame cleere of Ice, and that there be Morſes on ſhoare, then wee would haue you to worke vpon them, as time and opportunitie will permit, alway hauing reſpect to your intended voyage. And hauing diſpatched your buſineſſe in that place, wee would haue you depart in company together for* The Whale Bay, *as aforeſaid, and to follow our inſtructions formerly ſet downe to be done in that place.*

Cherie Iland.

And hauing performed what may be done in the parts beyond Cherie *Iſland, and ſo returning backe againe for* England, *we hold it fit you make your* Rendez vous *againe at the ſaid* Cherie *Iland, and there to ſtay the one for the other, and to be killing of the Beaſts there till the laſt of Auguſt, if neede bee. And if it happen that one ſhip doe arriue there before the other, and no Morſes come on ſhoare, then wee would haue them ſpend the time in ſearching for the Lead Ore, or any other Minerall matter that may be like to be of worth vpon the ſaid Land. And thus hauing ſtayed at* Cherie *Iland till the laſt of Auguſt the one for the other, and not meeting together, the ſhip ſo ſtaying hauing made her Voyage, wee would haue her to returne directly for* England, *and to leaue a Note in writing of the day of her departure. This is our opinion. Notwithſtanding, if vpon better grounds you ſhall among your ſelues finde a conuenienter courſe to be held for the good of the Voyage, and the benefit of vs the Aduenturers, wee leaue it to your ſelues to agree vpon, as time and opportunitie ſhall ſerue.*

And for the auoyding of an Obiection heretofore vſed, That the want of ſufficient victuals hath beene the cauſe of the ouerthrow of the Voyages by ſpeedier returne home, then otherwiſe they would; wee haue thought fit to ſet downe the quantitie of victuals deliuered aboord your ſhip in this our Commiſſion, to the intent to cleere our ſelues and our Agent of that imputation, and to lay the blame on your ſelues, if by default the ſame be euill husbanded. The particulars are theſe. Beefe, 22.c 3. quarters, 18li. Biſquit 30.c Beere 14. Tunnes. Fiſh, 200. of Haberdin, and halfe an hundred Lings. Cheeſe 300.c weight. Butter three Firkins. Oyle three Gallons. Peaſe ten Buſhels. Oate-meale fiue Buſhels. Candels, fixe doſen. Aquavitæ, thirtie Gallons. Vinegar one rundlet of twentie Gallons. This proportion of victuals will laſt you ſeuen or eight moneths with good husbandry, together with the helpes of Fiſh, Fowle, and Beaſts that are to be had in abundance vpon theſe Coaſts. So that we hope you ſhall haue no cauſe to the contrary, but cheerfully to goe forward in your buſineſſe, whereby not onely the ſmall Barke you goe in, but the great Ship may come home fully laden with one commoditie or other, which we doubt not but by your diligence and good endeuours you may attayne vnto.

But

But if you shall chance by extremitie of Ice, or otherwise to be put backe from your discouerie, or from obtayning commodities vpon the coast of Greenland, *whereby to lade both ships; then we would haue you stay at* Cherie *Iland, or other Ilands thereabout, so long time as possibly you can, and as the season of the yeere will permit you, to finish the rest of your voyage. And if there bee sufficient lading betweene you both to lade the bigger ship, wee would haue her to bee dispatched from thence with all speede, and you to stay there as long as you may conueniently for the good of the Voyage: which the more beneficiall it prooueth, the more it will be for your credit, and we will not be vnthankefull at your returne.*

We would haue you at euery place of meeting with the Mary Margaret, *to deliuer to* Thomas Edge *our seruant a particular Note of what goods you haue taken into your ship. And at your last lading place we would haue you make a generall inuoyce of the whole Cargason of goods laden in your ship, and hauing signed the same, to seale it vp, and direct the same to our Agent resident in* London. *And if you doe chance to meete with the* Mary Margaret *at or after your last Port of lading, we would haue you deliuer a Copy of the said inuoyce to our seruant* Thomas Edge *for our better satisfaction, what casualtie soeuer might happen by the way, and at any hand to haue such an inuoyce euer readie sealed, and for mortalities sake put vp in some sure place of custodie.*

We hold it fit, that you Ionas Poole *should be as grand Pilot in this voyage to the Northward. And therefore we would haue you to accompany the great ship, and to bring her to the places of fishing for the Whale; or to any other place, which you out of your experience shall thinke fit to bring her for the good of the Voyage and benefit of the Aduenturers. And our will is, That* Steuen Bennet *Master of the said great ship together with the rest of the company in that ship, doe follow the said* Ionas Pooles *directions, as they will answer the contrarie vpon their perils at their comming home.*

And for that heretofore the Company haue beene abused by lewd and bad people, who haue imbeseled part of that which by our great charges and aduentures hath beene obtayned: Our minde and will is, That you Ionas Poole *doe make search in your owne ship, that none of our Whale finnes, Morses teeth, Oyle, or any other commodities gathered at our charge, be imbeseled or carried away by any of the Mariners, who will looke to haue the vttermost of their wages paid them, and to bee fed with meate and drinke sufficient. And God sending you into* England, *we would haue you suffer none of your people to goe on shoare vnsearched: neither would we haue you to leaue the ship till your comming into the Riuer of* Thames, *that we giue you order to the contrarie. And if you chance to be winde bound vpon the coast, you may send vp one of your people with your Letter, but not to come your selfe on shoare till our farther order, as aforesaid.*

The like order we would haue Steuen Bennet *to vse in his ship; by vertue of this our Commission, which we haue ordered to* Thomas Edge *our seruant to see performed accordingly.*

And in as much as we haue agreed here with a Tanner for all the Morses hides which wee kill and bring into England, *and haue sent men of purpose for the flaying, salting, and ordering of the same, whereof we haue appointed one to goe in your ship: We would haue you reserue the said hides, and floore your ship therewith in stead of ballast. And if you obtayne a greater quantitie then you can bring away with you, hauing alwayes regard to commodities of more value, which are Oyle, Teeth, and Whales finnes, that none of them be left behind; We would haue you leaue the said ouerplus of hides in some conuenient place, till the next yeere, that we send more store of shipping.*

Agreement with a Tanner for Morses hides.

A Commission for *Thomas Edge* our seruant, appointed to goe as our Factor in the Ship called the *Mary Margaret*, of the burthen of one hundred and fiftie Tunnes, for the killing of the Whale and Morses vpon the coast of *Greenland*, or any other place in the North Ocean: Giuen the 31. of March, 1611.

YOu are not ignorant of our imploying you heretofore in two seuerall Voyages to Cherie *Iland. The first whereof, by reason of one* Duppers *going thither, together with certaine men of* Hull, *glutting the said place, procured to vs a thousand pound losse of our principall. As also in the second Voyage, because you could not come to set footing vpon the said Iland, by reason of the abundance of Ice lying round about the same sixteene leagues comp[a]sse till the twentie eight of* July, *by which occasion our whole charge of setting out that yeeres aduenture had beene lost, if the refuge to lade our ship backe againe from Saint* Michael *the Archangel in* Russia *had not holpen vs: yet notwithstanding that helpe, wee lost by that voyage aboue fiue hundred pounds. We entring into due consideration of the premisses, doe not impute the cause of these our losses vnto you; but to the accidents then happening contrarie to our expectation: yet these losses growing vpon vs in the times of your imployment, we can doe no lesse then put you in minde thereof, to the intent to incourage and stirre vp your minde to doe your vttermost indeuour to further the businesse in this your third imployment, that we may recouer our selues of the losses formerly sustained. And for that end we haue made choice of you againe to goe as our Factor in the Ship* Mary Margaret, *of one hundred and fiftie Tunnes, the Master being* Steuen Bennet, *for the killing of the Whale: And to that end, as you well know, haue bin at charge of procuring of sixe men of Saint* Iohn de Luz, *accustomed*

Aduentures and losses in first Discoueries.

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Sixe Biscainers procured for killing of the Whale (as I haue heard) by *Woodcocks* aduise, who had liued and been imployed with them in *Grand Bay*, &c.

med to that function: whose names are as followeth: videlicet, Iuan de Bacoyne, Iuan de Agerre, Martin de Karre, Marsene de Horisada, Domingo de Sarria, and Adam de Bellocke: which men wee would haue to be vsed very kindely and friendly during this their voyage, whereby being strangers and leauing their owne Countries to doe vs seruice, they may haue no iust cause of complaint, but rather to be incouraged to doe vs seruice hereafter, if there be cause. And although it be our meaning they should be encouraged by all good and curteous vsage to be readie to doe vs seruice, yet we will haue you together with our owne people and Mariners imployed in this Voyage, to obserue and diligently put in practise the executing of that businesse of striking the Whale, as well as they: And likewise to know the better sorts of Whales from the worser, whereby in their striking * they may choose the good, and leaue the bad. And to that end we doe set you downe here vnder, the seuerall sorts of Whales, together with the differences of goodnesse betweene the one and the other, as we haue gathered the same by information from men of excellencie in that businesse: who make knowne vnto vs, that there are eight seuerall kindes of Whales, all differing the one from the other in quantitie and qualitie. Which for your better instruction, we haue thought good to set downe in this our Commission.

* This was a conceit, as if all places had choise of all kindes, which experience hath since taught otherwise.

The first sort of Whales, is called the Bearded Whale, which is black in colour, with a smooth skinne, and white vnder the chops; which Whale is the best of all the rest: and the elder it is, the more it doth yeelde. This sort of Whale doth yeelde vsually foure hundred, and sometimes fiue hundred finnes, and betweene one hundred and one hundred and twentie Hogsheads of Oyle. The second sort of Whale is called Sarda,

See of the kinds of Whales *sup.* 471. I haue added this to be compared with that, for further light.

of the same colour and fashion as the former, but somewhat lesse, and the finnes not aboue one fathom long, and yeeldeth in Oyle, according to his bignesse, sometimes eightie, sometimes a hundred Hogsheads. The third sort of Whale is called Trumpa, being as long as the first, but not so thicke, of colour Grey, hauing but one Trunke in his head, whereas the former haue two. He hath in his mouth teeth of a span long, and as thicke as a mans wrist, but no fins: whose head is bigger then either of the two former, and in proportion farre bigger then his body. In the head of this Whale is the Spermaceti, which you are to keepe in Caske apart from your other Oyle: you may put the Oyle you finde in the head and the Spermaceti altogether, and marke it from the other Oyle, and at your comming home, we will separate the Oyle from the Spermeceti. The like is to be done with the Oyle of this sort of Whale, which is to be kept apart from the Oyle of the other Whales. The reason is, that the Oyle of this sort of Whale being boyled, will be as hard and white as Tallow, which to be mingled with the other Oyle being liquid, would make the same to shew as footie Oyle, and so consequently spoyle both, and be of little value: you are therefore to be very carefull to keepe the Oyle of this sort of Whale apart, as well of the head as of the body, for the reasons before mentioned. In this sort of Whale is likewise found the Ambergreese, lying in the entrals and guts of the same, being of shape and colour like vnto Kowes dung. We would haue you therefore your selfe to be present at the opening of this sort of Whale, and cause the residue of the said entrals to be put into small Caske, and bring them with you into England. We would haue the Master also to be by at the opening of this Whale, and to be made priuie of the packing of those Barils. And although it be said, that the Ambergreese is onely in this Whale and in none other, yet we would not haue you be absent at the opening of any other: but if you see cause to make a reseruation of the entrals of euery Whale, that you shall perceiue to be cause of the least suspect to haue any of the said Ambergreese, being a matter, as you know, of good worth, and therefore not slightly to be regarded. The Teeth likewise of this sort of Whale we would haue you cause to be reserued for a triall; as also any other matter extraordinarie that you shall obserue in the same. This Whale is said to yeelde in Oyle fortie Hogsheads, besides the Spermaceti. The fourth sort, &c. as sup. 471. 472.

Spermaceti or Permaciti as the vulgar call it.

Ambergreese.

And in as much as industrie and diligence are two principall steps to atchieue great enterprises, and negligence and idlenesse are enemies to the same; we would haue you in this charge committed vnto you, to imbrace the one, and to auoide the other: and to shew that example of paines taking to the rest of the company of your Ship in your owne person, as well in setting them on worke, as in putting your owne hand to the businesse when neede requireth, so that there be no idle time spent, but that euery one be imployed in some businesse or other in helping to kill the Whale, or in searching the Bayes along the coast for Whales, Ambergreese, Morses teeth, or any other strange thing, that may be found vpon that coast, or in killing the Morses, Beares, or any thing that may make profit toward our great charges.

Touching directions for your keeping company together with the Elizabeth, and of the course we thinke fitting for the Master of that Ship to obserue, we haue set the same downe at large in our Commission deliuered to Ionas Poole, a Copie whereof we deliuer you herewith, for your better instructions, to obserue what is to be done on both your behalfes for the good of the Voyage: which our Commission, we would haue you strictly obserue, vnlesse vpon some speciall occasion to vs vnknowne, and by the consent of the principall Officers in both the Ships, you shall see iust cause to the contrary.

The rest as not so necessary to the publike is omitted.

You haue with you an order set downe by the Lords of his Maiesties priuie Counsell, for the maintaining of our Charter: which we would haue you make knowne to any of our Nation, that you may chance to meete withall either at Cherie Iland, or vpon any of those coasts. And if any stranger doe offer you violence, or doe disturbe you in your trade, you may both defend your selues, and maintaine your trade to the vttermost of your powers, &c.

CHAP.

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CHAP. III.

A briefe Declaration of this my Voyage of discovery to Greeneland, *and towards the West of it, as followeth: being set forth by the right Worshipfull Sir* THOMAS SMITH, *Governour of the right Worshipfull Company of new Trades, &c. written by* IONAS POOLE.

WE set sayle at *Blacke-wall* the eleauenth of *April*, 1611. with foure Shippes: The one called the *Mary-margaret*, of burthen one hundred and fiftie Tuns, with nine and fortie Men and Boyes. The next the *Elizabeth*, of burthen sixtie Tuns, with eighteene Men and Boyes. The third was called the *Amitie*, of burthen seauentie Tunnes, with foure and twentie Men and Boyes. The fourth was called the *Resolution*, with about sixteene Men and Boyes: the *Resolution* was appointed to goe to Saint *Nicholas* in *Russia*, in hope to make two Voyages thither this yeare. The *Amitie* was to goe to *Pichora* or *Nouazembla*, there to see if they could make a Voyage by way of trade, or by killing of Mohorses, &c. The *Mary-margaret* was appointed to keepe the *Elizabeth* companie to *Greeneland*, abouesaid, there to kill the Whale, for which purpose we had sixe men of Saint *Iohn de Luz*, with all things fitting for that purpose. The *Elizabeth* was appointed to see if it weare possible to passe from *Greeneland* towards the Pole, and to search in those Seas what likelihood of a passage that way, &c. But before we were as farre to the Northwards as the latitude of sixtie fiue, we were all separated, by reason of contrarie windes and foule weather: the *Elizabeth*, in which Ship I was, was stoked, that the water which was in her could not come to the Pumpe, but lay vpon the balast, which was the cause we could beare no sayle to keepe the *Mary-margaret* companie.

Foure Ships.

See *Supl.* 3.

The Ships separated.

Yet by the thirteenth day of *May* I came to *Cherie* Iland, and the foureteenth I spake with the *Amitie*. The sixteenth day I met with the *Mary-margaret*, which kept mee companie to *Greeneland*, but in our passage hither we saw a banke of Ice to the East wards of vs, aboue fortie leagues long. The nine and twentieth of *May*, we anchored in a place named (by me the last yeare) *Crosse road*, but before we got thither, wee were much troubled with Ice and contrarie windes, and we found almost all the sounds full of Ice, that the *Biscainers* could not strike one Whale, although they saw diuers, which as they said were of the best kinde of Whales.

Cherie Iland.

Crosse Rode.

Ice a hinderance to Whale killing and discoueryl

I staid there till the sixteenth of *Iune*, in which time we set vp our shalops and ranged some part of the Coast but found little, by reason the beaches were couered with Snow and Ice. Likewise in the same time, I was put out of the roade with Ice, and stood out West and by North into the Sea about foureteene leagues, where I found a banke of Ice; then I stood into the sound againe and got of the Shalop which was in the roade, at which time (which was about the eleauenth of *Iune*) I stood to the Sea againe and had a storme at South, which sunke our Shalop, and I saw the Ice lye close to the Land in 80. degrees. Then I went into *Crosse roade* againe, and had a Shalop from he *Mary-margaret*, and because I perceiued the Ice aboue said to lye close to the land, and impossible to passe that way there running verie strong Tides, in the which it is dangerous deaing with the Ice: I determined to stand to the Southwards alongst the said Ice, to see if I could finde the Sea open that way, and so get to the Westwards of the said Ice, and then proceeded on my Voyage: but I found it to lye the next hand South South-west and South-west and by South, and ranne alongst it about one hundred and twentie leagues, at which time I supposed my selfe neere *Groenland*, as it is laied downe by *Hudson* and others, and called *Hold with hope*: I ranne neere fortie leagues to the Westwards of the Eastermost part of the said Land, as it is laid downe, and by my accounts I was to the Southwards of it, neere the latitude 74. degrees, where I saw abundance of Whales by the sides of the Ice; for I sailed all this time sometimes in, and sometimes by the said Ice, and sounded most commonly each watch, but had no ground at 150. 140. 180. and 200. fathomes.

80. Degrees.

New discouery

Hold with Hope.

Store of Whales.

Then the winde cane to the North-west, and I perceiuing the Ice to trend still to the Southwards, determined to land to *Greeneland*, from whence I came, there to make my Voyage and likewise to try the certaintie concerning the misplacing of the Land, but the next day, being about the seauen and twentieth of *Iune*, the winde came to the North, and I stood for *Cherie* Iland, and came to it the nine and twentieth of the same Moneth, where I found that place of my being, when I supposed I should haue found Land, did beare from *Cherie* Iland West and by South, aboue one hundred twentie fiue leagues. When I came to the Iland I saw about three hundred Morses on land, but a storme comming they went all into the Sea.

Cherie Iland.

Three hundred Morses.

The twelfth of *July* we slue aboue two hundred; and by the three and twentieth day wee had taken all their fat Hides and Teeth, which with the Victuals we had laded the ship: then I determined to hale vp a shalop to goe to *Greeneland*, to search if I could finde any Land or Ilands, that might prou: beneficiall the next yeere, and likewise to search for Teeth and Whales Finnes.

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Finnes. The foure and twentie, and fiue and twentie dayes, it was very much wind at North, which cauſed the Sea to go ſo high that we could not land. Yet at eight of the clock at night the wind ceaſed, and I went on land where I found certayne of the *Marie Margarets* men, by whom
Mary Margaret loſt. I vnderſtood, that the ſaid ſhip was caſt away, and that Maſter *Thomas Edge* ſeruant to the right Worſhipfull Company, &c. with *Stephen Bennet* Maſter of the ſaid ſhippe, and others to the number of thirtie perſons, were arriued on the South ſide in three Boats, and that they parted from two Boats in *Greenland* with nine men in them.

Immediately Maſter *Edge* and Maſter *Bennet* came aboard, and I weighed and ſtood to the Weſt ſide of the Iland, and anchored there, and put neere one hundred Morſe-hides on land, and ſome emptie caske, and haled vp a ſhallop. The ſix and twentieth day about noone, we weighed and ſtood to the South-weſt ſide of the Iland, and ſent men on land to hale vp two ſhallops there. And at mid-night I ſet ſayle for *Greenland*, carrying with mee two *Biſcaine* ſhallops, determining there to try the Blubber of thoſe Morſes we had killed, and bring it to Oyle, and to bring all the Oyle, Teeth, and Finnes which they had gotten in that Countrey. And after diuers winds, but indifferent faire weather, I arriued at *Blacke-point* the laſt of July, and hauing the wind at North, I was perſwaded by diuers that had gone that way to go betwixt the Iland and the Mayne, but when I was almoſt through, and in ſight of that place where the *Mary Margaret* lyeth ſunke, I could not find water enough for the ſhip, yet I was told there was enough by diuers that had gone that way in the ſhallops. Here we ſtayed two dayes to buoy the channell, which is ſhoald and narrow, for we had at three quarters floud, but eleuen foot water.

Ship of Hull. The third of Auguſt I got ouer, and about eight of the clocke at night, I anchored neere the *Mary Margaret*, the Sunne being in 79. degrees, and there I found a ſhippe of *Hull* conducted thither by one *Nicholas Woodcock*, he being in one of the Boats which ſtayed in *Greenland*, when thoſe came from thence that came to *Cherrie* Iland. The ſhips name was called the *Hopewell*, one *Thomas Marmaduke* being Maſter. Here we found that hee had ſlaine aboue one hundred and thirtie Mohorſes, which were left on land when Maſter *Thomas Edge* came from thence with the Boats aforeſaid, and we did determine to kill at my arriuall. Aſſoone as the ſhip was moored, wee got out Blubber and ſent it on land to bee brought into Oyle, and wee followed our worke till the ſeuenth of Auguſt at noone, at which time hauing Oyle by the ſhips ſide, we put out all the Blubber which was in hold, ſaue two tuns and a halfe, ſuppoſing the ſhip had ballaſt enough in her, for there was aboue twelue tuns of Hides, which were the chiefeſt cauſe of the loſſe of the ſhip, and nine tunnes of Oyle, and aboue ſeuen tunnes of ballaſt a Hogſhead and a Barrell of Teeth: beſides halfe a tunne of ſtones, all which was about nine and twentie tunne weight, and to any vnpartiall mans iudgement, ſufficient to ſhift a Barke of ſittie tunnes. But as the laſt But went out of her, the ſhip began to held, and with all a great may men went to leeward, there being at that time aboue forty aboard. Then the hides which lay in hold, ſlid to leeward, and brought her altogether downe, then euery man made ſhift to ſaue his life, and I being farre from the hatches, could not get vp ſo ſoone as others did. At which time I ſaw
Double danger. death before mine eyes two wayes, one if I ſtayed in hold, I was ſure to be drowned: the other if I went vp the hatches, I was in election to be ſlaine; for downe at the hatche fell hogſheads of beere and diuers other things, the leaſt of them being ſufficient to beate a mans bones, and in attempting to get vp, I was beaten downe twice and hurt. But it was not the will of God to take my life from mee then, but to reuiue me, to plucke me euen from the jawes of death, and by ſwimming and crawling I got into the Sea cleere of the ſhip where a Boat toole me vp, and bleſſed bee God, no man periſhed at that ſo dangerous an accident. We being all got into three Boats, went to the *Hull* ſhip, where we found but ſmall comfort: for *Duke* told vs plainly, wee ſhould not come aboard his ſhip, and cauſed Pikes and Launces to bee brought to keepe vs out. Then Maſter *Edge* and diuers others deſired him to let mee come aboard, which hee did, and with much adoe I got aboard, hauing mine head broke to the ſkull, and my brow that one might ſee the bare bones, and by mine eare I had a ſore wound, likewiſe the ribs in my right ſide were all broken and ſore bruiſed, and the collar bone of my left ſhoulder is broken, beſides my backe was ſo ſore, that I could not ſuffer any man to touch it.

That which followeth, being further accuſation of Marmaduke, *is omitted. And I haue here added out of his Brother* Randolph Poole *their returne; omitting the former part of his Relations of the ſame Voyage.*

In this our great diſtreſſe, *Thomas Marmaduke* Maſter of the ſhippe of *Hull*, profeſſed great kindneſſe towards vs, promiſing vs paſſage, and that he would try if he could recouer our ſhip: but hee deferred the time one whole weeke, till ſhee was full of oze, ſo that when wee came to weigh her, both her Cables burſt, and ſo we left her to all our ſorrowes, without hope of recouerie. Then we went aboard the ſhip of *Hull*, which God had prepared for our ſuccour, where our Merchant agreeing for the fraight, we got the goods aboard; namely, about twentie, or one and twentie tunnes and an halfe of Oyle, and a Barrell of Beares Oyle, about tenne tunnes of Whales Finnes bound vp in an hundred and ſixe bundels, in euery one thirtie Finnes, and in ſome more, fiue Hogſheads of Morſes Teeth, and one and twentie odde paire. And if our ſhip had not miſcarried, the Voyage had beene much better.

The

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The nineteenth of Auguſt, we directed our courſe for *England*, the weather being reaſonable faire, and the wind for the moſt part betwixt the North and the Weſt: and wee continued our courſe homeward all that moneth. They returne homeward.

Vpon Tueſday the third of September, about two of the clocke in the morning, we were imbayed with land, and were neere the ſhoare before we were aware. Wee ſteered backe North and by Eaſt: and at twelue of the clocke we found our ſelues to be on the Weſt ſide of the Iles of *Orkney*, and ſteered Eaſt into a great ſound, called *Pentlow Fryth*, where wee beeing entred there came a Boat from the ſhoare, which brought vs freſh meat, and one of the men directed vs through the Sound. This Sound lyeth in the latitude of 58. degrees and 36. minutes, and the courſe through, is Eaſt North-eaſt, and Weſt South-weſt, it floweth there on the change day, South South-eaſt and North, North-weſt halfe a tyde, nine foote high or thereabout. At the entrance in on the North ſide, there is an high red Mountayne, and the Sound there is twelue miles ouer: but farther in the land is ſomewhat lower, and the Sound narrower. You may ſayle along the North ſhoare two miles off the land in fortie or fiftie fathomes; and on the ſaid ſhoare about foure miles Eaſt South-eaſt. From the red Cliffe there is a Bay, into which you may ſteere North by Weſt, giuing the Weſt point of the entrance into the ſaid Bay a good birth: for there the water is ſhoald and fowle ground: but in the middle of the entrance, 30. 20. 18. 12. 10. 6. and 5. fathomes: but wee anchored in 10. fathomes, fine ſandie ground. September 3. *Orkney* Ilands *Pentlow Fryth*, in 58. degrees 36. minutes.

The fift of September at an Eaſt South-eaſt Sunne wee ſet ſayle, keeping our courſe aboue mentioned, leauing fiue ſmall Ilands on our larboord ſide, and one Iland on our ſtarboord ſide: and ſo keeping an high Cliffe, which lyeth into the Sea on *Scotland* ſide, open of a low Land in the ſound on the ſame ſhoare, we ſayled out as before is ſaid.

Vpon the day at a North Sunne, we anchored in *Humber* mouth: there it floweth on the change day Weſt South-weſt. Vpon the eight day we arriued at *Hull*, ſafely and well in body, but much diſtreſſed and impayred in our ſtates, which God at his good pleaſure can reſtore.

At our firſt comming to this Country of *Greenland*, the Mountaynes and Valleyes thereof, except it were ſome few places, were all couered with ſnow: but ere we went away, the tops of the high Hils, and the lower Plaines appeared greene with Moſſe, and ſome little quantitie of graſſe. This Countrey, and likewiſe the ſeas in theſe parts, are ſubiect to maruellous thicke and miſtie weather, eſpecially when the ſunne with his moſt forcible heat melteth the Ice and ſnow, whoſe vapours obſcure the light of the ſunne, making ſmall difference betweene the day there, and the irkeſome night in other places.

We found in this Countrey many fat Deere, which we killed with our Peeces and Dogges at our pleaſure, which was a great refreſhing to vs in that vnquoth place: many white Beares, with white, grey, and dunne Foxes. We found alſo abundance of Fowle: namely, Culuidines, ſea Pidgeons, white land Partridges, wild Geeſe, Willockes, and many other Fowles. Among which I noted the nature of one, which we called an *Allen*; who (like to the great fiſhes, which eate vp the ſmall, or like to ſome great men, which deuoure all the labours of the poore) when ſome ſmaller Birds haue gotten any thing, then he leaueth not beating of them, till they haue caſt vp what they haue eaten, which he laying hold of deuoureth vp: and ſo with little meate in their gorges, and few feathers on their backes, he leaueth them to get more, not for themſelues but for him. We found on the ſhoares many huge Morſes. Many fat Deere, white Beares, white, grey, and dun Foxes. Abundance of ſundry Fowles. *Allen* a deouring Fowle. Many huge Morſes.

There is great ſtore of freſh water in euery Valley, which proceedeth moſt of the melted ſnow. On euery Beech is great plentie of drift wood, but neuer a buſh nor tree groweth in thoſe quarters, as farre as we haue hitherto diſcouered.

CHAP. IIII.

A Relation written by IONAS POOLE *of a Voyage to* Greenland, *in the yeere* 1612. *with two ſhips, the one called the* Whale; *the other the* Sea-horſe, *ſet out by the Right Worſhipfull the* Muſcouie *Merchants.*

THe ſeuenth of Aprill, 1612. wee ſet ſayle at *Blacke-wall*, and went to *Graueſend*.

The third of May we came to *Cherie* Iland, where we found a ſhip of *Holland*, in which one *Alan Salowes* an *Engliſhman* was Pilot. The ſame day about a North ſunne we anchored on the Weſt ſide of the Iland. *Cherie* Iland.

The fourth, we trimmed a ſhallop which I left there the laſt yeere: and *Alan Salowes* went aboard our Admirall, and Maſter *Ruſſell* ſent for Maſter *Thomas Edge*, Maſter *Arthington*, *Iohn Maſon*, and my ſelfe: where wee had ſome ſpeech about detayning him, and to haue brought him into *England*: but in the end hee was let goe. At a North ſunne we ſent our ſhallop to the South-eaſt ſide of the Iland to fetch a ſhallop, which was left there the laſt yeere: but they could not get thither for Ice, and came aboard againe at an Eaſt North-

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North-eaſt Sunne the fift day: at which time we weighed, and ſtood to the Weſtward, but immediatly we altered our courſe, and ſtood toward the Iland againe among the Ice; and about a Weſt North-weſt Sunne wee ſent our Skiffe and Shallop to fetch the Shallop aforeſaid. The winde was at North and by Weſt, froſtie weather with ſnowe.

The eight, wee ſtood toward *Cherie* Iland againe, and were faire by it at a South ſunne: at which time the winde came to the South-eaſt, and wee ſaw the *Hollander* ſtanding with vs. Then we altered our courſe, and ſayled Weſt North-weſt, determining, if hee followed vs, to ſtay for him. At ten of the clock at night hee came to vs: and the Admirall ſent his ſhallop aboord of him to command him to be gone out of our companie: and at a North ſunne hee ſtood away from vs, and ſayled North and by Eaſt, and we lay by the lee.

The twentieth at a South Sunne we ſaw our Conſort, and ſpake with them, and they told vs, that they had almoſt ſplit their ſhip with a piece of Ice, which brake nine of their Timbers, ſo that they had fiue foot water in hold.

Blacke point. The one and two and twentie dayes, wee plyed to windward, the winde being at North faire weather. And at *Blacke Point* wee ſaw great ſtore of Ice driuing to the South. At eight of the clocke at night *Blacke Point* did beare from mee Eaſt and by North nine leagues. And the Great ſtore of Whales. three dayes paſt we ſaw great ſtore of Whales within ten or twelue leagues off the Land.

Cape *Cold.* The three and twentieth we were faire off Cape *Cold*; where Maſter *Edge* and Maſter *Arthington* went with the *Basks* in their Shallops for *Croſſe-rode*, in hope to kill ſome Whales. And we ſaw ſtore of Whales in the Sea.

Foule Sound. The fiue and twentieth we got into *Foule Sound*, all the Sounds being full of Ice; and the Shallops came aboord and brought ſome Veniſon, which was very leane. And at ſix of the clock *Faire Foreland.* the *Basks* went with the Shallops to *Faire Foreland*, to ſee if they could kill a Whale: and at a North-weſt Sunne Maſter *Edge* went with a Shallop, to ſee if *Croſſe-rode* were open.

The ſix and twentieth, the two ſhips aboueſaid came into *Foule Sound*: one of them was that The *Diana* of *London.* *Hollander* before mentioned; the other was a ſhip of *London*, called *The Diana*, whereof one *Thomas Buſtion* dwelling at *Wapping* wall, was Maſter.

Dutch Merchant brake his necke. The ſeuen and twentieth, *Alane Salomes* came aboord of our ſhip, and told vs, that his Merchant had broke his necke downe a Cliffe. The ſame day the *Hollander* and the *Diana* ſtood to the Southward. The winde was at North North-weſt, and Northweſt, which kept the Ice in the Sounds. The twentie eight, we ſent the long Boat and our Shallop to *Brokenneſſe*, with a Shallop of ten Tunnes, there to be ſet vp. The winde was at Weſt with ſnowe and froſt. The ſame Six *Biſcayners.* day the *Basks* came aboord, but could kill neuer a Whale. The winde came to the South South-weſt, with froſt and ſnowe.

The nine and twentieth, the winde was at South with much ſnowe. The ſame day one of our men dyed, named *Iohn Butcher*, hauing layen ſicke about three weeks. The thirtieth, one *Michael Perkins* dyed aboord *The Whale*. The laſt of May, the winde was at South; and wee ſtood toward the *Foreland* in 79. degrees. The ſame day at midnight, the Chyrurgeon of *The Whale* dyed.

Iune. The firſt of Iune, we ſtood into *Foule Sound*, where wee ſaw abundance of Ice driue out with the winde at Eaſt. The ſecond day, the winde was at North and by Eaſt, cold froſtie weather. *Tho. Marmaduke.* All which day wee lay vnder ſaile in the mouth of the Sound. The third day, wee ſpake with *Thomas Marmaduke* of *Hull*, in a ſhip called *The Hope well.* Wee ſent for him to come aboord, but he anſwered, that he was not well, and ſent his Mate *Chriſtopher Nayler*. The ſame day, we ſtood to the mouth of the Sound, but it was couered with Ice. And *Marmaduke* ſtood to the Northward; and as we were afterward informed, diſcouered as farre as 82. degrees; two degrees beyond *Hakluyts Headland*. The fourth, we ſent our ſhallop on ſhoare in *Foule Sound*, to ſee *Marmadukes* Diſcouerie to 82. degrees. if any harbour were open to ride in, and to put our Admirall on ground to ſtop her leake. The ſame day, our long Boate came to vs from *Brokenneſſe*. And we turned into the Sound, becauſe we ſaw the Ice driue out with the winde at South, and blew hard. The fift, we anchored in *Foule Sound* in ſeuenteene fathoms water and ſandie ground, where we ſaw the place where both the ſhips lay which wee loſt the laſt yeere, couered with Ice. The ſame time wee ſent our ſhallop with our Carpenters, to finiſh the aforeſaid ſhallop at *Brokenneſſe*. The winde continued at South; and the *Whale* turned into the Sound by vs, and achnored there at a South-weſt by South Sunne. The ninth, the Admirals Boate and ours went with prouiſion and men to worke vpon a Whale, which the *Basks* had killed; and we ſtood toward the *Foreland* with the ſhips, where the Whale was killed, the winde at South, thicke foggie weather. And by an Eaſt North-eaſt Sunne wee anchored in the mouth of *Foule Sound* in fifteene fathoms, gray ſand with ſome ſhells. At a Weſt ſunne the Boate came aboord for caske and other prouiſion, and told vs, that the *Basks* had killed two other Whales.

The ſeuenteenth, one *Baske* named *Chapel*, tooke fiue of our *Engliſh* men to him, and they trimmed the ſhallop to kill the Whale. About a Weſt North-weſt ſunne they went away, the winde at South. The twentieth, the *Biſcaine* ſhallop came aboord of vs from the *Foreland*, and told vs that they had ſtrooken three Whales, which brake away.

The

The two and twentieth wee rid ſtill, the winde being at North-weſt, with ſnowe and froſt. The fiue and twentieth, we got the Whale on flote, hauing ſtopped her leake. We were no ſooner off, but it blew moſt fiercely, ſo that the Whales long Boate and our ſhallop brake from the Whales ſterne, and were ſplit in pieces on the Ice, that lay on ſhoare. The ſame day about a South ſunne two men came from *Faire Foreland*, and told vs that Maſter *Edge* was come from the South in the Pinnaſſe, and had ſpoken with one *Nicolas Woodcock* an *Engliſh* man, which was my Mate to this Countrey of *Greenland* in the yeere 1610. The ſaid *VVoodcocke* was now Pilot o fa ſhip of Saint *Sebaſtian* in *Biſcay*, and rid in *Ice Sound*. Moreouer, they ſpake with the men of the Boate of the *Diana*, and ſaw the *Hollanders* Boate, but ſpake not with their men. The two men abouesaid told vs likewiſe, that *Iohn Chapel* our *Baske* with fiue *Engliſh* men had killed a Whale: and betwixt them and another ſhallop they had ſlaine another, and had them both on ſhoare.

Woodcock Pilot of a *Biſcay* ſhip.

The fourth and fifth Whales killed.

The ſeuen and twentieth we rid ſtill, and our Carpenter went to worke to mend the knee of our beake-head. And I went to ſee what Morſes were on Land, where I found neere one hundred and fiftie. The eight and twentieth, the ſhallop that had all *Engliſh* men in her ſaue one *Baske*, came aboord for prouiſion, and told me, that they and *Iohannes Chapel*, had ſlaine a great Whale cloſe by our ſhip, which towed them off into the Sound, and our long Boate followed them. At the ſame time we ſaw ſixe Whales cloſe by the ſhips ſide as we rode in harbour: and we ſaw great ſtore in the Sound, and within one houre there were ſo many about our ſhips and in the Sound, that we could not count them. About a North-weſt ſunne our long Boate brought the men that ſtrooke the Whale abouesaid, and towed their ſhallop on land: for the ſaid Whale had ſunke her with his taile. The ſame time our Carpenter went to worke on the broken ſhallop, and I went to the place where the Morſes lay, where I found about three hundred on land. Then I went aboord the *Whale* to get ſome harping Irons: for they had all, but I could get but one, becauſe the reſt of the *Basks* had laid them vp, enuying that one *Baske*, that went with all *Engliſh* men, had done ſo much, becauſe by their good wills they would not haue vs to haue any inſight into this buſineſſe. Moreouer, hee that had the chiefeſt command in this voyage, did greatly condemne the going of ſo many *Engliſh* men with that one *Baske*, either for feare they ſhould kill none, and loſe all their prouiſion for the ſaid vſe, or for feare that our men ſhould kill the Whale aſwell, and as ſoone as they; yet was there none of the other Boates but had loſt more then they had loſt. And as for killing, there was not one Whale killed with one Boate alone, ſaue ours, with all *Engliſh* ſaue the *Baske* aforeſaid, which ſlue three without the helpe of any other Boate. This day the *Basks* ſlue another Whale at the *Foreland*.

The ſixt whale killed.

Three hundred Morſes.

Biſcainers enuie.

The ſeuenth Whale killed.

The nine and twentieth, the broken ſhallop was mended, and I went to the *Foreland*, to ſee whether the other ſhallops would come where the ſhips rode in harbour, where abundance of Whales were ſtill. The ſame time the *Basks* killed another Whale. Then I romaged my ſhip, and put caske on land. All this day it was calme.

The eight Whale killed.

The laſt of Iune, one came from the *Foreland*, and told vs, that the *Basks* had ſlaine two great Whales. All this day likewiſe it was calme: and there lay abundance of huge Whales in the harbour about our ſhips. One of the whales abouesaid, *Iohannes* with the fiue *Engliſh* men ſlue without any of the others helpe. For they ſtood on the land flouting, and ſaying, that it was vnpoſſible for them to kill him, and would not once lanch their Boates to helpe them: yet hee was one of the greateſt that were killed this yeere. All this day the whales lay ſo thicke about the ſhip, that ſome ran againſt our Cables, ſome againſt the Ship, and one againſt the Rudder. One lay vnder our beake-head and ſlept there a long while. At which time our Carpenter had hung a ſtage cloſe by the water, whereon his tooles lay. And wee durſt not moleſt the ſaid whale for feare he ſhould haue ouerthrowne the ſtage and drowned all his tooles. In the end he went away, and carried the ſhips head round, his taile being foule of the Cable.

The firſt of Iuly, at a North North-eaſt Sunne, the ſhallops came to kill whales in the harbour where we rid, and ſtrooke three, which all brake away. The ſame day, *Iohannes* ſtrooke a whale, that ſmit in the ſide of his ſhallop and ſplit it. Now wee perceiued the whales to begin to goe out of the Bayes. The ſecond day, the *Basks* ſlue three great whales faire by our ſhips, in leſſe then foure houres; vvhich vvee vvith our long Boate and men towed into harbour, and made faſt to our ſhip. And the *Basks* vvent with their ſhallops to *Faire Foreland*.

The ninth and tenth Whales killed.

The ſeuenth day, wee had abundance of Ice about our ſhips, which vvith the winde and the tyde draue out off another Sound. The eight, vve rid ſtill, and vvere troubled vvith much Ice, by reaſon of a ſtorme that blue at South-vveſt and by vveſt, &c. The reſt is omitted as hauing nothing of note, but ordinarie accidents.

The eleuenth, twelfth and thirteenth Whales killed.

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CHAP. V.

A Iournall of the Voyage made to Greenland *with ſixe* Engliſh *ſhips and a Pinnaſſe, in the yeere* 1613. *Written by Maſter* WILLIAM BAFFIN.

Aſcenſion day.

BY the prouidence of Almightie God wee departed from *Queenborough* the thirteenth day of May with ſixe good Ships, *viz.* The *Tigre*, Admirall; the *Matthew*, Vice-admirall; the *Sea-horſe*, called the *Gamaliel*, the Reare-admirall; the *Deſire*; the *Annula*; and the *Richard* and *Barnard*; with the *Iohn* and *Francis* ſhortly to follow.

The one and twentieth day, faire weather, the winde Southward, wee ſtill making to the Northwards. This morning wee had ſight of Land on the Coaſt of *Norway*, it lying Eaſt and by North off about twelue or fourteene leagues. This day at noone, we were in the latitude of 61. degrees and 30. minutes, the variation of the Compaſſe at *Scontes-nes* is eight degrees Eaſt, it being about ten or twelue leagues off: wee hauing made a North way halfe Eaſt, about thirtie leagues.

The three and twentieth at noone, in the latitude of 65. degrees and 45. minutes, in which place, the Needle of Declination doth dippe vnder the Horizon 63. degrees and 30. minutes by that Inſtrument which declineth 54. at *London*.

Greenland attayned in eighteene dayes.

The thirtieth day, about three of the clocke, wee eſpied the land of *Greenland*, being about eight or nine leagues off. The Southwardeſt part of it bare South-eaſt and by Eaſt off it, which ſhortly wee perceiued to bee the Land lying in 76. degrees and 55. minutes, which is called *Horne-ſound*. This Land lyeth by our common Compaſſe North North-weſt. Within two houres after we had ſight of Land, it began to ſnowe, and was very cold. This euening the Compaſſe was varied thirteene degrees Weſt.

The one and thirtieth day, variable weather with ſnowe, and very cold, and the winde alſo variable: and in the afternoone the winde was at the North-eaſt. In the morning, wee eſpied a ſhip, and about noone we ſpoke with her, and their Maſter and Pilot came aboord of vs. And wee knew them to bee that ſhip of Saint *Iohn de Luz*, which had leaue of the Companie to fiſh. And they told vs, that there were eight *Spaniards* on the Coaſt. Alſo, wee eſpied another ſhip, which we ſuppoſed to be a *French* man, and had one *Allan Sallas* to their Pilot.

A ſhip of Saint *Iohn de Luz*. Eight *Spaniards* on the coaſt.

The ſecond of Iune, in the morning, about fiue of the clocke, our Generall ſent our ſhallop to a ſmall Pinke, that all this night we ſaw along the ſhoare, to bid their Maſter and Pilot come aboord vs, which preſently they did. The Maſters name was *Clais Martin* of *Horne*, and his ſhip was for *Dunkerke*, and he told vs that he was conſorted with another ſhip that was his Admirall, the Captaines name was *Fopp* of *Dunkerke*, and that he was on the Coaſt. Wee kept the Maſter and Pilot aboord of vs, and ſent ſome of our men aboord of her, and brought her vnder our lee: and then, we ſent their Maſter aboord againe, charging them to follow vs. This afternoone we tooke their ſhallop with fiue or ſixe men, whereof two were *Engliſh* men, and one *Scot*, at the *Faire foreland*.

The Generall was Captaine *Beniamin Ioſeph* after ſlaine in fight with a Carrike.

The fourth day alſo faire weather. This morning was the firſt Whale killed. Wee had no night ſince the three and twentieth of May. The fift day, faire weather, but very cold, the winde North. Wee ſayled along the Iland being about eighteene or twentie leagues in length; lying for the moſt part by the common Compaſſe North and by Weſt halfe Weſtward. About nine of the clocke in the afternoone, we ſaw our other three ſhips, *viz.* the *Gamaliel*, the *Deſire*, and the *Richard* and *Barnard*, which lay there to and fro, becauſe they could not goe into their Harbour by reaſon of the Ice: and alſo, becauſe there were foure other ſhips in a Bay or Coue, called *Pooppy Bay*, or *Nickes Cone*: and alſo other ſhips on the other ſide in *Greene Harbour*. We ſayled along the drift Ice vntill about one or two of the clocke in the morning, at which time, we came to an anchor in the entrance of the Sound, becauſe the Ice came driuing out ſo faſt.

Dutch ſhip. No night the 23. of May.

The ſixt day, faire weather, the winde variable, till the afternoone: at which time it came to the Northwards. About three in the afternoone we weighed anchor, and about ten of the clocke we came to the foure ſhips lying in *Pooppy Bay*: two of them being *Hollanders*, and one a *Rocheller*, and the other a ſhip of *Burdeaux*. The Maſters of the *Hollanders* came aboord of our ſhip, to ſpeake with the Generall, both of them being of *Amſterdam*, and brought a Commiſſion granted by the *Graue Maurice*, for to fiſh in this Countrey. But, when they ſaw our Kings Maieſties Commiſſion granted to the worſhipfull Companie, they told our Generall, that they would depart this Coaſt: hauing our Generals Ticket to ſhew to their Aduenturers, that they were there, and had made their Port, and how he would not ſuffer them to fiſh. We anchored cloſe by the *French* ſhip wherein was *Allane Sallas*, being readie to fight, if they refuſed to come aboord vs. So, when we ſent our ſhallop, the Maſter came preſently and their Surgeon, who could ſpeake *Engliſh*. At the firſt, they denyed that *Sallas* was aboord of them; but, being hardly vrged,

Diuers ſtrangers.

they

they confessed that hee and one *Thomas Fisher* an *English* man were aboord, who were both presently sent for. This *Sallas* was their Pilot, and *Fisher* was their Gunner.

The seuenth day faire weather, we road still at an anchor. This day I obserued the latitude of the place, and found it in 78. degrees 24. minutes. The variation of the Compasse is in this place 15. degrees 21. minutes West. About a North Sunne a small ship of *Biscay* came into the harbour where we roade. Lat. 78. deg. 24. minut. Ship of *Biscay.*

The eight day, for the most part snow, the winde Southward. This day the Master of the *French* ship, being a ship of nine score, or two hundred, called the *Iaques* of *Burdeaux*, agreed with our Generall that hee might fish on the coast: our Generall was to haue halfe the Whales he could kill. Also, this day, the Master of the ship of *Rochel*, and the Master of the small ship of *Biscay*, were agreed to depart from the coast. Snowe.

The ninth day, faire weather. This morning the *Gamaliel* our Reare-Admirall, and the *Desire* weighed anchor to goe for *Greene harbour*, where two ships lay, one of *Dunkerke*, and the other of Saint *Sebastian* in *Biscay*. The Captaine of the *Dunkerke*, called *Fopp*, had beene with our Generall, and told him that he would depart from this Coast. Our Generall gaue him leaue to take the Pilot of the small Pinke, and the other *Dutch* men he had taken of his; keeping only the *English* men and the *Scots*. Also, the two ships of *Holland*, with the ship of *Biscay*, and that of *Rochel* weighed anchor, and departed from this Harbour. About six of the clocke in the afternoone, came the Master of the ship of Saint *Sebastian* aboord of vs, being brought by one of the Masters Mates of the *Desire* (they hauing taken two of his Shallops) to know our Generals pleasure, whether he should haue them againe, or no. Our Generall gaue them him againe, vpon condition, that he would depart the Coast. About a North North-west Sunne, we weighed anchor to goe for *Horne-Sound*, where we heard, that there were diuers ships; the wind Northward a small gale. *Greene harbour.*

The tenth day, faire weather, the winde at North, being very close weather. About a North Sunne we came to an anchor in the entrance of *Low Sound*, where we saw two ships ride at anchor. Our Generall sent our shallop to see what ships they were, who found them to bee the two ships of *Holland*. Also our long Boate went on shoare to set vp the Kings Maiesties Armes vpon a low point of land, lying a great way off, called *Low-nesse*. We set vp a Crosse of wood, and nayled the Armes vpon it. *Low sound.* His Maiesties Armes and a Crosse set vp at *Low-nesse.*

The thirteenth day, in the morning, it snowed very fast, being very thicke weather, the winde variable, we standing off from the land. About seuen of the clock it began to cleere vp, at which time we espied three ships; and making toward them, at length we perceiued them to be the three ships which came from the Bay where we road: the winde also was at East and by South, and blew a very stiffe gale. Then we stood in for the shoare, and spent most of this day in turning vp *Horne-Sound*. And about a North North-west Sunne, at ten a clock wee espied six ships lying at anchor on the South side of the Sound, in a small Bay. The one of them was Captaine *Fopp* the *Dunkerker*, who came in before vs, and was appointed by our Generall to come into this harbour, and there to stay for vs, and to goe to the *Foreland*, to haue his other ship which we kept there. Foure of them were *Biscaines* of Saint *Sebastian*; and one of them was in the harbour where we road and found the *French* ship: The sixt was a ship of *Amsterdam*, wherein *Thomas Bonner* was Master and Pilot, and aboue twentie *English* men more. All the *Biscaines* came aboord of vs as soone as we were at an anchor: but *Thomas Bonner* refused to come, being sent for by our Generall. Our Generall commanded our Gunner to shoot at him, he himselfe discharging the second Ordinance. Then presently he began to set saile, and cut his cable, thinking to get from vs: but wee hauing shot him through three or foure times, they began to weaue vs, so we sent our shallop and he came aboord. There were fiue or sixe more of the *English* men fetched aboord, and some of our men sent to bring her to an anchor, where shee might ride safe: for, shee was almost run ashoare. This was about a North sunne, or eleuen a clocke. The *Biscaines* were charged presently to depart, so soone as they had filled fresh water, which, they said, they wanted; and to bring what Whale finnes they had found, or had taken, or other things. Snowe. *Thomas Bonner English* man, Master and Pilot.

The fourteenth day, faire weather, the winde at East North-east. This morning one of the *Biscaines* brought a few Whale finnes aboord of vs, and the skin of a Beare, which they had killed. Then was our Boate-swaine sent aboord of them to search their ships, and to bid them depart. Our Generall kept the *Holland* ship, wherein was *Thomas Bonner*, to the vse of the Companie. This day I obserued the latitude of this place by a Quadrant of foure foote Semidiameter, and found it to stand in 76. degrees 55. minutes: the Declination of the Needle vnder the Horizon, is 67. degrees 30. minutes, pointing to the Northwards: but pointing to the Southwards, it is 80. degrees. The variation of the Compasse is 12. degrees 14. minutes west from the true Meridian: but from our common sayling Compasse it is 17. degrees, because the Compasse is touched fiue degrees and a halfe to the Eastward, and the variation is to the Westward. 76. deg. 55. min. declination 67. deg. 30. min. Variation 12. deg. 14. min.

This day in the afternoone, the foure ships of *Biscay* departed from this Harbour, which is called

called *Horne-Sound*: and about a North sunne, I, with the Master *Thomas Sherin* went ashoare with other, to set vp another Crosse with the Kings Maiesties Armes, cast in Lead, nayled vpon it. Then I obserued the Sunne vpon his North Meridian, by my foresaid Quadrant, and found it eleuated aboue the Horizon 10. degrees and thirtie minutes: but because his heigth at the South Meridian, and his heigth at the North did not agree, in finding of the Latitude, I did abate fiue minutes from each, as the meane betwixt both: for his altitude at the South Meridian was 36. degrees 40. minutes, the declination 23. degrees and 29. minutes.

The fifteenth day, faire weather, the winde in the morning South, but almost calme. This day about noone we weighed anchor with the ship of *Amsterdam*, and diuers of her men were fetched aboord vs with their Shipper, and some of our men were sent aboord her with one of our Masters Mates, called Master *Spencer*. All this day it was so calme, that wee were faine to towe our ship. Our Carpenter did trim vp two of the *Biscaine* Shallops which they did leaue behinde them, and they did leaue diuers Hoopes and Caske staues ashoare.

The eighteenth day, faire weather, the winde variable, we stearing away Northward. This afternoone wee met with another ship of *Biscay*, being a ship of two or three hundred Tunnes. Our Generall, as he did to the rest, caused her Master and Pilot to come aboord vs, to whom he shewed his Commission, charging them to depart this Countrey. They, seeing no remedie, were content, so soone as they had filled fresh water. Wee met with them off the Southward part of the Iland. Our Generall being so neere *Greene Harbour*, where the *Gamaliel* and the *Desire* road, wee went into the Sound to see them, with this great ship of *Biscay*, and the ship of *Amsterdam*. We found that the entrance of *Greene Harbour* was quite stopped with Ice; and ran our ship into it, thinking to get through, but wee could not. Then wee got her out againe, and came to the Bay where wee roade on the other side of the Sound in *Poppy Bay*, or *Niches* Coue.

Abundance of Ice.

The nineteenth day, faire weather, the winde Northward. This day about twelue of the clock we came to an anchor in the foresaid Bay. This afternoone there came another ship of Saint *Sebastian* into the Bay where wee roade: and about seuen of the clocke, the Captaine came aboord of vs, who told vs that he had lost six of his men and a shallop vpon the coast of *Groineland*, vpon an Iland in the latitude of 72. degrees or thereabouts. This was the Master which had beene here the last yeere, and made a great voyage, Master *Woodcocke* being their Pilot. His making so great a voyage, was the cause that so many ships were here this yeere.

An Iland in 72 degrees on the Coast of *Groinland*.

The twentieth in the morning, we had newes that the *Iohn* and *Francis* was come about two dayes agoe, and that they had killed one and twentie Whales at the *Foreland*, and had also killed two at *Greene harbour*. This day it was very close weather with some snowe; the winde North-west. This afternoone the Captaines of the two *Biscay* ships were commanded to depart this Coast.

Three and twentie whales killed.

The one and twentieth, wee perceiued another ship standing toward vs. Wee lessened our sailes and stayed for her to see what shee was. At length, we perceiued her to bee another *Biscaine*. About a North sunne we came to an anchor in *Greene harbour*; by the *Gamaliel*, and the *Desire*, and the ship of *Burdeaux*: and the *Biscaine* followed vs. So soone as they were come to an anchor, their Captaine came aboord of vs, to whom our Generall shewed his Commission as he had done to the rest, charging him to depart those Coasts, and told him, that hee would take away some of their shallops. They earnestly intreated him not to take them away, and they would depart: the Captaine offering his bond to our Generall, that if he stayed either in *Greenland*, *Groineland*, or *Cherie* Iland, he would willingly forfait all he was worth. There was another Whale killed in *Greene-harbour*, in the killing whereof there was a man slaine, and a Boate ouerwhelmed, by too much haste of following him, after the harping Iron was in him.

A man slaine.

The three and twentieth day, faire weather, the winde Northward. This day, and the last night I obserued the latitude of the place where we roade, and found it by both, to bee in the latitude of 78. degrees 7. minutes: the skie at both obseruations being very cleere, where I finde that there is no sensible error betweene a South obseruation and a North, the skie being cleare. But if the skie be hasie, there will be some difference, as of eight or ten minutes, being obserued on shoare by some large Quadrant or other Instrument for the purpose, also a South South-west Moone by the common Compasse, maketh a full Sea in this place.

Latitude 78. deg. 7. min.

Note.

A South South west Moone maketh a full Sea here.

The ninth of Iuly, faire weather, the winde at North. This day wee stood to the Southward along the Iland: but, toward night it fell calme, and then the winde came to the West. The tenth day, faire weather, but thicke and close, the winde South South-west. All this day we stood for *Bell-Sound*. Our Generall went on shoare this afternoone, and killed foure Deere, and brought a young Morse aliue with him aboord.

The eleauenth day faire weather, but calme. This afternoone wee perceiued fiue shippes in a *Bay* in *Bel-sound*. The winde was so calme, that we were faine to towe in our shippes, and about a North North-west sunne, we came to an anchor by them, with our three ships, *viz.* the *Tigre* Admirall, the *Mathew* Vice-Admirall, and the *Richard* and *Barnard*, hauing made all things reddie for to fight. These fiue shippes which rid here, the one was a great shippe of *Biscay* of seuen hundred

hundred Tunnes, and the two *Hollanders*, which we found the sixt of *June* in *Pooppy-bay*, and one small Pinke of *Amsterdam*, and another small shippe of *Rochell*. This great shippe of *Biscay*, which we expected would haue fought with vs, sent their Captaine aboord of vs before we came to an anchor, and submitted themselues vnto the Generall. The two ships of *Amsterdam*, whose Masters names were these, *viz. Cornelius Caliac*, *William Vermogon*, Admirall, and *Iohn Iacob* Vice-Admirall, these two would gladly haue stood out with vs, if the *Biscaine* would haue assisted them. A Biscayn ship of 700. tuns.

The twelfth day faire weather. This day the ship of *Iohn Iacobe* was vnladen of such goods as shee had in her; as Oyle, Blubber, and Morses skinnes. The thirteenth day I was sent in a shallop to *Greene Harborough*.

The foureteenth day, thicke close weather, the winde Northward; but toward noone it began to cleare vp, and then it blew more winde. About a West sunne, we came to a small Iland, or rather a Rock, where Morses vse to come; where we found seauen which we killed, and knocked out their teeth, and let them lye. In this place are many of these rockes, where are great multitudes of foule, and they are called *Lizets* Ilands. The Land all along is so full of Rockes, that it is vnpossible for any shippe to come neere the Maine, but in the Sands which are very deepe, and good to come in. All this euening and night wee rowed betweene this Hand and *Ice-sound*. Many rockes full of Fowle. *Lisets* Ilands.

The fifteenth day, about nine or tenne a clocke, we came to the shippes in *Greene-harborough*, where we found, that they had killed eighteene Whales in all. Foure of these ships were *Frenchmen*, which had killed eight Whales for the Companie according to the agreement which the Generall had made with them: which was, that they should kill eight for vs, and after, what they could kill, should be for themselues. Our *English* men had killed three in this place, and the *Baskes* in the *Desire* also three. The *Desire* had taken in an hundred tunnes of Oyle when wee came there, and she was to be laden so soone as she could. Eighteene Whales killed. Three Whales killed by the *English*.

The seauenteenth day also faire weather, the winde Northward. This day, toward a West Sunne, the Master of the *French* shippe came from *Sea-horse Bay*, who went thither to speake with our Generall: because Master *Mason* and Master *Cooper* had stayed his Shallops from going to Sea, in regard they would not obserue the orders which the Generall had appointed them: which were, that those Whales which our *Englishmen* did chase, they should not follow, nor our men should not follow the Whales they chased. For the order of the *Biscaines* is, that who so doth strike the first Harping Iron into him, it is his Whale, if his Iron hold. This euening, I say, he returned from *Sea-horse Bay*, hauing lost his labour: for the Generall and Master *Edge* were in *Bell-sound*. We vnderstood by him, that they had killed some eight and thirtie Whales in all; and that there was one hundred and sixtie tunnes of Oyle ready made. Eight & thirty Whales killed.

The fiue and twentieth day in the morning, the *Desire* weighed Anchor to go to the Generall, and the Master of the *French* ship also this morning went from thence to speake with the Generall, because of a Whale which was in strife betweene his *Biscaines* and ours: when for pilfering and for some peremptorie speeches, two of the *Rochellers* were ducked at our Yard arme, the one on the one side, and the other on the other. This day I also obserued the latitude of this place, and found it to be 77. degrees 40. minutes. Also, the variation of the Compasse is 13. degrees 11. minutes West. This variation was obserued the third of *August* in the morning: the height of the sunne aboue the Horizon was 17. degrees 24. minutes, and the declination was 14. degrees 41. minutes. North in the latitude of 77. degrees 40. minutes, and his Magnetical azimuth was 63. from South to East. The ninth day wee had sight of Master *Bonners* Ship, wherein was Master *Marmaduke*, who had beene to the Northward as farre as *Faire-hauen*: and now, as he said, he was bound to the southward to discouer beyond *Point Looke-out*, hauing his direction from Master *Edge*, as he said. Our Generall told him, that hee had hindered the Voyage more by his absence, then his discouerie would profit; and that it were best that he went backe with him to the *Fore-land*, and that he would giue no licence to goe now for Discouerie, because the yeare was farre spent: but bad him, according to his Commission, so to proceede. The twelfth day I obserued, and found the latitude of this place by an exact obseruation to be in 79. degrees 14. minutes. They in the *Pooppy-Bay* had seene a ship of *England* off *Black-point*, and had spoken with her, who told them that they were come from *Kildeene*. Auguſt 1. Latitude 77. degrees, 40. minutes. Variation, 13. degrees, 11. minutes. Latitude 79. degrees, 14. minutes. This was Master *Cudners* ship of *London*.

The foureteenth day faire weather, the Winde at North North-east. This day about tenne a clocke in the forenoone, we waied anchor to goe homeward, being sixe ships in company, *viz.* the *Tigre* Admirall, the *Gamaliel* Vice-Admirall, the *Iohn* and *Frances*, the *Anuula*, the ship of *Burdeaux* which the Generall agreed with to fish in *Greene-harborough*, and the *Biscay* ship which fished in Sir *Thomas Smiths* Bay.

The fifteenth day very faire weather, all the forenoone almost calme: in the afternoone, an easie gale at North-east. This day about twelue a clocke at noone, wee were against *Faire Foreland*, which is in the latitude of 79. degrees 8. minutes. This night was very cleere and faire weather, and also calme, by which meanes I had very good opportunitie to finde the sunnes refraction. For beholding it about a North North-east sunne, by the common Compasse, at which time the sunne was at the lowest, it was but one fift part of his body aboue the Horizon, hauing about foure Latitude 79. degrees 8. minutes. Sunnes refraction.

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foure fifth parts below, so neere as I could gesse. His declination for that instant was 10. degrees 35. minutes North, being at noone in the 2. degree 7. minutes of *Virgo*, his daily motion was 58. minutes: whose halfe beeing nineteene to bee added to the former, because it was at twelue houres afore noone. I say his place at that instant was 2. degrees 26. minutes of *Virgo*; whose declination was as before 10. degrees 35. minutes: the Latitude of the place was 78. degrees 47. minutes, whose complement was 11. degrees 13. minutes, the declination being substracted from the complement of the Poles eleuation, leaueth 38. minutes, foure fiue part of which 12. minutes; which being substracted from 38. leaueth 26. minutes for the Refraction. But, I suppose the Refraction is more or lesse, according as the ayre is thicke or cleare, which I leaue for better schollers to discusse: but this I thought good to note, for the better helpe of such as doe professe this studie.

Note.

The sixteenth day also very faire weather, and for the most part calme: the winde that was, was at North-west. This morning, we espied a ship out in the offen, ouer against *Cold-cape*, which we stood with, and she also stood with vs. And when we came to her, wee found her to be the *Desire*, a shippe of *Alborough*. Our Generall sent for the Master and Merchant aboard of vs, who certified him that they came from *Killedaeue*, and that they had made but a bad Voyage of fish: and they were come to see, if we could fraight them home. The Merchant was of *London*, whose name was Master *Cudner*: the Masters name was *Fletcher*, who also brought sixe men which *Thomas Bonner* had left at *Cherie* Iland. These sixe men had killed but one Morse all this yeere at the Iland: who also told vs, that *William Gourdon* was gone to the Northwards. At noone, the three and twentieth day, I obserued the variation of the Compasse, and found it to be one degree 5. minutes East.

M. *Cudner* of *London*.
William Gourdon.
Variation 1. degree 5. min.

The three and twentieth day faire weather, with a fine gale at North and by East. We stearing away South and by West halfe South: being at noone, by supposition, in the latitude of 69. degrees no minutes. Hauing sailed since yesterday noone, some thirtie leagues South, true.

The foure and twentieth day, very faire weather and cleere, the winde all the fore-noone Northwards, but about noone it came to the South-east. This morning I obserued the middle starre in the Great Beares tayle, and found it to bee in the latitude of 68. degrees 24. minutes about two a clocke, at which time that starre was on the Meridian vnder the Pole. Also I obserued the starre in the Beares Rumpe about one a clock, and found the like latitude. Also all this day we had sight of *Rost* Ilands, being about ten or eleuen leagues off vs. Also at noone I obserued the latitude by the Sun, and found vs to be in the latitude of 68. degrees no minutes, which did agree with the former Obseruations by the starres. Also the variation of this place is 4. degrees 8. minutes East from the true Meridian; wee hauing runne since yesterday noone some two and twentie leagues South and by West. Almost all the afternoon it was almost calme.

Rost Ilands or *Rosten*.
68. deg. no min.
The variation 4. degrees 8. minutes East.

The fiue and twentieth day also very faire weather, the winde this morning came to the East South-east a fine easie gale. We steered away South and by West halfe West ten leagues, being at noone in the latitude of 67. degrees 5. minutes. The variation of this place is 5. degrees 3. minutes East, neere to the set of our Compasse. This Euening the winde came to the South South-west, which continued about two Watches.

Variation 5. deg. 3. minutes East.

The nine and twentieth day faire weather, with a good gale of winde at North North-east. From two this last night to sixe, we stood away South-west and by South, and at sixe we steered away South South-west, being at noone by obseruation, in 62. degrees no minutes. The land about *Scoutesnesse* lyeth in this sort: from sixtie three toward sixtie two, it is nineteene leagues South South-west halfe Westward: from thence tenne leagues South and by West, which is two or three Ilands, which are the Westwardest land in *Norway*, lying in the latitude of 62. degrees 44. minutes. But whether these Ilands, or a Point of land, which lyeth about three or foure leagues more to the North, be called *Scoutesnesse*, I know not. The sixt of September we entred the *Thames*.

The lying of the land about *Scoutesnesse*.

CHAP. VI.

A Voyage of Discouerie to Greenland, *&c.* Anno 1614. *Written by* RO. FOTHERBYE.

THe ship *Thomasine* went downe from *Black-wall* to *Woolwich* the sixteenth of Aprill, and from thence to *Gravesend* the three and twentieth, where shee remayned vntill the eight and twentieth of the same; and weighing from thence she anchored againe in *Tilberie Hope*, with ten ships more of good burthen, and two Pinnasses all of the *Greenland* Fleet, set forth also at the charge of the said Company, vnder the command of Master *Beniamin Ioseph*, Chiefe Captayne and Generall of the said Fleet.

We

We set sayle out of *Tilberie Hope* the fourth of May, and came to an anchor the same day in *Lee* Road, where we stayed till the next morning, then wee set sayle againe and went forth to Sea before night. — We went forth to Sea.

We proceeded in company of the Fleet, and met with stragling Ice the fiue and twentieth of May in the latitude of 75. degrees 10. minutes, through which wee passed without danger, holding on our course all that day, till time of mid-night; then we found the Ice so close packt together, that we were forced to tacke about, and stand to the Westward, till wee found more open passage; wee plyed through it without any great danger, till the eight and twentieth day: but then being in sight of Land, we passed amongst very much Ice all the fore-noone, which lay in great abundance on both sides of vs: but a desire (as it seemes) to get through it, drew vs on to be the more intangled with it, for about noone we could neither find a passage to goe forward, nor way to retyre backe againe, but being nine ships and two Pinnasses (for the *Prosperous* and the *Desire* lost Company through foule weather, the one and twentieth of May, otherwise we had beene thirteene sayle) we began very suddenly to bee inclosed and shut vp with Ice. Now euery one wrought the best meanes he could for the safetie of his ship; Our Master in the *Thomasine*, caused a Hauler and a Grapnell to be carried forth, and laid vpon a great Iland of Ice, and so we rid as at an Anchor, and by that meanes wee stayd from forceable rushing against other peeces; afterward we laid forth an anchor for surer hold, and made fenders of an old Cable, which was hung ouer the ships sides to keepe the Ice from piercing of her plankes. Wee rid thus from the eight and twentieth of May till the second of Iune, still floating as the wind droue vs with our anchor, holding Iland, which now we accounted as the shoare, and made vse thereof accordingly, for vpon it our Carpenter sealed and trimmed our lesser shallop. — We met with Ice in 75. deg. 10. minutes. Eleuen Sayles fast in the Ice. M. *Th. Sherwin.*

On the second of Iune we had a great homeming Sea, the wind being at North-west, whereby we iudged we were not farre from an open Sea to windward of vs; there wee resolued to make tryall what we might doe, to free our selues out of the Ice. In the afternoone about three a clock we got aboard our Anchor, letting fall our fore top-sayle, and putting forth our Mizen; and so droue a sterne for a while, till the floating Iland gaue way; then wee filled our top-sayle, and attempted diuers places where to passe, but had repulse and fell asterne againe; notwithstanding at the length we preuayled, and with much adoe we attayned an open Sea at a North, and by West Sunne, parting very gladly from these ill neighbouring Ilands; which at our parting from them, gaue vs or rather receiued from vs some knockes, but whilest we remayned amongst them they seemed much more perillous then they proued hurtfull, so wee praysed God for our safe deliuerance, wishing that the rest of the ships which we left in the Ice, were as cleere out of it as was the *Thomasine*. — Iune. We goe cleere off the Ice.

Hauing attayned the open Sea to the Westwards, we proceeded to the Northwards, keeping the Ice still on our starboord side, and met with the *Mary An-Sarah*, that got also free of the Ice the same day that we came forth of it; we kept company together till the next day, when being as high as Prince *Charles* Iland, we both stood in for the shoare, the *Mary An-Sarah* going for *Bel-sound*, her assigned Harbour; but we proceeded to the *Fore-land*, where when wee came the sixt of Iune, wee met with two shallops that belonged to the *Desire*, wherein was *Cuthbert Appleyard*, and *William Summes* Harponiers; by whom we vnderstood, that the *Prosperous* and the *Desire* had more desiredly prospered, then all the rest of the Fleet, they escaped the danger that all the rest fell into, and came to the *Fore-land* the third of Iune, finding the Harbour open. — We met with the *Mary An-Sarah.* We came to the *Fore land.*

Here was yet no worke begunne, for they had not seene one Whale since their comming into the Harbour; so that for vs there was no cause of stay to bee helpfull vnto them, and therefore we proceeded to the Northward, hoping to find the shoare still as free from Ice, as it was at this place; but it fel out contrary to our expectations, for being come as farre as *Maudlen Sound*, in the latitude of 79. degrees 34. minutes, we met with some stragling Ice, and from the mayne top we saw much Ice lye betwixt vs and *Hackluyts Head-land*, which seemed to bee close to the shoare, therefore we sent some men in a shallop to *Maudlen Sound*, to see if it were open, that wee might harbour our ship there, and search for a leake which wee found her subiect vnto in foule weather. — We proceeded to the Northwards. *Maudlen Sound.* *Hackluyts Head-land.*

The Sound was open and we anchored in a good Harbour, but the Ice was not gone cleere from the shoare, therefore we could not hale our ship aground, but we carined her and set vp our *Biscaine* shallop which we carried with vs out of *England* in pieces. — We anchored in *Maudlen Sound.*

The next day after our comming hither I went forth in a little shallop (the other being then vnset together) to see how the Ice lay at *Hackluyts Head-land*, and whether we might passe with our ship that way or no. Being come forth of the Harbour, we perceiued, that it was very foule weather at Sea, notwithstanding I proceeded into *Faire Hauen*, where the South Harbour was then open, but much Ice lay then in the *Sound* vnbroken from shoare to shoare; otherwise wee might haue passed that way to *Hackluyts Head-land*, betwixt the Iland and the mayne Land; we stayed here till the next morning, then the weather beganne to cleere vp, and wee put forth to Sea againe, intending to goe without the Ilands: but being out of the Harbour wee found the foule — I went forth in a shallop.

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We set sayle out of *Maudlen Sound* and followed the Ice.

foule weather to be such, as our little weake shallop was not able to endure, therefore we returned againe to our ship into *Maudlen Sound*, where we killed two Female Morses, and took their Teeth, Hides and Blubber.

On the tenth of Iune we set sayle out of *Maulden Sound*, and coasted along to the Northward, till we were past *Hackluyts Head-land*, but then we saw the Ice lye before vs, extending close to the shoare, so that for vs to passe further that way, it was not possible: therefore wee turned to the Westward, to see if wee could finde passage further from the shoare. Wee sayled as the Ice trended West and West South-west till the thirteenth day, and keeping still alongst it, we found it to trend neerest South and South South-west, we proceeded well thus far, till we came vnder the latitude of Prince *Charles* his Iland, in 78. degrees 40. minutes, being eight and twentie leagues from shoare, but then we altered our course, and stood in for the *Fore-land*, to goe and be helpfull to the other ships there for the furthering of their Voyage according to our Instructions (as some did vnderstand them) but contrary I am sure to some of our desires. When we came neere the *Fore-land*, we saw eleuen ships of *Hollanders* vnder sayle, plying to the Southwards; one of them came roome towards vs, and strucke her top-sayles twice, whereby we supposed they tooke vs for some of their Fleete, which they wanted, but wee held on our course still into Sir *Thomas Smiths* Bay, where we came to an anchor the fifteenth of Iune, by the *Iohn-Anne-Francis*, and the *Desire*, the *Mary Margaret* being then vnder sayle to go to the *Fore-land*.

Prince *Charles* Iland in 78. degrees 40. minutes.

Wee stood againe for shoare.

Eleuen *Holland* ships.

We anchored in Sir *T. Smiths* Bay.

Here was yet no need of any helpe that we could make them, for they had hitherto neyther killed nor seene one Whale since their first comming in hither; therefore we thought it best not to stay here, but rather goe to *Faire Hauen*, where wee should bee more readie to proceed on our Discouerie when the Ice would giue vs leaue, and in the meane-time wee might bee helpfull to the two ships thither assigned for the making of their Voyage, and so much the rather wee hasted, because we vnderstood that the *Hollanders* also set forth a ship on Discouerie.

We went forth of Sir *T. Smiths* Bay.

We set sayle the seuenth of Iune, and met with the *Prosperous*, that came from *Crosse-road*, and was going into Sir *Thomas Smiths* Bay, there to get some Bricke and Lime to mend their Fornace, as *Nicholas Woodcocke* the Master told vs; then we went forth to Sea, and being about foure leagues from the shoare, the winde began to blow so hard from the North-west, that wee were forced back againe to seek Harbour, and came to an anchor the nineteenth of Iune, in *Crosse-road*. Here we stayed two dayes, much wind blowing at the North North-east, till the one and twentieth of Iune, and then in the after-noone the wind came to the East and by South, and the weather was faire, therefore at a North North-west Sunne, we weighed and set sayle againe, and so did the *Thomas Bonauenture*, that came to an anchor by vs this morning, beeing also bound for *Faire Hauen*.

We were driuen backe againe into *Crosse-road*.

We set sayle out of *Crosse-road*.

This next day in the afternoone we were thwart of *Maudlen Sound*, and the weather being faire and calme, we sent a shallop to the Northward, to see what alteration there was amongst the Ice, and to seeke out some good Harbour for a ship, and also to set vp the Kings Armes at *Hackluyts Head-land*, or some other conuenient place.

One shallop to the Northward The other into *Maudlen Sound*.

When Master *Baffin* was gone from the ship in the foresaid shallop, I went presently into the other shallop into *Maudlen Sound*, there to set vp the Kings Armes, and also to see if there were any Morses come ashoare; when I was within the *Sound*, I found no Beeches bare for Morses to come vpon: for Ice and snow lay yet vndissolued from the shoare side, but I went to the Harbour, and there caused a Crosse to be set vp, and the Kings Armes to bee nayled thereon; vnder which also I nayled a piece of sheet Lead, whereon I set the *Moscouie* Companies Marke, with the day of the moneth and yeere of our Lord. Then cutting vp a piece of Earth, which afterward I carried aboard our ship, I tooke it into my hand and said, in the hearing of the men there present to this effect.

The Kings Armes set vp in *Trinitie Harbour*.

I take this piece of Earth, as a signe of lawfull possession (of this Countrey of King Iames *his* New-land, *and of this particular place, which I name* Trinitie Harbour) *taken on the behalfe of the Company of Merchants, called the Merchants of New Trades and Discoueries, for the vse of our Souereigne Lord* Iames *by the grace of God, King of great* Brittaine, France, *and* Ireland, *whose Royall Armes are here set vp, to the end that all people who shall here arriue may take notice of his Maiesties Right and Title to this Countrey, and to euery part thereof. God saue King* Iames.

Trinitie Harbor is vnder the parallel of 79. degrees 34. minutes.

This is a good safe harbour, and is vnder the latitude of 79. degrees 34. minutes, as I haue found by good obseruation, and haue of Westerly variation 25. degrees. When I had here set vp the Kings armes, I returned toward our ship, which was come to an anchor at the entrance of *Faire hauen*, staying till the floud came, because that at the Tide of Ebbe, there runnes a great current out of the *Sound*; so at the next floud, we came into *Faire hauen* and anchored by the *Gamaliel* and the *Thomas Bonauenture*, the three and twentieth day of Iune.

We came to an anchor in *Faire Hauen*.

Then *Iohn Mason*, Master of the *Gamaliel*, came aboord of our ship, and I asked him if he had any worke for our men, for I would cause them to come a shore: he told me, that hitherto he had not seene a Whale come in, but his Furnaces and Coppers were already set vp, and therefore as yet he had no neede of helpe, but when occasion serued he would imploy them. This day about eleuen

No Whales were yet come in.

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eleauen a clocke Maſter *Baffin* returned in the Shallop from the Northwards: he ſaid that he had beene at Cape *Barren*, which is the point of an Iland three or foure leagues from *Hackluits head-land*, but further then that he could not paſſe for Ice which lay cloſe to the ſhore, and he had not ſet vp the Kings armes in any place. The ſhallop returned from the Northwards. Cape *Barren*.

On Munday the ſeuen and twentieth day of Iune, I went forth againe in the Shallop to the Northward, partly to ſee what alteration there might be in the Ice, with the Eaſterly windes which had blowne hard ſince the Shallop laſt returned, but chiefely to ſet vp the Kings armes in ſome place conuenient, becauſe there was none ſet vp to the Northwards of *Maudlen ſound*.

We rowed to Cape *Barren*, where formerly Maſter *Baffin* had bin, and finding the Ice there gone from the ſhore, we proceeded further to an Iland which now we call the *Saddle*, in reſpect of the forme thereof, more then a league diſtant from Cape *Barren*. In our way thither it began to ſnow, and grew to be a great and vehement ſtorme from the Weſt North-weſt, therefore we haſted and got to the Ice ſide of the aforeſaid Iland, and there made faſt our Shallop with a grapnell laid vpon the Ice ſhore, vſing the beſt meanes we could with our ſhallops ſaile to keepe vs from the extremitie of ſo cold an harbour: we ſtaid here eight houres, and the ſtorme continued driuing the Ice ſtill Eaſtward in great abundance and with wonderfull ſwiftneſſe: when the weather began to cleere, I cauſed the men to rowe to Leewards to another Iland a league diſtant, which ſeemed then to be a Cape of the maine land, purpoſing there to ſet vp the Kings armes; but afterwards wee found it to be an Iland, and to the maine wee could not come for broken Ice. *Saddle Iland*. A Storme.

This ſtormie weather continued from Munday night till Friday morning, during which time we had beene but eleauen leagues at the furtheſt from our ſhip, yet went we ſo farre as we could haue gone, had the weather beene neuer ſo faire; for at foure leagues diſtance from Cape *Barren*, the Ice lay firme and vnbroken two or three miles from the ſhore, and cloſe againe to it lay the ſhattered Ice thronged together with this preſent ſtorme.

On Friday morning we came backe againe to *Hackluits headland*, and there I ſet the Kings armes in the like manner as at *Trinitie Harbour*: from thence we rowed towards our ſhip, and as we entred into *Faire-hauen*, there came a Whale that accompanied vs into the harbour leaping and aduancing himſelfe almoſt quite out of the water, falling headlong downe againe with great noiſe; we haſted aboord our ſhip, and I ſent forth both our Shallops to ſtrike this Whale if they could, and told Maſter *Maſon* of her comming in, who alſo went forth in his Shallop: but it ſeemes the Whale paſt vnder the Ice which lay yet vnbroken betwixt the North harbour and the South harbour, for they could not ſee her againe. Iulie. The Whales began now to come in.

The next day there came more Whales in, and *Robert Hambleton*, our Maſters mate ſtrucke two, which vnluckily eſcaped; the firſt for want of helpe, the *Gamaliels* Shallop being in chaſe of another Whale, and our owne little Shallop not able to row againſt a head-ſea to aſſiſt the other: ſo that at length the Whale hauing towed the Shallop forth to Sea, the harpingiron came out: the ſecond was alſo ſtrucken within the ſound, and ranne vnder the Ice, which lay yet vnbroken at the Eaſt end of the Sound, and drew the Shallop vpon it cleare out of the water; by which meanes the Harpingiron came forth. Here we remained till the ſixt of Iulie, our men and Boates being helpefull at all times to further the Voyage. Two Whales eſcaped.

The ſixt of Iulie we ſet ſaile forth of *Faire-hauen*, intending to make triall if wee could to get to Weſtwards of the Ice, and ſo proceede to the Northwards, hauing ſent away one of our Shallops the day before, prouided with twentie dayes Bread, to coaſt alongſt the ſhoare, ſearch the Beach for Commodities, and ſet vp the Kings Armes at places conuenient, hoping thereby to preuent the *Hollanders*, who now rid in the North harbour of *Faire-hauen*, and were ready for the firſt opportunitie, to diſcouer and take poſſeſſion of other harbours, hauing two Ships to goe forth onely vpon Diſcouery. We came forth of *Faire hauen*.

We ſailed Weſtwards from *Faire-hauen* ſeuen leagues, and then met with a maine banke of Ice which trended North & South, the Sea appeared to the Northwards to be open ſo far as we could ſee, therfore we plied that way: when we had run ſeuen or eight leagues more, the Ice lay ſo thick on euery ſide, that we were bard from proceeding any further; then we ſtood in toward the ſhore, and being a little to the Northwards of Cape *Barren*, our Shallop had ſight of vs, & came rowing to vs through the broken Ice. Maſter *Baffin* told vs the ſhore to the Eaſtward was much peſtered with Ice, and he had ſet vp the Kings armes at the entrance of a faire *Sound*, about foure leagues diſtant from Cape *Barren*. We met with Ice and ſtood to the Northwards. Our Shallop came to vs.

Now the weather being faire and calme, Maſter *Sherwin*, Maſter *Baffin* and I, went in the Shallop to the place where the Kings Armes were ſet vp, purpoſing (becauſe the ayre was very cleere) to goe vpon ſome high mountaine, from whence we might ſee how the Sea was peſtered with Ice, and what likelihood there was of further proceeding. According to this our intent, we aſcended a very high hill, and from thence we ſaw the Ice lye vpon the Sea ſo farre as we could diſcerne, ſo that the Sea ſeemed to be wholly toured with Ice, ſaue onely to the Eaſtwards: we thought that we ſaw the water beyond the Ice, which put vs in ſome hope that we ſhould ere long get paſſage with our Shallops along the ſhore, if we could not paſſe with our ſhippe. Being thus

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We returned towards *Faire hauen.*

thus ſatisfied, we returned abord our ſhip and plyed towards *Faire hauen*, aduiſing amongſt our ſelues of the beſt courſe we could to further the buſineſſe committed vnto vs.

We intended to diſcouer in Shallops.

We reſolued to make our diſcouery along the ſhore with both our Shallops, and to carry with vs our prouiſion for the Whale-killing, conceiuing good hopes beſides, of profit which the beaches would afford vs; therefore we intended when our ſhip was brought ſafe into harbour againe, to goe from her with both our Shallops, and to put in practiſe this our late reſolution. But the weather falling calme, and a fogge ſucceeding, which continued three dayes, ſo that our ſhip came not into harbour till the twelfth of Iuly; I went from her the eleuenth day, intending to ſearch the Beaches, till Maſter *Baffin* came to me with the other Shallop, and then we to proceede both together: but before he came, I had gone ſo farre as that the Ice would not ſuffer mee to paſſe a Boates length further, and I had alſo ſearched a very faire Beach which was altogether fruitleſſe.

I went forth in the one Shallop.

Maſter *Baffin* came to me at a place appointed the foureteenth day of Iulie, in the other Shallop, and we proceeded both together to the Eaſtwards againe, and found paſſage amongſt the Ice about a league further then I had lately beene, ſo that we came to the firme Ice, that lay almoſt two miles from the ſhoare of *Red-beach*, vnbroken vp this yeare. Here wee haled vp our Shallops out of the water, leſt the broken Ice which is carried to and fro with the winde, might ſplit them or bruſe them: then Maſter *Baffin* and I with foure men more walked ouer the firme Ice and went aſhore on *Red-beach*, where we trauelled about the ſpace of three miles by the ſhore ſide, but found no commodities as we expected to haue done; for here had the *Hulmen* been in 1612. as we might know by fires that they had made, and gathered the fruites that many yeares before had brought forth. Thus as we could not finde that which wee deſired to ſee, ſo did we behold that which we wiſhed had not beene there to be ſeene, which was great abundance of Ice, that lay cloſe to the ſhore and alſo off at Sea ſo farre as we could diſcerne; wherefore being thus ſatisfied, and more wearie to know that we could paſſe no further, then with trauailing ſo farre, we returned to our Shallops, and went aboord of our Ship in *Faire hauen* on Sunday the ſeuenteenth of Iuly, paſſing the neereſt way betwixt the Ilands and the maine Land, for now the Ice was broken betwixt the South-harbor where we rid, and the North harbour, where the *Hollanders* rid.

Maſter *Baffin* came to me in the other Shallop. *Red-beach.*

Wee haled our Shallop vpon the Ice.

We returned to our Shallop

The next day we ſent our Shallop to the North-eaſt ſide of *Faire hauen*, there to lye for the comming of the Whales ouer againſt the *Gamaliels* two Shallops that lye on the other ſide for the ſame purpoſe.

The twentieth of Iuly, wee were vnder ſaile to goe forth of *Faire hauen* with the *Gamaliel*, purpoſing to haue taken two Ships that rid at the entrance of *Maudlen-Sound*, with *Iohn Maſon*, who firſt deſcried them, ſuppoſed to be the one a *Bask*, and the other an *Engliſh* man; but the winde blew right into the Harbour, ſo that we could not get forth, and therefore we came to an anchor againe where we rid before.

We were vnder ſaile and came to an anchor againe.

On the one and twentieth of Iuly, our Harponiers killed a Whale, which ſplit one of our Shallops and ſtrucke the Harponier that was in her ouerboord: but both hee and the reſt of the men were relieued and taken into an other Shallop; then we ſent our Carpenter to mend the Shallop that was ſplit: and on the fiue and twentieth day they helpt to kill another Whale.

We killed a Whale.

On the ſixe and twentieth of Iuly, I drew the plat of *Faire hauen*, as it is here proiected (but here too coſtly to inſert.)

When this Scoale of Whales were paſt, we went out of *Faire hauen* the firſt of Auguſt with both our Shallops, Maſter *Baffin* in the one, and I in the other, with fiue men more in each Shallop, thinking that now we ſhould finde the Ice broken and cleere gone from the ſhore, conceiuing ſome good hope to proceede and make ſome new diſcouery, which was the chiefe occaſion of our imployment. Wee paſſed ouer *Red cliffe-Sound*, which we found cleare of Ice; and from thence we proceeded to *Red-beach*, where we alſo found great alteration ſince our laſt being there, notwithſtanding the Ice was not cleerely voided from the ſhore; for in ſome places it was firme and vnbroken off, for the ſpace almoſt of halfe a mile: ſo we rowed alongſt it, till wee came neere the North end of the Beach which lyeth furtheſt into the Sea, and there we found an open way to the ſhore with our Shallops, and went on land; but ſeeing in all places great abundance of broken Ice, we lay cloſe to the ſhoare, and doubting that although perhaps with much adoe, we might get about the point of the *Beach*, yet ſhould we ſtill be peſtered with Ice from proceeding any further, we reſolued to walke ouer land, to the other ſide of the *Beach*, where we ſaw a hill about foure miles diſtant; from which we thought we ſhould be ſatisfied, how much further it was poſſible for vs to proceede: ſo thither we trauailed, where when we came, wee ſaw a very faire Sound on the Eaſt ſide of the Beach which was open within, but there lay very much Ice at the entrance of it, which although it was extended more then halfe ouer Sound, yet we doubted not but if we could get our Shallops about the Beach, we ſhould finde either one way or other to paſſe ouer the ſaid Sound, & from the high land on the other ſide, we ſhould receiue very good ſatisfaction, if the weather continued faire and cleare as now it was, therefore we intended to make triall what we might do; but before we returned we went down to the point of the Beach, at the entrance

Auguſt. We went to the Northwards with our Shallops.

We got to the ſhoare of *Red Beach* with our Shallops.

We walked ouer *Red-beach.*

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entrance of the Sound, and there ſet vp a Croſſe, and nailed a ſixe pence thereon with the Kings Armes. This being done, we returned to our Shallops, and according to our late determination, we rowed about the point of *Red-beach*, and with many crooked windings amongſt the Ice, at length we got ouer *Wiches Sound* (for ſo it is now named.)

The Kings armes are ſet vp at *Wiches Sound*.

As ſoone as we were ouer on the other ſide, about two leagues from *Red-beach*, Maſter *Baffin* and I clambred vp a very high hill, from whence we ſaw a point of land bearing East North-eaſt, by the ordinary Compaſſe eighteene or twentie leagues diſtant, as I ſuppoſed. Wee likewiſe ſaw another faire Sound to the Southwards of vs, which was much peſtered with Ice, but we could not ſee the end of it. Here vpon the mountaine wee ſet vp a Warelocke, and then came downe againe with leſſe labour, but more danger then we had in getting vp, by reaſon of the ſteepineſſe thereof: then we walked to the ſhoare ſide, and there found many beach Finnes, whereby I conieCtured that Maſter *Marmadukes* men in his firſt diſcouery, made in Anno 1612. had not beene vpon this land to ſearch the Beaches, for in all other places where we had beene heretofore, we could finde nothing at all. Now therefore we reſolued to make further ſearch alongſt this ſhoare, and to proceede with our Shallops ſo farre as we poſſibly could: whereupon wee returned to our men againe whom we left with our Shallops, where we firſt landed.

We paſſed ouer *Wiches Sound*.

We found Beach Fins.

Hauing ſtayed here a while and obſerued the latitude which I found to be 79. degrees 54. minutes, we ſaw a Shallop come rowing towards the extreameſt point of this ſhoare, therefore we haſtned towards them to ſee who were therein, and found them to be Maſter *Marmadukes* men, lately come from their ſhip the *Hartſ-eaſe*, which they ſaid they left at Sea amongſt the Ice, about a league from *Red Beach*: here they were ſetting vp a Croſſe, which they ſaid that they found there fallen downe, and had beene formerly ſet vp in the time of Maſter *Marmadukes* firſt diſcouery, by one *Laurence Preſtwood*, whoſe name I ſaw thereon engrauen, with two or three names more, and it had the date of the ſeuenteenth of Auguſt 1612. Vpon this Croſſe they nailed the Kings Armes.

We met with the *Hartſeaſe* Shallop.

Note.

Here we parted from them, and according to our former determination we proceeded, ſome in the Shallops amongſt the Ice, and others on ſhoare, till wee went about foure leagues further: in which ſpace we found many more Finnes, and one paire of Morſes teeth, but now we found the Ice ſo cloſe packt together, that wee could not proceede any further with our Shallops: wherefore Maſter *Baffin* and I intended to walke ouer land vntill we ſhould be better ſatiſfied how farre this Sound went in, for wee could as yet ſee no end of it, and it ſeemed to make a ſeparation of the land; ſo leauing our men here with the Shallops, wee trauailed almoſt a league further, till we came to the point of a ſandie beach, that ſhot into the Sound, which was wonderfully ſtored with drift Wood in great abundance. From this point we receiued ſuch ſatisfaction as we looked for, becauſe we ſaw the end of the Sound which lies South in about ten leagues. It hath in it a good harbour that is landlockt, and doubtleſſe it is a good place for the Whale-killing if it be not euery yeare as now it is peſtered with Ice. Here I ſaw a more naturall earth and clay then any that I haue ſeene in all the *Countrie*, but nothing growing thereupon more then in other places. This Sound is that which formerly had and ſtill retaineth the name of Sir *Thomas Smiths* Inlet.

The end of Sir *Thomas Smiths* Inlet diſcouered.

Being thus ſatisfied, we came backe againe to our Shallops, and ſeeing no way but one, we returned towards our Ship; but before we could get to *Red-beach*, there aroſe a very great ſtorme from the East North-eaſt, after we had entered amongſt the Ice in *Wiches Sound*, ſo that we were ſeparated the one Shallop from the other, whereby our danger was the greater: for whiles wee were both in company together, the one might haue beene helpefull to the other when neede required, and more eaſie it ſeemed to ſaue them both, then being ſeparated to keepe either of them from wracke; but God (who in his wonted mercie is euer ready to relieue the faithfull diſtreſſed) did not onely ſo prouide that we met together againe, and indeede were helpefull the one to the other (otherwiſe I doubt the one Shallop had miſcarried, for ſhe was in great danger) but alſo deliuered vs ſafely out from amongſt theſe perillous rockes of Ice, which it was very hard to ſhun, and at the length brought vs into an open Sea, where with as ſcant a ſaile as we could make, we paſt ſwiftly before the winde, the Sea comming diuers times ouer the ſternes of our Shallops, which wet our skinnes, that had ſcarſe any dry cloathes on before to keepe them warme, by reaſon of a drizeling Snow which fell with the ſtorme: then we went aboord our Ship into the South harbour of *Faire hauen*, the fift of Auguſt, with one hundred and fiftie Beach finnes, and one paire of Morſes teeth, giuing thanks to God for his bleſſing and mercifull deliuerance.

We returned towards our Ship.

A ſtorme began when we were amongſt Ice.

We get forth of the Ice.

We came aboord our ſhip.

The ninth of Auguſt, two ſhips of the *Hollanders*, that were appointed for Northerne Diſcouery, were ſeene thwart of *Faire Hauen*, ſayling to the Southwards.

The *Holland* Diſcouerers go homewards.

The eleuenth of Auguſt, we ſet ſayle forth of *Faire Hauen*, the winde at South South-weſt, intending to make tryall, if yet the Ice would admit vs to haue paſſage to the Northwards or the North-eaſtwards. We held our courſe from Cape *Barren*, North-eaſt and by East, till ſeuen a clocke at night, at which time hauing runne eight leagues from the ſhoare, wee met with the Ice which lay East and by South, and Weſt and by North, and bore vp alongſt it to the Eaſtwards, for the winde was now come to the North North-weſt; then wee tackt about to the Weſtwards,

Our Ship went forth to Sea.

We met with Ice eight leagues from the Shore.

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We plyed off and on the Ice two dayes.

Weſtwards, and plyed off and on cloſe by the Ice, till the thirteenth day at mid-night, ſtill expecting a change of the weather, that we might haue made ſome aduenture amongſt the ſhatterd Ice, for both on the twelfth and thirteenth day, the winde blew hard at North, and the weather was cold, thicke, and very winter-like with fall of ſnow: this winde being ſo contrarie, droue both the Ice and our ſhip to leewards towards the ſhoare, ſo that wee were forced to put into Harbour againe, and came to an Anchor the fourteenth day in the North Harbour of *Faire Hauen*, where the Fleet of *Hollanders* lately rid, at which time the *Hartſeaſe* was there at an Anchor.

Wee anchored againe in the North Harbor.

Now was the Land both Mountaynes and Plaines wholly couered with ſnow; ſo that almoſt all mens mindes were poſſeſſed with a deſire of returning for *England:* But to preuent a ſudden reſolution for a homeward Voyage without further ſatisfaction, I made motion that once againe we might goe forth with our ſhallops, to ſee what alteration there might bee found alongſt the ſhoare. It fell out that I was to goe in one ſhallop for this purpoſe, ſo I tooke with me eight men, and went from our ſhip the fifteenth day of Auguſt.

I went to the Eaſtwards in a ſhallop.

Ice was newly frozen in *Red-cliffe Sound.*

We rowed to *Red-cliffe Sound*, where we paſſed through much Ice that was newly congealed being thicker then an halfe Crowne piece of ſiluer, notwithſtanding we broke way through it, and being ouer the *Sound*, we had a cleere Sea againe; then we proceeded to *Red-beach*, where finding the ſhoare cleere of Ice (which at my laſt being there was wonderfully peſtered) I conceiued good hope to finde paſſage to the furtheſt Land from thence in ſight, bearing Eaſt halfe a point Southerly, nine, or ten leagues diſtant; to this end we put off from the ſhoare of *Red-beach*, and rowed a league and more in an open Sea, and then met with Ice which lay diſperſed abroad, and was no hinderance to our proceeding, ſo that we continued rowing the ſpace of ſixe houres, in which time we had gotten more then halfe way ouer: but then we found the Ice to lye very thicke thronged together, ſo that it cauſed vs much to alter our courſe, ſometimes Southward and ſometimes Northwards, and euen in this time, when we thought wee ſtood in moſt need of cleere weather, it pleaſed God to ſend vs the contrary, for it beganne to ſnow very faſt, which made the Ayre ſo thick that we could not ſee to make choice of the moſt likely way for vs to paſſe, therefore I thought good to ſtay here awhile, hoping that ere long the weather would bee more agreeable to our purpoſe; ſo a Grapnell being laid forth vpon an Iland off, to hold faſt our ſhallop, a Tent was made of the ſhallops ſayle to keepe the weather from vs, and we remayned here fiue houres, but finding no alteration in the conſtant weather, I willed the men to take downe the Tent, and with faire tearmes perſwaded them, that notwithſtanding the wet weather, it were good to be doing ſomething, to get ouer to the deſired ſhoare, where we might refreſh our ſelues, and haue fire to dry our wet clothes; they ſeemed well content with this motion, and ſo we rowed the ſpace of foure houres more, the Ice ſtill cauſing vs to hold a South and South South-eaſt courſe, which carried vs further into Sir *Thomas Smiths* Inlet, and put vs from the place where we willed to be.

I intended to go once to *Point Deſire.*

A great ſnow began.

I could not paſſe for Ice.

The thicke ſnowie weather continued all this time, which was very vncomfortable to vs all, but eſpecially to the men that rowed; and as the ſnow was noyſome to their bodies, ſo did it alſo begin to aſtoniſh their mindes, as I well perceiued by their ſpeeches, which proceeded vpon this occaſion. The ſnow hauing continued thus long, and falling vpon the ſmooth water, lay in ſome places an inch thicke, being alreadie in the nature of an Ice compact, though not congealed, and hindred ſometimes our ſhallops way; this I ſay cauſed ſome of them, not altogether without reaſon to ſay, that if it ſhould now freeze as it did that night when we came ouer *Red-cliffe Sound*, we ſhould be in danger here to be frozen vp. Howſoeuer this ſearch might bee a meanes to diſcourage the reſt, that conſidered not of ſuch a thing till they had heard it ſpoken of: yet true it is, that I ſaw no likelihood, by reaſon of the Ice, how to attayne my deſire at this time, and therefore I bade them row toward the ſhoare of *Red-beach* againe, where I intended to ſtay till the weather might happily be more conuenient. So holding a Weſt North-weſt courſe, ſo neere as the Ice would ſuffer vs, wee came to the Eaſt-ſide of *Red-beach*, hauing beene eighteene houres amongſt the Ice, during all which time the ſnow fell, and as yet ceaſed not.

The originall cauſe of Ice at Sea.

I went backe againe to *Red-beach.*

When we had been here about an houre it began to cleere vp, and the wind to blow hard at Eaſt, which rather packt the Ice cloſe together in this place then diſperſt it, ſo that I was now out of hope to get any further then I had beene alreadie: wherefore I returned toward our ſhip, intending as I went to make a more particular Diſcouerie of *Broad-bay*, and *Red-cliffe Sound*, hoping that one place or other would afford ſome thing worthy of the time and labour. When we were come to the Weſt ſide of *Red-beach*, it began to blow much wind, where withall the Sea growing to be great, all men aduiſed to paſſe ouer *Broad-bay*, whilſt the winde and weather would ſerue vs to ſayle, for they ſaid it was like to be very foule weather: ſo ſeeing that it was no conuenient time for coaſting, we came ouer the Bay to *Point Welcome* (which I ſo named becauſe it is a place, where wee oftentimes reſted, when wee went forth in our ſhallops) it is about foure leagues diſtant from the North end of *Red beach.*

I returned towards our ſhip.

Point Welcome.

At this point the *Hollanders* had ſet vp Prince *Maurice* his Armes, neere vnto a Croſſe which I had cauſed to bee ſet vp aboue a moneth before, and had nayled a ſixe pence thereon with the

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the Kings Armes, but the men that were with me, went (without any such direction from mee) and pulled downe the said Princes Armes, whilst I was gone vp a Mountayne to looke into the Sea, if I could see any Ice: and when I came downe againe they told me, that the six pence was taken from the Crosse that I had set vp, and there was another post set by it, with the *Hollanders* Armes made fast thereon, which they had pulled downe; so, because the six pence was taken away, I caused one to nayle the Kings Armes cast in Lead vpon the Crosse: which being done we rowed to the bottome of *Red-cliffe Sound*, and as we coasted along st the shoare, wesearched two little Beaches, which had some wood on them, but nothing that we found of better value.

The Kings Armes are set vp againe at *Point Welcome*. I went into *Red cliffe Sound*.

About two leagues within the *Sound*, on the East side there is an Harbour where shippes may ride in good ground Land-locke, but if other yeeres be like this, I cannot say that it is an Harbour fitting for ships, because it is late ere the Sound breake vp; for euen now there lay much Ice at the bottome of it, insomuch, that I was forcst to leaue the shallop, because I could not passe with her for Ice, and walke two miles ouer stonie Mountaynes, with another man in my company, to bee satisfied concerning a point of Land that shot into the Sound, whether it were an Iland or no, as by all likelihood it seemed to bee: but when I came to the farthest part of it, I saw it joyne to the mayne Land, wherefore I called it *Point Deceit*, because it deceiued mee so much. From hence wee proceeded toward our shippe, and came aboord of her in the North Harbour of *Faire Hauen*, on Friday night being the nineteenth of August, where she rid alone; for Master *Marmaduke* was gone forth to Sea that day.

Point Deceit.

I came aboord our ship.

The two and twentieth of August, *John Mason* Master of the *Gunsdiell*, came ouer from the South Harbour for helpe to hayle vp a Whale which had beene sunke fourteene dayes, in one hundred and twentie fathome depth, or else to pull the Warpe and Harping Iron out of her, for now it was time to take her or forsake her. Master *Sherwin* our Master caused our long Boate to bee manned and went with him; when they came where the Whale was sunke, they haled, and shee presently rose, bolting suddenly vp with a thundring cracke made with the bursting of her bodie; and notwithstanding shee had layen so long, yet had shee all her Finnes fast. Whilst this was in doing, the *Hartsease* was comming into the Harbour from the Northward, and anchored by our ship an houre after.

A Whale lay sunken fourteene dayes.

The *Hartsease* anchored by vs.

Here wee stayed till the seuen and twentieth of August, and since my last returne hither in the shallop from the Eastwards, the weather hath beene commonly warme, and the Mountaynes were now more cleere of Snow, then they had beene any time this yeere, notwithstanding there had much snowe fallen since the beginning of this moneth, but it was quite consumed, and a greater signe of warmth and thaw was now to bee obserued then any time of the yeere heretofore; namely, by the often falling of the Ice into the Sea from the huge snowie bankes, making a noyse like Thunder, so that the time was very hopefull, but thus wee made vse of occasion offered.

Warme weather in the end of August.

The seuen and twentieth of August, it was faire and warme weather, calme till noone, then had wee a gale of winde from the South South-west, wherewithall wee set sayle out of *Faire-hauen* in the company of the *Hartsease*, with whom wee had beene in termes of consortship, but nothing was concluded. About sixe a clocke at night wee were sixe leagues from Cape *Barren*, which bore from vs South-west and by South.

We set sayle to the Eastward.

Wee proceeded still to the North-eastward, and on the eight and twentieth day in the morning wee had runne about twentie leagues from Cape *Barren*, in an East North-east way by the ordinary Compasse, being open of Sir *Thomas Smiths Inlet*, nine or tenne leagues from the shoare; at which time wee were come to the Ice that trended East South-east, and West North-west, but the Sea being very rough, wee stood off againe from the Ice; in the afternoone it fell calme, and at night we had a gale of winde at East, and the ship was steered West, and then South-west homewards.

The *Thomasine* returnes for *England*.

The nine and twentieth day, the winde Easterly an easie gale; at foure a clocke in the afternoone *Hackluyts Head-land* bore from vs South-east by East foure leagues distant: this Euening was very warme.

The thirtieth day, the winde at North-east an easie gale, at foure a clocke in the afternoone, *Maudlen Point* bore East North-east halfe a Point Easterly about three leagues distant: towards the Euening it fell calme, the weather not cold.

The thirtieth day, faire Sunne-shine weather and calme till noone, and then we had a good gale of winde from the North-east, being fiue leagues distant from the *Fore-land*, which bore South-east; now wee altered our course and stood to the West-ward: therefore to keepe vs still in the parallel that now wee were in which was 79. degrees 8. minutes, West North-west course was directed, in respect of the Variation, to make good a true West way.

We stood to the westwards.

This course wee held till we had runne about twentie leagues, and then wee ranne twentie leagues more in a West and by North course till one a clocke on Friday morning; at which time it fell calme; and wee heard the Sea make a great noyse, as if wee had beene neere Land, but wee rather iudged it to bee Ice, as indeed it proued to bee, for in the morning when it

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was light and cleere, wee saw the Ice about a league from vs, which trended Southerly; hauing now a gale at East North-east, wee steered away South and South South-east, but in the afternoone we were embayed with a long banke of Ice, which wee could not weather, therefore wee were faine to tacke about, and the winde hauing come more Southerly then it was in the morning, wee stood off from the Ice North-east and North-east and by North, and then to the Southwards againe, making sundrie boardes to get forth to wind-wards of the Ice.

Wee met with Ice.

The third day before noone, wee had sight againe of Ice to Westwards of vs, and at noone were vnder the paralle of 78. degrees, 27. minutes, according to my Obseruation: then wee stood a way South to keepe cleere of the Ice, for wee had a great homing Sea, although but little winde; and therefore durst not be so bold to edge too neere it, especially the wind being Easterly as then it was.

On the fourth day our men saw the Ice againe from the mayne top-mast head, and therefore wee still maintayned a Southerly course: the next day it began to be foggie, and continued close weather and hazie for three dayes, so that wee had no more sight of the Ice; neyther could wee at this time receiue any further satisfaction concerning the same: therefroe wee kept a Southerly course so neere as wee could, although wee had but little winde, and the same very variable till the ninth day, but then wee had a good gale of winde at West North-west.

We left the Ice and came for England.

On the tenth day beeing Saturday, wee were by my reckoning fiftie leagues distant from *Low-foot*, which bore from vs East South-east halfe a Point Southerly: this day the wind shifted to the South-west, and at night came to the South with much raine; then came backe againe to the West North-west and began a great storme.

A storme beganne.

This night the Master and others saw a light vpon the Fore-bonnet, which the Saylers call a *Corpo Santo*: it appeared like the flame of a Candle, and (as Sea-men obserue) it alwayes presageth an ensuing storme; which to verifie, this foule weather continued the next day, and grew to be so vehement on Sunday night, that the Sea oftentimes ouer-raked our ship, and wee were faine to lye atry with our fore course onely, and our Mayne top-mast also strucke, which last thing (as Sea-men say) is seldome done at Sea, then about one a clocke we were forced to take in our fore course, and to lye a-hull for fiue houres.

A Corpo Santo. It is often seen at the end of stormes.

The fourth day of October, the shippe came to *Wapping* with the whole number of men that shee carryed forth (my selfe excepted that was come before) being sixe and twentie, all in perfect health.

CHAP. VII.

A true report of a Voyage Anno 1615. *for Discouerie of Seas, Lands, and Ilands, to the Northwards; as it was performed by* ROBERT FOTHERBIE, *in a Pinnasse of twentie tunnes called the* Richard *of* London: *set forth at the charge of the Right Worshipfull Sir* THOMAS SMITH, *Knight, my very good Master, and Master* RICHARD WICHE, *Gouernours: and the rest of the Worshipfull Company of Merchants, called the Merchants of* New Trades *and* Discoueries, *trading into* Moscouia, *and King* IAMES *his* New Land.

BY the prouidence of Almightie God I went forth of *Harwich* Harbour in the foresaid Pinnasse, the twelfth of May, in the company of eight shippes of the Fleet, for King *Iames* his *New Land*, who in foule weather out-sayled me in the latitude 71. degrees, or thereabouts. So I proceeded alone towards King *Iames* his *New Land*: and met with Ice in latitude 73. degrees 30. minutes, I stood North-eastwards for the wast of King *Iames* his *New Land*, and had sundry conflicts with the Ice in rainie and wet foggie weather, and had sight of Land the eleuenth of Iune, and on the nineteenth of the same I anchored in *Faire Hauen*. Here I stayed till the third of Iuly, for the Pinnasse had receiued some hurt amongst the Ice, which to amend, I was faine to hale her a-ground, besides diuers other things necessary to be done, which detayned mee longer then willingly I would haue stayed there.

From hence I sayled Northward, but met with Ice in latitude 79. degrees 50. minutes, being sixe leagues from *Hacklwyts Head-land*, then I coasted the Ice as it lay in Points and Bayes to the Westwards and South-westward, and being thirtie leagues from the Land in latitude 79. degrees 10. minutes, I found it to trend Northward and North-westwards, and coasted it to the latitude

Hacklwyts Headland.

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of 79. degrees 50. minutes, but then I was embayed with Ice, and was faine to stand out againe and sailed aboue ten leagues before I got cleere: when I was out of this Bay, I proceeded South Westerly with the Ice on the starboord to the latitude 78. degrees 30. minutes, where being fortie leagues from the shoare, I was againe embayed with the Ice, and hauing had faire Sun-shine weather all the day, which made mee the bolder to stand so neere it, the weather on a sudden fell foggie, and the wind beganne to blow hard at South, which put vs to great trouble and no small perill: but the Almightie power who hath mercifully deliuered vs heretofore out of as great dangers, preserued vs also from this: when wee were gotten cleere off the Ice, we had the Sea much growne, and the storme increasing, but beeing desirous still to keepe the Sea, I stood close by the wind vnder a payre of coarses, till the Pinnasse waxt leake with bearing too much sayle, and there was forced to lye atry vnder a mayne coarse only: and although shee stemmed South-east and South-east by South, yet was she hurried violently to the North-eastwards, and by the mercifull prouidence of God we fell right with the *Fore-land*, in latitude 79. degrees, then I stood ouer Sir *Thomas Smiths* Bay for harbour in *Crosse-road*, where I anchored the thirteenth of Iuly being Thursday. I stayed here foure dayes, in which time my men mended the Sayles and ships tackling that had receiued hurt by the late storme, and made a new mayne Sayle to serue in time of need, and on the seuenteenth of Iuly I weighed out of *Crosse-road*, and sayling Westwards from thence came to Ice againe in latitude 78. degrees 40. minutes, which I coasted as it lay neerest South-west, or more Westerly, but with many Points & Bayes, wherewith I was sometimes intangled, yet, God be thanked, got cleere againe, either by helpe of Oares or Sayles without any hurt. In this sort I proceeded with good satisfaction, although not with so good content, till I came to the latitude of 76. degrees, beeing aboue one hundred leagues from Point *Looke-out*, but then was crossed with a contrarie storme from the South-west and South South-west, which droue me to the South-eastward, till I came in the latitude of 74. degrees, and then I made my way Westward againe, so neere as I could lye, close by the winde, and ouer-ranne the formerly supposed Land of *Groynland*, which some haue layd downe in plats and extended to 75. degrees. When I came into the latitude of 73. degrees, I stood West and North-west, and fell with Ice againe in latitude 73. degrees 50. minutes, and thought indeed at that time that I was neere Land by abundance of Fowle, which we saw in great flockes: but such thicke fogges haue continued for three or foure dayes togesher, that we might sooner heare the Land if any were, then see it, and so did we first find this Ice by hearing the rut, thinking till we saw it, that it had beene Land, so that we were embayed with it, before we thought that we had beene neere it; then I stood out againe and coasted the Ice still to the Westwards Southerly, but could see no Land, as I expected to haue done, vntill wee came vnder the latitude of 71. degrees thirtie minutes, and then we espyed a snowie Hill very high in the cloudes, for this day was very cleere at Sea, but the fogge was not yet cleered from the Land, so that we could see no part of it, but only the top of a snowie Mountayne, which appeared very high although wee were fourteene or fifteene leagues distant from it, bearing off vs South-east and by South.

Perill and escape.

Note. Errour of *Gronland.*

Fogges.

High Hill.

Then I stood in for the shoare, supposing it had beene part of the Mayne of *Groynland:* for the fogge lay on each side of this Mount, as if there had beene a great Continent vnder it, but it proued otherwise, for as we came neerer to it, the fogge dispersed more and more, and when wee were fiue leagues distant, the Land appeared in forme like an Iland.

When I came neerer the shore, I could find no Harbor to anchor in. Notwithstanding, the weather being faire & calme, I hoist out my Boat & went ashore with three men more, and set vp the Kings Armes: then we searched a Sandie Beach, which was abundantly stored with drift wood, but yeelded no other fruits, that we could find worth the taking vp, so I returned aboord againe, and sent ashoare my Boat to fetch some wood. But before the men had laid into her the little quantitie that she was able to carrie, they came aboard againe, for the wind began to blow hard, and the Sea to goe loftie, so that here was no place for vs to abide any longer, otherwise I was purposed to haue searched further alongst the shoare, but this gale of winde comming Northerly I stood from hence to the Westwards, being desirous to see more Land or finde a more open Sea. And hauing sayled about fifteene or sixteene leagues I met with Ice again, in latitude 71. degrees, and coasted it eight or nine leagues further Westward, and South-westward as it lay, but then the wind came to the South-west, and we stood close by it a while to the Southwards; but finding the gale to increase, and considering that it was the most contrary winde which could blow against my further proceeding (for the Ice as we found did trend neerest South-west, and besides if there had beene any high Land within twentie leagues of vs, wee might perfectly haue made it, the weather was so faire and cleere.) In these respects, and for the Reasons following, I tooke the benefit of this wind to returne to the North-eastwards againe, being now about two hundred leagues from King *Iames* his *New Land* in latitude 71. degrees.

Drift wood.

Note.

First, I purposed to sayle alongst the South-east side of the Land that I had discouered, to bee better satisfied what Harbours there were, and what likelihood of profit to ensue; and from thence to proceed to the place where I first fell with Ice in latitude 73. degrees when I was driuen to the South-eastwards with a Westerly storme, for I am yet verily perswaded, that being

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there we were not farre from Land, although wee could not see it by reason of thicke foggie weather. Then my further intent was, if I found no good occasion to spend my time there, for to coast the Ice, or try the open Sea to the Northwards, betwixt 73. and 76. degrees, where formerly I had not receiued desired satisfaction by reason of a storme that draue me off, and then I purposed, if time might seeme conuenient, to proceed to the North Coast of King *Iames* his *New Land*, to haue seene what hope was there to be had for passage Northward, or for compassing of the Land, which is most like to be an Iland.

I stood away East and by South, and being neere the foresaid Iland, the winde came to the West and blew a very hard gale, where with I passed alongst the South-east side of the Iland vnder a paire of coarses, but without that satisfaction which I expected: for the winde blowing so stormie, and the Sea growne very great, I was forced to stand further from the shoare then willingly I would haue done, and besides there was a thicke fogge vpon the Land, whereby I could not be satisfied what Harbours or Roads were about it, yet might we see three or foure Capes, or Head-lands, as if there went in Bayes betwixt them. I sayled about it, and then stood to the Northward againe, and being now assured that it was an Iland, I named it Sir *Thomas Smiths Iland.*

Sir *T. Smiths Iland.*

This Iland is about ten leagues in length, and stretcheth North-east and South-west: it is high Land, and at the North end of it there is a Mountayne of a wonderfull height and bignesse, all couered with Snow, which I called *Mount Hackluyt*; the base or foot of it on the East side is almost foure leagues long, it hath three such sides at the base lying out to the Sea, and from the fourth side doth the rest of the Iland extend it selfe towards the South-west, which is also, as it were, a place fortified with Castles and Bulwarkes, for on each side there bee three or foure high Rockes which stand out from the Land, appearing like Towres and Forts. It lyes in the parallel of 71. degrees, where the Needle varieth from the true Meridian Westwards eight degrees. The Land is generally so farre as I haue seene, Rockie and very barren, and worse then the Land that I haue seene in King *Iames* his *New Land*, vnder eightie degrees, for there is no grasse but mosse, and where I first landed vpon low ground, all the stones were like vnto a Smiths sinders both in colour and forme. the sand is generally mixed with a corne like Amber; the Beaches are abundantly stored with drift wood and many stones, light like Pumis, which will swimme on the water. I saw many traces of Foxes and the footing of Beares, but not any signe of Deere or other liuing creatures, and very small store of Fowle.

Mount Hackluyt.

From hence I stood to the Northward according to my former purpose, but was crossed with a contrarie storme from the North-west which put me off to the Eastward: but as the wind shifted I made my way to the North-westwards all I could, and came againe to the Ice in latitude 75. degrees, from whence I proceeded towards King *Iames* his *New Land*, and had sight of the Land the eighteenth of August, being in latitude 77. degrees 30. minutes; and hauing a hard gale of wind then at North-west, I stood close by it vnder a paire of coarses, but could not weather Prince *Charles Iland*, and therefore I bore vp, intending to goe into *Nicks Cone*, which is on the North side of *Ice-sound*, there to attend a faire winde, and in the meane time to get ballast aboard the Pinnasse, and all other things necessary. But comming to enter into the Harbour, I thought it not a place conuenient, because I could hardly haue gotten out againe with a Southerly wind, which would carrie me to the Northwards, and therefore I stood ouer for *Green-harbor*, where I anchored at one a clocke in the morning, the nineteenth of August.

Here I caused my men to launch a shallop, and to get ballast and water aboard the Pinnasse, and before nine a clocke at night I was readie to proceed Northward with the first faire winde. I stayed here fiue dayes, during which time it blew hard for the most part at North and North-west, and on the foure and twentieth of August, the winde came to the East North-east as wee supposed, till we were out of the Harbour, so I set sayle to proceed Northward, and had the wind Easterly out of *Ice-sound*, wherewith I stood North-west towards Cape *Cold*, but being cleere of the high Land, we found the wind to bee at North North-east, therefore I resolued of another course, which was this.

Hauing perused *Hudsons* Iournall written by his owne hand in that Voyage wherein hee had sight of certayne Land, which he named *Hold-with-hope*; I found that by his owne reckoning it should not be more then one hundred leagues distant from King *Iames* his *New Land*, and in the latitude of 72. degrees 30. minutes or thereabouts: therefore seeing I could not proceed Northward, I purposed to goe to the South-westwards to haue sight of this Land, and discouer it, if wind and weather would permit. So I stood away South-west, and sometimes West South-west, till I had runne one hundred and thirtie leagues, and was by account in latitude 72. degrees 30. minutes, where hauing the wind contrarie to proceed further Westward, I stood Eastward till I had runne thirtie leagues, in which course I should haue seene this Land, if credit might be giuen to *Hudsons* Iournall, but I saw not any. And hauing a hard gale of winde still Northerly, I conceiued no course so good to be taken at this time, as to speed homewards; and so stood to the Southwards, directing my course for *England*, this being the eight and twentieth of August. After which time the wind continued Northerly till the sixt day of September, and then wee

Hudsons Hold-with-hope questioned, as before also.

were

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were on the coast of *Scotland* in latitude 57. degrees, and on the eight day of September had sight of the land of *England* on the coast of *Yorkeshire*. Thus by the great mercy of God haue we escaped many dangers, and after a cold Summer haue some taste of a warme Autumne. All glorie therefore be to *God* the *Father*, the *Sonne*, and the *Holy Ghost*. Amen.

By this briefe Relation, and by the plat wherein I haue traced the ships way vpon each seuerall trauerse it may plainly appeare, how farre the state of this Sea is discouered betwixt 80. and 71. degrees of latitude, making difference of longitude 26. degrees from the Meridian of *Hackluyts Headland*.

Now if any demand my opinion concerning hope of a passage to bee found in those Seas; I answer, that it is true, that I both hoped and much desired to haue passed further then I did, but was hindred with Ice: wherein although I haue not attayned my desire, yet forasmuch as it appeares not yet to the contrarie, but that there is a spacious Sea betwixt *Groinland* and King *Iames* his *New-land*, although much pestered with Ice; I will not seeme to diswade this worshipfull Companie from the yeerly aduenturing of 150. or 200. pounds at the most, till some further discouerie be made of the said Seas and Lands adjacent, for which purpose no other Vessell would I aduise vnto, then this Pinnasse with ten men, which I hold to bee most conuenient for that action, although heretofore I conceiued otherwise, but now I speake after good experience, hauing sayled in her out and in aboue two thousand leagues.

RO. FOTHERBY.

A Letter of ROBERT FOTHERBY to Captaine EDGE, written in *Crosse-rode*, Iuly 15. 1615.

MAster Edge, *By the mercy of God I came into* Crosse-road *on Thursday last, being driuen from Sea neere shoare by extreme tempest. At the beginning of the storme I was vnwittingly embayed with Ice aboue fortie leagues from land, in latitude* 78. *degrees and* 30. *minutes, but, thankes be to God, I got cleare of it, yet not without much trouble and great danger. Hauing plyed vnder two coarses to and againe so long till my Pinnasse was made leake with bearing, I tryed it vnder a mayne coarse and stem'd South-east and South-east and by South, notwithstanding I was hurried to the Northward, and fell right with the* Foreland, *which by reason of the misty storme we could not see till we were within a league of it; then I stood ouer the Bay and came to an anchor here, where I must be forced to stay till our sailes be mended, and a new mayne coarse be made, if not a fore coarse also. Then I purpose to goe to Sea againe, and to proceed in coasting the Ice to the Westward, if it hinder me to proceed Northward. I haue already coasted it from* Hackluyts Headland *to the latitude aforesaid, and intend to beginne againe so neere as I can at the place where I was put off with the storme. I came from* Faire Hauen *the fourth of Iuly, and then had there beene killed twelue Whales, besides one found dead, and another brought in by* Fra. Birkes, *which he found at Sea before he came into* Faire Hauen.

Ships of the King of Denmarke.

When I came in hither, here were three Ships and a Pinnasse of the King of Denmarks; *they rid in deepe water about a league and a halfe from the Road, but weighed from thence, and the Admirall came to an anchor close by me, and sent to intreat me to come aboord of him; I went aboord and was courteously entertayned by the Generall, who questioned me of the Country, and asked me by what right the* Englishmen *Merchants did resort and fish in this place: I told him, by the King of* Englands *right, who had granted a Patent to the* Muscouie *Company of Merchants, whereby he authorizeth them, and forbiddeth all others to frequent these places. Then he entreated me to goe with him to Sir* Tho. Smiths *Bay, to the two* English *ships there. I told him, it would be losse of time to me, because I had some businesse here to doe, and then to goe forth presently to Sea againe to prosecute my Discouery. He said, that he would haue me goe with him to be witnesse what passed betwixt him and you, for he had matters of importance to acquaint you withall, which concerned our King and theirs, and therefore intreated me to giue direction presently to weigh and set saile, for I must needs goe with him: I replyed againe, that it would be a great losse vnto me of time, and I knew not how to answer it; but he told me peremptorily that I must goe with him. So seeing no remedie, I bad the Master be readie: then he presently weighed and kept me aboord him, but afterwards meeting with the two Captaines that came from you, he returned and anchored againe in* Crosse-road. *I receiued very courteous entertaynment of the Admirall, Vice-admirall, and of Captaine* Killingham: *but Captaine* Killingham *being aboord of me, went away as he seemed, discontented, because I would not giue him a young Morse I haue aboord, which I denyed to doe, because I writ to my Master from* Faire Hauen, *that such a thing I haue, and will bring aliue into* England, *if I may. When he went off aboord of me, he said, he would shoot downe my flag: And soone after there came a shot which flue ouer vs, out of the Admirall, and I expected another; but soone after there came a man aboord of me out of the Admirall, to see if any of your men that came in the Shallop, would goe with them into the Bay, and he swore vnto me that the shot was made to call their Boat aboord, because they were ready to weigh. As farre as I can perceiue, their purpose is to see what Grant the King of* England *hath*

made vnto the Companie, for they seeme to pretend that the right of this Land belongs to the King of Denmarke, *and neither to* English *nor* Hollanders. *Thus with my heartie commendations to your selfe, and Master* Bredcake, *together with my praiers for your prosperous voyage, I commit you to God.*

CHAP. VIII.

Diuers other Voyages to *Greenland*, with Letters of those which were there employed, communicated to mee by Master WILLIAM HELEY.

An. 1616. *Edges* Iland was discouered, and a prosperous voyage was made, all the ships being laden, vnder the command of Captaine *Thomas Edge*. An. 1617. *Witches* Iland was discouered; and what voyage was made appeareth in the Letter following, written to Master *Decrow* by *William Heley*.

Laus Deo, in Portnick *the* 12. *of August*, 1617.

Worshipfull Sir,

MY *dutie remembred, May it please you to vnderstand, that through Gods blessing our Voyage is performed in all the Harbours in the Countrie this yeere, with a greater ouerplus then our ships will carry: so that in some places wee must of force leaue good store of Oyle and Blubber behinde for the next yeere. Wee are all for the most part readie to set sayle, being full laden: onely I desire to see the Coast cleere of Interlopers, whereby our prouisions may be left in securitie. We tooke a ship of* Flushing, *called the* Noahs Arke *(Master,* Iohn Verlile*) in* Horne-sound, *hauing out of him two hundred hogsheads of Blubber, and two Whales and a halfe to cut vp, a great Copper, and diuers other prouisions, and sent him away ballasted with stones. There were two more of them who were gone laden with Blubber, before we could get thither, hauing intelligence of our comming. There were also two* Danes, *who made one hundred and odde tunnes of Oyle, and laded one ship for* Copen-hauen, *the other with halfe the Oyle and Finnes for* Amsterdam, *and left the Country about the sixth or seuenth of August. And for Master* Cudner, *he rid in* Portnick, *where he killed eleuen Whales, and made some seuentie and odde tunnes of Oyle, which is laden aboord him and his Finnes. In whom, if our ships had come together thither as I desired, I would haue laden fortie or fiftie tunnes of Oyle in him, and displaced his men and sent him for* England: *but bad weather hindring our ships getting thither, and his sudden departure after our comming in with the* Pleasure, *shee being laden and not sufficiently fisted to surprise him, he escaped, but I sent her away in company with him, whereby he may not doe any hurt in other places in the Country. I would haue had him to haue taken in some Oyle, for which I offered him fraight, so I might put some men into him to see to it, and that it might be brought safe to* London: *but he refused, yet protesteth, he purposeth to bring his ship and goods to* London: *his voyage is by the thirds, so that his men will rather dye then forgoe that they haue got. The small ship* Iohn Ellis *is returned from the South Eastward, hauing made some further discouery, and killed some eight hundred Seamorse, and laden the teeth, and thirtie tunnes of hides, and the rest of his lading in Oyle: he brought some Sea-horse blubber with him. He met with* Thomas Marmaduke *of* Hull *in those parts, who had not done any thing when he saw him towards making a voyage, but went for* Hope *Iland, and no doubt but hee will doe much spoile there. As for the* Beare, *shee departed for* Hamborough *the third of August out of* Crosse-road; *and the* Gray-hound *in company with her for* England, *who, I hope, is safely arriued, and by whom I hope you vnderstand of her proceedings at full.*

The Whales killed this yeere in the Country are about one hundred and fiftie in number, and the Oyle made will be about one thousand eight hundred and odde tunnes, besides the blubber left for want of caske. The lading of this ship is one hundred and eightie tunnes, as by the Bill of lading here inclosed. Thus hauing not further wherewith to acquaint your Worship, withall praying God to send all home in safety with a good passage; I humbly take my leaue, and doe rest

Readie at your Worships command in all dutifull seruice.

WILLIAM HELEY.

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A Letter of Master ROBERT SALMON *to Master* SHERWIN. *In Sir* THOMAS SMITHES *Bay, the* 24. of Iune, 1618.

LOuing friend Master Sherwine, *I kindly salute you, wishing you as much prosperitie as vnto my selfe, &c. Since our comming into the Bay, we haue beene much troubled with Ice and Northerly windes, so as we haue not beene two dayes free of Ice. We had a storme Northerly which brought in much Ice, so as we were inclosed withall eight dayes: there went such a Sea in the Ice that did beate our ships very much for fourre and twentie houres, that I did thinke we should haue spoyled our ships: but I thanke God we cannot perceiue any hurt at all it hath done to vs; also we haue broken two anchors with the Ice; we haue killed thirteene Whales, but they yeeld but little, in regard of the Ice which hath much hindred vs in our worke, for in ten dayes we could not doe any worke the Bay was so full of Ice: the Bay was full as low as* Fox nose, *and now at this present the Bay is full of shattered Ice, the windes hanging Northerly keepes it in. Here is fiue sayle of* Flemmings *which haue fourteene and sixteene pieces of Ordnance in a ship; and they doe man out eighteene Shallops, so that with theirs and ours here is thirtie Shallops in the Bay, too many for vs to make a voyage: there is at the least fifteene hundred tunnes of shipping of the* Flemmings; *we haue reasonable good quarter with them, for we are merry aboord of them, and they of vs; they haue good store of Sacke, and are very kinde to vs, proffering vs any thing that we want. I am very doubtfull of making a voyage this yeere, yet I hope* Crosse-road *will helpe vs for one ship; the Company must take another course the next yeere: if they meane to make any benefit of this Country, they must send better ships that must beat these knaues out of this Country, but as farre as I can vnderstand by them, they meane to make a trade of continuance of it: they haue euery one of them Graue* Maurices *Commission vnder his Hand and Seale: we will let them rest this yeere, and let who will take care the next yeere, for I hope not to trouble them. I pray remember my dutie to the Captaine, and also to honest Master* Thornbush, *and to* Iohn Martin; *Master* Smith *doth remember his loue to you, and to all the rest of his friends: we are well at this present, I thanke God: I pray let vs heare from you when you haue any conuayance; I hope wee shall goe home in companie together as wee came out. Thus with my loue once againe remembred to you, beseeching God to send vs all a prosperous voyage, and ioyfully to meet, I rest.*

A Letter of Master TH. SHERWIN: *Bell-sound* this 29. of Iune, 1618.

MAster William Heley, *your Letter I receiued, wherein I vnderstand you haue tooke very great griefe, which I am very sorry for: but I am in good hope to come to you my selfe one of these dayes, that I may comfort you with a good couple of Hennes and a bottle of Canary wine, but I pray bee carefull of your selfe and keepe you warme, and take heede the Nodis doe not pick out your eyes: but as for the* Flemmings *let them all go hang themselues, and although you be not strong enough to meddle with them, yet the worst wordes are too good for them, the time may come you may be reuenged on them againe. The Captaine wishes they would come all into* Bell-sound *and beat vs out, and carry vs for* Holland; *here is a great fleet of them in this Country. Here came in two* Flemmings, *but wee handled them very honestly, but for feare of after-claps, or had it beene the latter part of the yeere, we would haue handled them better; now they be gone for* Horne-sound, *I would that they had all of them as good a paire of hornes growing on their heads, as is in this Country. As concerning our voyage, Master* Salmon *can certifie you both in* Horne-sound, *and in our harbour. My brother* Busse, Iohn Martin, *and I, drinke to you, and wish you many a Venison pasty. We haue so little to doe wee feare we shall all haue the Scurvy, but we haue pulled downe the* Flemmish *house, and brought it neere more fit for our turne. Thus praying you to remember my loue to all at* Faire-hauen, *I cease, with my prayers to God, to send you and vs all a prosperous voyage, with all your good health, that we may goe merrily home together.*

A Letter of IAMES BEVERSHAM to Master HELEY. From *Faire-hauen*, the 12. of Iuly, 1618.

MAster Heley, *My commendations remembred to your selfe, Master* Salmon, *Master* Smith, *and Master* Beymond, *as also to Master* Wilkenson, *Mate* Headland, *Master* Greene, *and the rest of our good friends with you, wishing all your healths as my owne; I am very sorry to vnderstand of the annoyances by the* Flemmings, *both with you and other places; as also of the small hope there is, in making a voyage this yeere. For our parts we are and haue beene so pestered with Ice these twentie dayes, that we haue not beene able to goe out to Sea with our Shallops aboue twice in the time, neither haue we beene able to doe any good by reason of foule weather and fogs, nor haue seene any more then*

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one Whale in all that time, which after shee was killed turned vs to much trouble, by reason of foule weather, and forced vs at last to leaue her in the Ice, where the Beares made a prey of her, who I feare will spoyle her before shee be recouered. We haue killed sixteene Whales besides, whereof the Flemmish Biscainers *stole one, for which they haue promised satisfaction, but they are so shut vp with Ice that they are not able to stirre either Ships or Shallops. All the Sea to the Northward of* Hakluyts headland, *and both Eastward and Westward thereof, is packt so full of Ice, that I feare it will ouerthrow our voyage, and put our ships in much hazard, the Lord release vs of that miserie in due time. I neither haue nor will be slack to doe my best endeuours for the good of the voyage, the prosperitie whereof I doe much wish and desire both here and in all other places. I pray remember my loue to the Captaine, by your next conuoy to the Southward, with my commendations to all the rest of our friends; thus for present wishing your health, I kindly take my leaue, and rest your louing friend.*

I had thought to haue added a large Discourse of occurrents betwixt the *Dutch* and *English* in *Greenland* this 1618. and had prepared it to the Presse. But hauing alreadie giuen some Relation thereof from Captaine *Edge* &c. and seeing the insolencies of some of the *Dutch* were intolerable to *English* spirits, which then suffered, or hereafter should reade them; I chose rather to passe them by; aduising my Countrimen not to impute to that Nation what some frothy spirit vomits from amidst his drinke, but to honor the *Hollanders* worth, and to acknowledge the glorie of the Confederate Prouinces, howsoeuer they also haue their sinks and stinking sewers (too officious mouthes, such as some in this businesse of *Greenland*, beyond all names of impudence against his Maiestie, and his Leege people, as others elsewhere haue demeaned themselues) whose lothsomenesse is not to be cast as an aspersion to that industrious and illustrious Nation. Euery Body hath its excrements, euery great House its Vault or Iakes, euery Citie some Port exquiline and dunghils, euery Campe the baggage; the World it selfe a Hell: and so hath euery Nation the retriments, scumme, dregs, rascalitie, intempered, distempered spirits, which not fearing God nor reuerencing Man, spare not to spue out that to the dishonor of both, which sauing the honor of both can scarsly be related after them. A difference is to be made of relation and personall faults, of which we haue said enough in the East *India* quarrels, twixt ours and the *Dutch*.

A Letter of Iohn Chambers to W. Heley, Bel-found Iune 16. 1619.

Louing and approued good friend, Master William Heley, *&c. I am forc't to write in teares vnto you for the losse of our Men, by the most vncouth accident that euer befell vnto poore men. The thirteenth of Iune last we were put ashore in the* Ice Bay, *our Shallops being not aboord: but as soone as wee heard of it, we made what haste we could, and haled our shallops vpon the Ice, and went aboord our ship. By that time we had beene there an houre, making what meanes we could to get her out, a maine peece of the Cliffe falling, the fearefullest sight that euer I beheld being then aboord, expecting nothing else but death, with all the rest that were in her: But God of his great mercie and prouidence deliuered vs, that were not then appointed to dye, that were past all hope of life; for the Ice fell so high and so much, that it carried away our fore-Mast, broke our masne-Mast, sprouug our Bouldstrut, and fetcht such a careere that she heaued a piece of Ordnance ouer-boord from vnder our halfe Decke, hoise me ouer boord amongst the Ice in all the sea, and yet I thanke the Lord I was neuer hurt with a piece of Ice, although it pleased God they were spoyled and killed close by me. Thus hauing related vnto you the miserie of this our Voyage, hoping of your aide and assistance in what you may, I shall be euer bound to pray for you. The Captaine bid me write vnto you for a fine inch Haser, which I pray you spare me and it be possible: I haue writ the particular of our wants in my Brother* Sherwins *Letter, which I pray you be a meanes to further me in. Thus ceasing any further to trouble you, I commit you vnto the Lord, vnto whom I pray to blesse and prosper you in this your present Voyage, with all the rest of your dayes.*

Terrible Disaster.

The men that are killed are these: My Mate *Money*, *Nicholas Greene* and *Allin* the Butcher. There be many more hurt which I hope will recouer it by the helpe of God and the meanes of a good Surgeon.

Louing friend Master Heley, *I kindely salute you, &c. Your Letter I receiued the fifth of this present: wherein I vnderstand of the backwardnesse of your Voyage, the which I am hartily sorrie for: but you must be content, seeing it is the will of God it shall be so, and that other harbours take neighbours fare with you: our best hopes of our Voyage was vpon you, for of our selues we doe little, in regard we are much troubled with Ice, and haue bin so this ten dayes, which hath made vs hale ashoare sixe or seauen times for it: we haue had the windes at North-east, and East North-east, and at North-west, which now keepes in the Ice: we haue killed ten Whales, whereof eight are made into Oyle, which hath made one hundred and eleauen Tuns & a halfe, the other two were killed the fourth of this present, being very large fish,*

not

not doubting but they will make sixe and thirtie or fortie tunnes: we haue the hundred tunnes aboord, the rest Master Barker taketh in, in regard Master Bushes shippe is not fitted vp, we shall make her fore-Mast to serue againe and all things else for this Voyage. The fourth of this present, George Wiuelden came from Horne-sound, where they haue killed foure Whales, they haue bin much troubled with windes Easterly, also much Ice, there is so much Ice off of Point Looke out, that George could not get about. This Ice hath put in young Duke of Hull into Horne-sound, his ship being much torne with the Ice, his Merchant is now aboord of vs, his name is Medcafe, whom the Captaine doth detaine, his Voyage is vtterly ouerthrowne, for he hath lost one shallop with sixe men, and another shallop broken with the Ice, his Ruther Irons being all broken, his Steeme broke a way close to the Woodings, also George did meete with a Fleming of Flushing, burthen two hundred tuns, the which he thinkes is cast away with Ice, for the Ice did beate her very sore. I vnderstand by M. Catchers Letter, that there is eleauen saile of Flemmings and Danes about them, I doubt not but we shall call them to account of how many tunnes of Oyle they haue made, as they did call vs the last Voyage to account: my loue is such vnto them, that I protest I could wish with all my heart that we might goe and see them, and to spend my best bloud in the righting of our former wrongs. Also I vnderstood by Robert Foxe, that Adrian of Flushing is one of them, I should be very glad to see him, that I might balance the account with him. The Captaine willed mee to write vnto you concerning the Russe house, that if you cannot set it vp, that then you should make an English house of it, and to place the post of a Deales length, and to be three Deales in length, and so much in breadth, and so to couer it with Deales the next yeare, and so he thinketh that it will make two frames: also hee could wish that you would remoue the Coppers more vp into the Bay. I pray you commend me to my louing friend Master Sherwine, Master Wilkinson, Master Henderson and Michael Greene; also my loue remembred vnto your selfe, I take my leaue, hoping we shall see you at the Fore-land ere it be long: till when, I pray God to blesse you and prosper you in all your proceedings. Resting still

Bell-sound the fifth of
Iuly. 1619.

Your assured friend to command
ROBERT SALMON Iunior.

A Letter of I. CATCHER to Master HELEY from *Faire-hauen. Laus Deo*, this seuenteenth of Iune 1620.

LOuing Brother, with my best loue I salute you, wishing you better then we at this time, to haue good store of Whales to make for you and vs a Voyage, for we haue seene small store of Whales, but haue killed none as yet. In the Flemish harbour there is three Flemings great shippes, whereof is one Statesman of Warre, who haue set to Sea eighteene shallops with three Biscaners in euerie shallop; and in our harbour two of the Kings of Denmarkes ships, who haue set to Sea seauen shallops with three Biscainers in euerie shallop: the Hollanders haue killed one Whale, and found one Whale of the last yeares killing. I thought good to send to you the sooner, because we hope you haue good store of Whales, that you may send for vs to you, which I pray God you may, for we are in great doubt, but our hope is, if that you are not yet prouided to send for vs, we haue a great time to stay in this Countrie, in which time, it may so please God, that we may here make a Voyage. For our selues, one of our men is dead, and one other sicke, so that wee haue but one and fiftie men, which is too little as you know, therefore if you can spare vs three men, they will stand vs in good stead: if our Voyage commeth in, there is to the Northward good store of Ice, which putteth vs in good comfort that we shall haue Whales: the Danes doe report that there is two shippes to come from Denmarke to our harbour, but as yet are not come. I pray you commend vs to Master Wilkinson, Master Greene, Master Hedlam, Master Cleyborne, Master Alpho, and all the rest of our good friends. Humfrey Moore is very sicke, so that we shall want a Harponiere. I know not what to write more to you, for with griefe I write this. Thus kindely taking my leaue, beseeching God to blesse vs, and send vs a good Voyage, with a merry meeting, I rest

Your louing brother to vse
IOHN CATCHER.

A Letter of ROBERT SALMON from Sir THOMAS SMITHS Bay, Iuly 6. 1621.

LOuing friend Master Heley, with my loue I salute you, &c. These are to certifie you, that vpon the fifteenth of the last, we arriued at Sir Thomas Smiths vnfortunate Bay: since which time we haue killed sixe Whales, which are almost reduced into Oyle, being some seuentie tunnes or somewhat more; so within a day or two we may goe sleepe, for I feare we haue our portion of Whales in this place: wee haue not seene a Whale this foureteene dayes, and faire weather is as scarse as the Whales, for ten daies together nothing but blow, sometime Southerly and sometime Northerly: I doe verily perswade my selfe that God

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God is much diſpleaſed for the blood which was loſt in this place, and I feare a perpetuall curſe ſtill to remaine yet; God I know is all-ſufficient, and may, if it pleaſe him, ſend a Voyage in this place. Newes from Faire-hauen *I can write you none, for as yet we haue not heard from him: the reaſon thereof I cannot conceiue; I feare his Shallop is miſcarried, for certainely elſe we ſhould haue heard from him ere this, or ſome other cauſe there is: I pray God it be not ſo. I pray commend me to Maſter* Iohn Hedlam, *and tell him that the Maſter and Pilot doe ſet both their horſe together, being very great friends: alſo I pray commend me to my Coſen* William Driuer *and Maſter* Wilkinſon, *wiſhing them all happineſſe. I am in good hope that you haue done ſome good vpon the Whale, not doubting but you will haue ſufficient for your ſelues and to helpe your neighbours, the which I deſire may be. Other newes I haue none to write you. So deſiring God to bleſſe you in your proceedings in this your Voyage, I take my leaue: Reſting*

Your louing friend to command
ROBERT SALMON *Iun.*

Nine Ships were imployed *Anno* 1622. of which one for Diſcouerie. Their diſaſtrous ſucceſſe you may reade before, page 469. The laſt Fleete *Anno* 1623. was ſet forth by the former Aduenturers, vnder the command of Captaine *William Goodlard*, *William Heley* being Vice-admirall. Of the ſucceſſe thereof you may read the Letters following.

Laus Deo in Faire-Hauen, the foure and twentieth of Iune, 1623.

MAſter Heley, *your health wiſhed, as alſo a happy accompliſhment of your pretended Voyage deſired. I had written you according to order, of all matters happening ſince our arriuall, had not contrarie windes and weather preuented, and therefore haue taken the firſt opportunitie offering at preſent.*

Wee arriued at our harbour with both our Ships in ſafetie vpon the third of this preſent, bleſſed be God, finding the yeare paſt to haue beene a verie hard ſeaſon, in regard of the great quantitie of Snow and Ice, but yet not very offenſiue to vs in reſpect of our good harbour. Touching our proceeding vpon our Voyage, by the eight of this preſent we had killed thirteene Whales, and then were all our Shallops conſtrained in, by reaſon of foule weather, till the fifteenth, dicto, *and vpon the fifteenth we killed two more, which being all boyled but the heads, and then eſtimated will hardly make paſt eightie Tunnes, which is a very ſmall quantitie. The weather continued bad till the twentie two,* dicto, *and vpon the three and twentieth we killed three more, which by probabilitie will make neere fortie Tunnes. And thus wee doubt not but by degrees we ſhall accompliſh our Voyage, by the grace of God.*

As touching our order for the Flemmings, *wee went as yeſterday aboord them, ſuppoſing that wee ſhould haue found the* Danes *there, but they are not as yet arriued, but wee found there fiue ſailes of* Flemmings, *the* Admirall *fiue hundred Tunnes, the* Vice-admirall *of the ſame burthen, the other three neere two hundred each Ship, hauing alſo fiftie or ſixtie perſons amongſt them, hauing foure and twentie Shallops belonging to their fiue Ships, and are building Houſes and Tabernacles to inhabit, for they make new and ſubſtantiall: alſo they told vs, they expected one or two Ships more euerie day: after ſome time we had conference concerning the order giuen vs with the Generall* Cornelius Ice, *and declared vnto him that the time granted them to fiſh vpon King* Iames *his* New Land *was expired, and thereupon his Maieſtie hath granted to our Principals a Commiſſion vnder the broad Seale of* England *for the depreſſing of any Interloper or* Flemming *whatſoeuer that we ſhall meete withall vpon this Coaſt; yet notwithſtanding it pleaſed our Principals to appoint vs to goe aboord them, and in a louing manner to informe them hereof, which if you will condeſcend vnto and deſiſt fiſhing, you ſhall manifeſt your ſelues friends to our Principals; if otherwiſe, you ſhall cauſe them to compell by force; who had rather perſwade by loue. Vnto which he anſwered, that he heard of no ſuch matter in* Holland, *for if there were, it ſhould be certified by writing: to which we anſwered, that Sir* Nowel Carroon *their Agent was not ignorant of it, who ſhould giue information: and ſaith he, I haue a Commiſſion from the Prince of* Orange, *for the making of my Voyage vpon this Coaſt, which was procured by my Merchants for my defence: and this is that could be gotten by words from him.*

Alſo at our firſt arriuall, there rode two Biskie ſhippes with the Flemmings, *but within a day or two they waied and ſtood for the Southward: but inquired of the* Flemmings *what port they were bound for, they anſwered, for the North Cape; but Maſter* Maſon *is perſwaded they are at* Greene-harbour: *to which purpoſe I wrote to Maſter* Catcher, *that he giues order to his ſhallop that goes to* Bel-ſound, *to ſtand in for the harbour, to giue the Captaine true information. And ſo for preſent I reſt, intreating you to remember me to Maſter* Salmon *and Maſter* Iohn Hadland: *and thus contracting my ſailes, leſt the winde of my words carrie me into the Ocean of diſcourſe, here I anchor: reſting*

Your friend
NATHANIEL FANNE.
Maſter

Master CATCHERS Letter the nine and twentieth of Iune, 1623.

BRother Heley, with my best loue I salute you, wishing your health with a prosperous Voyage, &c. Since our departure, we haue had much foule weather and troubled with Ice before we could get into harbour, and after we came into harbour, we neuer let fall anchor, by reason of the Ice, till the sixteenth of this month, in which time we killed sixe Whales at the Fore-land, which made but eighteene Tuns and a halfe; and since we haue killed sixe Whales more, which I hope will make in all vpwards of eighteene Tunnes. We haue fit nine Shallops verie well, and I thanke God not one of our Men faileth, saue one that was shot accidentally with a Musket. I hope some of the Southerne harbours will supply our wants, if there be any, which I feare there will: our harbour, manie say still, is vnpossible to make a Voyage, by reason that the Flemmings shed blond there, which I pray God to take that plague from vs. For Faire-hauen, I doubt not but that you shall heare by the Letters sent you of the proceedings; but Master Sherwin writ, that there is fiue Flemmings of fiue hundred Tunnes a peece: there was also two Biscainers which the English nor Flemmings would suffer to fish: therefore they departed, and said they would goe for the North Cape; but I thinke they are in Greene-harbour, or gone to the Eastward; which if they be in Greene-harbour, our Shallop going to Bel-sound shall touch there to see, and so certifie the Captaine, and know his will what he would haue done in it: I hold it not fit that they should harbour there. There are no Danes in the Countrie as yet, &c.

Captaine WILLIAM GOODLARDS Letter: *Bell-sound* this eight of Iuly, 1623.

LOuing friend Master Heley, I kindely salute you, wishing health to you with the rest of your companie, praising the Lord for your good successe in your fishing. To certifie you of our proceedings; wee haue killed here in Bel-sound three and thirtie Whales, and lost manie more by Irons broken, yet I hope sufficient to fill our ships: we haue boiled a hundred and eightie Tunnes, of which a hundred and sixtie aboord our Ship, and make account sixtie tunnes more will fill our hould. Our Whales here proue verie watrish and leane, which maketh bad Oyle, and hindereth vs much in boyling. This present day our shallop came from the Fore-land, at which time they had killed fifteene Whales verie small, and are verie doubtfull of a Voyage there: if God sendeth fish into this harbour, I will not spare till I haue killed sufficient to fill all our Casks, to leaue for them if there be occasion. The foure and twentieth of Iune, there was killed at Faire-hauen eighteene Whales, which proue verie small to yeelde by their estimation one hundred and twentie tunnes: hauing there fiue Flemmings well fortified, and ships of fiue hundred Tuns some of them, and two more expected thither euerie day, which I feare will hinder much our shippes in their fishing this yeare, and in my iudgement not to be remoued from thence, for they hauing a Commission from the States to fish vpon this Coast; were our whole Fleete there, and could put them away, yet would they flie to one of our Southerne harbours, and so should we spend our time in following of them, and lose our Voyage, &c. There were two French Ships of Saint Iohn de Luz at Faire-Hauen, which were put away by the Flemmings and our Ships, which they iudge are gone for the Cape. Flemmings.

With a heauie heart I write you the lamentable accident which happened here the eight and twentieth of Iune, our shallops all out in chase, and my selfe asleepe; my brother hauing a shallop lying by the ships side, spide a Whale going into the Ice Bay, followed him and strucke him, and his rope being new ranne out with kinckes, which ouerthrew his shallop, where he lost his life with my Boy Bredrake, being as we thinke carried away with the rope (the deerest Whale to me that euer was strucke in this harbour) there was neuer anie losse, I thinke, went so neere my heart, &c. Peter Godford drowned.

Many other Letters I could haue added, but doubt I haue already wearied you with this vncouth Coast, whereto our *English* Neptunes are now so wonted, that there they haue found not onely Venison, but *Pernassus* and *Helicon*; and haue melted a *Musean* Fountain out of the *Greenland* Snowes and Icie Rockes. Whole Elaborate Poems haue I seene of Master *Heley*, as also of *Iames Presson*, there composed: but we haue harsher Discoueries in hand, to which wee are now shipping you. This I thought good at our parting to aduertise thee, that Master *Heley* hath affirmed to me touching the diuersitie of weather in *Greenland*; that one day, it hath beene so cold (the winde blowing out of some quarter) that they could scarse handle the frozen sailes: another day so hot, that the pitch melted off the ship, so that hardly they could keepe their cloathes from pollution: yea, he hath seene at midnight Tobacco lighted or fired by the Sunne-beames with a Glasse. Likewise for a farewell to our Whale-storie, I thought good to deliuer Stowes relation touching a Whale somewhat differing in forme from those here vsually found in Greenland: my selfe also hauing spoken with some diligent viewers thereof in Thanet where it was taken Iulie 9. 1574. shooting himselfe on shore besides Rammesgate in the Parish of Saint Peter, and there dying forsaken of his Ocean parent. Hee came on shoare about sixe of the clocke at night, and died about sixe the next morning, before which time he roared and Cold and heate strangely variable. Tobacco lighted by the Sun at midnight.

and was heard more then a mile on the land. The length was two and twentie yards, the nether iaw twelue foote in the opening: one of his eyes (which in the Greene-land *Whale, is verie ſmall, not much greater then the eye of an Oxe) being taken out of his head, was more then ſixe Horſes in a Cart could draw; a man ſtood vpright in the place whence the eye was taken. The thickneſſe from the backe whereon he lay, to his bellie, which was vpwards, was fourteene foote; his taile of the ſame breadth: three men ſtood vpright in his mouth: betwixt his eyes twelue foote: ſome of the ribs ſixteene foote long: the tongue fifteene foote long: his liuer two Cart load: into his noſtrils anie man might haue crept: the Oyle of his head Spermaceti, &c.*

CHAP. IX.

The late changes and manifold alterations in Ruſſia *ſince* IVAN VASILOWICH *to this preſent, gathered out of many Letters and Obſeruations of* Engliſh *Embaſſadors and other Trauellers in theſe parts.*

§. I.

Of the reigne of IVAN, PHEODORE *his ſonne; and of* BORIS.

Gods mercy to *England* whiles warres haue infeſted the reſt of the World.

READER, I here preſent thee not what I would of *Ruſſian* affaires, but what I could. We *Engliſhmen* vnder the gouernment of his Maieſtie, haue enioyed ſuch a Sunſhine of peace, that our Summers day to many hath beene tedious; they haue loathed their *Manna, and longed* for I know not what *Egyptian fleſh pots*. For what elſe are Warres but *pots* ſet ouer the fire of Anger (how often of Furie, yea of *Hell*, the Furies or Deuils blowing the coales) and boyling *mans fleſh*? whole Families, Villages, Townes, Cities, Shires, Prouinces, not onely hurried thereby in confuſions of State, harried and enflamed with combuſtions of goods and goodneſſe, but the fleſh of Men, Women, and Children, but chered and as it were boyled beyond the manifold ſhapes of Death, vnto the bones, into the Vapors, Froth, Scumme, Chaos, nothing and leſſe then nothing of Humanitie! Such is the inhumanitie, the immanitie, the manitie of Warres! And ſuch Warres haue made impreſſions into all our Neighbour Countries (whiles wee ſit vnder the ſhadow of *Beati Pacifici*) haue lightened on *Turkie* and blaſted the *Seraglio*; haue thunder-ſtricken *Barbarie*, haue torne the *Atlas* there, and rent the *Griſon* Alpes in *Europe*; haue ſhaken *France* with earthquakes; haue rayſed *Belgian* ſtormes, *Bohemian* broyles, *Hungarian* guſts, *Germanian* whirlewinds (theſe ſelfe-diuided in Ciuill, that is, the vileſt, vnciuilleſt maſſacres and worſt of Warres) that I mention not the inundations and exundations of *Poland*; the Snowes and Miſts of *Sweden*, the *Daniſh* Hailes and Froſts. But all theſe and more then all theſe Tempeſts, Turnado's, Tuſſons haue combined in *Ruſſia*, and there made their *Hell-mouth centre*, there pitching the Tents of Deſtruction, there erecting the Thrones of Deſolation.

A. Thuan. hiſtor. l. 135.

Peſtilence and Famine had gone two yeeres before as direful Heralds, to denounce theſe dreadfull warres and mutations of State: the Peſtilence poſſeſſing the Northerne parts of the World, and diſpoſſeſſing it of many many thouſands: the Famine in *Ruſſia* wanting neceſſaries to eate, neceſſarily deuoured all things, not onely Cats, Mice, and impure Creatures, but mens fleſh alſo, and that in neereſt neceſſitude, Parents reuoking to their wombes by vnnaturall paſſage the deareſt pledges of Nature, which hauing euen now dyed with hunger, were made preſeruatiues from like death to thoſe which firſt had giuen them life. The Mightier made ſale of the Poorer, yea, Fathers and Mothers of their Sonnes and Daughters, and Husbands of their Wiues, that price might bee had to buy Corne, which was now beyond all names of whatſoeuer price credible. But theſe things muſt be further ſearched.

Bloudineſſe is a ſlipperie foundation of Greatneſſe, and the *Mercifull* haue the promiſe to *finde mercy*: other wiſedome (how euer ſeeming politike) is *earthly, ſenſuall, deuilliſh*; yea, ruine to the foole-wiſe Conſultors, as appeareth in *Pharaohs working wiſely*, that is, cruelly, to preuent the multiplying *Iſraelites*. The greateſt of Creatures on Sea and Land, the Elephant and Whale, liue on graſſe, weeds, and ſimpler diet, not on rapine and fleſh or fiſh-deuouring prey: Thunders and all tempeſtuous ſtormes trouble not the higher aiery Regions, but the lower and thoſe next the baſer earthy dregs, the ſediment and ſinke of the World: nor doth ancient Philoſophie reckon Comets other then Meteors, or falling Starres to be Starres indeed, but excludes both from the heauenly Sphæres. Had *Alexander* followed this rule, and ſought Greatneſſe in Goodneſſe (like him which is *Optimus Maximus*, the Great God, the great Good of the World) and in himſelfe

Iam. 3.

Exod. 1.

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ſelfe rather then others, in being Maſter of himſelfe then Lord of large Territories; he neither had ſighed after the conqueſts of other Worlds which *Fooloſophie* had created, before he had ſeene the tenth part of this; nor had dyed by poyſon in a forraine Countrie, forced to content himſelfe with poſſeſſing, nay, being poſſeſſed of a few feet of earth: then had he beene in very deed (now but in Title) GREAT *Alexander*. Great Goodneſſe is the true and good Greatneſſe.

I know not how fit a Preface this may ſeeme to the enſuing *Ruſſian* Relation; this I am ſure, that they which write of *Iuan Vaſilowich*, the Great Great *Muſcouite*, doe lay heauie aſperſions on his Father and Grand-father, but on himſelfe ſuperſuperlatiues of crueltie (that I mention not other vices) both for Matter and Forme. Theſe things are deliuered particularly in the Hiſtories of *Alexander Gwagninus*, *Tilmannus Bredenbachius*, *Paulus Oderbornius*, *Reinoldus Heidenſten* and others, in large Tractates written thereof purpoſely. His merits of the *Engliſh* might procure a ſilence of his euils (wee of all men being in regard of reſpect to our Nation vnworthy to ſpeake, that which hee, if thoſe Authours haue not beene malicious, was worthy to heare) if ſo dreadfull effects did not force an Hiſtorian (that is, the Regiſter of the execution of Acts of Gods bountie and iuſtice decreed in the Court of Diuine Prouidence) to looke to the direfull Cauſe in foregoing ſinnes, that after Ages may heare and feare.

I will touch a few of thoſe which *Gwagninus* alone relates. His owne brother being accuſed *An.* 1570. by *Wiſkonati*, is ſaid without leaue granted to cleare himſelfe, to bee put to exquiſite tortures firſt, and after to death; his wife ſtripped and ſet naked to the eyes of all, and then by one on horſe-backe drawne with a rope into the Riuer and drowned. *Ioan Pietrowich*, a man of principall command, accuſed of treaſon, preſenting himſelfe to him, not admitted to make any purgation, was ſet in Princely accoutrements on a Throne, the Emperour ſtanding bare-headed before him and bowing to him, but ſoone after with a knife thruſting him to the heart, the Attendants adding other Furies till his bowels fell out; his body dragged forth, his ſeruants ſlaine, three hundred others in his Caſtle executed, his *Boiarens* all gathered into one houſe and blowne vp with poulder; their Wiues and Daughters rauiſhed before his face by his followers, and then cut in pieces, and no liuing thing left in their houſes or grounds; the husbandmens wiues ſtripped naked as they were borne and driuen into a Wood, where were Executioners purpoſely ſet to giue them their fatall entertainment. His Chancellor *Dubrowſti* ſitting at table with his two Sonnes, were alſo vpon accuſation without anſwere cut in pieces, and the third ſonne quartered aliue with foure wheeles, each drawne a diuers way by fifteene men. *Mieſſoiedowſchly*, ſupreme Notarie, diſpleaſing him, his wife was taken from him, and after ſome weeks detayning was with her hand-maid hanged ouer her husbands doore, and ſo continued a fortnight, he being driuen to goe in and out by her all that time. Another Notaries wife was rauiſhed and then ſent home and hanged ouer her husbands table, whereat he was forced daily to eate. In trauelling if he met any woman whoſe husband he liked not, he cauſed her to ſtand with her nakednesſe diſcloſed till all his retinue were paſſed. Cutting out tongues, cutting off hands and feet of his complayning Subiects, and other diuerſified tortures I omit; as alſo the guarding his father in lawes doores with Beares tyed there, that none might goe in or out, hanging his ſeruants at his doores, torturing him for treaſure; caſting hundreds of men * at once into the water vnder the Ice; two thouſand ſeuen hundred and ſeuentie thus and by other tortures executed at *Nouogrod An.* 1569. beſides women, and the poorer perſons which Famine forced, did eate the bodies of the ſlaine, and were after ſlaine themſelues; the Archbiſhop alſo ſet on a Mare with his feet tyed vnder the belly, and made to play on Bag-pipes thorow the Cities; the Monks ſpoyled and ſlaine; *Theodore Sirceuij*, the Founder of twelue Monaſteries, tortured to ſhew his treaſure and then ſlaine: *Wiazinsky* his Secretarie, by many dayes renewed tortures dying; hee recreating himſelfe with letting Beares looſe in throngs of people; *Iohn Michalowich Wiskewan* the Chancellor, his eares, lips, and other members one after another cut off * by piece-meale, notwithſtanding all proteſtations of his innocency; aboue two hundred other Nobles at the ſame time variouſly executed, one his Treaſurer, two other Secretaries; the Treaſurers wife ſet on a rope and forcibly dragged to and fro thereon (by that torturing her naked fleſh, to learne her husbands treaſures) whereof ſoone after ſhee dyed in a Monaſterie, into which ſhee was thruſt. All theſe are but a little of that which *Gwagninus* alone hath written. A taſte and touch is too much of bloud, and in ſuch immanities. He is alſo ſaid in a famine to haue gathered many people, in expectation of almes, on a bridge, and there guarded the bridge being cut to drowne them, as the readieſt way for cheapneſſe of corne. But I lothe ſuch crudities. His laſt crueltie was on himſelfe, dying with griefe, as was thought, for the death of his eldeſt ſonne *Iuan*, whom falſly accuſed he ſtruck with a ſtaffe wrought with Iron, whereof he dyed in few dayes after. Hee was a man accuſed for communicating in diſpoſition with his father, and as a ioyfull Spectator of his tragicall executions.

Al. Gwagnini deſcript. Moſc. George brother to the Emperor done to death. Hee addes principal Nobles, here omitted.

* 700. women at one time; 378. priſoners at another, 500. Matrons and Virgins of noble bloud expoſed to be rauiſhed by the *Tartars* in his ſight at another time &c.

* A Secretarie cutting off his priuities, he died preſently; which the Emperour conſtruing to be done purpoſely, cauſed him there inſtantly to eate what he had cut off.

But if any delight to reade the terrible and bloudie Acts of *Iuan Baſilowich*, he may glut, if not drowne himſelfe in bloud, in that Hiſtorie which *Paul Oderborne* hath written of his life, and both there and in others take view of other his vniuſt Acts. I will not depoſe for their truth, though I cannot diſproue it: aduerſaries perhaps make the worſt. For my ſelfe I liſt not to rake ſinkes,

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ſinkes againſt him, and would ſpeake in his defence, if I found not an vniuerſall conſpiracy of all Hiſtorie and Reports againſt him. I honour his other good parts, his wit, his learning (perhaps better then almoſt any other *Ruſſe* in his time) his exemplarie ſeuerity on vniuſt Magiſtrates, his Martiall skill, induſtrie, fortune, wherby he ſubdued the Kingdoms of *Caſan* and *Aſtracan* (which alſo the *Turke* ſending from *Conſtantinople* an Armie of three hundred thouſand to diſpoſſeſſe him of, *A.* 1569. beſides his hopes and helpes from the *Tartars*, few returned to tell their diſaſters, and the deſtructions of their fellowes) beſides what hee got in *Siberia* and from the *Pole*, *Sweden*, *Pruſsian*, extending his Conqueſts Eaſt, Weſt, North, and South: yea, his memorie is ſauourie ſtill to the *Ruſſians*, which (either of their ſeruile diſpoſition needing ſuch a bridle and whip, or for his long and proſperous reigne, or out of diſtaſte of later tragedies) hold him in little leſſe reputation (as ſome haue out of their experience inſtructed me) then a Saint.

His loue to our Nation is magnified hy our Countrimen with all thankfulneſſe, whoſe gaines there begun by him, haue made them alſo in ſome ſort ſeeme to turne *Ruſſe* (in I know what loues or feares, as if they were ſtill ſhut vp in *Ruſſia*, & to conceale whatſoeuer they know of *Ruſsian* occurrents) that I haue ſuſtayned no ſmall torture with great paines of body, vexation of minde, and triall of potent interceding friends to get but neglect and ſilence from ſome, yea almoſt contempt and ſcorne. They alledge their thankfulneſſe for benefits receiued from that Nation, and their feare of the *Dutch*, readie to take aduantage thereof, and by calumniations from hence to interuert their Trade. This for loue to my Nation I haue inſerted againſt any Cauillers of our *Ruſſe* Merchants: though I muſt needs profeſſe that I diſtaſte, and almoſt deteſt that (call it what you will) of Merchants to neglect Gods glorie in his prouidence, and the Worlds inſtruction from their knowledge; who while they will conceale the *Ruſſians* Faults, will tell nothing of their Facts; and whiles they will be ſilent in myſteries of State, will reueale nothing of the hiſtories of Fact, and that in ſo perplexed, diuerſified chances and changes as ſeldome the World hath in ſo ſhort a ſpace ſeene on one Scene. Whiles therefore they which ſeeme to know moſt, will in theſe *Ruſſian* Relations helpe me little or nothing (except to labour and fruſtrated hopes) I haue (beſides much conference with eye witneſſes) made bold with others in ſuch books as in diuers languages I haue read, and in ſuch Letters and written Tractates as I could procure of my friends, or found with Maſter *Hakluyt* (as in other parts of our ſtorie) not ſeeking any whit to diſgrace that Nation or their Princes, but onely deſiring that truth of things done may bee knowne, and ſuch memorable alterations may not paſſe as a dreame, or bee buried with the Doers. Sir *Ierome Horſey* ſhall leade you from *Iuans* Graue to *Pheodores* Coronation.

The moſt ſolemne and magnificent coronation of PHEODOR IVANOVVICH, *Emperour of* Ruſſia, *&c. the tenth of Iune, in the yeare* 1584. *ſeene and obſerued by Maſter* IEROM HORSEY *Gentleman, and ſeruant to her Maieſtie.*

* Or *Theodor*

Sir *Ierom Horſey.*

The death of *Iuan Vaſilowich* 1584. April 18.

WHen the old Emperor *Iuan Vaſilowich* died (being about the eighteenth of April, 1584. after our computation) in the Citie of *Moſco*, hauing raigned fiftie foure yeares, there was ſome tumult & vprore among ſome of the Nobilitie and Comminaltie, which notwithſtanding was quickly pacified. Immediately the ſame night, the Prince *Boris Pheodorowich Godonoua*, *Knez Iuon Pheodorowich*, *Meſthis Slaſiky*, *Knez Iuan Petrowich Sutky*, *Mekita Romanowich* and *Bodan Iaculewich Belskoy*, being all noble men, and chiefeſt in the Emperours Will, eſpecially the Lord *Boris*, whom he adopted as his third ſon, and was brother to the Empreſſe, who was a man very well liked of all eſtates, as no leſſe worthy for his valour and wiſedome: all theſe were appointed to diſpoſe, and ſettle his Sonne *Pheodor Iuanowich*, hauing one ſworne another, and all the Nobilitie and Officers whoſoeuer. In the morning the dead Emperour was laid into the Church of *Michael* the *Archangell*, into a hewen Sepulchre, very richly decked with Veſtures fit for ſuch a purpoſe: and preſent Proclamation was made (Emperour *Pheodor Iuanowich* of all *Ruſſia*, &c.) Throughout all the Citie of *Moſco* was great watch and ward, with Souldiors, and Gunners, good orders eſtabliſhed, and Officers placed to ſubdue the tumulters, and maintaine quietneſſe: to ſee what ſpeede and policie was in this caſe vſed, was a thing worth the beholding. This being done in *Moſco*, great men of birth and accompt were alſo preſently ſent to the bordering Townes, as *Smolenske*, *Vobske*, *Kaſan*, *Nouogorod*, &c. with freſh garriſon, and the old ſent vp. As vpon the fourth of May a Parliament was held, wherein were aſſembled the Metropolitane, Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Priors, and chiefe Clergie men, and all the Nobility whatſoeuer: where many matters were determined not pertinent to my purpoſe, yet all tended to a new reformation in the gouernement: but eſpecially the terme, and time was agreed vpon for the ſolemnizing of the new Emperours coronation. In the meane time the Empreſſe, wife to the old Emperour, was with her childe the Emperours ſon, *Charlewich Demetrie Iuanowich*, of one yeares age or there abouts, ſent with her Father *Pheodor Pheodorowich Nagey*, and that kindred, being

Lord *Boris* adopted as the Emperors third ſonne.

fiue

fiue brothers, to a towne called *Ouglets*, which was giuen vnto her, and the yong Prince her sonne, with all the Lands belonging to it in the shire, with officers of all sorts appointed, hauing allowance of apparell, iewels, diet, horse, &c. in ample manner belonging to the estate of a Princesse. The time of mourning after their vse being expired, called *Sorathyn*, or fortie orderly dayes, the day of the solemnizing of this coronation, with great preparations, was come, being vpon the tenth day of Iune, 1584. and that day then Sunday, he being of the age of twenty fiue years: at which time, Master *Ierom Horsey* was orderly sent for, and placed in a fit roome to see all the solemnity. The Emperour comming out of his Pallace, there went before him the Metropolitane, Archbishops, Bishops, and chiefest Monkes, and Clergie men, with very rich Coapes and Priests garments vpon them, carrying pictures of our Lady, &c. with the Emperors Angell, banners, censers, and many other such ceremonious things, singing all the way. The Emperour with his nobility in order entred the Church named *Blaneshina* or *Blessednes*, where prayers and seruice were vsed, according to the manner of their Church: that done, they went thence to the Church called *Michael* the Archangell, and there also vsed the like prayers, and seruice: and from thence to our Lady Church, *Prechista*, being their Cathedrall Church. In the middest thereof was a chaire of maiestie placed, wherein his Ancestors vsed to sit at such extraordinary times: his roabes were then changed, and most rich and vnualuable garments put on him: being placed in this Princely seate, his nobilitie standing round about him in their degrees, his imperiall Crowne was set vpon his head by the Metropolitane, his Scepter globe in his right hand, his sword of Iustice in his left of great riches: his six crowns also, by which he holdeth his Kingdomes were set before him, and the Lord *Boris Theodorowich* was placed at his right hand: then the Metropolitan read openly a booke of a small volume, with exhortations to the Emperour to minister true Iustice, to inioy with tranquility the Crowne of his ancestours, which God had giuen him, and vsed these words following:

The day of *Theodor* his coronation.

Through the will of the almightie and without beginning God, which was before this world, whom we glorifie in the Trinitie, one onely God, the Father, the Sonne, and the holy Ghost, maker of all things, worker of all in all euery where, fulfiller of all things, by which will, and working, he both liueth and giueth life to man: that our onely God which enspireth euerie one of vs his onely children with his word to discerne God through our Lord Iesus Christ, and the holy quickning spirit of life, now in these perillous times established vs to keepe the right Scepter, and suffer vs to raigne of our selues to the good profit of the land, to the subduing of the people, together with the enemies, and the maintenance of vertue. And so the Metropolitan blessed and laid his crosse vpon him. After this, he was taken out of his chaire of Maiesty, hauing vpon him an vpper roabe adorned with precious stones of all sorts, orient pearles of great quantity, but alwayes augmented in riches: it was in weight two hundred pounds, the traine and parts thereof borne vp by six Dukes, his chiefe imperiall Crowne vpon his head very precious: his staffe imperiall in his right hand of an Vnicornes horne of three foote and a halfe in length beset with rich stones, bought of Merchants of *Ausburge* by the old Emperour, in *Anno* 1581. and cost him 7000. Markes sterling. This Iewel Master *Horsey* kept sometimes, before the Emperour had it. His Scepter globe was carried before him by the Prince *Boris Theodorowich*: his rich cap beset with rich stones and pearles, was carried before him by a Duke: his sixe Crownes also were carried by *Demetrius Iuanowich Godonoua*, the Emperours vncle, *Mokita Romanowich* the Emperors vncle, *Stephen Vasilwich*, *Gregorie Vasilwich*, *Iuan Vasilwich* brothers of the bloud royall. Thus at last the Emperour came to the great Church-doore, and the people cried, God saue our Emperour *Theodor Iuanowich* of all *Russia*. His Horse was there ready most richly adorned, with a couering of imbrodered pearle and precious stones, saddle, and all furniture agreeable to it, reported to be worth 300000. markes sterling.

There was a bridge made of a hundred & fiftie fadomes in length, three manner of waies, three foot aboue ground, and two fadome broad, for him to goe from one Church to the other with his Princes and nobles from the presse of the people, which were in number infinite, and some at that time pressed to death with the throng. As the Emperor returned out of the Churches, they were spred vnder foot with cloth of Gold, the porches of the Churches with red Veluet, the Bridges with Scarlet, & stammelled cloth from one Church to another: and as soone as the Emperor was passed by, the cloth of gold, veluet and scarlet was cut, & taken of those that could come by it, euery man desirous to haue a piece, to reserue it for a monument: siluer and gold coine, then minted of purpose was cast among the people in great quantitie. The Lord *Boris Theodorowich* was sumptuously and richly attired, with his garments decked with great orient pearle, beset with all sorts of precious stones. In like rich manner were apparelled all the family of the *Godonouaes* in their degrees, with the rest of the Princes and nobilitie, whereof one named *Knez Iuan Michalowich Glynsky*, whose robe, horse and furniture, was in register found worth one hundred thousand markes sterling, being of great antiquitie. The Empresse being in her Palace, was placed in her chaire of Maiesty also before a great open window: most precious and rich were her robes, and shining to behold, with rich stones, and orient Pearles beset, her crowne was placed vpon her head, accompanied with her Princesses, and Ladies of estate: then cried out the people, God preserue our noble Empresse *Irena*. After all this, the Emperour came into the Parliament

house, which was richly decked: there he was placed in his royall seat adorned as before: his sixe crownes were set before him vpon a Table: the Bason and Ewre royall of gold held by his knight of gard, with his men standing two on each side in white apparell of cloth of siluer, called Kindry with scepters and battle-axes of gold in their hands, the Princes and nobility were all placed according to their degrees all in their rich roabes.

The Emperour after a short Oration, permitted euery man in order to kisse his hand: which being done, he remoued to a princely seate prepared for him at the table: where he was serued by his Nobles in very princely order. The three out roomes being very great and large were beset with plate of gold and siluer round, from the ground vp to the vaults one vpon the other: among which plate were many barrels of siluer and gold: this solemnitie and triumph lasted a whole weeke, wherein many royall pastimes were shewed and vsed: after which, the chiefest men of the Nobilitie were elected to their places of office and dignitie, as the Prince *Boris Pheodorowich* was made chiefe Counsellour to the Emperour, Master of the Horse, had the charge of his person, Lieutenant of the Empire, and warlike engins, Gouernor or Lieutenant of the Empire of *Cazan*, and *Astracan*, and others: to this dignitie were by Parliament, and gift of the Emperour giuen him many reuenewes and rich lands, as there was giuen him, and his for euer to inherite a Prouince called *Vaga*, of three hundred *English* miles in length, and two hundred and fiftie in bredth, with many Townes and great Villages populous and wealthy: his yearely Reuenew out of that Prouince, is fiue and thirtie thousand Markes sterling, being not the fifth part of his yeare Reuenue. Further, he and his house be of such authoritie and power, that in forty dayes warning, they are able to bring into the field a hundred thousand Souldiours well furnished.

The conclusion of the Emperours Coronation was a peale of Ordnance, called a Peale royall, two miles without the Citie, being a hundred and seuenty great pieces of brasse of all sorts, as faire as any can be made; these pieces were all discharged with shot against bulwarkes made of purpose; twentie thousand hargubusers standing in eight ranks two miles in length, apparelled all in veluet, coloured silke and stammels, discharged their shot also twise ouer in good order: and so the Emperour accompanied with all his Princes and Nobles, at the least fiftie thousand horse, departed through the Citie to his palace. This royall coronation would aske much time, and many leaues of paper to be described particularly as it was performed: it shall suffice, to vnderstand that the like magnificence was neuer seene in *Russia*.

The Coronation, and other triumphs ended, all the Nobilitie, officers, and Merchants, according to an accustomed order euery one in his place and degree, brought rich presents vnto the Emperour, wishing him long life, and ioy in his kingdome.

The same time also Master *Ierom Horsey* aforesaid, remaining as seruant in *Russia* for the Queens most excellent Maiestie, was called for to the Emperour, as he sate in his Imperiall seat, and the also a famous Merchant of *Netherland* being newly come to *Mosco* (who gaue him selfe out to be the King of *Spaines* subiect) called *Iohn de Wale*, was in like sort called for. Some of the Nobilitie would haue preferred this subiect of the *Spaniard* before Master *Horsey* seruant to the Queen of *England*, whereunto Master *Horsey* would in no case agree, saying, hee would haue his legges cut off by the knees, before hee would yeelde to such an indignitie offered to his Soueraigne the Queenes Maiestie of *England*, to bring the Emperour a present, in course after the King of *Spaines* subiect, or any other whatsoeuer. The Emperour, and the Prince *Boris Pheodorowich* perceiuing the controuersie, sent the Lord Treasurer *Peter Iuanowich Galawyn*, and *Vasili Shalkan*, both of the Counsell, to them, who deliuered the Emperour backe Master *Horseys* speech: whereupon he was first in order (as good reason) admitted and presented the Emperour in the behalfe of the *English* Merchants trading thither, a present, wishing him ioy, and long to raigne in tranquilitie, and so kissed the Emperours hand, he accepting the present with good liking, and auouching, that for his Sisters sake, Queene *Elizabeth* of *England*, he would be a gracious Lord to her Merchants, in as ample manner as euer his Father had beene: and being dismissed, he had the same day sent him, seauentie dishes of sundry kinds of meats, with three carts laden with al sorts of drinks very bountifully. After him was the foresaid subiect of the *Spanish* King admitted with his present, whom the Emperor willed to be no lesse faithfull & seruiceable vnto him, then the Queen of *Englands* subiects were & had been, & then the King of *Spains* subiects shold receiue fauor accordingly.

Iohn de Wale.

All these things thus in order performed, prayses were sung in all the Churches. The Emperour and Empresse very deuoutly resorted on foote to many principal Churches in the Citie, and vpon Trinitie Sunday betooke themselues to a progresse in order of procession, to a famous Monasterie called *Sergius* and the *Trinitie*, sixtie miles distant from the Citie of *Mosco*, accompanied with a huge armie of Noblemen, Gentlemen, and others, mounted vpon goodly Horses with furniture accordingly,

The Empresse of deuotion tooke this iourney on foote all the way, accompanyed with her Princesses and Ladies, no small number: her Guard and Gunners were in number twentie thousand: her chiefe Counsellor or Attendant, was a noble man of the bloud Royall her Vncle of great authoritie, called *Demetri Iuanowich Godonowa*. All this progresse ended, both the Emperour and Empresse returned to *Mosco*: shortly after, the Emperour by the direction of the Prince

Boris

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Boris Pheodorowich, ſent a power into the Land of *Siberia*, where all the rich Sables and Furres are gotten. This power conquered in one yeere and a halfe one thouſand miles. In the performance of this warre, there was taken priſoner the Emperour of the Country, called *Chare Sibersky*, and with him many other Dukes and Noble men, which were brought to *Moſco*, with a guard of Souldiers and Gunners, who were receiued into the Citie in very honourable manner, and doe there remaine to this day.

Chare Sibersky Prince of *Siberia* taken priſoner & brought to *Moſco*.

Hereupon the corrupt Officers, Iudges, Iuſtices, Captaines and Lieutenants through the whole Kingdome were remooued, and more honeſt men ſubſtituted in their places, with expreſſe commandement, vnder ſeuere puniſhment to ſurceaſe their old bribing and extortion which they had vſed in the old Emperours time, and now to execute true iuſtice without reſpect of perſons: and to the end that this might be the better done, their lands and yeerly ſtipends were augmented: the great taskes, cuſtomes, and duties, which were before laid vpon the people in the old Emperours time, were now abated, and ſome wholly remitted, and no puniſhments commanded to be vſed, without ſufficient and due proofe, although the crime were capitall, deſeruing death: many Dukes and Noble men of great Houſes, that were vnder diſpleaſure, and impriſoned twentie yeeres by the old Emperour, were now ſet at libertie and reſtored to their lands: all priſoners were ſet at libertie, and their treſpaſſes forgiuen. In ſumme, a great alteration vniuerſally in the gouernment followed, and yet all was done quietly, ciuilly, peaceably, without trouble to the Prince, or offence to the Subiect: and this bred great aſſurance and honour to the Kingdome, and all was accompliſhed by the wiſedome eſpecially of *Irenia* the Empreſſe.

Theſe things being reported and carried to the eares of the Kings and Princes that were borderers vpon *Ruſſia*, they grew ſo fearfull and terrible to them, that the Monarch of all the *Scythians* called the *Crim Tartar* or great *Can* himſelfe, named *Sophet Keri Alli*, came out of his owne Countrie to the Emperour of *Ruſſia*, accompanied with a great number of his Nobilitie well horſed, although to them that were Chriſtians they ſeemed rude, yet they were perſonable men, and valiant: their comming was gratefull to the Emperour, and their entertainment was honourable: the *Tartar* Prince hauing brought with him his wiues alſo, receiued of the *Ruſſe* Emperour entertainment, and Princely welcome according to their eſtates.

Sophet Keri Alli King of the *Crimsa riuns* at *Moſco*.

Not long after, one thouſand and two hundred *Poliſh* Gentlemen, valiant Souldiers, and proper men came to *Moſco*, offering their ſeruice to the Emperour, who were all entertayned: and in like ſort many *Chirkaſſes*, and people of other Nations came and offered ſeruice. And as ſoone as the report of this new created Emperour was ſpred ouer other Kingdomes of *Europe*, there were ſent to him ſundrie Ambaſſadors, to wiſh him ioy and proſperitie in his Kingdome: thither came Ambaſſadors from the *Turke*, from the *Perſian*, the *Bogharian*, the *Crim*, the *Georgian*, and many other *Tartar* Princes. There came alſo Ambaſſadors from the Emperour of *Almaine*, the *Pole*, the *Swethen*, the *Dane*, &c. And ſince his Coronation no enemie of his hath preuailed in his attempts.

It fell out not long after, that the Emperour was deſirous to ſend a meſſage to the moſt excellent Queene of *England*, for which ſeruice he thought no man fitter then Maſter *Ierome Horſey*, ſuppoſing that one of the Queenes owne men and ſubiects would bee the more acceptable to her. The ſumme of which meſſage was, That the Emperor deſired a continuance of that league, friendſhip, amitie and intercourſe of traffique which was betweene his Father and the Queenes Maieſtie and her Subiects, with other priuate affaires beſides, which are not to bee made common.

The new Emperor *Pheodore Iuanowich* his Letters and Requeſts to the Queene.

Maſter *Horſey* hauing receiued the Letters and Requeſts of the Emperour, prouided for his iourney ouer Land, and departed from *Moſco* the fift day of September, thence vnto *Otuer*, to *Torſhook*, to great *Nouogrod*, to *Vobskie*, and thence to *Nyhouſe* in *Liuonia*, to *Wenden*, and ſo to *Riga*: (where he was beſet, and brought forthwith before a Cardinall, called *Rageuil*, but yet ſuffered to paſſe in the end:) From thence to *Mito*, to *Golden*, and *Libon* in *Curland*, to *Memel*, to *Koningsburgh* in *Pruſsia*, to *Elbing*, to *Dantzike*, to *Stetine* in *Pomerland*, to *Roſtock*, to *Lubeck* to *Hamborough*, to *Breme*, to *Emden*, and by Sea to *London*. Being arriued at her Maieſties Royal Court, and hauing deliuered the Emperours Letters with good fauour, and gracious acceptance, he was forthwith againe commanded to repaſſe into *Ruſſia*, with other Letters from her Maieſtie to the Emperour, and Prince *Boris Pheodorowich*, anſwering the Emperours Letters, and withall requeſting the fauour and friendſhip, which his Father had yeelded to the *Engliſh* Merchants: and hereunto was he earneſtly alſo ſolicited by the Merchants of *London* themſelues of that Companie, to deale in their behalfe. Being thus diſpatched from *London* by Sea, he arriued in *Moſco*, the twentieth of Aprill, 1586. and was very honourably welcommed, and for the Merchants behoofe, obtayned all his Requeſts, being therein ſpecially fauoured by the Noble Prince *Boris Pheodorowich*, who alwayes affected Maſter *Horſey* with ſpeciall liking. And hauing obtayned priuiledges for the Merchants, he was recommended from the Emperour againe, to the Queene of *England* his Miſtreſſe, by whom the Prince *Boris*, in token of his honourable and good opinion of the Queenes Maieſtie, ſent her Highneſſe a Royall preſent of Sables,

Maſter *Horſeys* voyage from *Moſco* to *England* ouer lands

1586.

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Luzarns, cloth of Gold and other rich things. So that the Companie of *English* Merchants, next to their thankfulnesse to her Maiestie, are to account Master *Horseys* paines their speciall benefit, who obtayned for them those priuiledges, which in twentie yeeres before would not be granted.

The manner of Master *Horseys* last dispatch from the Emperour, because it was very honorable, I thought good to record. Hee was freely allowed post-horses for him and his seruants, victuals and all other necessaries for his long iourney: at euery Towne that he came vnto from *Mosco* to *Vologda*, which is by Land fiue hundred miles, he receiued the like free and bountifull allowances, at the Emperours charge. New victuall and prouision were giuen him vpon the Riuer *Dwina* at euery Towne by the Kings Officers, being one thousand miles in length. When he came to the new Castle, called *Archangel*, he was receiued of the Duke *Knez Vasili Andrewich Isumogorodsky* by the Emperours Commission into the Castle, Gunners being set in rankes after their vse, where he was sumptuously feasted: from thence he was dispatched with bountifull prouision and allowance in the Dukes Boat, with one hundred men to rowe him, and one hundred Gunners in other Boats to conduct him, with a Gentleman Captaine of the Gunners. Comming to the Road where the *English*, *Dutch*, and *French* ships rode, the Gunners discharged, and the shippes shot in like manner fortie sixe pieces of their Ordnance, and so hee was brought to his lodging at the *English* house vpon *Rose* Iland.

And, that which was the full and complete conclusion of the fauour of the Emperour and *Boris Pheodorowich* toward Master *Horsey*, there were the next day sent him for his further prouision vpon the Sea by a Gentleman and a Captaine, the things following. Sixteene liue Oxen, seuentie Sheepe, six hundred Hens, fiue and twentie flitches of Bacon, eightie bushels of Meale, six hundred loaues of bread, two thousand Egges, ten Geese, two Cranes, two Swannes, sixtie fiue gallons of Meade, fortie gallons of Aquavitæ, sixtie gallons of Beere, three young Beares, foure Hawkes, store of Onions and Garleeke, ten fresh Salmons, a wilde Boare.

All these things were brought him downe by a Gentleman of the Emperours, and another of Prince *Boris Pheodorowich*, and were receiued in order by *Iohn Frese* seruant to Master *Horsey*, together with an honourable present and reward from the Prince *Boris*, sent him by Master *Francis Cherry* an *English* man: which present was a whole very rich piece of cloth of Gold, and a faire paire of Sables.

Thuan. hist. lib. 120.

Ivan Vasilowich is reported to haue had seauen Wiues, and of them to haue left three children surviuing, *Theodore* or *Pheodore* and *Demetrius* a yongling by his last wife, and a Daughter, which was the wife of L. *Boris* aforesaid, whose sister *Pheodore* had married in his Fathers life time, who would haue caused her diuorse for her barrennesse (as he had caused *Iuan* his eldest sonne diuers times to doe and his refusing it at last, was the occasion of that angry, last, and fatall blow, before mentioned) but being protracted by faire excuses for a time, the diuorse of soule and body in the Father preuented that in the marriage bed of the Sonne. Yet by his Testament he ordained, that if within two yeares she proued not fruitfull, hee should marrie another. The executers vrged this after that terme expired; but *Gerusia* or *Irenia*, so wrought with her husband, that their counsels were frustrate: wherein she was assisted by the politicke wisdome of her brother *Boris*, who was now become chiefe Pilot, though not the Master in that *Russian* ship: and is said formerly to haue been no small doer in those cruel designes of *Iuan* his deceassed Master; yet had he cunningly cast the blame on him now dead, and wisely insinuated into the peoples fauour, by mitigating the seueritie of his Decrees. You haue read before of his great Reuenues and wealth, recorded by eye witnesses. *Thuanus* saith, that three hundred of the *Knazeys* and *Boiarens*, whereof the Senate of the Empire consisted, by aduise of the Executors, had subscribed. *Boris* made the simpler Emperor beleeue, that it was a conspiracie against him: whereupon they were all committed, ten of which (whom he thought his most dangerous aduersaries) were suddainly and priuily executed: to the rest, he procured the Emperours pardon and fauour, seeming very sorrowfull that this clemency had beene so much foreslowed: and that the hastie execution had preuented his officious indeuors for their deliuerance. And that he might seem serious, he got their goods to be restored to their heires: so working himselfe into the good liking of all degrees.

Diuorce vrged

D. Fl. & S. I. H.

Boris his plot.

But soone after, yong *Demetrius* the Emperours brother was slaine, as hee was going to Church betwixt two *Boiarens*, by a mad man (as he seemed) who was thereupon suddenly slaine; but the author which set him on worke, could not be found: whereupon *Boris* was suspected to affect the soueraigntie. *Thuanus* elsewhere telleth, that hee corrupted those which were about *Demetrius*: and the great Bell being rung as is vsuall in cases of fire to bring the people together, *Demetrius* at that noise running forth, some were set in that tumult to kil him, which accordingly was effected, as he was comming downe a Ladder: the rumour whereof, caused the tumultuous people (making no curious search for the doers) to kil those of the Family which they met in their furie, to put the suspition thereof from themselues: which notwithstanding, *Boris* exercised seuerer tortures and terrible executions vpon them, and as one which hartily execrated the fact, burned the fort to expiate the parricide. This place being farre remote * from the Court, whi-

Thuan. hist. lib. 135. sec. *Demetrius* slain some tell that one pretended his coller stood awry, in mending it, cut his throate.

*It was in the Northern parts at *Duglets*.

ther

ther he was thought purposely to haue sent him, could not admit so open euidence of manifold testimony; but that it gaue occasion of other Tragedies, by another supposed *Demetrius*, as shall anon appeare. Meane while, *Boris* could not escape aspersion of the fact past, and suspition of like intended to the present Prince; and therefore was forced to coniure vp his best wits to worke him into better reputation. He did hereof either take occasion, or make occasion by diuers fires in * diuers Cities of the Kingdome, the Houses being of wood, and easily consumed: which losse (made, as some deliuer by his own incendiaries, he seemed much to commiserate, and by affected bountie, repaired those ruines out of the publique Treasure: others say, out of his priuate purse:) thus, not onely raising so many *Phœnixes* out of those ashes; but making deuouring fire, become fuell to his magnificence, and raking reputation out of the flames and cinders: thence erecting a Theatricall scene whereon to acte in popular spectacles, his many parts of care, industry, alacrity, wisedome, power, bounty, and whatsoeuer might fether his nest in the peoples hearts, thus easily stoln and entertained in affection to him, whiles *Theodore* liued, which was not long: he dying in the yeare 1598. on twelfe day, hauing liued thirty sixe yeares, and reigned neere foureteene. His impotency of body and minde, you haue read before in part. *Thuanus* affirmeth, that *Iuan Vasilowich* his Father said, he was fitter to ring Bels in Churches, then to gouerne an Empire; aluding therein to his superexceeding deuotion and most deuout superstition. His death caused a new aspersion on *Boris* as procured, in some mens conceits (and reports) by poyson.

* Some write that he caused diuers places in *Mosco* to be fired, and then afterwards out of his owne cost repaired them.

D. Fleti

Death of *Theodore.*

His dead body was buried with his ancestors, in Saint *Michaels* Temple in the Castle, and Souldiours were presently sent to the borders, to prohibite ingresse or egresse. *Theodores* will was read, and therein *Gernia* (or *Irenia*) his wife, and the Patriarch, entrusted with the administration of the State. Hereupon a generall State assembly was assembled at *Mosco*, and their oathes giuen to the Empresse. After this the Empresse went into a Nunnery, to passe there the fortie dayes destined to publique sorrow: in which time (whether of her owne or with her brothers accord) making shew of vnspeakable sorrow for her deceased Lord, she renounced the world, and transferred the Imperiall gouernment vpon the *Knazeys* and *Boiarens*, which her Husband had bequeathed to her; that they, according to their wisdome, and loue to their Countrie, might take care thereof. This was done by her brothers counsell, to try what the people would doe: who were so moued therewith, that they came thronging to the Nunnerie gates, lamentably imploring her care in so perillous a time, whom onely they were bound to serue. And when she bad them goe to the *Knazeys* and *Boiarens*; they protested against them, saying, they had sworne to her, and would be ordered by L. *Boris*, her brother. Hereupon *Boris Pheodorowich* goeth out to appease their tumult, and vndertaketh for the fortie dayes of mpurning, together with the *Knazeys* and *Boiarens* to administer the Empire. In which time, the Empresse renounced secular cares, and professed her selfe a Nunne; changing her name from *Gernia* to *Alexandrina.*

The Empresse succeedeth.

Russians vse of fortie dayes mourning for an Emperours death.

The Queene turneth Nun.

The time of mourning being past, the people were called into the Castle, and the Chancellour made an Oration, perswading them to sweare obedience to the *Knazeys* and *Boiarens*, which they with out-cryes disclaymed, offering to doe it to the Queene and L. *Boris*. The Councell sitting to consider hereof, the Chancellor came forth againe, and commanded them to sweare to the *Knazeys* and *Boiarens*; the Queene hauing now become a Nunne. Whereupon they all named *Boris* her Brother, as one worthy of the State, to whom they were readie to sweare. Hee being present, rose vp and modestly excused himselfe, protesting his vnwillingnesse and vnworthinesse, and bidding them chuse some other more worthy. And going withall into the Church, they laid in manner forceable hands on him, with loud cryes and lamentations, beseeching him not to forsake them. Whereat he wept and still refused, alleaging his insufficiencie: and to kindle greater desire in the people and Nobles, absented and hid himselfe with his Sister in the Nunnerie the space of a moneth. In which space the people fearing his flight, besieged the place, and with continuall clamours vrged the Queene, to perswade her Brother to accept of the Empire which she had refused. Shee againe sends them to the *Knazeys* and *Boiarens*, the mention of whose names seemed to cast them into a fit of mutinie and sedition. *Boris* then commeth forth and tels them, if they were no quieter, he also would take Sack-cloth, and (as his Sister had done) enter into a Monasterie. They made so much greater stirres, casting out some desperate threats of looking to themselues, where the Common-wealth was desperately neglected. The Queene then wonne by their importunitie perswadeth her brother no longer to resist Gods will, which had put this constancie into the peoples mindes, and to accept that which thus God seemed to command, praying for his blessing therein.

Boris his willing vnwillingnesse.

Boris after new excuses, at last seeming ouercome by his Sisters intreaties, and to haue held out sufficiently to remoue enuie, assenteth to her, and shee signifieth as much to the people, to whom she presents him, praying them to be as loyall to him, as they had beene earnest for him. *Boris* also spake vnto them: *Forasmuch as it seemeth good to the Diuine Grace and Prouidence, whereby all things are gouerned, that by common consent and continuall Prayers intreated, I take on mee the Principalitie ouer you, and all the Prouinces of* Russia, *I will no longer resist, how heauie soeuer I conceiue*

Boris his speech

this

this burthen to my ſhoulders, but haue determined to vndertake your protection with greateſt fidelitie, being readie to ſway the Ruſſian *Scepter and Gouernment, as farre as Gods grace ſhall enable mee. On the other ſide bee you faithfull to mee and to my command, as God may you helpe. I am your moſt gentle King.*

Ioyfull acclamations followed, with all proteſtation of their fidelitie and future obedience. He entring into the Monaſterie, after Prayers, receiued the firſt Benediction. The people returned full of joy, and the Bels (of which are numbred in *Moſco*, three thouſand) reſounded the publike Feſtiuitie. All the Magiſtrates and Officers, & ſuch as receiued Salarie of the King, go preſently to the Monaſterie and carrie Gold, Siluer, Precious Stones, Pearles, Bread, and Salt, (after the ſolemne cuſtome) with wiſhes of long life & al happines, and deſiring to accept in good worth their Preſents. He with thankes rendred, accepts only the Bread and Salt, ſaying, theſe were his; the reſt they ſhould take to themſelues. Then doth hee bid them to a Feaſt, and preſently with *Mary* his Wife, *Theodore* his Sonne of ten yeeres old, and *Arſenica* his Daughter being ſixteene, he goeth out of the Monaſterie with pompeous Proceſſion to the Caſtle. Like Preſents were offered to his Wife and Children, which accepted only the Bread and Salt, remitting the reſt to the Preſenters. When he was comne to the Caſtle, he choſe his Siſters Lodging; for that of the Prince deceaſed, as offenſiue by his death was deſtroyed, and after new built.

Boris Emperor.

His Wife, Son, & Daughter.

After Feſtiuall entertaynment of innumerable people, ſolemne Oath was taken of all the Gouernours; thoſe things being in action till May. Then came newes that the *Crim Tartars* had entred the borders thinking to find all things troubled with an interregne; whereupon he aſſembled an Armie of three hundred thouſand, and went in perſon againſt them. But the *Tartars* hearing how things went, returned home and ſent Embaſſadors to the Emperours Tents. Hee returned with them to *Moſco*, where the next September (which is the beginning of the *Ruſſian* New yeere, which enters in other places with Ianuary following) hee was publikely bleſſed by the Patriarke, carrying a golden Croſſe in his hand, and on the fourteenth of September, before the *Knazeys*, *Boiarens*, Biſhops and other Orders, had the Crowne ſet on his head by the Patriarke, and the Scepter put in his hand, with the Solemnitie in ſuch caſes accuſtomed.

Tartars.

Ruſſian New yeere.

Boris crowned.

Twelue dayes together all Orders were feaſted in the Caſtle, and the Magiſtrates and Officers had a yeeres pay giuen them. Merchants alſo of other Countries had Immunities and Priuiledges granted. The Ruſtickes had their payments to their *Boiarens* reaſonably rated, and their perſons made more free. *Germane* Merchants had moneyes lent them to repay ſeuen yeeres after without Vſurie. Widdowes, and Orphans, and poorer perſons receiued much Almes. *Pheodores* Obſequies were ſolemnely performed, and the Prieſts richly rewarded; and that Empire which ſeemed dead with the death of the houſe of *Beala*, now was as it were reuiued, and receiued a glorious Reſurrection.

Thus haue we deliuered you *Thuanus* his report touching *Boris* manner of acquiring the Empire without publike enuie, and cunning wiping off the aſperſions of *Pheodore* and *Demetrius* their deaths. And as euery bodie is nouriſhed by Aliments correſpondent to the Principles of the Generation, ſo did hee ſeeke by politike wiſdome to eſtabliſh that which by wiſe Policies he had gotten. Wherein his care was not little to multiply Treaſure, and as at firſt hee had ſeemed popularly prodigall, ſo after a ſmall time of his Reigne, hee became prouidently penurious, the wonted allowances of the Court being much ſhortened from that which had beene in former times, as I haue receiued from eye-witneſſes. Likewiſe he was carefull to hold good tearmes with his Neighbouring Princes, and aſwell by plots at home, as by forreigne Aliance indeuoured to ſettle on his Race this new gotten Empire. He is ſaid for this end to haue ſought a Wife for his ſonne out of *England*, and a Husband for his Daughter out of *Denmarke*. His Wife was a woman of haughtie ſpirit, who thought her too good for any *Hollop* (ſo they call a ſlaue, and ſuch ſhe eſteemed all the ſubjects) and on ſuch tearmes ſhe is ſaid to haue beene denied to a great man his beſt Souldier and Commander of his Armie.

His policies.

P. *Baſman.*

But while his Sunne ſhined now in the height of his courſe, and with brighteſt and warmeſt beames of proſperitie, there aroſe groſſe vapours out of *Demetrius* his graue, which grew quickly into a blacke darke cloud, and not only eclipſed that Imperiall glorie, but ſoone engendred a bloudie ſtorme, which with a floud ſwept away that whole Family, and ouer-whelmed alſo the whole Empire. Contraries ſet together cauſe the greater luſtre; for which cauſe I will bring on the ſtage a Gentleman, which attended Sir *Thomas Smith* employed in Honourable Embaſſage from his Maieſtie of Great *Brittaine* to the then flouriſhing Emperor *Boris*, and out of his large Relations deliuer you this which followeth in his owne words (omitting the moſt part * to our purpoſe not ſo pertinent) in the Booke printed, *Anno* 1605.

* Where the cenſorious bitterneſſe alſo ſeemeth too much to inſult on *Boris* his diſaſters.

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§. II.

Occurrents of principall Note which happened in Russia, *in the time while the Honourable Sir* THOMAS SMITH *remayned there Embassador from his Maiestie.*

SIr *Thomas Smith* Knight, accompanied with Sir *T. Challener* and Sir *W. Wray* Knights, diuers Gentlemen and his owne Attendants, repayred to the Court on the tenth of Iune 1604. then lying at *Greenwich*, where by the Right Honourable the Earle of *Salisburie* he was brought to His Majestis presence, kissed his Hand, &c. The next day he tooke leaue of the Prince, and on the twelfth being furnished with his Commission, he came to *Grauesend*, and next morning went aboord the *Iohn* and *Francis* Admirall: and the two and twentieth of July anchored within a mile of the *Archangell*. The sixteenth of September, hee came to *Vologda*: the fiue and twentieth to *Perislawe*, and there staid three dayes, and then departed to *Troites*, (that faire and rich Monasterie) so to *Bratteshoen* and *Rostouckin*, fiue versts from the great Citie of *Musco*. The fourth of October, the *Prestaue* came and declared the Emperours pleasure that hee should come into the *Masco* that forenoone: presently after came Master *I. Mericke* Agent, with some twentie Horses to attend his Lordship, which forth-with was performed. Then we did ride, til we came within a little mile of the many thousands of Noblemen and Gentlemen on both sides the way, attended on horsebacke to receiue his Lordship. Where the Embassadour alighted from his Coach, and mounted on his foot-cloth Horse, and so rode on with his Trumpets sounding. A quarter of a mile farther, met him a proper and gallant Gentleman a-foot of the Emperours stable, who with Cap in hand, declared to the Embassadour, that the Emperour, the young Prince, and the Master of the Horse, had so farre fauoured him, as to send him a Iennet, very gorgeously trapped with Gold, Pearle, and Precious Stone: and particularly, a great Chaine of plated Gold about his necke, to ride vpon. Whereupon the Embassador alighted, imbraced the Gentleman, returned humble thankes to them all, and presently mounted. Then he declared that they likewise had sent horses for the Kings Gentlemen, which likewise were very richly adorned, then for all his followers: which Ceremonie or State performed, and all being horsed, he departed, we riding orderly forward, till wee were met by three great Noblemen, seuered from the rest of the multitude, and the Emperours *Talmache* or Interpreter with them.

They being within speech, thus began that Oration they could neuer well conclude: Which was, That from their Lord and Master the mightie Emperour of *Russia*, &c. they had a message to deliuer his Lordship. The Embassadour then thinking they would be tedious and troublesome with their vsuall Ceremonies, preuented their farther speech with this (to them a *Spell*) *That it was vnfitting for Subiects to hold discourse in that kind of complement, of two such mightie and renowned Potentates on horsebacke.* They (hereby not only put by their Ceremonious Saddle-sitting, but out of their Paper instructions) allighted suddenly, as men fearing they were halfe vnhorsed, and the Embassadour presently after them, comming very courteously all three, saluting the Embassadour and the Kings Gentlemen, taking them by the hands. Thus like a Scholer, too old to learne by rote (the Duke named King *Volladamur Euanywich Mawsolskoy*) with his Lesson before him, declared his message; which was, that he with the other two Noblemen, were sent from the *Great Lord, Emperour and great Duke* Boris Phedorowich, *selfe-vpholder, great Lord Emperour, and great Duke of all* Russia, Volademer, Moskoe *and* Nouogrode, *King of* Casan *and* Astracan, *Lord of* Vobskoe, *great Duke of* Smolenskoe, Tuer, Huder, Vghory, Perme, Viatsky, Bolgory, *&c. Lord and great Duke of* Nouogrod *in the Low Countreyes, of* Chernigo, Reean, Polotskey, Rostoue, Geraslaue, Bealozera, Leifland, Oudorskey, Obdorskey, Condingskey. *King of all* Syberia *and the North Coasts, Commander of the Countreyes of* Iuersky, Gryfinsky, *and Emperour of* Kabardiuskey, *of* Chirkasky, *and of the whole Countrey of* Garskey, *and of many other Countreyes and Kingdomes Lord and Emperour*, to know of his Maiesties health of *England*, the Queene and Princes. The second, being a Captayne of Gunners (the Emperours Guard) named *Kazrine Dauidowich Beaheetchouo*, pronouncing the Emperour and Princes Title, said hee was sent from them to know his Lordships health and vsage, with the Kings Gentlemen. The third, was one of the Secretaries, named *Pheodor Boulteene*, obseruing the former order did deliuer what he had in command from the Emperor, Prince and Empresse, to informe the Embassador of their much fauour towards him, and the Kings Gentlemen, in prouiding for his Honourable entertayne and ease, a faire large house to lodge in: Also that they three were sent from the Emperour, Prince, and Empresse, to be his *Prestaues*, to supply the Emperours goodnesse toward him, to prouide his necessaries, and deliuer any sute it pleased the Ambassadour to make to the Emperour. To all which the Embassadour very wisely gaue answere (as they made report vnto the Emperour.)

Tedious Title.

So we all presently mounted againe, the *Prestaues* on either hand of the Ambassadour his Horse and Foot-cloth being led by his Page, some small distance, his Coach behind that, and some

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some sixe thousand Gallants after behind all: whom the Embassadors riding through the guard, that was made for him, very courteously bowed himselfe. Thus was he followed by thousands, and within the three wals of the Citie, many hundreds of young Noblemen, Gentlemen, and rich Merchants well mounted, begirt the wayes on euery side: diuers on foot also, euen to the gate of the house where the Embassadour was to be lodged, which was some two miles. Whither being come, he was brought into his Bed-chamber by the Noblemen his *Prestaues*, where with many thankes for their honourable paines, they were dismist, betaking themselues to their further affaires. The next morning came three other *Prestaues* with the former, to know of his Lordships health, and how he had rested the night past: withall, that if his Lordship wanted any thing, they all, or any one of them, were as commanded, so readie to obey therein. These, with the Interpreter and sixe Gentlemen were most within the walls, lodged in a house ouer the gate, besides we had fiftie Gunners to attend, and guard vs in our going abroad.

Strange request.

The eight of October being the fourth day after our comming to *Muscu*, the *Prestaues* came to his Lordship to let him vnderstand, they heard he should goe vp the next day: wherefore they desired his speech and Embassage to the Emperour: and the rather, that the Interpreter might (as they pretended) translate it. To this purpose, very earnestly at seuerall times they made demand. The Embassadour answered, that he was sent from a mightie Prince, to bee his Embassadour to their Emperour, and being sent to their Master, he deemed it not only a dishonour to him, but a weaknesse in them, to require that at his hands.

His audience.

The eleuenth of October, his Lordship being sent for by his *Prestaues* there wayting, hauing excellent Iennets for himselfe, the Kings Gentlemen, and good horses for the rest: as likewise two gallant white Palfreis to carrie or draw a rich Chariot, one parcell of the great Present, with his followers and the Emperours guard, carrying the rest: on each side the streets standing the Emperours guard with Peeces in their hands well apparelled, to the number of two thousand by esteeme, many Messengers posting betwixt the Court and our *Prestaues*. Thus with much state, softly riding, till we came vnto the vtmost gate of the Court (hauing passed through the great Castle before) there his Lordship dismounted. Then met him a great Duke (named *Knasa Andriay Metowich Soomederowe*) with certayne Gentlemen, to bring him vp. So in order as we rode, we ascended the staires and a stone Gallerie, where on each side stood many Nobles and Courtiers, in faire Coates of *Persian* Stuffe, Veluet, Damaske, &c. At the entry to the great Chamber, two Counsellors encountred the Embassadour, to conduct him through that Roome, round about which sat many graue and richly apparrelled Personages. Then we entred the Presence, whither being come, and making obeysance, we staid to heare, but not vnderstand, a very gallant Nobleman, named *Peter Basman*, deliuer the Emperours Title: Then the particular of the Presents, and some other Ceremonies: which performed, the Embassadour hauing libertie, deliuered so much of his Embassage, as the time and occasion then affoorded: After which the Emperour arising from his Throne, demanded of the King of *Englands* health, the Princes, and Queenes: then of the Embassadors and the Kings Gentlemen, and how they had beene vsed since they entred within his Dominions: to all which with obeysance wee answered as was meete. Then the young Prince demanded the very same.

P. Basman.

The Embassador hauing taken the Kings Letter of his Gentleman Vsher, went vp after his obeysance to deliuer it, which the Lord Chancellor would haue intercepted. But the Embassadour gaue it to the Emperours owne hands, and his Majestie afterwards deliuered it to the Lord Chancellor: who tooke it, and shewing the superscription to the Emperour and Prince, held it in his hand openly with the Seale towards them. Then the Emperour called the Embassadour to kisse his hand, which he did, as likewise the Princes, and with his face towards them returned. Then did hee call for the Kings Gentlemen to kisse his hand, and the Princes, which they after obeysance made, did accordingly. Afterwards, his Majestie inuited his Lordship, the Kings Gentlemen and the rest to dine with him, as likewise Master *I. Mericke* Agent by name, who gaue his attendance there on the Embassadour, and was now (as diuers times) very graciously vsed of the Emperour and Prince: no stranger (that I euer heard off) like him in all respects.

Emperours glorie.

Being entred the Presence, we might behold the excellent Majestie of a mightie Emperour, seated in a Chaire of Gold, richly embroydered with *Persian* Stuffe: in his right hand hee held a golden Scepter, a Crowne of pure Gold vpon his head, a Coller of rich stones and Pearles about his necke, his outward Garments of Crimson Veluet, embroydered very faire, with Pearles, Precious stones and Gold: On his right side, (on equall height to his Throne) standing a very faire Globe of beaten Gold, on a Pyramis, with a faire Crosse vpon it, vnto which before hee spake, he turned a little and croft himselfe. Nigh that, stood a faire Bason and Ewer, which the Emperour often vseth daily.

Princes splendour.

Close by him in another Throne sat the Prince, in an outward Garment like his Fathers, but not so rich, a high blacke Foxe Cap on his head, worth in those Countreyes fiue hundred pound, a Golden Staffe like a Friers, with the likenesse of a Crosse at the top. On the right hand of the Emperour, stood two gallant Noblemen in cloth of Siluer Garments, high blacke Foxe Cappes, great and long chaines of Gold hanging to their feet, with Pollaxes on their shoulders of Gold.

Pollaxes.

And

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And on the left hand of the Prince two other such, but with Siluer Pollaxes. Round about the benches sat the Councell and Nobilitie, in Golden and *Persian* Coats, and high blacke Foxe Caps, to the number of two hundred, the ground being couered with Cloth of Arrasse, or Tapistrie: The Presents standing all the while in the Roome, within little distance of his Majestie, where he and the Prince often viewed them. Being now by our *Prestaues* and others come for to Dinner, who led vs through much presse and many Chambers to one very faire and rich Roome, where was infinite store of massie Plate of all sorts; Towards the other end stood the Emperours Vncle, named *Stephean Vaselewich Godonone*, Lord High Steward, being attended with many Noblemen and Gentlemen, whom my Lord in his passage saluted, which with an extraordinary countenance of aged Ioy, he receiued, making one of their honourable Nods. The Embassador entred the dining Roome, where we againe viewed the Emperour and Prince, seated vnder two Chaires of State, readie to dine, each hauing a Scull of Pearle on their bare heads, but the Princes was but a Coronet. Also their Vestments were changed.

Counsell and Nobilitie.

Plate.

Dining roome.

The former Duke, that for that day was the Embassadours *Prestaue*, came, as commanded from the Emperor, and placed the Embassador at a Table, on the bench side, some twentie foot from the Emperour. Then the Kings Gentlemen, Master *Merieke*, Master *Edward Cherrie*, and all the rest were placed, so that our eyes were halfe opposite to the Emperour. Ouer against the Embassadour sat his *Prestaues* vppermost. Also in this large place sat the Priuie Counsell, to the number of two hundred Nobles at seuerall Tables. In the midst of this Hall might seeme to stand a great Pillar, round about which, a great heigth stood wonderfull great pieces of Plate, very curiously wrought with all manner of Beasts, Fishes and Fowles, besides some other ordinarie pieces of seruiceable Plate.

Change of Rayment.

Two hundred Nobles guests.

Being thus set (some quarter of an houre as it were, feeding our eyes with that faire Piller of Plate) we beheld the Emperours Table serued by two hundred Noblemen, all in Coats of cloth of Gold. The Princes Table serued with one hundred young Dukes and Princes of *Cassan*, *Astracan*, *Syberia*, *Tartaria*, *Chercasses* and *Russes*, none aboue twentie yeeres old.

Three hundred noble Seruitors.

Then the Emperour sent from his Table by his Noble Seruitors, to my Lord and the Kings Gentlemen, thirtie Dishes of meate, and to each a loafe of extraordinary fine bread. Then followed a great number of strange and rare Dishes, some in Siluer, but most of massie Gold; with boyled, baked, and rosted, being piled vp on one another by halfe dozens. To make you a particular Relation, I should doe the entertaynment wrong, consisting almost of innumerable Dishes: Also, I should ouer-charge my memory, as then I did mine eyes and stomacke, little delighting the Reader, because Garlicke and Onions, must besawce many of my words, as then it did the most part of their Dishes.

Garlike and Onions.

Drinkes.

For our Drinkes, they consisted of many excellent kinds of Meades, besides all sorts of Wine and Beere. Diuers times by name, the Emperor sent vs Dishes: but in the midst of Dinner hee called the Embassadour vp to him, and dranke our Kings health, where the Emperour held some discourse of our King and State. But at one time (striking his hand aduisedly on his brest) *Oh, said hee, my deere Sister Queene Elizabeth*, whom I loued as mine owne heart, expressing this his great affection almost in a weeping passion. The Embassador receiuing the Cup from his Princely hand, returned againe to his owne place, where all of vs standing, dranke the same health out of the same Cup, being of faire Christall, as the Emperour had commanded, the Wine (as farre as my judgement gaue leaue) being Alligant.

Meads.

Memory of Q. *Elizabeth.*

Thus passing some foure houres in banquetting, and refreshing our selues too plentifully, all being taken away, we did arise. The Embassadour and the Kings Gentlemen beeing called by name to receiue from his Emperiall hands, a Cup (or rather as they call it a *Tendouer*) of excellent red Mead, a fauour among them neuer obserued before, which Cups for they were great and the Mead very strong, we often sipped at, but without hurting our memories, we could not say *Amen* vnto: which the Emperour perceiuing, commanded them to be taken away, saying, Hee was best pleased with what was most for our healths.

Thus after our low courtesies performed, wee departed from his presence, riding home with the same former guard and attendance to our Lodings; where our *Prestaues* for that instant left vs, but shortly after they came againe, to accompany a great and gallant Duke, one of them that held the Emperours golden Pollaxes, named *Knes Romana Phedorowich Troya Narone*, who was sent from his Majestie to make the Embassadour and the Kings Gentlemen merrie: likewise hauing instructions to drinke their Emperours, our Kings, and both the Princes healths, and diuers Princes else, which hee did himselfe very freely and some of vs, as many of them as wee could with our owne healths, there being such plentie of Meades and other Drinkes, as might well haue made fortie *Russes* haue stumbled to sleepe. Thus light-headed, and well laded especially if you take knowledge of the thirtie yards of cloth of Gold, and the two standing Cups with couers, which the Embassadour rewarded him withall, before he departed.

Gifts.

But vnwelcome newes within foure dayes after our audience so vnhappily came, as not only our Affaires, but any else, except counsell against present danger, was not regarded. For this was held for currant, that one who named himselfe *Demetrie Eudowich Beala*, as the Sonne of their late

Newes of *Demetrius.*

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late Emperor *Iuan Vaſillowich*; hee that in the reigne of *Pheodor Euanowich* his brother was in his infancie, as was thought, murthered at *Ongleets*) is now reuiued againe, and vp in armes for his right and inheritance: whereupon preſently was ſent an Armie of two hundred thouſand Souldiers, either to take or ſlay him. But he was ſo ſtrengthened with *Poles, Coſſacks*, &c. that a number of *Ruſſes* yeelded to his obedience.

Vpon the one and twentieth of Nouember, the young Prince of an ancient cuſtome going to a Church within *Moſco*, the Kings Gentlemen vpon knowledge thereof (the Ambaſſador being vnwilling to be ſeene publike, as alſo for that the Emperor himſelfe did not goe as hee was accuſtomed) went and attended where his Excellency might ſee them, and they ſafely behold him,
Princes pomp. who rode in a very faire and rich ſled, hauing a gallant Palfrey lead by two Groomes to draw it, many hundreds running before to ſweepe the ſnowe away where he ſhould paſſe, and were ſaid to bee ſlaues, which I verily beleeue, becauſe certainly they were his Subiects. Then came the Prince richly apparelled with two *Tartar* Princes ſtanding before on his ſled, and two young Dukes behind, with two hundred ſleds following him.

The eight of Februarie, the Emperor ſent vs ſleds to ride abroad, and this day the rather, that we might behold a reported victorie, againſt the reputed Rebell *Demetrie*, &c. So we the Kings Gentlemen did behold three hundred poore Priſoners, ſeuenteene Enſignes, and eleuen
Peter Baſman. Drums brought in, with more glorie then victorie. About this time returned *Peter Baſman*, one of the Generals, who had performed very honourable ſeruice, and certainly, he was the man of greateſt hope and expectation in the whole Empire, who was brought into the *Moſco*, with all the Counſell, Nobles, Gentlemen, and Merchants, a grace neuer performed before to any Subiect. But not without ſuſpition of ſome extraordinarie ſecret herein, and beſides particular fauours, bountifull rewards, and a promiſe he ſhould neuer goe againe vntill the Emperor himſelfe went, he was, being but a young man, made a Priuie Counſellor. Forthwith one thing I will you ſhall obſerue the Emperors fauour, and his then noble Spirit, he making diuers times ſute (as was thought) becauſe they were in great danger, to goe againe to the warres, once proſtrated himſelfe to obtayne his deſire, but falling downe too humbly, hee could not eaſily riſe againe, whereby the Emperor vnderſtanding of his many and great wounds, was ſaid to weepe, riſing himſelfe vp to raiſe and helpe him vp, but extraordinarie Cauſes haue the like Effects, as hereafter you ſhall vnderſtand.

We were lodged in the ſame houſe where the young Prince *Iohn* of *Denmarke*, brother to that King and our now Queene of *England*, did lodge, (who would haue married the young Princeſſe
Oucſinia the Princeſſe. *Ouckſinia*, the Emperors only daughter, but that he vnhappily there died) but not in any of thoſe lodgings: for it is a cuſtome there, that where a Prince dyes (eſpecially a ſtranger) not of long time after to let any other lodge there.

Now the Ambaſſador vnderſtanding of the conuenience of his paſſage downe by ſled-way, alſo fearing (as wiſe men had cauſe) what the iſſue of theſe warres would be, knowing the ſtate here vſed in any ſutes, bethought himſelfe aduiſedly that it was high time, being the middeſt of Februarie, to deſire a ſecond audience for his ſooner diſpatch, which he forthwith requeſted, and wrote a letter to that purpoſe vnto the Lord Chancellor.

Second audience. Vpon the tenth of March, the Ambaſſador with the Kings Gentlemen all richly apparelled, and all his followers decently attending, very honourably (as before) and with the like recourſe of beholders, and guard of Gunners (but that they were ſaid to bee Citizens by reaſon of their
Citizens Souldiers. warres, but in like apparell) was attended to the Court, being receiued with the former grace, or more, he aſcended the Preſence: the Emperour and Prince holding their wonted ſtate, onely changing their Veſtments with the ſeaſon, but for the riches nothing inferior.

So ſoone as the Ambaſſador and the Kings Gentlemen were come oppoſite to his Throne, hee commanded ſeates that they might ſit downe: then with a Maieſtick countenance, repreſenting rather conſtraint then former cheerfulneſſe, he declared, that He, his Sonne and Councell, had conſidered his Maieſties Letter, the Maieſtie of King *Iames* of *England*, as alſo on whatſoeuer elſe was deſired, and in token of his ioyfull receiued amitie with the renowmed King of *England*, as with his Predeceſſor, he had wrote his Princely Letters to that purpoſe. Herewith the Chancellor from the Emperour deliuered the Ambaſſadors his Highneſſe Letters to his excellent Maieſtie. Withall vnderſtanding by the Chancellor hee had ſome farther matter to intreat of, then in his Briefe to his Maieſtie was remembred: therefore hee had appointed foure principall Councellors to conſult with him of his Requeſts, which was done. After, the Ambaſſador yeelding courteous thanks for his Maieſties fauour, his Lordſhip attended by many Nobles, proceeded to the Councell Chamber, whither preſently after came foure Councellors, and the Emperours *Tolmach*: who after ſalutations, we withdrew to the next chamber, where wee paſſed away an houre in diſcourſe, among many young Nobles, hauing the Ambaſſadors Interpreter. In the end, after three or foure goings and returnes of the Chancellor from the Emperour, wee went againe before him (where after hee had commanded vs to ſit downe as before) by the mouth of the Chancellor was openly deliuered a Briefe of the whole Embaſſie (and that dayes particular deſire, according to the Ambaſſadors requeſt, confirmed.) Alſo in good and pleaſing language,

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language, was declared the great desire that the Emperour had, for the continuance of peace and amitie with the renowmed *Iames* King of *England*, as with the late Queene *Elizabeth*, withall that in due time (all accidents well ended) he would send an honourable Ambassador for further affaires, as likewise to congratulate with our King of his happinesse in so plausible comming to his Right and Inheritance. Likewise, a Grant of a new Priuiledge for the Companie, which he said should be vnder the golden Seale, &c.

Which ceremonious speech ended, the Emperor called for the Ambassador and the Kings Gentlemen to kisse his hand, and the Princes: which done, with the Emperors nod or bowing to vs, as likewise the Princes, desiring the remembrance of his and the Princes commendations to his Maiestie, the Prince, and Queene of *England*, we were dismissed, but not before the Emperor said he would send home to vs. Thus we tooke our last leaue of the Emperors Court, being more graciously and especially entertayned then before, or then euer any would take knowledge Ambassadors were vsed withall: we are honorably attended home, and a Duke of great account, named *Knas Euan Euannowich Courbetes*, was attended with many of the Emperors seruants within our Gates: following him a dinner, sent from the Emperor by some two hundred persons, consisting of three hundred seuerall dishes of Fish (for it was now Lent) of such strangenesse, greatnesse, and goodnesse (for their number) as it were not to bee beleeued by any report, but by a mans owne eye-sight, with infinite store of Meades, and Beere, in massie plate, &c. Golden Seale. Great dinner.

The eighteenth of March, the Emperor sent by *Vassily Gregorewich Telepnow*, the Roll wherein was the Demands of the Ambassador, and the particulars of the whole negotiation, as there at large appeares. The nineteenth, his Maiestie sent by *Menshoy Buldecow*, vnder Treasurer, a royall Present to the Ambassador of many particulars, also to each of the Kings Gentlemen, being rewarded, he departed.

The twentieth of March, being honourably accompanyed with thousands of Gallants of each side the streets all along as we passed, the Ambassador departed from the Citie of *Mosco*, with the whole numbers of horse-men still becking vs, till we came a short mile on this side the Citie where we made a stand, and after some complement betweene the Ambassador and his kinde and honourable *Prestaue*, the Duke *Vollagdemer*, with almost weeping on his part, the Ambassador went from the Emperors sled to his coach set vpon a sled, and wee alighted from the Emperors horses, and betooke our selues to our easie and pleasant passage in sleds, such a passage as this part of the World would wonder at, in which a man though hee goe a Hackney pace, may as easily reade as sleepe. Ambassadors departure. Sled-passage.

Thus accompanyed with Master *Iohn Mericke*, Master *William Russel*, sometimes Agent for the *Dutch*, and many other Merchants, we easily rode that night to *Bratteshin*, thirtie miles from the *Mosco*. The next morrow taking leaue of them all, we continued our iourney fiftie and sixtie verits a day easily.

Within few dayes after wee heard newes certainly of the Emperors sudden and vntimely death: which, considering neither the *Prestaue*, the Gouernour, or Bishop, had not or would not often dayes after take knowledge of, we might in the meane time haue doubted of, but that his Lordship had it from Master *Iohn Mericke* by Letter particularly. His death was very sudden, and as it was in it selfe, very strange: for within some two houres after dinner, hauing (as hee vsually had) his Doctors with him, who left him in their iudgements in health, as the good meale he made could witnesse, for hee dined well, and fed plentifully, though presently after as may be thought, feeding ouer-much, hee felt himselfe not onely heauie, but also payned in his stomacke: presently went into his chamber, laid himselfe vpon his bed, sent for his Doctors (which alwayes speeded) yet before they came, hee was past, being speechlesse and soone after dying. Before his death (as speedie as it was) hee would bee shorne, and new christned: what the cause was otherwise then the griefe, inward sorrow, with diuers distractions about the warres, and their bad successe, fearing the worst on his part, onely God knowes: yet who so remembers Gods iudgements, or Princes policies for Kingdomes, with mans sinfulnesse, and considereth the one with the other, may bee satisfied, if not contented. Emperor *Boris* his death. New christened.

For the Emperours person, he was tall and well bodied, teaching out of his authoritie obedience, of an excellent presence, black and thin haired, well faced, round and close shaued, strong limmed. A Prince framed betweene Thought and Resolution, as being euer in labour, but neuer till death deliuered: neuer acting (though euer plotting) but in his Closet or Councel Chamber. One rather obeyed then loued, being feared where hee was not serued: doubtlesse, vpholding a true Maiestie and gouernment in euery part, but in his owne minde: that it is a question, whether he were more kinde to Strangers, or seuere and iust to his Subiects, or hatefull and terrible to his Enemies. A father and a Prince, whose wordes, counsels, obseruations, policies, resolutions, and experiments, were but the life of his deare Sonne, neuer aduising, entertayning, no not praying without him. In all Ambassies and Negotiations, remembring his sonnes name with his owne, louing him (being louely) for that himselfe would bee loued, vnwilling to spare his presence, desirous to haue him at all occasions before his eyes. I shall not doe Emperors person. His respect to his sonne.

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amisse, to giue a taste of the fruit sprung from so stately a Tree. Being by a learned and well trauailed Gentleman diuers times particularly aduised, to let the Prince take some more (then no recreation) by which meanes he might aswell prolong his life, as instruct his iudgement and delight his minde: Oh, would the Emperour answere, one sonne is no sonne: nay, I am perswaded, three sonnes to me is but halfe a sonne. But had I sixe sonnes, then I might safely say I had one, how then should I part with that at any time, I know not to bee mine for any time. This may giue satisfaction to any vnderstanding both of his feares and iealousies: his great loue, and much care. It was an vsuall speech with the Emperour vpon good reason to say, *hee was the Lord and father of his sonne, yet withall, That he was not onely his seruant, but his very * slaue.*

* Because he had done more for him, then might lawfully be commanded.

Two policies of the said Emperour I shall willingly acquaint you with, for diuers reasons. One was, when hee caused fire to bee kindled in foure parts of *Mosco*; whereat himselfe was noted to be very diligent, with all his Nobles and Courtiers: and after it was quenched, he sent his bountie to them all, that builded anew their houses, and repaid all their losses. And this was but to stop the rumour, then so common, of his strange gayning the Empire: by which stratagem of his, when his people were readie to mutinie, they were created anew good Subiects; yet did admire his not onely care, but goodnesse towards them all.

A second, was at that time the Land was visited with a mightie famine, and as great a plague (some foure yeeres since), whereof a third of the whole Nation is rated to haue died: and the murmuring multitude said the cause was, *their electing of a murderer to the Empire; wherefore God did thus visit them:* Whereupon, hee caused Galleries to bee builded round about the vtmost wall of the great Citie of *Mosco*, and there appointed daily to bee giuen to the poore, twentie thousand pounds sterling: which was accordingly performed for one moneth; whereupon the common peoples mouthes and bellies were well stopped.

Here wee lodged till the sixt of May, being wearied with the inconstancie and ill-some newes of flying reports, whereupon the time of the yeere requiring, the Ambassador resolued to passe downe the Riuer to *Colmogro*, as well that hee might the sooner haue newes from *England*, as happily to bee out of feare of any disaster, the rumours being innumerable and vncertaine.

Peter Basman sent against *Demetrius*, reuolteth.

After the suspicious death of the old Emperour *Boris Pheodorowich*, &c. by the appointment of the Prince (then their expected Emperour) and the Counsell, *Peter Basman* (that noble Sparke) was speedily dispatched and sent as Generall vnto their ill succeeding warres, as their last hope (indeed hee prooued so in a contrarie sense) and the onely refuge to the Commons: whither being come, hee with himselfe presented most of his command, as many as freely would offer themselues: Vnder which were all the *English*, *Scots*, *French*, *Dutch* and *Flemmings*, whatsoeuer: and with him, or rather before him (as least suspected) *Ries Vasili Euanch Goleeche*, the other Generall, a man of great birth, and in the prioritie of place, to bee receiued before *Peter Basman*. All which, the now well knowne newly opinionated Emperour very graciously receiued, happily not without some iealousie of many particulars.

Demetrius now sent Messengers with Letters which entred the Suburbs, where the Commons in infinite numbers brought them safe into the spacious Plaine before the Castle gate: within which, as daily they did vse, so now were all the Counsellors in consultation; but happily not in a secret Counsaile; also wherein was the Emperiall Court.

Tumult of the Commons.

There these *Boyerens* made demand for many of the Counsellors, especially for the *Godonowes*, to come to heare their right King *Demetrius Euanowich* speaking vnto them by Letters: Who yet after refusall (and I cannot condemne all) many came; the Commons being resolued, else to fetch them out. Then, by the *Boyerens* aloud was read the Emperours Letters, to this effect.

Demetrius his Letter.

That hee much wondred at that time, wherein expedition was to bee accounted safest policie, hauing sent many Letters and Messengers to them, concerning their approouing him to bee their lawfull Prince, as being the sonne of Euan Vasilowich *their late Emperour, and the onely brother of* Pheodor Euanowich *selfe-vpholder, of happy memorie, both with inuincible Arguments and direct Reasons to the manifesting thereof, they (notwithstanding his long patience and gracious remisnesse) were not onely so proud as not to answere his Princely Letters, but so presumptuous as to retayne his Messengers, whereby they made themselues apparantly to bee no lesse Vipers to the State in obscuring him, then Traytors to himselfe the true and right Emperour, by defrauding them: yet giuing him a strong Argument by their Silence, of their guiltinesse; also allowing thereby, time and opportunitie (if hee had not beene their true-borne Emperour, and with the naturall Mother, tendered the life of her deare Children) to haue conquered and destroyed the whole Nation.*

All which notwithstanding, hee (being confident in his owne conscience, of his iust Title, made the Prince of patience and humilitie from his former many great miseries and dangers) had in his Princely wisedome and clemency againe wrote these (but certainly his last Peace-requiring, and Grace-offering Letters: yea, was content to desire them be mught) and doubted not shortly but he should command, onely aymed at the good of the Commonwealth and State in generall; as he that without much shedding of his Subiects bloud, desired the Kingdome.

Also

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Also to this end hee had sent men of great birth, viz. Rues Pheodor, Euanowich Mechithsosky, *and* Rues Demetre, Euanowich Suskey; *and giuen them Commission to displace his Enemies, and* Prestaue *the* Godonoues, *and others, till his further pleasure were knowne, consuming those monstrous blond-suckers and Traytors, with returne of the Commons answere thereunto: Likewise to demand his Messengers, and they to bee brought before the Commons, whom hee had reason to beleeue were ill-intreated, if not murthered; withall, that if they did submit themselues now to him, as to their lawfull Prince and Soueraigne, (which hee was truely resolued their consciences were guiltie of) that yet they should finde him a gracious and mercifull Lord; if otherwise, a seuere and iust Reuenger of them, and their many misdeedes towards him, as hee that had his Sword euer vnsheathed to execute his vengeance on them all: and was easily perswaded they were not ignorant of the many Victories hee had obtayned formerly against them, when they would seeme able and willing to fight with his Souldiers: and how afflicted and troubled herewith they all were: But that now, he had their chiefe and strongest Heads and Armes in his owne hand, the whole World might not betroth him they durst once speake openly against him, as assured that all (excepting a very few, and they of the worst) in heart were his loyall Subiects, &c.*

But before this Letter was halfe read, the Hearts and Hands of the multitude were strangely combined together, not one speaking, but all confusedly like fettered and chayned Horses stamping; being indeed without any feare, but of not doing mischiefe enough, all (as one) running violently into the Castle, where (meeting two of the pitifully tormented Messengers) they pawsed to heare them as sufficiently as their insufficiencie would permit them, deliuer the vilde manner of their torturing, whipping, and roasting, which was in deede a Whip and Spurre to driue them, without wit or humanitie, as if they had beene fired like Gun-powder with the very sparkes of heate: Such barbarous crueltie, beastly actions, and inhumane spectacles, as without the great Deuill had beene their Generall, no particular could haue acted; laying violent hands on all they met: but not killing (the great mercy of God) any man of account.

Thus the whole Citie was in an vproare, all the Counsellors houses, sellers, and studies ransacked, beginning with the *Godonones*; spoyling, renting, and stealing all they met vvith; but carrying little away but drinke, which they could not carry away.

The Commons (no doubt) would haue made this day little inferiour to the massacre of *Paris*, so violent and deuilish were their sudden resolutions; but that the Nobles (best beloued and obeyed) intreated, where none could command: others perswading, all wishing an end to this most miserable and neuer exampled mischiefe. But the multitude did what they would and could; especially on the greatest, which certainly were the worst: So as the Empresse flying to a safer lodging, had her coller of Pearle pluckt from her necke.

Then the Prince, Empresse, and Princesse, were prestaued (a second command being come from the Campe) with the *Godonones*, and many others that were suspected most: The Nobles ioyning in one counsell for the present ordering of these sudden accidents, and for answere to the Prince *Demetrius Euanowich*, who suddenly was by generall consent concluded (by the particular knowledge of *Bodan Belskey* a great Counsellor, that was priuie to his departure, and some others) to bee their right and lawfull Emperour, onely a few excepted. So as the young Prince was by many (but particularly by his mother) counselled to leaue the Kingdome vtterly, before it forsooke him; to follow his Fathers example in murdering himselfe, and herein his mother (that Map of miseries, that Cradle of crueltie) and his onely deare sister would associate him.

Letters were deuised, and Messengers framed to effect this desperate treacherie on his innocent life; so as in very few dayes (for Mischiefe hath the wings of Thought and Resolution) they three did consent (an vnhappy coniunction) to destroy themselues; and rather to lay violent hands vpon their hatefull liues, then make an Enemie seeme cruell in executing Iustice on them: which * yet certainly this Emperour neuer dreamt of, but determined the Prince should be within himselfe, not lesse then Absolute, and in a very great Dukedome. The Princely Mother began the health of Death to her noble Sonne, who pledged her with a heartie draught, therein so much strength did hee adde to his vile wicked obedience, that hee prooued a banquerout presently, and hand in hand embracing each other, they fell, and died as one, the Mother counselling and acting, whilest the child bethought and suffered: yet see Prouidence and Commiseration, Constancy and Obedience: the Princesse dranke, but like a Virgin temperately: so as modestie (the want of which was the death of the Mother) now prooued the life of the Daughter.

* Thus he: but others ascribe this murther to *Demetrius* his command, and this selfe-murther was pretended to auoid enuy of the fact.

Death of Mother & Sonne.

However it was with Boris *for other things; I thought it not amisse to adde this testimonie of his respect to the* English *Nation and Merchants in Priuiledges granted them, as followeth.*

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Emperor Boris his Mosco Patent translated whiles Sir Th. Smith was there.

ONe *Almightie God without and before the Beginning, the Father, the Sonne, and the Holy Ghost, whom we glorifie in the Trinitie, our onely God, Creator and Preseruer of all things euerywhere, by which Will and Working, be liueth and giueth life vnto Man; Our onely God which inspireth euery one of vs his Children with his holy Word, through our Lord Iesus Christ, the Spirit of Life, now in this latter times, establish vs to hold the right Scepter, and suffer vs of our selues to reigne, for the good of the Land, and the happinesse of the People, together with our Enemies, and to the doing of good.*

We the great Lord Emperour and great Duke Boris Pheodorowich *of all* Russia, *sole Commander of* Volodemer, Mosco, Nouogrod, *Emperour of* Cazan, *King of* Astracan, *Lord of* Vobsko, *and great Duke of* Smolensko, *of* Twersko, Vhorskoy, Permskoy, Vatskoy, Bolharskay, *and of others, Lord and great Duke of* Nouagrod *in the low Country of* Chernego, Rezan, Polotskay, Rostouskoy, Yeraslauskoy, Belozerskoy, Leeflanskoy, Owdorskoy, Obdorskoy, Condinskoy, *and all* Siberia, *and the North parts; Lord and Commander of* Euerskoy *Land, and* Cabardinskoy *Country, and of* Cherces, *and* Igarskoy *Land, as also of many others Lord and Commander, with our Sonne Prince* Phedar Borisowich *of all* Russia. *We haue bestowed on the Merchants of* England, *viz. Sir* Iohn Hart, *Knight; Sir* William Webb, *Knight;* Richard Saltanstall, *Alderman;* Nicolas Mosbley, *Alderman;* Robert Doue, William Garaway, Iohn Harbey, Robert Chamberlin, Henrie Anderson, Iohn Audwart, Francis Cherie, Iohn Merick, Anthony Marlar; *Wee haue granted and licenced them to come with their ships into our Dominion the Country of* Dwina, *with all manner of Commodities, to trade freely from the Sea side and within our Dominions, to the Citie of our Empire of* Mosco. *Also there made sute vnto vs Sir* Iohn Hart, *Knight, and his Companie, to gratifie them to trade to our Citie of* Mosco, *and to our Heritage of great* Nouogrod *and* Vobsko, *and to all parts of our Empire, with their Commodities, and to Trade freely without custome: vpon which Wee the great Lord Emperour and great Duke* Boris Pheodorowich *of all* Russia, *with our Sonne Prince* Pheodor Borisowich *of all* Russia, *haue granted vnto the* English *Merchants, Sir* Iohn Hart, *Knight, and his fellowes, for our Sisters sake Queene* Elizabeth, *free passage to come into our Kingdome of* Mosco, *and into all the rest of our Dominions, with all manner of Commodities to trade and traffick freely at their pleasure. Also we haue commanded, not to take any kinde of Custome for their goods, nor any other Customes whatsoeuer,* viz. *for passing by any place by Land, nor for passing by any place by Water; nor for Custome of their Boats or Head money, nor for passing ouer Bridges and Ferries, nor for any entrie of Wares: as also all manner of other Customes or Duties whatsoeuer wee command shall not bee taken of them: But they shall not bring other mens goods into our Dominions, nor likewise recarry out of our Kingdome any other mens goods as their owne: nor to sell or barter for other men. Neither shall our Subiects buy and sell for them or from them: neither shall they keepe any of our peoples goods or pawnes by them to owne or colour them. Likewise they shall not send any of our Subiects to any Towne or Citie to buy Commodities. But what Citie they come into themselues they shall sell their owne Commodities, and buy our Commodities. And when they shall come to our Heritage to great* Vobsko *and* Nouagrod, *or to any other Citie within our Dominions with their Commodities, that then our Gentlemen and Gouernours, and all other officers shall suffer and let them passe according to this our Letter, and to take no manner of Custome of them whatsoeuer for any of their Commodities for passing by, nor for passage ouer any Bridges: neither shall they take any other Custom whatsoeuer in all our Dominions. And whereseoeuer they happen to come, and doe proceed to buy and sell; as also whereseoeuer they shall passe through with goods not buying of any Commoditie nor selling their owne, then in those Cities they shall take of them no manner of Custome whatsoeuer as aforesaid: and wee haue gratified and giuen them leaue to trade in all parts of our Dominions with their goods freely without Custome. And likewise whensoeuer the* English *Merchants shall bee desirous to buy or sell or barter their wares with our Merchants wares for wares, then shall they sell their wares whole sale and not by retaile, Cloth by the pack and by Clothes and by remnants; and Damasks and Veluets by the Piece and not by the Yard or askeene, and such Commodities as is to be sold by waight, not to sell them by the small waights, that is to say, by the* Zolotnick. *Also they shall sell Wines by the Pipe and the Hogshead, but by the Gallon, Quart or Pot or Charke they shall not sell: moreouer, they shall buy, sell and exchange their owne Commodities themselues, and the* Russe *Merchants shall not sell or exchange for them or from them their Commodities, neither shall they carry any mans goods to no manner of place vnder colour of their owne, and which of the* English *Merchants would at any time sell his Commodities at* Colmogro *on the* Dwina, *or at* Vologda *and at* Yeraslauly *they may, and of all their Commodities throughout all our Cities and Dominion, our Gentlemen, Gouernours, and all other Officers shall take no manner of Custome according to this our Imperiall Letter of fauour. Also through all our Dominions, Cities, and Townes they shall hire Carriers, Boats, and men to labour or rowe in the said Boats at their owne cost. Likewise when as the* English *Merchants shall desire to goe out of our Dominion into any other Kingdome, or into their owne Land, and that we thinke it good for them to take with them from our Treasure any Commodities to sell or exchange them for vs, for such Commodities as shall be fitting to our Kingdome, and to deliuer them to our Treasurer: and with those their and our goods, our Gentlemen and Gouernours shall suffer them to passe through all Cities and Townes within our Dominions without Custome*

ſtome as before. And when they haue ended their Market, and doe deſire to goe from the Mosko; *then they ſhall appeare in the Chancerie to the Keeper of our Seale, the Secretarie* Vaſſily Yacolowich Schellcalou. *Likewiſe, if there happen to the* Engliſh *Merchants any extremitie by Sea, or that a ſhip be broken, and that it be neere any place of our Kingdome, then we command that all thoſe goods ſhall bee brought out iuſtly, and bee giuen to the* Engliſh *people that ſhall at that time bee in our Land; or if they be not here, then to lay them vp all together in one place, and when the* Engliſhmen *come into our Land, then to deliuer thoſe goods to them Alſo wee haue beſtowed on the* Engliſh *Merchants the Houſe of* Yourya, *in the* Mosko *by a Church of Saint* Maxims *neere the* Marget, *to dwell in it as in former time, keeping one Houſe-keeper a* Ruſſe, *or one of their owne ſtrangers: but other* Ruſſe *folkes they ſhall not keepe any. Likewiſe theſe Merchants haue Houſes in diuers our Cities as followeth: A Houſe at* Yeres, *a Houſe at* Vologda, *a Houſe at* Colmogro, *and a Houſe at* Michael *the Archangell, being the ſhipping place: theſe ſaid Houſes they ſhall keepe as in former time according to this our Imperiall Letter of fauour, or gratified without paying any manner of Rent or any other duties whatſoeuer, either at* Mosko, Yereſlaue, Vologda, Colmogro, *or at the Caſtle of the* Archangell, *neither ſhall they pay any taxe. Alſo at thoſe Houſes at* Yereſlaue, Vologda, Colmogro, *and at* Archangell *they ſhall haue Houſe keepers of their owne Countrey-men, or* Ruſſes *of a meane ſort that are not Merchants, a man or two in a Houſe: to lay vp their goods in thoſe Houſes, and to make ſale of their goods out of thoſe Houſes, to whom they will according to this our Imperiall Letter of fauour, but their* Ruſſe *Houſe-keepers in their abſence ſhall not ſell any of their Commodities. And the* Engliſh *Merchants ſhal come with their ſhip to their Port, as in former times they haue done to vnlade their goods out of their ſhips, and likewiſe to lade them againe with our* Ruſſia *Commodities, at their owne charges of Boates and hire of men, and ferrying ouer the ſaid goods from their ſhips to their Houſe at the Caſtle of* Archangell. *Likewiſe our Officers, Cuſtomers, and Swornemen ſhall take a iuſt note of all ſuch goods as they haue both of* Ruſſia *and* Engliſh *Commodities, and the note to paſſe vnder the Merchants* Firma, *becauſe it may be knowne what goods paſſeth of the ſtrangers and of the* Ruſſes. *But they ſhall not looke ouer their goods, neither vnbind any packs in any place, and when they doe ſend their owne* Engliſhmen *from* Archangell *to our Citie of* Mosko, *or doe ſend* Ruſſia *Commodities into their owne Land, Then all our Officers and Cuſtomers ſhall let them paſſe without delay, according to this our Letter of fauour. And whenſoeuer the Merchants ſhall be deſirous to ſend any of their owne Countreymen into their owne Land, or into any other Kingdome ouer Land: they ſhall doe it freely with our Imperiall Maieſties order, without carrying any Commoditie ouer with them, and they ſhall haue their Letters of Paſſe giuen them in the Embaſſadours Office. And concerning any matters of debate or controuerſie in Merchandize, or iniurie, then they ſhall be iudged by the Keeper of the Seale, and Secretarie* Vaſſily Yacolowich Shelcolou, *doing right and Iuſtice to both parties with equitie and truth. and what cannot be found out by Law, or Inquiſition, there ſhall be vſed Lots. His Lot that is taken forth, ſhall haue right done vnto him. Likewiſe, in what place elſe in all our Kingdome there doe happen any matter of diſcord in Merchandize or by iniurie, then our men of authoritie, or Gouernours, and all manner of our Officers ſhall doe true Iuſtice betweene them: and what cannot be ſought out by Law ſhall be ſought out by Lot: his Lot that is taken out ſhall haue right done vnto him as before mentioned, as alſo they ſhall not take any cuſtome or dutie of them for any Law matter, not in any place in our Kingdome. Moreouer, this our Imperiall Letter in all our Realme and Dominion, our Officers, and all manner of our ſubiects ſhall not diſobey or breake it in any point whatſoeuer, but if there bee any that doth diſobey this our Imperiall Letter of fauour, that then thoſe people ſhall bee in our high diſpleaſure, and executed to death. This our Imperiall Letter of gratitude, is giuen at our Imperiall Palace and Houſe in our Citie of* Mosko, *from the yeere of the beginning of the World* 7107. *in the month of Nouember: being vnderwritten as followeth.*

Lot Law.

By the great Lord Emperour and great Duke Boris Pheodorowich *of all* Ruſſia, *ſelfe-vpholder: his Keeper of the Seale, and Secretarie by name* Vaſſily Yacolowich Sheallcaloue.

§. III.

One pretending himſelfe to be DEMETRIVS, *with the Popes and* Poles *helpes attayneth the* Ruſſian *Empire: his Arts, Acts, Marriage, fauour to the* Engliſh, *and miſerable end.*

HAuing thus preſented you *Boris* his Tragedie out of that printed Author, and his Grant to the *Engliſh* from a written Copie; it ſhall not bee amiſſe to take more leiſurely and mature view of this Pretender, againſt whom *Boris* his deſire of ſecrecie (permitting none guiltie of the murther to ſuruiue) had vnfurniſhed him of Arguments. He produced a Purſe giuen him by his Mother; with the Hiſtorie of his life after that ſending him away and acknowledging another whom ſhe was more willing to act that bloudy

Scene then her own Son: with other particulars which bred ſtrong confidence in ſuch as (weary of *Boris*) were deſirous it ſhould be ſo. But for the death of the yong Emperor, & his mother, it is by moſt aſcribed to *Demetrius*, who ſeeing the people of *Muſco* his friends, and the Emperour and his Mother in hold, pretended he could not come thither whiles his enemies liued, whereupon they in a mutinie ſlue them; to auert the enuie whereof, it is probable that it was made to be their owne act, and their Keepers therefore by him impriſoned. *Boris* his daughter was thruſt into a Nunnerie, and ſo made dead alſo to the ſucceſſion. But as I haue before deliuered out of that diligent, learned and ſincere Hiſtorian *Thuanus*, *Boris* his attayning the Scepter, I ſhall likewiſe intreat your patience out of him to receiue theſe Relations of *Demetrius*.

Thu. li. 135. *Thuanus* writeth that after the murther of that (true or falſe) *Demetrius*, ſome yeeres after in the borders of *Polonia* and *Muſcouia*, appeared one which called himſelfe *Demetrius*, and in teſtimonie thereof, ſhewed a Wart in his face, and one arme ſhorter then the other (noted before in the true *Demetrius*) a man of ſharpe wit, bold courage, liberall mind, gentle behauiour, and of parts compoſed to a Scepter-worthineſſe. Firſt, was he made knowne to the Ieſuites of principall note in *Poland*, to whom he promiſed if he might receiue helpe for the recouery of his juſt Inheritance, his firſt care ſhould be to reduce the *Ruſſians* to the Vnion of the *Romiſh* Church. This thing was commended to the Pope as conducing to the enlarging of the holy See, by his ayde, and furtherance with the *Poliſh* King and Nobilitie, to be promoted; which alſo was done by the Ieſuites themſelues, who brought him to *George Miecinſy Palatine* of *Sendomir* a man potent in that Kingdome, with whom he couenanted alſo to marrie his Daughter if hee ſucceeded in his *Ruſſian* Enterprize. He had lurked awhile in *Liefland*, caſting off his Cowle, and had there learned to ſpeake and write the *Latine* Tongue: and had written to Pope *Clement* the Eighth, with his owne hand not inelegantly. And being by the ſaid *Palatine*, and *Viſnowitzi* his Sonne in Law, brought before King *Sigiſmund*, he made a pithy and Maſculine ſpeech, that he ſhould remember that himſelfe had beene borne in Priſon and Captiuitie, whence Gods mercie had deliuered him, to learne him to ſuccour others afflicted with like diſaſtre.

The Ieſuites firſt authors, or fautors at leaſt of this *Demetrius*.

Sigiſmunds father *Iohn* was impriſoned by King *Ericus* 1564.

Thus by the Kings fauour, the *Palatines* money, the Ieſuites induſtrie (not to mention the Popes Sanctitie) he procured an Armie of ten thouſand Souldiers in *Poland* well furniſhed, and in his *Ruſſian* March, winneth to his partie the *Coſſaks* a kind of men which follow forreigne Warres and prey, and leades with him tenne thouſands of them. Paſſing *Boriſthenes* hee firſt charged vpon *Zerniga*, & ſummoned them to yeeld to the true heire *Demetrius*, which was done by *Iuan Takmeny*, who had before conceiued diſlike againſt *Boris*. *Corelas* commanded the *Coſſaks*, a notorious Sorcerer. He was the Author of the ſiege of *Putinna* a populous Citie, which *Michelowich Soltekoui* held with eight thouſand *Coſſaks*, whom alſo he wrought with, that hee admitted and followed *Demetrius*. Hereupon *Boris* ſends an Army of an hundred thouſand men againſt him. He alſo ſends Ambaſſadors into *Poland*, to put them in minde of the league betwixt both Nations, and earneſtly deſired this counterfeit *Demetrius*, a Prieſts Baſtard and notable Sorcerer, to bee deliuered vnto him aliue or dead, adding threats if they perſiſted, and withall working vnder-hand with the Nobles to deterre the King from his ayde. But by the Popes and Ieſuites preuayling power nothing was effected, the King and the *Poles* reſoluing to aſſiſt him, as thinking it the beſt courſe to accord both Nations.

Coſſaks.

Zerniga.

Putinna yeelded.

The *Palatine* defeated.

Both Armies met at *Nouogrod*, where *Palatine Sendomir* the Generall, in the end of Ianuarie 1605. thinking to find a reuolt in the *Ruſſian* Armie, gaue a raſh on-ſet, & was put to flight, and after returned to *Poland*. *Demetrius* retyred himſelfe to *Rilskie* Caſtle (in the borders) with a few; and forſaken of others, he forſooke not himſelfe. Hee had brought with him two Diuines of the *Ciſtercian* Order which returned home: two Ieſuites alſo, *Nicolas Cherracoui* and *Andrew Louitzi*, which had beene Authors of the Expedition, and now encouraged him by their exhortations and examples of patience. He confident (as hee made ſhew) in the juſtice of his cauſe, when he was to begin battell or skirmiſh, vſed to call vpon God, ſo as he might bee heard of all, with his hands ſtretched forth, and his eyes lifted vp to heauen, in ſuch like words. *O moſt iuſt Iudge, kill me firſt with a Thunderbolt, deſtroy me firſt, and ſpare this Chriſtian blood, if vniuſtly, if couetouſly, if wickedly I goe about this Enterprize which thou ſeeſt. Thou ſeeſt mine innocencie, helpe the iuſt cauſe. To thee O Queene of Heauen I commend my ſelfe and theſe my Souldiers*: Which if they be truly related, and he not the true *Demetrius*, he was either an impudent Iugler, or exceedingly gulled with fortunes daliance and proſperous ſucceſſe, which concluded in a Tragicall period.

Ciſtercians and Ieſuits.

Demetrius his confident Prayer.

Part of *Boris* his Armie was now come to *Rilsky*, where in a battle betwixt the horſemen of both parts, *Demetrius* got the better, and the lately conquered, and preſently fewer, became *Victors*; at the firſt encounter a thouſand being ſlaine, two hundred taken, and the reſt put to flight, leauing their footmen to the ſlaughter, and the baggage to the ſpoyle. Hereupon fiue neighbouring Caſtles with their ſeuerall Territories, yeelded to *Demetrius*, one of which, *Bialogrod* yeelded him a hundred and fiftie Peeces of Ordnance. The Captaynes were deliuered into his hands. Soone after *Iaſeka* and *Leptina* yeelded, in which *Hinsko Otiopeius* that famous Sorcerer was taken: after which all *Seueria*, a large Principalitie, came in, and eight Caſtles; *Demetrius* vſing great modeſtie in this vnexpected victorie. *Boris* meanewhile ſent ſome with large pro-

Demetrius his victorie.

Bialogrod.

Leptina. Seueria yeelds.

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promises to murther him, and the Patriarke excommunicated all which fauoured him. *Demetrius* writ hereof modestly to the Patriarke, and to *Boris* also, offering faire conditions to his Family, if he would resigne his vsurped Empire, which he with indignation rejected. That happened when the Embassadors of *Denmarke* and *Sweden* were in his Court to joyne league with him against the *Pole*. In that consultation *Boris* is said to haue beene in such a chafe, that hee fell downe suddenly, much bloud passing from his mouth, nosthrils and eares; and in the end of Aprill hee dyed; some say of an Apoplexie, others, of poyson which hee drunke: after hee had reigned seuen yeeres. His Wife with her Sonne were aduanced to the Throne after him, and the Nobilitie sworne to them. The dead bodie was buried without any pompe. *Constantine Fidler* a *Liefslander* of *Rie* made an elegant Oration in his prayse, whose brother *Gaspar* serued *Boris*.

Boris dyeth. Some say, that hee had vsed with *Aqua vitæ* to poyson others.

Neque enim lex iustior vlla est, quam necis artifices arte perire sua.

Presently *Peter Basman* was sent away with an Armie. * *Hodunius* (a neere Kinsman of *Boris*) besieged *Crom*, to rayse whom, *Demetrius* vsed this policie. Hee sent a simple man thither, which being deceiued himselfe might deceiue others, with Letters that fortie thousand were comming to ayde the besieged. He being taken (sent by a way which he could not escape) and examined with tortures confesseth the same with his Letters: which caused a tumult in the Campe; and in the end, the besieged taking aduantage of the rumour still increased by some sent purposely with reports that they had seen the new auxiliaries issued with a counterfeit shew of great numbers, and caused the *Russians* to consult of yeelding. *Basman* also the new Generall yeelded and cried out with a loud voyce, that *Demetrius* was the true heire, and therefore all true hearted *Muscouites* should follow his example; which the most followed. *Hodunius* was taken, and refusing to acknowledge *Demetrius* was cast in Prison. In the Tents were huge Ordnance found. After this Campe-alteration, followed the like in *Mosco*, the people resounding the name of *Demetrius*. The Empresse and her sonne were committed to ward, where some write that they poysoned themselues, some that *Demetrius* commanded it. The *Germanes* flying out of the *Borissian* Campe to *Demetrius* drew many with them.

* Some say of 60000. men.

Basman yeeldeth.

From *Crom* doth *Demetrius* now march towards *Mosco*, the people all the way flocking to see their new Prince, who in twentie remoues came thither on the 19. of Iune, and entred with pompous procession of Souldiers & Priests, the *Russian* Priests hauing Banners with the Pictures of the blessed Virgin and their Tutelare Saint *Nicolas*, in the end of al the Patriarch, and after him *Demetrius* by himselfe on a white Palfray with a gallant trayne of attendants. Thus hee goeth to the Temple of our *Ladie*, and after Prayers, from thence to Saint *Michaels* Church in which his Father lay buried, and hearing that *Boris* lay there interred, he presently commanded his body to be taken vp and to be remoued to a meaner Chappell without the Citie. Passing by *Boris* his peculiar House, he could not endure the sight, but sent workemen presently to race the same; saying, they were infamous with Sorceries, and that an image was said to be placed vnder the ground, holding in the hand a burning Lampe, hauing vnderneath store of Gunpouder buried; things so disposed, that the Oyle failing, and the Lampe breaking, the fire should (had it not beene before spied and remoued) blow vp that, and the houses adioyning. Thus had *Boris* impeached him, and he now *Boris* of Magicall arts, which are vsuall accusations in those parts.

Demetrius commeth to *Mosco*, his pompous entrance.

Thence he went to the Imperiall Pallace, and beganne to gouerne the Empire, more inclining to the *Poles* and forreiners, then to the *Russes*: which vntimely expressing himselfe, hastned his ruine. Seuentie noble Families of *Boris* his kindred or faction were exiled, that their Goods might be shared amongst strangers, and new Colonies of men planted, brought into *Russia*. His clemency was remarkable to *Suisky*, who being condemned for not onely refusing to acknowledge this Emperour, but vttering also reproachfull speeches of him (as being of base Parentage, and one which had conspired with the *Poles* to ouerthrow the *Russian* Temples, & Nobility) and now his prayers ended, and the fatall stroake on his knees expected; on the seauenth of Iuly, by vnexpected mercy, euen then receiued his pardon. The last which yeelded to him were the *Plescouites*. Some tell of exceeding Treasures also which hee found laid vp for other purposes, which through his profuseneese soone vanished. The first of September, was designed to his inauguration (being New yeeres day to the *Russes*, as sometimes to the *Iewes*) but for other causes it was hastned, and his Mother was sent for out of a Monasterie (into which *Boris* had thrust her) farre from the Court. An honorable Conuoy was herein employed, and himselfe with great shew of Pietie went to meet her, embraced her with teares, and bare-headed, on foot, attended her Chariot to the Castle; whence afterwards she remoued with her women into a Monasterie where the Noblest Virgins and Widdowes of *Russia* vse to sequester themselues from the World. His Mother was noted to answere with like affection to him, whether true or dissembled on both parts. At his entrance to the Kingdome, after Ceremonies ended, *Nicolas Cnermaconius* a Iesuite made him a goodly Oration: the like was done by the Senate. To the Iesuits was alotted a faire place of entertaynment not far from the Castle, wherein to obserue the *Romish* Rites and Holies: and euen then by their meanes he had declared himselfe in that point, but for feare of *Suiskie* hee stayed till fitter oportunitie.

Poles aduanced.

Clemencie to *Suiskey*.

Respect to his Mother.

Iesuits.

Hauing thus setled things, his care was to recompence the *Poles*, to enter league with that Nation, and to consummate the Marriage. For which purpose hee sent three hundred Horsemen with

Embassage to *Poland*.

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with *Athanasius* the Treasurer, who in Nouember came to *Cracouia*, had audience of King *Sigismund*, where he with all thankfulnesse acknowledged the Kings forwardnesse with his Nobles to recouer his right, whereto God had giuen answerable successe beyond expectation; that he deplored the *Turkish* insolencies in *Hungary* and other parts: to vindicate which, he would willingly joyne with the *Pole*, and other *Christian* Princes: meane whiles hee was willing to make an euerlasting league with him, aud to that end entreated his good leaue to take vnto himselfe a Wife out of *Poland*, namely, *Anna Maria*, the Daughter of *George Miecinsie* the *Palatine* of *Sendomir*, to whom for money, men, and endangering of his owne life, hee was so much engaged. The eight day after, the Contract was solemnely made by the Cardinall, Bishop of *Cracouia*, and the Embassadour with her Parents feasted by the King. *Demetrius* had sent her and her Father, Iewels worth 200000. Crownes.

Thus farre haue wee followed *Thuanus*, and hee *Iacobus Margaretus* a *French* Captayne of *Demetrius* guard of *Partisans*, which published a Booke hereof. Now let vs present you a little *English* Intelligence touching this *Demetrius* and his respect to men of our Nation in those parts, and first his Letter to Sir *Iohn Mericke*.

The Copie of a Letter sent from the Emperor DEMETRY EVANOWICH, otherwise called GRISHCO OTREAPYOV: the which Letter was sent to Master IOHN MERRICK Agent, out of the Campe, as Master MERRICK was taking his Iournie to the Sea-side, the eighth of Iune, *Anno* 1605.

FRom the great Lord Emperour and great Duke Demetry Euanowich *of all* Russia. *To the* English *Marchant* Iohn Merrick, *wee giue to vnderstand, that by the iust iudgement of God and his strong power, we are raised to our Fathers throne of* Vladedmer, Mosko, *and of all the Empire of* Russia; *as great Duke and sole commander: likewise we calling to memorie the loue and amitie of our Father, the great Lord Emperour and great Duke* Euan Vassilywich *of all* Russia, *and our Brother* Theodor Euanowich *of all* Russia, *which was held, and kept by them and other great Christian Princes, in the same forme and manner doe we likewise intend, and purpose to hold and keepe Loue and amitie: but especially, and aboue all others, doe we intend to send and to haue loue and friendship with your King* Iames, *and all you his* English *Merchants, we will fauour more then before. Further, as soone as this our Letter doth come to your hand, and as soone as you haue ended your Markets at the shipping place of* Michael *the Archangell, then to come vp to* Mosco *to behold our Maiesties presence. And for your poste Horse I haue commanded shall be giuen you; and at your comming to* Mosco, *then to make your appearance in our Chancery, to our Secretarie* Ofanasy Vlassou. *Written in our Maiesties Campe at* Tooly, *in the yeare of the world* Anno *seauen thousand one hundred and thirteene.*

The Copie of the translation of a Passe giuen to Master IOHN MERRICK, which was giuen him in the time of his being in the Campe at *Molodote* with the Emperour DEMETRY EVANOWICH, otherwise called GRISHCO OTREAPYOVE.

FRom the great Lord Emperour and great Duke Demetry Euanowich *of all* Russia, *from* Mosco *to our Cities and Castles, as also to the Castle of Archangell at the Shipping place and hauen to our Generals, Secretaries, and all other our Officers, &c.*

There did make suite vnto vs the English *Marchant* Iohn Merricke *and his Company, that we would gratifie them to be suffered to passe to the new Castle of Archangell, or to the shipping place or hauen, in regard of trafficke of Merchandise.*

Also, that if he doe send home any of his fellowes and seruants from the shipping place, being of the English, *that then they might be suffered to passe into* England. *Also that to whatsoeuer Citie of ours the* English *Marchant* Iohn Mericke, *and his fellowes, doth or shall come vnto; then all yee our Generals, Secretaries, and all other our Officers, shall suffer them to passe euery where, without all delay. And as for our Customes, as for passing by or for head mony, our custome of goods, you shall not take any of them nor of their seruants. Likewise, when the* English *Merchants* Iohn Merricke *with his fellowes and seruants, shall come to the Castle of Archangell, then* Timophey Matphewich Lazaroue, *and our Secretary* Rohmaneum Mocaryoue, Voronoue, *at the foresaid Castle of Archangell, shall suffer and permit the* English *Merchant*, Iohn *and his companie to trade freely. Moreouer, when at the shipping place they haue ended and finished their Markets, and that then the said* Iohn Merricke *shall desire to send into* England *any of his fellowes or seruants with goods, then likewise they shall be suffered to passe. But* Russe *people, and other strangers of* Mosco *shall not be suffered to passe further: that if* Iohn Merricke *with his fellowes and seruants doe not goe for* England: *but after their Market is ended doe purpose to come backe againe to* Mosco; *that then at the Castle of Archangell* Timophey Matphewich Lazaroue,

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Lazaroue, *and our Secretarie* Rohmaneeu Voronaue; *as also at all other our Castels and Cities, our Generals, Secretaries, and all other our Officers shall let passe the* Englisth *Merchant* Iohn Merricke *with his fellowes and servants, without all stay or hinderance, and as for custome of them, their goods, or their seruants, there shall not be any taken.*

And after the Reading of this our Letter and Passe, you shall keepe the Copie of it by you: but this you shall deliuer backe againe to the said Iohn, *and his companie. Written at our Campe at* Molodone, *the yeare from the beginning of the World* 7113. *the eighteenth of Iune.*

The last of Iuly 1605. at *Archangell.*

The Copie of the translation of a Commission that was sent from the *Mosko*, from the Emperour DEMETRY EVANOWICH, *alias* GRYSHCA OTREAPYOVE by a Courtier named GAVARYLA SAMOYLOWICH SALMANOVE, who was sent downe to the Castle of *Archangell*, to Sir THOMAS SMITH, then Lord Embassadour: as followeth.

THe great Lord Emperour, and great Duke Demetry Euanowich *of all* Russia, *hath commanded* Gauareela Samoylowich Salmanoue, *to goe to* Vologda, *and from* Vologda *to the new Castle of Archangell, or whereseeuer he shall ouertake the* Englisth *Ambassadour Sir* Thomas Smith. *Also when he hath ouertooke the Ambassadour, then* Gauareele *shall send the Ambassadour his Interpreter* Richard Finch, *willing him to certifie vnto the Ambassadour, that the great Lord Emperour and great Duke* Demetry Euanowich, *sole commander of* Russia, *hath sent vnto him one of his Courtiers, in regard of his Maiesties affaires: and after some two houres respite,* Gauareela *himselfe shall ride to the Ambassadour, and deliuer vnto him his Maiesties speeches, as followeth.*

THe great Lord Emperour and great Duke Demetry Euanowich *of all* Russia, *and of many Kingdomes Lord and commander, Hath commanded thee,* Thomas *the* Englisth *Ambassadour, to certifie vnto* Iames, *King of* England, Scotland, France *and* Ireland, *that by the iust iudgement of God, and his strange power, we are come and succeeded into the place of our Father and predecessours: as also we are come to the throne of the great and famous Kingdome of* Vlodemer Mosco, *and to the Empire of* Cazan, Astaracan *and* Siberia, *and of all the Kingdomes of the Empire of* Russia; *being an Empire belonging to the great Lords, Emperours, and great Dukes of all* Russia. *Moreouer, we calling to memorie the sending, loue and amitie betwixt our Father, the great Lord and Emperour, and great Duke* Euan Vasilywich *of all* Russia, *of famous memorie: as also our Brother, the great Lord and Emperour and great Duke* Feoder Euanowich *of all* Russia, *sole commander, with their sister* Elizabeth, *Queene of* England: *in the like manner doe we purpose to haue sendings, and to be in loue with your Lord King* Iames, *and more then hath bin in former time. And in token of our said loue and amitie, we doe intend to fauour all his subiects in our Land, and to giue vnto them freer libertie then they haue had heretofore; and you his Ambassadour, we haue commanded to dispatch without all delay or hindrance. Therefore we would haue you to make knowne vnto your Lord King* Iames, *our Maiesties loue. And as soone as God shall grant the time of our Coronation to be finished, and that we are crowned with the Emperiall crowne of our predecessours, according to our manner and worthinesse; then we the great Lord Emperor, and great Duke* Demeetry Euanowich *of all* Russia *sole Commander, will send our messenger to salute each other, according to the former manner. And concerning those Letters which were sent by you from* Borris Godenoue, *we would haue you deliuer them backe againe to our Courtier* Gauareela, *and after the deliuerie of our speeches to returne him to the Emperour, vnder written by the Chancellour* Ofanasy Euanowich Vlaseou.

The Copie of the Translation of a new Priuiledge that was giuen to the Company, by the Emperour DEMEETRY EVANOWICH, otherwise called GRYSHCA OTREAPYOVE, the which Priuiledge was sent into *England* ouer-land by OLYVER LYSSET Marchant, and seruant to the foresaid Company.

GOD, the Trenitie, before, and without the beginning, the Father, the Sonne, and the holy Ghost, establish vs to hold and keepe our Scepter and Realme for the good of our Land, and the happinesse of our people. Wee the resplendant and manifest, and not the miserable vpholder, but sole commander, the great Duke Demetry Euanowich, *by the mercy of God, Casar and great Duke of* Russia, *and of all the Empire of* Tartaria, *and many other Kingdomes; as also of the great Monarchie of* Mosco, *Lord Emperour and Commander, Haue bestowed, and gratified vnto the* Englisth *Merchants, viz.* Sir Thomas

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Thomas Smith, *Knight, Sir* Iohn Spencer, *Knight, Sir* Humfrey Wild, *Knight*, Robert Doue, Robert Chamberline, William Garaway, Iohn Haruey, Richard Stapers, Iohn Merricke, Richard Wryght, Richard Cocks, Thomas Farrington, Richard Wych, George Bowles. Bartholomew Barnes, Richard Bowldra, Iohn Caſten, Edward Chery, Thomas, *the ſonne of* Alexander *alias* Hicks: *we haue giuen them free liberty to come with their ſhips into our Realme and Dominion, and to the Country of* Dwina, *& to the Caſtle of* Archangel, *and to* Colmogro, *with all maner of commodities, and to trade freely, as alſo to come from the ſea ſide by land or by water, to our great dominion and* Cæſars *City of* Moſco, *& great* Nouogrod *and* Vobsko, *and all other cities within our dominions, to trade with all manner of commodities, in the ſame forme and manner, as heretofore was beſtowed on the* Engliſh *Merchants, in the time of our father of famous memory, the great Lord and Cæſar, and great Duke* Euan Vaſſilywich *of all* Ruſſia, *ſole Commander, and as was granted vnto them in the time of our Brother the great Duke* Theodor Euanowich *of all* Ruſſia *ſole Commander. And as for cuſtome of their goods, or for paſſing by, as alſo for the cuſtome of their boates, or for Head-money, or for going ouer bridges or Ferryes, or for entrie of goods, As alſo all manner of Cuſtome whatſoeuer, we command ſhall not bee taken of them: Alſo the* Engliſh *Merchants ſhall not bring nor ſell other mens goods in our Dominion, as their owne: neither ſhall our Subiects buy, or ſell, or traffique for. Alſo our Subiects pawnes they ſhall not keep by them, nor ſend others about the Cities to buy goods: but what Cities they come into themſelues they ſhall trafficke and ſell their owne commodities, and buy* Ruſſe *commodities freely: And when they come into our Dominion of great* Nouogrod *and* Vobsko, *or to any other Cities within our Realme to trafficke with their goods, and that after the market is paſt, they ſhall bee deſirous to paſſe for* Moſco, *or for* England, *then our Gentlemen and Gouernours, and all people ſhall according to this our* Cæſars *Letter, let them paſſe without delay, and as for Cuſtomes for them and their goods they ſhall not take any. And whither ſoeuer they paſſe with their goods, without buying any commodities, or ſelling their owne; Then likewiſe in thoſe Cities they ſhall paſſe, and not take of them any manner of Cuſtome whatſoeuer as before: alſo the* Engliſh *Merchants ſhall trafficke as followeth; They ſhall barter their owne goods, by the whole Salecloth: by the Packe, and by the Clothes: Damaske and Veluet not by the piece, but by the* areſhine *and by retaile and retaile weights they ſhall not barter or ſell. Alſo goods, which is ſold by weight, by retaile, or by the* zolotnicke *they ſhall likewiſe not ſell. And Claret wine they ſhall ſell by the piece, but by retaile, as by the Veader ſtop, or Pot and Charck they ſhall not ſell. Likewiſe they ſhall buy and ſell, and barter their goods themſelues: but the* Ruſſe *Merchant ſhall not ſell nor barter their goods for them; neither ſhall they carry other mens goods in colour of their owne, not to any place whatſoeuer. Alſo if the* Engliſh *Merchants bee minded to make ſale of their commodities at* Colmogro, *or on the* Dwina, *or at* Vologda, *or at* Yeraſlaue, *then they ſhall doe it freely. And for their ſaid goods in all our Cities within our Realme, our Gentlemen and Gouernors, and all manner of our Officers ſhall not of them take any Tole or cuſtome, according to this our* Cæſars *Letter of Fauor. And in all our Cities within our dominion, they ſhall hyre Carryers Boats, and men to row them freely as before. And as the order is of the Merchants within our Realme: ſo likewiſe if the* Engliſh *Merchants be deſirous to goe out of our Realme, into any other Kingdome, or into their owne Countrey: as alſo if they bee deſirous in our Realme to buy any Staple commoditie, and to carry it into their owne Land, then ſhall they likewiſe buy and trafficke freely at pleaſure, and thoſe Staple commodities which are fitting for our* Cæſars *Treaſure, they ſhall likewiſe bring it to our Treaſure freely at pleaſure, and for the ſaid Staple commodities in all our Cities, our Officers ſhall not take any manner of Cuſtome: but they ſhall ſuffer them to paſſe without any ſtaying of them. Alſo when the* Engliſh *Merchants haue ended their market, and ſhall deſire to goe from the* Moſco, *then they ſhall appeare in the Embaſſadours Office, to our Chancellour and Secretarie* Euan Cowrbatou Hramoteenop. *Moreouer, if that by the prouidence of God, the* Engliſh *Merchants haue any ſhipwracke, and that the ſaid ſhip bee brought or driuen to any place within our Realme, then our* Cæſars *commandement to thoſe places where the ſhip is brought in, that our men in office doe ſeeke out the* Engliſh *Merchants goods iuſtly, and to giue them to the* Engliſh *people that ſhall bee at that time in our Land. But if at that time there bee none of them in our Realme, then to gather them together, and to lay them vp in one place: and ſo when the* Engliſh *Merchants doe come there, by our* Cæſars *Order, to deliuer thoſe goods to the ſaid Merchants. And whereas the* Engliſh *Merchants according to their former Letters of Fauor had a houſe in the* Moſco *by the Church of the holy* Maxim *by the market, which was granted vnto them by our predeceſſour the great Lord and* Cæſar *of* Ruſſia, *the ſaid* Engliſh *Merchants ſhall dwell in the ſaid houſe as heretofore they haue done: Keeping one houſe-keeper a* Ruſſe, *or one of their owne ſtrangers, but any other* Ruſſes *they ſhall not keepe. Moreouer the ſaid* Engliſh *Merchants haue houſes in other Cities, a houſe at* Yeraſlaue, *a houſe at* Vologda, *a houſe at* Colmogro, *and a houſe at the ſhipping place at the Caſtle of the* Archangell: *and thoſe houſes they ſhall keepe and hold by them, according to our* Cæſars *Fauour or Gratitude, as in former time they haue done, and for any ſubſidie, rent, dutie, or any cuſtome whatſoeuer for the ſaid houſes there ſhall not be any taken of them: and their other houſes, as at* Yeraſlaue, Vologda, Colmogro *and* Archangell, *they ſhall haue houſe-keepers of their owne countrie-men or* Ruſſes, *but the* Ruſſes *ſhall bee meane men, a man or two at a houſe: And they ſhall lay their goods in thoſe houſes, and likewiſe ſhall make ſale of their goods out of their houſes, to whom they will, according to this our* Cæſars *Letter of Fauour, and their houſe-keepers being* Ruſſes *ſhall not buy or ſell any manner of commodites in their abſence. Alſo they ſhall come with their ſhips to the*

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the shipping place, as before with their Commodities, and to vnlade out of the shippe their goods; and to lade their shippe with Russe *goods, with their owne hired labourers, as also to carry their owne goods ouer in their owne Boats and Vessels, to their owne house at the Castle of* Archangell. *And what soeuer goods they haue, our chiefe Customer, and Officers, and sworne men, shall take a note of the goods vnder their owne firme, both of goods they bring in, and also of goods they carry out. But they shall not looke ouer, neither vnpacke their packes in any place; as also they shall suffer them to passe in all places, without all stay or delay, according to this our* Cæsars *priuiledge and Letter of fauour. Also whensoeuer the* English *Merchants shall be desirous to send out of our Realme into their owne Land any of their seruants ouerland, or into other Kingdomes, then they shall likewise send their people ouerland with our* Cæsars *order freely, but without carying any Commodities, and their passe shall be giuen them in the Embassadours office. Further, concerning any matter of controuersie that any man shall haue to doe with them either in bargaining, or in iniury, according to this our* Cæsars *order, they shall be iudged by our Counseller and Secretary* Euan Cowrbatou Hramoteeu: *Therefore, as before, whereseoeuer they, or any of their seruants, in all our Realme, in what Citie soeuer, haue any matter of controuersie in Bargaining, or in Iniurie against any man, or that any man haue any matter against any of them, then in all our Cities, our Gentlemen, and Gouernours, and all other our Officers, shall iudge them, doing iustice betwixt either of them with equitie and truth. This priuiledge or letter of fauour was giuen at our* Cæsars *Pallace of* Mosco. *From the world* Anno 7113. *in the moneth of December.*

The Copie of the Translation of a Contract, made by the Emperour DEMETRY EVANOWICH, otherwise called GRYSHCA OTREAPYOVE, and the daughter of the *Palatine* SENDAMERSKO, chiefe Generall of *Poland*, in the time of DEMETRY his being in *Poland*, the which was sent ouer by Master IOHN MERRICK, and translated out of *Russe* into *English* for the Kings Maiestie, as followeth.

A True Translation of a writing out of Polish *into* Russe, *giuen by a Monke who left his habit, called by the name of* Gryshca Otreapyoue, *supposed to be the Son of the Emperour* Euan Vassiliwich, *named* Demeetry Euanowich, *who gaue this assurance vnder his firme, to the* Palatine Sendamersko, *as also hath beene auouched by one* Bewcheesko, *principall Secretary vnto the said* Demetry, *before all the Nobilitie of* Rusia, *that this said writing was written by the Generall his owne hand, as followeth.*

Wee Demetry Euanowich, *by the mercy of God, Prince of all* Russia, *of* Owgleets Demetryuskoy, *and Lord of all the Empire of* Mosco, *and being of the stocke of* Preatroue; *Calling to memorie our former life, being not in that forme and manner, as is in other great Monarchies, as was in the time of our Predecessours, and other Christian people. Neuertheless, by the prouidence of God almightie, from whom proceedeth a beginning and an end, and from whom commeth life and death, wee haue by him espied and made choise vnto our selfe, with good liking, in the time of our being in the Kingdome of* Poland, *of a Companion, of great and honorable birth, and of godly education, and is such a companion, with whom we shall by the mercie of God, liue peaceably: which is the resplendent and Noble Lady* Marina, *daughter to the great* Palatine Sendemersko. *And vpon this occasion haue taken him for our Father, and hauing requested of him to giue vnto vs his Daughter* Maryna *in mariage, and in regard that wee are not yet in our owne Kingdome, therefore doe we purpose hereafter to take order for her comming vnto vs with the Generall* Sendamersko. *Likewise, when I doe come to liue in my owne Kingdome, then shall the* Palatine Sendamersko *remember his faithfull and true promise with his Daughter, the Lady* Maryna *her vow, my selfe remembring my owne vow, and so both of vs to hold it faithfully with loue and affection, and to that end doe we binde our selues by our writings. Likewise, first and principally, in the name of the holy Trinitie, I doe giue my faithfull and true princely promise, that I will take in marriage the Lady* Maryna. *If on the contrary, I doe not, then, I wish that I might giue this as a curse vpon my selfe: also, so soone as I shall make entrance into our Kingdome, and herstage of* Mosco, *then will I giue the* Palatine, *the Lord her Father, a reward of tenne thousand peeces of* Polish *gold. And to the Lady* Maryna *our wife, in consideration of her great and long Iourney, as also for the prouiding and furnishing of her selfe, I will giue out of my Treasure Veluets wrought with Siluer and Gold. And the Messengers that shall be sent to me from the Lord her Father, or from the Lady her selfe, I shall not hold or keepe, but shall let them passe, and will reward them with gifts, which shall be a token of our Princely fauour; and thereunto doe we giue this our Princely promise. Secondly, at soone as we shall come to the Imperiall throne of our Father, then presently will we send our Embassadour to the resplendant King of* Poland *to certifie vnto him, as also to intreate him to take knowledge of this businesse now passed betwixt vs, and withall, that he would be pleased to suffer vs to conclude and effect this our said businesse, without losse or hindrance. Also vnto the forenamed Lady* Maryna *our wife, we giue two Lordships,* viz. Nouogrod

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the great, and Vobsko, *with all the Prouinces belonging to the same, with Counsellors, Gentlemen, and Yeomen, and Priests, fitting for a Congregation, to rule and gouerne freely with full authority in the same forme and manner, as if we ruled. And my selfe to haue no more right or title nor authoritie in the said two Cities of* Nouogrod *and* Vobsko: *and thereunto doe I binde my selfe with this writing, and doe wholly giue and bestow all on the said Lady* Maryna *that is contained in this writing, as soone as by Gods helpe we shall be maried together, and thereunto haue giuen this our writing, sealed with our princely Seale. But if by chance our wife hath not by vs any children, then in those two Lordships before specified, shee shall place men in authoritie of her owne, to gouerne and to doe Iustice: and also it shall be free for the said men in authoritie, to giue Lands and Inheritance to their owne Souldiers, and to trade freely at pleasure, as shall be best liking to them, and as though it were in their owne true and lawfull dominion, and to build Monasteries, and to set vp the* Romish *Religion, and to haue Latine or* Romish *Priests, and Schooles. But she her selfe to abide and remaine with vs. And concerning her Priest, to haue as many as shall be needefull to be kept for her owne godly* Romish *Religion, without all let or hindrance: and as wee our selfe by the mercy of God are already inclined to the same, so will wee likewise with earnest care, seeke by all meanes to bring all the Kingdome of* Mosco *to the knowledge of the* Romish *Religion, and to set vp the Church of* Rome. *Also, if God should not grant vnto vs good successe, whereby this be performed within a yeare; then it shall be at the pleasure of our Father to separate mee and his daughter* Maryna. *But if it please him to forbeare till another yeare, then doe I passe this my Bill, with my owne hand writing, and thereunto I haue sworne my selfe, and giuen a vow according to the holy order, and all in this Bill to hold and keepe carefully: as also that I shall bring all the* Russe *people to the Latine Religion. Written at* Sambore *the fiue and twentieth of May, in* Anno 1604. *Vnderneath was his firme, to all this foresaid as appeareth:* *Prince* Demetry *of* Owglets.

Promise of Romish Religion.

NOw let vs returne with *Thuanus* into *Poland*, where with his Historical eies we see this glorious Spouse, her Father, Vncle, & trayne of women accompanying the *Russian* Embassador in his returne; whom many Merchants out of *Italie* and *Germanie* followed in hope of gaine. In this lingring journey, they continued from the end of Ianuary to the sixe and twentieth of Aprill, before they entred *Mosco*. And the seuenth day after, *Peter Basman* with a great troupe of Courtiers and Nobles, attended the Spouse to the Court, where shee was solemnely entertayned by her Husband, and thence conueighed to the Monasterie where his Mother abode. The fourth day after, all things being prepared, shee was brought into the Palace, and the next day married to him by the Patriarch after Euening Prayer. Both of them also, solemnely crowned, returned with sound of Musick and Ordnance into the Castle, and the night passed with great Iubilee, *Demetrius* his mind being filled notwithstanding with cares. For a conspiracie which had beene hatching sixe moneths, now growing to ripenesse, terrified him: against which hee had armed himselfe with forreigne aides. At first hee had brought a guard of *Germanes* out of *Poland*, which being without example of his Predecessors, and seeing it disliked of his subjects, hee dismissed, together with all forren Souldiers. They being thus sent away without pay, returned with the cashеered *Polanders* to the borders, where they committed many outrages to the greater discontent of the *Russes*. Many of them found grieuances notwithstanding, in his too much respect to the *Poles*: and many made question of his birth. Many were suspected of conspiracie, and diuers tortured, which was but quenching fire with Oyle, the flame growing greater. And now beganne *Demetrius* to repent of his haftie dismissing his guards, and began a new Check-roll of *Liefflanders* and *Germanes*, to which hee added an hundred *English* Halberdiers and as many *Scots* (their Captaynes hee calleth *Matthias Cnotsenius* and * *Albert Lant*) and an hundred *French* vnder *Iaques Margeret* armed with *Partisans*. Then also he inlarged his pay, but too late.

Demetrius his Marriage.

Both crowned.

Conspiracie.

* I suppose this should bee *Gilbert:* for one Captayne *Gilbert* I haue often heard of in that place of seruice, which writ also commentaries of these affaires which I haue much sought to little purpose in our Merchants hands.

Alexander Gosenskie Corninus was sent Embassadour from *Poland* with rich Presents and Letters from King *Sigismund* to *Demetrius*, which because they expressed not the Title of Emperour were not receiued nor opened. In excuse whereof the Embassadour vsed words vnsufferable to *Russian* patience, that he should goe and depriue the great *Turke* of those Titles. *Demetrius* dissembled notwithstanding, in regard of his past experience, and hoped helpes from the *Pole*. The dayes following were spent in pastimes and sloth. Saturday was solemne to the *Russians*, a Feast then happening which they preferre before Easter. The Emperour and Empresse sate crowned in the Hall, and made a great Feast to their owne and to strangers; in which the *Pole* Embassadour refused to be present, except he might sit at the Princes Table, as the *Russian* Embassadour had beene honoured at *Craconia*. The *Russes* denied stiffely, but *Demetrius* at length yeelded. Many peremptorie and licentious passages happened, the *Poles* carrying themselues domineeringly to the *Russes*, as Victors to the conquered. *Demetrius* at first ouer-bold, now beganne to feare, and warned the *Poles* to bee warie, and sent for all his guards. On Friday, the *Russes* preparing for offence, and the *Poles* for their defence (for they and not the Prince, seemed to bee then in danger) in the Euening the Nobles command the people to arme against the next day. The Empresse was this while secure, and made ready a magnificent Feast against Sunday. But on Saturday (the sixteenth of the Kalends of Iune) the Conspirators assemble early, and a great cry is ray-

Bloudie day.

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rayſed to kill the *Poles* and *Demetrius*. Some greedie of ſpoyle runne preſently to the *Poles* Lodgings, aſſault them and embroyle all with ſlaughters. Others runne to the Caſtle. Few of the guard were there, delay hauing bred ſecuritie in *Demetrius*, nor were any of their Captaynes ſeene. *Margaret* then lay ſicke as he after told me (*Thuanus*) which diſeaſe ſaued his life. Things were done with ſuch furie and celeritie, that many *Ruſſes* in *Poliſh* attire were ſlaine before they were knowne.

Peter Baſman came running forth halfe naked, & was killed by one of his own ſeruants. *Swiskie* their Leader, carrying a Sword in one hand, a Croſſe in the other, cauſed the great Bel to be rung in token of fire that *Demetrius* might be raiſed & come forth of his Parlor. He awaked with the noyſe, now ſeeing a greater danger then fire, taketh a *Turkiſh* Sword, and ſuddenly ſlips downe out of a window, breaking his legge with the fall, whereby he was eaſily taken by the people, and by *Swiskoys* command carried into the greater Hall, where Embaſſadours haue audience. There ſome vpbrayding his impoſtures, he with his ſword layd one on the ground: and then deſired the Nobilitie to permit him to ſpeake to the people, which was denyed. Some ſay that he obtayned of *Swiskey*, that he might be tryed by the teſtimonie of *Vaſilowich* his Wife; which being brought out of the Nunnery, affirmed before the Nobles on her oath, that her Sonne *Demetrius* was many yeeres before murthered by *Boris* his perfidies, which ſhe at firſt ſeeing the peoples fauour, and iuſt reuenge on *Boris*, willingly diſſembled, whereupon they ranne vpon him, and with many wounds ſlue him. Thus writeth *Peter Paterſon* of *Vpſal* which then was in *Ruſſia*. When they had ſlaine him, they thruſt a rope thorow his ſecret parts, and drew him thorow the myre into the Market place, where he remayned foure dayes lying all gorie and myrie on a boord, with *Peter Baſman* vnder it, and an vgly Vizar ouer it, a Bag-pipe in his mouth, with other laſciuious cruelties exerciſed on his dead body.

P. Baſman ſlain.

Demetrius taken and ſlaine.

Contumelious vſage.

The *Palatine Sendomir* (or *Sandamerſko*) was blocked vp in his Houſe, and other *Poles* Houſes rifled, many of which died not vnreuenged, howſoeuer by numbers ouercomne. *Viteneskie* after much ſlaughter of the aſſayling *Ruſſes*, when he ſaw Ordnance brought, ſet forth a white flagge in token of yeelding, bidding his Seruants caſt abroad his money; which whiles the people were gathering, he and his made way with their Swords with great ſlaughter, & yeelded to the *Boiarens* which came from the Caſtle. The miſerable Bride was not only ſpoyled of ineſtimable Treaſure, but of all her Apparell, and Iewels, carefull only of her Father and Vncle, and thinking it a happy purchaſe, if ſhe might ſaue her life and recouer her Countrey. Meanewhile, without her Garment to couer her, without Bed to lye on, without ſecuritie of life, ſhee expected in poore Weeds the iſſue of the peoples furie.

Poles ſlaine.

The Queene.

Many Merchants endured like fates. *Ambroſe Cellar*, beſides the loſſe of thirtie thouſand Crownes, loſt his life. *Iames Win* was with his own Sword beheaded: *Nathan* loſt one hundred and fiftie thouſand Florens: *Nicolas Limborough* fiftie thouſand. Two of *Auſpurg* had ſent two hundred thouſand Crownes to *Demetrius*, which now was not to pay them. *Marcellius* loſt an hundred thouſand Florens. Twelue hundred *Poles* loſt their liues; many were ſaued by the *Boiarens*. Foure hundred *Ruſſes* were ſlayne. At night the tumult ceaſed. Scarſly would the people giue leaue to bury the bodies after three dayes wallowing in the durt, in the *Germane* Church-yard.

Merchants ſpoyled.

Ruſſes ſlaine.

After this tempeſt was calmed, the *Boiarens* aſſembled in counſell about a new Election, where *Swiskey* made ſpeech to them, profeſſing himſelfe ſorrowfull for that had paſſed, in the execution of a iuſt zeale to the Imperiall Family and his Countrey, and in hatred of a cruell Tyrant: that *Iuan Vaſilowich*, how euer injuriouſly taxed by ſome, had left Kingdomes annexed to his Inheritance as Monuments of his great ſpirit; by whom he had beene ſent to *Stephen* King of *Poland* to treate of peace, and euer ſince had ſo carried himſelfe in the State, that none could juſtly blame him: that *Iohn* being dead, *Theodore* ſucceeded, but another ruled, who murthered the yonger brother, and as was thought, after that poyſoned the other; ſo attayning the Empire, which how miſerable was it all his time? that *Demetrius* therefore (whoſoeuer he was) found friends, himſelfe amongſt others, but when their Religion was endangered, Forreiners aduanced, Lawes violated, Exotike faſhions brought in, liberties ſuppreſſed, he withſtood with the peril of his life; which it grieued him to haue enjoyed, as a Theeues benefit, by his grant which had no right to take it: yet ſeeing their forwardneſſe in a cauſe ſo juſt (would God it had not beene ſo bloudy) more regarding his Countreyes ſafety then rumours and reports, hee had beene their Captayne to doe that which God the diſpoſer of Kingdomes by the ſucceſſe had approoued, ſo that now they were freed from a cruel Tyrant, nor had they any Sorcerer or Impoſtor to mock them: that it remayned now, ſeeing the Imperiall Family was extinct, they ſhould now ſeeke one of nobleſt bloud, of wiſeſt experience, of moſt religious zeale, who might eſteeme his peoples hearts his ſtrongeſt Forts, ſuch an one as either is, or is thought to bee the beſt man to become their Prince. Thus was himſefe choſen Emperour the thirteenth of the Kalends of Iune: A writing was publiſhed to juſtifie the killing of *Demetrius*, a runnagate Fryer called *Griſhka*, or *Gregorie Strepy*, profeſſed in the Monaſterie in the Caſtle (which therefore hee would neuer enter leſt hee ſhould bee knowne) with other aſperſions of Hereſie, Sorcerie, affectation of indu-

Swiskeys ſpeech.

He is choſen Emperour.

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cing Popery (the Popes Letters also challenging his promise produced) to giue the Iesuites Temples, Colledges, and other necessaries; with other ouer-tures to the *Palatine Sandomersko*, for *Smolensko*, and *Nouogrod*; his bringing in *Poles* in *Russian* Roomes, his luxurie, riot, pompe, reseruing *Boris* his Daughter in a Nunnerie with intent of incestuous lust, hauing murthered her Mother and Brother; making a siluer Throne with sixe Lions on each side, and other pride; abusing Nunneries to lust and lasciuiousnesse, &c. But wee shall giue you hereof more authenticke testimonie then this of *Thuanus* in *Suiskeys* Imperiall Letter to His Majestie. Meanewhile touching this *Demetrius* we will produce a few *English* Testimonies extracted out of their Letters and Relations: wherein if some circumstantiall discrepance appeare (in things done both so farre and so foule in tumultuous furie, where men had rather hide themselues then become witnesses, lest whiles they would bee Spectators, they should bee forced to bee Actors, and haue their parts acted in that bloudie Tragedy) it is no maruell. I produce all Witnesses I can, in a cause of so remarkeable consequence, and choose rather to bee prolixe then negligent, that the Reader out of so much euidence may better weigh and examine the truth.

The Deuill is often slandered: and by ill willers, bad is made worse. And so perhaps by *Suiskeys* faction was this *Demetrius*.

The former part of this inteligence I found in Master *Hackluyts* Papers; the later by conference, &c. Son of *Gregory Peupoloy*. See *Suiskeys* Letter following.

THe late Emperour of *Russia* called by the name of *Demetry Euanowich*, is now credibly said (as some of them say) to haue beene the Sonne of a *Russe* Gentleman, named *Gregorie Peupoloy*, and that in his younger yeeres he was shorne a Frier into a Monasterie: from whence hee afterwards priuily got away, trauelled into *Germanie* and other Countreyes, but had his most abiding in *Poland*, in which time he attayned to good perfection in Armes and Military knowledge; with other abilities of sufficiencie; Afterwards finding a conceit taken by the *Russes* of a secret conueying away of *Demetry Euanowich*, brother and heire to *Pheodore Euanowich* Emperour; and that some other should be made away in his steed: And finding also the generall distaste of the gouernment of *Boris* then Emperour, who after a faire beginning, did in his latter yeeres vphold himselfe, and his house with oppression and crueltie: And hauing also many circumstances and oportunities of time and age, and such other likelihoods, to aduantage and second his pretence, began first to broach his Title *(as before)* and by degrees found such a generall acceptation of all sorts of people, that it so daunted *Boris*, that (as it was then rumoured about) hee, first, and afterwards his Wife, and his Sonne succeeding him, made themselues away by Poyson. Though now it goeth for certayne, that the poysoning of them was procured by the Pretender, to make the easier way to the Empire, which thereby he obtayned, entring and continuing the same with all the State, and greatnesse that such a place required: Vntill at length the *Russes* moued rather by other certainties, then by any thing discouered by himselfe, the sixt day after his marriage (which was kept with very great pompe and solemnitie) being the seuenteenth of May last past, taking a time when the *Poles* stood least on Guard; came to the Court with one consent of Nobilitie and Commons about three of the clocke in the morning, and mastring the Guards, drew the Emperour out of his bed from the Empresse, and charging him that hee was not the true *Demetry Euanowich*, but a false Pretender, he confessed the Deceit, and was forthwith hewed in pieces by the multitude: *Peter Basman* resisting was likewise slaine; and both brought into the Market place, where their bodies lay for a time to bee viewed of euery man. The old Queene denied him to bee her Sonne, excusing her former acknowledgement to haue proceeded from feare and the generall acceptance which he found amongst the people. As many *Poles* as made resistance, were slaine to the number of seuenteene hundred. The new Empresse, her Father, his brother with the other *Poles* were committed to safe keeping, to the number of eight or nine thousand.

Occasion of ambition.

Boris ill gouernment.

Demetrius Emperour.

He is slaine.

Suiskey Emperour.

And then proceeding to a new Election they chose Emperour *Vassiloe Euanowich Shoskey*, who not long before was at the Blocke to haue beene beheaded, for reporting that hee had seene the true *Demetry Euanowich* after he was dead, and did helpe to burie him. But the Emperour did recall him, and afterwards aduanced him to the chiefest place of dignitie about his person. He is the next of bloud * liuing, descended of the Race of the old Emperour *Iuan Vasilowich*, of the age of fiftie yeeres or thereabouts, neuer married, but kept vnder during *Boris* time, a Prince of great wisdome, and a great fauourer of our Nation, as did specially appeare by the care hee had to guard the *English* House from rifling, when the late *Demetry* was brought in by the *Poles*.

* This might be rumoured: Others say hee was not of that but of very noble bloud. See *sup.* in *Fletcher* and *Thuanus*.

Demetrius his person described.

The late Pretender was of stature low, but well set, hard fauoured and of no presence; howsoeuer otherwise of a Princely disposition, executing Iustice without partialities; And not remitting the insolencie euen of the *Poles*; well seene in martiall practises, and trayning his Nobilitie to the Discipline of warre, to make them the readier against the *Tartar*, not giuen either to women or drinke, but very liberall and bountifull, which occasioned some grieuous Exactions to maintayne the same. And to conclude, a man in the opinion of such as knew him, not vnworthy of a better gotten, and longer continued Empire, which hee lost chiefly through the greatnesse of his minde, supposing that none of his Subjects durst attempt any such matter against his person, when as in the meane time the practice went on with such a generall Conjuration, that the *Russes* were summoned by the ringing of a Bell to bee readie to enter the Court. And

Some say that he was not like *Demetrius* and that he seemed a dozen yeeres elder: but perhaps they mistake this for an other after Pretender, calling himselfe the same *Demetrius*, &c. as after shall appeare, a deformed man.

to shake off that Gouernment which would haue made them a more noble Nation then formerly they haue beene.

IT is reported by some of Ours, that hee the rather was inclinable to our Nation in the respect he bare to his Majestie, hauing read that his worthy Worke dedicated to Prince *Henrie*. Hee is said also to haue beene a resolute man of his hands, to haue delighted in fighting with the Beare; actiue and strong. I haue likewise heard that hee gaue the command of his Guard consisting of strangers to Captayne *Gilbert* a *Scot*; to haue made one *Buchenskoy* (a Learned and Religious Protestant) his Secretarie; and otherwise to haue beene so alienated from *Russian* manners, and so well affected to Strangers, that they conspired as aforesaid. The people are said to haue entred the Castle (which was a quadrant, hauing a high bricke wall of seuen stories, and another of stone, and a Market place) with stones in their pockets (which are rare thereabouts) and some with weapons.

Captayne *Gilbert.* *Buchenskoy.*

Stones rare about *Moſco.*

Some report from Captayne *Gilberts* Relation, that lying on his bed not long before his death (as hee thought, awake) an aged man came to him, which sight caused him to arise and come to Captayne *Gilbert*, and his guard that watched, but none of them had seene any thing. Hereupon he returned to his Bed, but within an houre after he againe troubled with like apparition called, and sent for *Buchinskie*: telling him that he had now twice seene an aged man, who at the second comming told him, that though for his owne person he was a good Prince, yet the injustice and oppressions of his inferiour Ministers must bee punished, and his Empire should bee taken from him. In this perplexitie his Secretarie gaue him good and holy counsell, saying till true Religion were there planted, his Officers would bee lewd, the people oppressed, and God Almightie offended, who perhaps by that Dreame or Vision had admonished him of his dutie. The Emperour seemed much moued, and to intend that good which that Countrey was not so happy to receiue. For a few dayes after (as that Relation auerreth) his *Russe* Secretarie came to him with a Sword, at which the Emperour jested, and hee suddenly after sawcie speeches assaulted him, with many other *Grandes* of that Conspiracie, and (like another *Cæsar*) slue him, crying *Libertie*, before his guards could apprehend the danger; of which some were slaine, but the most with *Gilbert* their Captayne, got to a place called *Coluga*, which with the helpe of some *Russes* they fortified and held for their defence. *Buchinskie* the Secretarie was taken and imprisoned, the strangers murthered, the *English* except, who haue in all changes been well beloued of the *Russians*; as indeed they deserue, hauing alway done good seruice to the Emperours. And their interest saued the life of that worthy man *Buchinskey*, which they requited with much obseruance to the succeeding Emperour *Suiskey*, who comes next to be spoken of; and first you shall haue his Letter to our Gracious Souereigne.

Captaine *Gilberts* report of a Vision.

Another manner of his death reported.

Coluga.

§. IIII.

SVISKEY *the Successour his Letter to our King, describing the former* DEMETRIVS *his Acts and Tragedie.*

The Copie of the Translation of a Letter sent from the new Emperour *Vassily Euanowich Shoskey* to the Kings Maiestie by Master *Iohn Mericke.*

I find him called *Shoskey*, *Suiskey*, *Ziska*, &c. the iust translation and pronunciation being had.

The loue and mercie of God that guideth vs in the wayes of peace, we glorifie with the Trinitie.

FRom *the great Lord Emperour and great Duke* Vassily Euanowich *of all* Russia, *sole Commander of* Voladomer, Mosko, Nouogrod, *King of* Cazan *and* Astracan, *of* Syberia, *Lord of* Vobsko, *and great Duke of* Smolensko, Twerskoy, Yrahatskoy, Pearmskoy, Vatskoy, Bollharskoy, *and of other: Lord and great Duke of* Nouogroda *of the Low Countrey of* Cherneego, Rezanskoy, Polotskoy, Rostouskoy, Yereslaueskoy, Bealozerskoy, Leeflanskoy, Owdorskoy, Obdorskoy, Condinskoy, *and Commander of all the North parts: also Lord of the Land of* Eeuerskoy, Cartalinskoy, *and ouer the Empire of the* Gorgians *of the Land of* Cabardinskoy, *and* Eeharskoy *Land, likewise of many other Lordships Lord and Commander.*

To our beloued Brother Iames *King of* England, Scotland, France, *and* Ireland, *We giue to vnderstand that* Sigismund *King of* Poland, *and great Duke of* Letto, *in* Anno 7109. *did send vnto the late Emperour* Boris, *his Embassadour named* Lewis Sapeago, *being Chancelor of the great Dukedome of* Poland, *requesting the said Emperour* Boris, *that the former league and peace made and concluded vpon by the great Lord Emperour and great Duke* Theodore Euanowich *of all* Russia, *and*

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League with the Pole.

him Sigismond King of Poland, might be stedfastly holden and continued till the time of that league were expired. As also that the Emperour Boris would inlarge the said league for thirtie yeeres more, whereupon the Emperour Boris yeelded thus farre vnto the request of the King of Poland, that hee would continue the old league till the full time were expired, and assent to a new league for twentie yeeres more; and to that effect he tooke an Oath, to hold and keepe all the contents faithfully, mentioned in the said Writing, touching the same league: and instead of the King of Poland, his Embassadour Lewis Sapeagoe was sworne in the presence of the Emperour Boris. And after the Polish Embassadour was departed from the Mosko, the Emperour Boris sent vnto Sigismund King of Poland his Embassadour, being one of the Prinie Councell, called Michailo Zleabowich Salleecoue, with some others to end and finish the aforesaid league, to the which league the King of Poland himselfe was sworne in the presence of the Emperours Embassadour to hold and keepe the said league faithfully, according to the tenour of their Writing.

He taxeth the King of Poland.

Allegations against the pretending Demetrius.

But not long after Sigismund King of Poland, with one Pauarade, entred into such a practise, as he therein falsified his Oath, and made way to the shedding of much Christian bloud: First, by retayning and vpholding one Gryshca Otreapyoue, a Runnagate, a Coniurer, and one that left his profession being a Monke, and ran away out of Russia into Poland; and being come thither, tooke vpon him to be the Son of the great Emperour Euan Vassilawich of famous memorie, and by name Demetry Euanowich: when as it was well knowne in our Kingdome, that before he was shorne a Monke, he was commonly called Yowshco, Son to one Bowghdan Otreapyoue, dwelling at a place called Galitts: and when hee had committed much villanie, to saue his life he shoare himselfe a Frier, and so runne from one Monasterie to another, and lastly, came into a Monasterie called Chowdo, where hee was made one of the Clearkes; being so placed there by the Patriarke of Mosko himselfe: But he did not leaue off his former life; for he continued still in his most Deuillish actions, as he did before he was shorne, committing villany, forsaking God and falling to the studie of the Blacke Arte, and to many such like euils he was inclined. Also there was found by him a Writing which shewed how he was falne from God, and the same was made well knowne to the holy Patriarch of Mosko, and of all Russia, and to the Metropolitanes, Archbishops, and Bishops, and to all the holy Cleargie: whereupon the said Rulers of our true Christian Faith, which is from the Greeke Church Grecian Law, for these his most vngodly works, consulted to send him to perpetuall Prison, there to end his life. Whereupon this notorious Instrument of Satan, perceiuing this his ouerthrow, and that his vile practises were discouered, ran away out of the Kingdome of Mosko, beyond the borders, and into Letto to a place called Keeyeue: thus according to the Deuils instructing of him, as one forsaken of God, he made this his doing manifestly known to all people, leauing off his Monks Habit, and withall by the counsell and aduice of our Enemie the Polish King, and one of his Palatines named Sandamersko Yourya, [m] with Duke Constantine, and Duke Veshneuetskoy and his Brethren with other Polish Lords that were of his Councell, began to call him the Son of the great Lord, Emperour and great Duke Euan Vassilywich, by name Prince Demetry of Owglitts.

A Frier.
A Clearke.
Magician.
Greeke Church
Flight to Letto.
m George.

As also by his villanous treacherie and the Deuills perswading of him, he made much trouble in our Land, by sending abroad many of his intising and prouoking Letters, to diuers places vpon the borders of our Countrey: that is, to a place called Done, and to the Volgoe, to our Cossacks and Souldiers, naming himselfe to be the Prince Demetry of Owglitts. Moreouer, there came to our Kingdome of Mosko many Polish Spies, which brought and dispersed Libels both in Citie and Townes, and in the high-wayes, practising to rayse dissention in the Kingdome of Mosko. Also it is well knowne, not only to them in the Empire of Mosko, but likewise in other Kingdomes, that the great Lord Emperour, and great Duke Euan Vassilywich of famous memory, had a Sonne called by the name of Prince Demetry, and after his Fathers decease, there was giuen vnto him and his Mother the Citie of Owglitts. But in the yeere 7095. being in the Reigne of the great Lord, Emperour and great Duke Theodore Euanowich of all Russia, this foresaid Demetry was murthered by the order and appointment of Boris Godenoue. And at his Funerall was his Mother now called the Empresse Martha, with her owne Brethren by name Michaila and Greegory the Sonnes of Theodore Nahoue. Likewise to his burying, there was sent from the Mosko Metropolitanes, and Archimandreets, and Abbots: and the great Lord Emperour, and great Duke Theodore Euanowich sent to his Funerall many Nobles and Courtiers of the Land which saw him buried in the chiefest and principall Church of Owglitts. Moreouer. Martha the Dutches and Empresse his Mother is yet liuing, and many of her Brothers and Vncles, which doe at this present time serue vs the great Lord Emperour, and great Duke Vassily Euanowich, of all Russia sole Commander: Likewise in these last yeeres past, as in Anno 7111. and in Anno 7112. and 7113. concerning that foresaid Traytour and Hereticke, the forsaken of God Gryshca Otreapyoue, many of our Gentlemen, Captaynes and others our Officers did many times write from the North parts of the borders of our Kingdome into Poland and Letto, and to others their inferiour Cities, to the Rulers and Gouernours of the same; as also our spirituall people: the Patriarke, the Metropolitans, Archbishops, and Bishops wrote vnto the spirituall people of Poland, declaring vnto them what that Heretick and Traytor was, likewise from whence he came and what manner of person he was; as also of his demeanour, and likewise of the occasion why hee runne away to them out of the Land, as also the manner of the making away of the Prince Demetry, and withall requested the Rulers and Spirituall people of Poland, that they knowing what Runnagate this was, would not giue credit vnto him, nor to make a breach of the late league concluded vpon.

Demetry of Owglits.
His murther.
Buriall.
Letters to Poland.

But

But the Gouernours of the Dukedome of Poland *and* Letto, *as also the spirituall men, according to the King of* Poland *his commandment, gaue no credit vnto our writings, but began, more then before to intice and perswade men to vphold the Traitor, and to aide him. Moreouer, to make trouble and dissention in our Land, they tooke this forsaken of God,* Greeshca *vnto them, and cald him by the name of Prince* Demetry *of* Owglits: *likewise the King gaue vnto him a chaine of gold, with many thousand peeces of* Polish *gold, to the defraying of his charges; as also sent in armes to our borders with one of his Lords, the Palatine* Sendamersko, *and another of his chiefest Lords, with many troopes of* Poles. *But when the Emperour* Boris *vnderstood how that this* Gryshca Otreapyoue *was called, by the name of Prince* Demetry Euanowich *of* Owglits, *and withall, that they did aide and helpe him against the Kingdome of* Russia: *he caused his Counsell to send a messenger, as from themselues, to the* Polish *Lord* Panameerada, *which Messenger was named* Smeernay Otreapyoue, *being Vnckle to the said* Gryshca Otreopyoue *being the Son of one* Iamateen Otrepayou, *onely to declare vnto them what this* Gryshca *was; but that* Polish *Lord* Panameerada *would not suffer him, and his Vnckle to be brought face to face. But he made answer to the said Messenger* Smeernay, *that they did not aide him, neither did they stand for him in any sort.*

Polish aides.

Smeernoy sent.

So after he had sent away the Messenger Smeernay, *the King of* Poland, *and the Lord* Panameerada *did aide* Gryshca Otreapyoue *with men and treasure more liberally then before; purposing to make great strife and trouble, and to shed much bloud in the Kingdome of* Mosco. *Also at the same time* Sigismund, *King of* Poland, *requested the aide of one of the Princes of* Crim *in* Tartaria, *named* Cazi-teera; *and to that end he should aide* Gryshca *with his forces, against the Kingdome of* Mosko; *and he in consideration, did promise to giue vnto the foresaid* Crim, *Prince, what hee would demand. Then the Emperour* Boris *vnderstanding what practises were in hand, being altogether contrary to the league; thereupon purposely he sent to* Sigismund *King of* Poland, *another speciall Messenger, one named* Posnicke Agareoue; *likewise at the same time, the holy Patriarke of* Mosco, *and all* Russia, *with the Metropolitans, Archbishops, and Bishops, with all the rest of the holy Clergie, sent their Messengers with Letters to the State of* Poland, *and so the great Dukedome of* Letto, *to the Archbishops, and Bishops, and to all the Spiritualtie. Moreouer, in the said Letters, the Emperour* Boris *with the Patriarke, and all the holy assembly, wrote vnto the Lord* Panameerada *concerning* Gryshca, *making it knowne vnto them what he was, and wherefore he ranne away into* Poland, *and likewise that the Sonne of the great Lord Emperour, and great Duke* Euan Vasiliwich, *the Prince* Demetry *was dead: And to that intent, that the King* Sigismund *should not giue credit to the said* Gryshca, *and that they should not spill Christian bloud, nor violate the league.*

Crim Tartar.

Another Messenger.

Hereupon Sigismund *King of* Poland *writ vnto the Emperour* Boris, *and further, by word of mouth, both he and* Panameerada *deliuered to the said messenger in his message, that hee did hold and keepe their League, and moreouer, did not violate or breake his oath no manner of way: and likewise did write, that he did not ayde that foresaid* Gryshca, *neither did giue credit vnto him: withall denying that he was with him in his Kingdome: and further he did write, that if there were any out of* Poland *or* Letto *that did aide or assist him, that then they should be executed. But after he had dispatched away the messenger of* Boris, *not regarding his oath, still more and more did aide and helpe this* Gryshca Otreapyoue. *Also the* Palatine Sendamersko, *and* Myhala Ratanisko *came into the Kingdome of* Mosco, *to a place called the Land of* Seeuersko, *putting the people of that Land in feare, and perswading them there, this* Gryshca *was the true Prince, and that the King of* Poland *and* Panameerada, *had found out the certaintie thereof: and therefore they will haue* Poland *and* Letto *stand for him. Also from out of many other Kingdomes they goe to aide and assist him: likewise other inferiour Kingdomes are willing to stand for him: moreouer, that* Gryshca *in the foresaid Land of* Seeuersko, *and in other places of our Borders, by the meanes of his diuelish practises and coniurations did intise and tempt them to fall to him: likewise the people of those foresaid places of the Land of* Seeuersko, *and on the Borders, being simple people, and resorting seldome to the Citie of* Mosco, *and being intised by* Gryshca, *and the rest of the Gouernours, could not withstand, but yeelded them vnto them. Whereupon against those* Polonians *and* Lettoes, *and other enemies that were already entred the Kingdome of* Mosco, *the Emperour sent his Nobles with a great Armie: but by the appointment of God, the Emperour* Boris *deceased; vpon whose death, the chiefest of the Nobles departed the Campe. And after their departure, the Armie hearing of the death of the Emperour, and being drawne thereto by feare and otherwise, at last yeelded themselues ouer vnto* Gryshca, *as the Borderers had done before.*

Also the foresaid Gryshca, *by the helpe of the Diuell, and King* Sigismund, *and* Panameerada, *came into the Citie and Kingdome of* Mosco, *to the great disquietnesse and trouble of the whole Land; by whom the Religion was corrupted, and by him were many true Christians put to exile, for denying his right and interest to the Kingdome of* Mosco. *And shortly after he was setled in the Kingdome, and he tooke to wife the daughter of one* Sandamersko, *as was appointed by the King of* Poland *and* Panameerada: *the which wife of his was in* Mosco *with her Father and Brother* Senatskoy, *and with one* Veshneuetskoy, *with their* Polish *and* Letto *Lords, and other people, by whom Religion was prophaned: as also we were forced and driuen to receiue many wrongs and iniuries, which the people of the Kingdome of* Mosco *could not indure. Also, at last this* Greeshca, *by the counsell of the* Palatine Sandamersko *his Father in Law, and by the counsell of* Veshneuetskoy, *and other* Polish *and* Letto *people, which*

Mutation of Religion.

which he brought in with him, was purposed, by a secret politicke deuise to haue put to death the Metropolitans, Archbishops, and Bishops, and all the holy and spirituall assembly, with the Nobles, and Courtiers, and diuers others which were of the better people, and so to haue sent others into Poland *and* Letto; *withall to haue changed the Religion, and to haue established the* Romish *Religion, for which purpose he brought with him many* Iesuites.

Romish Religion and Iesuites

The which we the great Lord and great Duke Vasily Euanowich, *of all* Russia, *with the Metropolitans, Archbishops, and Bishops, and with all the holy spirituall assembly, and with the Nobles, Courtiers, and Commons of the Kingdome of* Mosco, *well considering, and perceiuing what an alteration this would be to our Christian faith, with the ouerthrow and vtter vndoing to our whole Kingdome: we then earnestly bewail'd and lamented, and withall hartily prayed to the almightie Trinitie our onely Lord God, that liueth and defendeth mankinde, that it would please him to deliuer vs, and the Common-wealth from those vile, cruell, diuellish attempts, and deuises of theirs. Thus desiring the mercy of God, we all returned and stood stedfast to our former vnspotted and true Christian faith, against that vsurper and counterfeit* Gryshca *and his Counsell, with a resolution to stand in the same manfully, and euen to the death, hoping and longing for the time that all people, and warlik men and Souldiors and many others of the Empire of* Mosco *might come to gather themselues together, & that they might likewise perceiue and discern this vsurping Heretick, and his diuellish courses, by which he did decline from the true Christian faith of our Religion. The largenesse of the Kingdome of* Mosco *cannot be vnknowne vnto you our louing Brother, how farre it extendeth it selfe both to the South, and to the West, as also to other places, that in halfe a yeares space they could not gather themselues together. But when as the power and warlike Souldiours, and all other people were gathered together, then through the mercie and fauour of God, this enemy of Gods Commonwealth was discouered to all what he was. And the Empresse* Martha, *being Mother of the true Prince* Demetry Euonowich, *did certifie vnto vs before the Metropolitans, Archbishoppes, and Bishoppes, and before all the holy assembly, as also to the Nobles and Courtiers, and other Officers, and men of worth within our Empire, did shee deliuer, that her Sonne the Prince* Demetry *was murthered beyond reason, at a place cald* Owglits, *by appointment of* Boris Godenoue, *and that he dyed in her armes; yet did this* Gryshca *falsely call himselfe by the name of him that was murthered.*

Large Empire of *Russia.*

Also we found in the custody of this Gryshca, *the Copie of a writing, which was the contract and agreement that he made betwixt him and the* Palatine, *before his comming out of* Poland; *in which was written, that as soone as he did come to the Kingdome of* Mosco, *that then he would take to wife the daughter of the* Palatine, *and would giue her two Prouinces, called great* Nouogrod *and* Vobsko, *with counsell, Courtiers, Gentlemen, and Priests, fitting to a Congregation, with inferior Castles and Lands, freely in those foresaid, to build and set vp Monasteries, and also to set vp the* Romish *Religion; And when he came to the Kingdome of* Mosco, *that then he should giue vnto the* Palatine *tenne thousand pieces of* Polish *Gold, which is by our* Russia *account, three hundred thousand Markes: and to his wife, in consideration of her long Iourney, he promised to giue cloth of Gold, and cloth of Siluer, and of all the best things that was in the Treasurie of the Kingdome of* Mosco. *Likewise, that hee the said* Gryshca, *at his comming to* Mosco, *would take order to bring these things to passe with all diligence, whereby he might draw all the Dominion of* Mosco *from our true* Grecian *Religion, and so to haue turned vs into the* Romish *Religion, and to haue destroyed the holy Church ouer all the Empire of* Mosco, *and so to haue built vp the Religion of the Church of* Rome: *and for the performing of all this, the said* Gryshca *was sworne to the* Palatine Sandamersko, *in the presence of the Teachers of the Land, as beforesaid; that he according to his owne hand writing, would hold all the said couenants with all diligence, as likewise to bring all the Empire of* Mosco *to the* Romish *Religion. The which couenants and agreements the Generall* Sandamersko *himselfe hath confessed to our Maiestie, and Nobles, that the foresaid agreements and couenants betwixt him and the foresaid* Gryshca *were true, and how that they trusted one to another: moreouer, the* Palatine *did certifie vnto our Nobles, how* Gryshca *sent him a Letter vnder his owne hand and Seale, in which he promised to giue him* Smolensko, *with all the Prouinces belonging thereto, and another place called* Seuerow, *as also gaue him liberty to set vp Monasteries, and the Religion of the Church of* Rome. *Further, there was found by him Letters which were sent to him from the Pope of* Rome, *and the Cardinals, and Priests, to that effect, that he should remember and withall be mindefull to take in hand speedily those matters and businesse vpon which he had giuen to* Sigismund, *and the Cardinals his troth and vow, the which was, as beforesaid, to be himselfe of the* Romish *Religion, as also to bring all the people of the Kingdome of* Russia *into the same* Romish *Religion, not onely them that of themselues were willing thereto, but also others by compulsion, and to put them to death that sought to contrary the same. And not onely them of the Kingdome of* Russia, *but likewise other godly people of seuerall Religion: and that doe serue in the Kingdome of* Mosco, *as the Catholicks, and the Caluinists, them likewise he should seeke to bring into the* Romish *Religion with all perswasions. Moreouer,* Gryshca *himselfe, before vs, and our Nobles, and Courtiers, and before our Commons, did acknowledge as much, and thereupon yeelded himselfe to be in fault: as also that he did all with helpe of the Diuell, hauing forsaken God.*

See before.

Popes Letter.

For which these his vile actions, this Gryshca, *according to the true iustice, receiued an end to his life, and was by abundance of people slain in the* Mosco, *where he lay three dayes in the midst of the Citie, to the view*

view of all such like vsurpers, and disturbers. And because his body was loathsome vnto vs, we caused it to be carried out of the Citie, and there to be burnt. Slaine & burnt.

This Enemie thus hauing ended his life, then the Kings sonnes of diuers Countries, now dwelling within our Kingdome, with the Patriarke, Metropolitanes, Archbishops, and Bishops, with the Nobles, Courtiers, and the Commons, made entreaty vnto vs Vasili Euanowich, *to raigne and gouerne ouer them and ouer all the Kingdome of* Mosco, *as their Lord, Emperour, and great Duke of all* Russia. *According to which entreatie made vnto vs by the said Kings sons of diuers Countries, as likewise by our Nobles, Courtiers, Merchants, and all the rest of the Commons of all the Kingdome of* Mosco, *Wee are come to the great Kingdomes of* Volodemar, Mosco, Nouogrod, *and as also of the Kingdomes of* Cazan, Astracan, *and* Siberia, *and ouer all the Prouinces of the Empire of* Mosco: *as also wee the great Lord Emperour, and great Duke of all* Russia, *are crowned with our Imperiall Crown: and for the said Kings sonnes of diuers Religions, and our Nobles, Courtiers, and Souldiers, and all manner of People, doe serue our Imperiall Maiesty with desire and good liking voluntarily, and not by delusions and coniurations, as the* Poles *and* Lettoes *were bewitched by* Grithca. *But we the great Lord Emperour and great Duke* Vasili Euanowich, *with great care stayed and restrayned our People from the spoyle of the* Poles *and the* Lettoes, *defending them from death; and withall haue commanded to let goe many of them into* Poland *and* Letto: *but the chiefest of them that were of the Councell, and that practised to bring trouble and dissention in the Kingdome of* Mosco, *are now taken. And we to doe an honour vnto the dead body of the true* Demetrie, *haue (vpon conference with our Metropolitanes, Archbishops, and Bishops, and all the holy Assembly, our Nobles and Courtiers, and all the Kingdome of* Mosco) *sent to the Citie of* Owglets *a Metropolitan, named* Filareta, *of* Rostoue *and* Yeraslaue, *who was called before he was made Metropolitan,* Theodor Neekete, *which being one of the Nobles in times past, and with him the Archbishops of* Astracan, *called* Feodosia, *and our Nobles the Duke* Euan Michalowich Vorotinskoy, *with the rest of his fellowes, commanding them to bring vp with them the body of the Prince* Demetrie Euanowich, *who was murthered by the appointment of* Boris Godonoue, *and to bring it vp to our Citie of* Mosco *with great honour, which body shall be buried in the principall Church of* Mosco, *called* Michael *the* Archangel, *neare to his father the great Lord Emperour and great Duke* Euan Vasilowich *of famous memorie, and by Gods power his body shall not be touched or abused any manner of way. Likewise will we, by the fauour of God, honour the Funerall of* Demetrie Euanowich *with speciall solemnitie, which body performeth many cures, and worketh miraculously vnto them, that come to him with Faith to be cured of their diseases.* Election of Swisky. Miracles.

And now most louing and deare brother, wee calling well to minde the great amitie and friendship that was betwixt the great Lord Emperour, and great Duke Euan Vasilywich, *and his Sonne* Theodor Euanowich, *the Emperour* Boris, *and the great Lady Queene* Elizabeth: *the like brotherly loue doe we desire to haue with you, most louing and deare brother, to be established and continued betwixt vs, as it was with them, during our liues. Therefore may it please you, our louing brother* Iames, *King of* England, *after the hearing of these great and strange dangers past, to reioyce with vs, that he hath deliuered from such a vile enemy, and that he, our mercifull God, hath diuided and scattered that wicked counsell, and that he hath turned their cruelty vpon their owne head, to their shame and confusion. And concerning your Merchants that were in our Kingdome,* Iohn Merricke *with his fellowes, we haue graced them with our Emperiall presence; as also haue giuen vnto the said* Iohn Merricke *and his fellowes, a new priuiledge, and Letters of fauour, by which they shall come into our Kingdome, and to traficke with all manner of goods freely, without paying any Custome whatsoeuer, and as to them was granted in former time, and this fauour we haue giuen them to manifest vnto you our louing Brother, our Brotherly loue. And the reason that we haue not sent to you, louing brother, our Embassadour, is, because we had not time, in regard of many our Emperiall affaires, but hereafter doe purpose to send, to visite you in your Kingdome. Written at our Emperiall palace and Citie of* Mosco, *from the beginning of the World* Anno 7114. *the fourth day of Iune.* 1606. Sir *Iohn Merricke.* New Patent.

Thus is *Demetrius* painted out by his Enemies, which perhaps were not altogether led with simplicitie of truth, but in many things made him worse, that they might make their owne cause (bad enough) to appeare better. They tell also of great outrages committed by the *Poles*, (like those sometimes here in *England* by the *Danes*) their proud insulting ouer the men, rauishments of women, fetching them out of their houses and husbands bosomes to serue their lusts: neither did *Demetrius*, as they say, punish them; one onely being sentenced, and hee violently rescued from execution by the *Poles*. They say also that *Demetrius* his body was plucked out of the graue and burnt, the ashes throwne into the aire, the seeds, as the sequele seemed to shew, of many *Demetrij* after. *Thu. l.* 135. *Polish* insolencies.

Suiskey is also by some reported to haue beene chosen by lot in this manner. The Nobles cast lots foure times to receiue a Successor, as it were, by diuine sentence in lot-oracle: in euery of which times the lot fell vpon *Suiskey* (for as some say, there were three or foure neerer then hee) he modestly refusing and enforced by constancy of the various lot to accept that Scepter; whereof others thinke him as ambitious, as was modest *Boris* before him. Howeuer, he hath left his name and memorie written in as blacke inke as either *Boris* or *Demetrius*, if Reports bee true, which Choosing by lot.

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Suiskys vices. which say that he proued a wicked Prince, partly by poison, partly by the *Tartars*, making away all, whose bloud might by Nobilitie threaten a probabilitie of their prouing his Corriuals. Yea, he is said to haue sent for Witches and Sorcerers, *Laps*, *Samoeds*, *Tartars*, or whatsoeuer other Nation yeelded such Hell-hags incarnate Fiends, the Deuils blacke guard, to consult about his Empire and succession; and (the Deuill is a murtherer) to haue sealed their predictions with bloud. Thus being told that one *Michalowich* should succeed, he is said presently to haue plotted the death of three *Grandes* of that name, his best seruants: yet the superstitious people obserue (after much chopping and changing) that in little time the State was settled on one of that Name, which still swaieth the Scepter; Who then being a youth of no State-terror, was his attendant in Court, and bare an Axe (after their custome) before him.

The like is told of K. *Edward* the fourth that vpon prediction of one to succeed, whose name began with *G*, he put to death *George* Duke of *Clarence* his brother, and yet *Gloster* succeeded.

One of his first Acts, was to send into *Poland* an Embassage, which could not bee admitted audience till Ianuarie. Hee thereby complayned of *Sandomerskos* artes which obtruded that Changeling on *Russia*, whereby aboue two hundred of principall Nobilitie had lost their liues: demanding restitution of the moneys which that Impostor had caused to bee transported into *Poland*, and restitution of goods; otherwise hee would with *Charles* of *Sweden* Duke of *Suderman*, enter *Poland* with an Armie to bee reuenged for the league (which they had sworne) broken, &c. *Sigismund* answered modestly, with excuse of their helping the right Heire in their conceits, and that his desire was that peace should continue (being loth in times then tumultuous at home, to prouoke a forreine enemie, so neere in dwelling, so remote in affection) *Sandomersko* still remayned prisoner in *Russia*. But things being better setled in *Poland*, and growing worse in *Russia*, by the dislike conceiued against *Suiskey*, a double danger grew to him both from another reuiued *Demetrius* (yea many pretending that Name and Title did after arise, as out of his dispersed ashes) within *Russia*; and from the *Poles* without, willing both to assist him vnder colour of Reuenge, and with hope of Conquest also, to inuade and fish for themselues in troubled waters.

A printed book 1614. tells of a great man, named *Trigin*, which betraied by one *Glaseo* was arrayned, and to preuent the furie of *Suiskey* stabbed himselfe, &c. Cap. *Gilbert*.

As for that *Demetrius* new risen from the dead (not to mention the others of inferiour note) I shall relate Captaine *Gilberts* reports which knew him and was by him entertayned, as I receiued them of a iudicious friend of mine, which had them from his owne mouth. Hee being at *Coluga* (as before is said) receiued a Letter from this new *Demetrius* *, so written that it appeared to bee of the former *Demetrius* his owne hand: and thus also he vsed to doe to others being able to counterfeit his writing, and to relate such other particulars as seemed impossible to any but *Demetrius* to doe. Hereupon Captaine *Gilbert* went with his Guard of Souldiers to meete him and the *Polake* Generall which came with him. And whiles he was yet a good distance off, *Ah* (this *Demetrius* called to him) *my true seruant, where were you and my Guard, when the villaines hurt me? but if I had followed the counsell which you gaue me such a time in such a place* (relating the particulars) *I had preuented them.* This circumstance had moued him to beleeue this to be the former *Demetrius*, had not he differed from this in person, as night from day. Thus also he said he affirmed to the *Pole* Generall, asking him how he liked this *Demetrius*, that This and That were as like as Night and Day (for the former was of goodly personage, and this a very deformed wretch.) The *Pole* replyed, It is no matter, Captaine, this *Demetrius* shall serue our turne to bee reuenged of the perfidious and bloudie *Russe*. And this *Demetrius* acted the other so neerly, and could so cunningly and confidently relate particular passages of past occurrents, that the Lady of *Demetrius* was by him bedded. Thus was miserable *Russia* ground betwixt these two Mill-stones, the pretending *Demetrius* and the super-intending *Pole*. *Suiskey* is helped not a little by the *English*, which brought him strangely and aduenturously powder and munition to his Castle to *Mosco*, which yet at last by reuolt of the Citizens deliuers vp it selfe and him to the *Poles*. And as for that pretending *Demetrius*, he was afterwards murthered in his Campe by a *Tartar*. But it is meet to take hereof larger view.

* *Thuan* tels that fourteene horses were missing in the Kings stable on the massacre day, and hence was occasioned a suspicion of escape, &c.

A strange Iuggler.

English aide.

Sigismund King of *Poland* layeth claime to *Sweden*, as sonne to King *Iohn* (who is said to haue vniustly depriued *Ericus* of his life and Kingdome) whose yonger brother Duke *Charles* first receiued his Nephew King *Sigismund* (then also elected and still continuing King of *Poland*) but vpon warres which after arose betwixt them, the issue was, that the *Pole* holds the Title; but *Charles* obtayned both Regall Title and Power, wherein his Sonne hath succeeded. *Suiskey* takes hold of this difference, and *Charles* assists him with an Armie sent vnder the command of *Pontus de la Gard* a *French* Coronell, consisting of *English*, *French*, and *Scots*. These march to *Mosco*, which the new *Demetrius* and *Poles* held besieged, and put *Demetrius* into such feare, that not trusting the *Pole*, and fearing his Aduersaries on both sides, he stole away by night with a small retinue: and the *Poles* obtayned Articles of composition and departed. But miserable were the distresses by famine, fire, sword, rapes, and other outrages in other parts of *Russia*, caused by other *Poles*; and yet these but as a beginning and prelude to other following. For the King of *Poland* entred with a huge Armie (some say of an hundred thousand men) inuaded the *Muscouite*, and especially laid siege to *Smolensko*. He is reported thence to haue sent twentie thousand to besiege *Mosco*.

Sweden Title.

Forraine aides to the *Russes*.

Suiskey had sent to King *Charles* for more aide, which he procured out of *England*, and other Coun-

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Countries, of which I had rather let you heare an eye-witnesse speake of this, as elsewhere other *English* men haue related their owne voyages. This indeed deserueth relation, as a tragedie of meaner persons with manifold vicissitudes of miseries (attending voluntarie Souldiers) as before you haue seene tragedies of Princes and Grandes. And first you may reade King *Charles* his compact and promised stipend to such voluntaries, which for the more vnderstanding Readers delight I haue here inserted.

NOs Carolus *Nonus, Dei gratia* Suecorum, Gothorum, Wandalorum, Finnonum, Coreliorum, Lapporum, Conanorum, Esthonumq; *in* Liuonia, *&c. Rex. Notum facimus quod illustrem & generosum nobis syncere dilectum Dominum* Iacobum Spentzium, *Baronem* Wolmertchonium *in ministrorum nostrorum numerum clementer receptum, omnium qui nostris nunc militant, aut in posterum militaturi sunt auspicijs*, Anglorum, Scotorumq; *ducem & præfectum constituimus, ea conditione vt in nostrum, Regnique nostri vsum, pedites mille, & equites quingentos, spectatæ virtutis milites conscribat, adductosq; ineunte vere ad 12. scilicet Maij sequentis Anni* 1609. *in Regno sistat. Cui nos ad dictos milites tam colligendos quàm in regnum traducendos, in pedites quidem nouem, in equites vero quatuor thalerorum imperialium millia & quingentos assignauimus. Cum autem in regnum præfatus militum numerus appulerit, illis si equos & arma subministrauerimus, ea peditum quidem singulorum dimidij equitum vero duorum de cuiusq; stipendio menstruo thalerorum singulis mensibus donec pro armis & equis nobis satisfiat, detractione soluentur. Ipsi duci primario Peditum vero singulis cohortibus (quarum quanis ducentis Capitaneo cæterisq; officiarijs vna comprehensis constabat) mille septingentos thaleros in mensem dabimus. Equidem autem cohors qualibet centum equites continebit. Quod si pauciores fuerint, quot personæ in prima lustratione defecerint, totidem thalero menstruo Capitaneorum, Equicumq; Magistrorum stipendio detrahentur: In sequentibus vero lustrationibus quæ singulis mensibus semel instituj debent, si qui forte interea ex hac vita decesserint, aut alio quocunq; modo, militum numerus fuerit ita diminutus, vt pedites cuiusq; cohortis ducentis pauciores sint (non tamen in eam paucitatem reductus vt ad tuendum, ornandumq; vexillum modo militari pedites impares inueniantur) Capitaneo nihilominus stipendium integrum ad sex menses persoluetur, quod si postea defectum non suppleuerit, ipse officio Capitanei carebit & pedites ipsius per cæteras cohortes, ad earum supplementum distribuentur. Equites vero cohortis cuiusq;, si centum pauciores fuerint, Magister equitum nihilominus donec numerus sexagenario maior fuerit stipendium integrum consequetur, idq; ad sex menses duntaxat. His autem exactis, nisi præstitutum, centum equitum numerum suppleuerit, ipse munere suo priuabitur, & equites per cæteras cohortes distribuentur. Magistro equitum centum, Vicario seu locum tenenti quadraginta, Signifero triginta, Decurioni viginti, singulis ductoribus viginti, cuiq; buccinatori sex, Equitibus vero singulis duodecem thaleri, in singulos menses munerabuntur. Dicto autem duci generali, vt sequentes officiarios sibi adiungeret clementer permisimus: Vicarium generalem, cui quadringintos, præfectum vigiliarum, cui nonaginta, Secretarium cui octoginta, Prætorem cui sexaginta, Præfectum annonæ cui sexaginta, Pastorem cui sexaginta, Chirurgum cui quadraginta, Archicustodem cui quadraginta, Inspectorem armorum cui quadraginta, Tympanistam cui sedecim florenos in singulos menses promisimus. Primus autem stipendij mensis intra decimum quintum diem à militum in regnum aduentu inchoabitur. Liberam quoq; habebit præfatus dux Primarius plenumq; iustitiæ exercendæ potestatem in omnes suo imperio subiectos, idq; in omni criminis genere excepto crimine læsæ Maiestatis; Peditum cuique subsidij loco thalerum vnum; Capitaneis autem & reliquis officarijs stipendij singulis designati dimidium; Magistro militum duodecim; Eius Vicario octo; signifero sex, cuiq; Decurioni quatuor singulis ex tribus ordinum ductoribus tres, Buccinatori vnum cum dimidio, singulis vero equitibus duos in septimanam thaleros dabimus; Semestri quolibet exacto habitaq; accurata supputatione, quod de menstruo stipendio reliquum est, eis persoluetur, habita tamen ratione numeri quem in singulis delectibus seu militum lustrationibus Capitanei equitumq; Magistri exhibuerint. Quod si dux militibus suis secundum aliquod prælium fecerit, aut arcem vrbemq; aliquam vi expugnauerit, eo ipso die quo id contigerit priore finito nouus mensis inchoabitur. Liberum quoq; erit Ducibus singulis, quoties necesse erit ad cohortium supplementum adducendum aliquem mittere, qui dum absens erit stipendium suum nihilominus consequetur, pro singulis autem qui in supplementum adducti fuerint decem thaleri numerabuntur. Quod si in prælijs, velitationibus, excubijs aut alio quouis casu quenquam ducum, aut militum in hostium potestatem venire contigerit, idq; non spontanea deditione aut alia ratione subdola & fraudulenta accidisse compertum fuerit, is alius suæ conditionis statuq; captiui permutatione liberabitur. Hostium vero aliquis si captiuus ad nos nostrumue exercitus Ducem à quoquam eorum perductus fuerit, quod pro sui liberatione captiuus pretium spoponderit, id ei, qui captiuum duxerit, numerabitur. Quod si quisquam horum militum pila ictus tormentaria, aut alio quouis modo mutilus, aut mancus euadat, ita vt ipse se alere victumq; quærere nequeat, illi à nobis pro vt cuiusq; requirit status & conditio, honestum stipendium per omnem vitam suppeditabitur: Sin vero diutius in hoc Regno nostro commorari nolnerit, tum vnius mensis accepto stipendio integrum ei erit, quo libuerit commigrare. Cum cohortes, siue simul, siue seperatim exauctorabuntur, singulis officiarijs & militibus mensis vnius numerabitur stipendium. Si aut præfatus primarius aut alius inferiorum Ducum vel Officiariorum à S. R. M. Britannia accersetur, persoluto quod tunc forte restabit stipendio, ipsoq; duce remunerato, libera dabitur discedendi facultas. In quorum euidentiorem*

dentiorem fidem manus propria subscriptione Regiaq; nostri sigilli appensione præsentes muniuimus. Ex Regia nostra Stocholmensi *die* 7. *Octobris, Anni Millesimi sexcentesimi octaui.*

Subscript. CAROLVS.

1200. Souldiers shipped from *England.*

ABout a fortnight before Midsummer, which was *A.* 1609. a companie of Voluntaries, to the number of a thousand and two hundred Souldiers, were at seuerall times shipped from *England* to passe into *Sweden*, to aide the King of that Countrie in his warres against the King of *Poland*. To which aide diuers other Nations did likewise resort, as *French*, high *Dutch*, &c. Of the

Colonel *Caluine.*

English Companies that went thither, the first was commanded by one *Caluine* a *Scot*; who by appointment was made Lieutenant Colonell, and chiefe of the other Captaines ouer the footmen.

After the first Companie was gone, a second number of three hundred men (of which I the Relator of this, was one) were put into one ship belonging to *Sweden*, and came from thence for vs. We were assaulted with a great tempest, and were tossed so long, that all our victuals were almost spent: the miserie of which, threw vs into more desperate feares: now were wee assaulted by double deaths (Famine and Shipwrack) what course to take for our reliefe no man presently knew. Continue without foode it was impossible, and as impossible was it for vs to recouer the Land in any short time, without the assured destruction of vs all. At this season, our Commanders were these; Lieutenant *Benson*, Lieutenant *Walton*, who was Prouost Martiall of the field; and an Ancient of the Colonels companie. The common Souldiers vowed and resolued to compell the Mariners (seeing the present miseries, and no hopes promising better) to set vs all on shoare vpon the first Land that could be discouered. Our Commanders did what they could by dissuasion to alter this generall resolution, because they feared it would bee the losse of the greatest part of our Companies, if they came once to bee scattered: and besides, they knew that it would redound to their dishonour and shame, if they should not discharge the trust imposed vpon them by our Captaines, which trust was to conduct vs and land vs before, whilest our Chieftaines remayned a while behinde in *England*, to take vp the rest of our Companies. Yet all this notwithstanding, Land being discouered, there was no eloquence in the world able to keep vs aboord our ship, but euery man swore if the Master of the ship would not set vs on the shoare, the sailes should be taken into our owne hands, and what was resolued vpon (touching present landing) should in despite of danger be effected. Vpon this the Master of the ship and the Mariners told vs, that if we put to land in that place, we should all either perish for want of victuals, which were not to bee had in that Countrie, or else should haue our throats cut by the people. Wee resolued rather to trie our bad fortunes on the land, and to famish there (if that kind of death must needes attend vpon vs) then to perish on the Seas, which we knew could affoord vs no such mercy: and on shoare wee went, as fast as possibly we could. When our Officers saw, that there was no remedie, nor force to detayne vs aboord, they then disheartned vs no longer, but to our great comforts told it, that the Master of the ship (which thing hee himselfe likewise openly confessed) knew both the Land and Gouernour thereof (as indeed we proued afterwards he did:) and therefore desired they all our companies not to misse-behaue themselues toward the people, for that it was an Iland called *Iuthland*, vnder the Dominion of the King of *Denmarke*, but subiect to the command of a Lord, who vnder the King (as his Substitute) was the Gouernour.

A tempest

Another tempest of the mutinous vulgar.

They land in *Iutland.*

And that we might be the better drawne to a ciuill behauiour towards the Inhabitants, our Officers further told vs, that they would repaire to the Lord Gouernour of the Countrie, and acquaint him with the cause of our vnexpected landing there; vpon which we all promised to offer no violence to the people; neither was that promise violated, because we found the Inhabitants tractable, and as quiet towards vs, as we to them: yet the greater numbers of them ran away with feare, at the first sight of vs, because (as afterward they reported) it could not bee remembred by any of them, that they euer either beheld themselues, or euer heard any of their ancestors report, that any strange people had landed in those places and parts of the Iland: for they thought it impossible (as they told vs) that any ship should ride so neere the shoare, as ours did, by reason of the dangerous Sands.

Our Officers so soone as they were at land, went to the Gouernour of the Iland, whilest the Souldiers (who stayed behind them) ran to the houses of the Ilanders, of purpose to talke with the people, and at their hands to buy victuals for a present reliefe: but when wee came among them, they could neither vnderstand vs nor we them; so that the Market was spoiled, and wee could get nothing for our money, yet by such signes as wee could make, they vnderstood our wants pitied them, and bestowed vpon vs, freely, a little of such things as they had. In the end, a happy meanes of our reliefe was found out by a Souldier amongst vs, who was a *Dane* by birth, but his education hauing beene in *England*, no man knew him to be other then an *English* man.

This *Dane* made vse of his owne native language, to the good both of himselfe and vs, certifying

fying the people (who the rather beleeued him because he spake in their knowne tongue) of the cause that compelled vs to land vpon their Coast, and that we intended no mischiefe, violence, or money: to which report of his they giuing credit, stood in lesse feare of vs then before, and thereupon furnished vs with all such necessaries, as the Countrie affoorded to sustaine our wants. The foode which wee bought of them was onely fish, and a kinde of course bread, exceedmg cheape. Of which foode there was such plentie, that for the value of three pence wee had as much fish as twentie men could eate at a meale, and yet none of the worst sorts of fish, but euen of the very best and daintiest, as Mackrels and Lobsters, and such like. In which our trading with the poore simple people, we found them so ignorant, that many, yea most of them regarded not whether you gaue them a Counter, or a Shilling: for the bigger the piece was, the more fish they would giue for it: but besides fish wee could get no other sustenance from them, or at least, could not vnderstand that they had any other. But obserue what happened in the meane time that we were thus in traffique with the Ilanders for victuals, our Officers (as before is said) being gone to the Lord Gouernour, who lay about twelue *English* miles from the Sea side, the Master of our ship on a sudden hoysed vp sailes, and away he went, leauing one of his owne men at shoare, who accompanied our Officers as their guide, through the Iland. The cause of the ships departure, did so much the more amaze vs, by reason it was so vnexpected, and the reason thereof vnknowne to vs: But wee imagined the Master of the ship and Mariners feared to receiue vs into the Vessell againe, because some of our men at their being at Sea, threatned the Saylers, and offered them abuses before they could be brought to set vs on land.

Fish cheape.

Ignorant Bores.

On the next day following, the Lord Gouernour of the Iland came to vs, bringing our Officers along with him, yet not being so confident of vs, but that (for auoyding of any dangers that might happen) he came strongly guarded with a troupe of Horse-men well armed. And (vpon his first approch) demanding where our ship was, it was told him in what strange manner it stole away and forsooke vs: he then asked what we intended to doe, to which we all answered, that we would be ruled by our Officers: hereupon hee inquired of them, what they would haue him to doe in their behalfes: they requested nothing else at his hands, but onely his fauourable Passe through the Countrie, and a ship to carry vs forward into *Sweden*: to which request hee made answere, that he could grant no such licence vntill he had made the King of *Denmarke* acquainted with our being there, for the Iland belonged to the King, he said, and he was no more but an Officer or Substitute vnder him. Yet in consideration that our ship had so left vs in a strange Land, he promised to doe all that lay in his power to effect our good: but withall told vs, that the people had inward feares, and were possest with suspitions, that our intents of landing vpon such a Coast, were not, as we our selues affirmed, only to get foode, but rather to make a poile of the poore Inhabitants. And therefore, to remoue all such feares and iealousies out of the peoples hearts, he held it most conuenient for the generall safeties of both parties, to separate our numbers, and to spreade vs abroad in the Countrie, one and one in a house, where it was agreed that we should receiue both a lodging, and meate, and drinke, vntill hee had sent to the King of *Denmarke* some of his owne men with our Officers, to vnderstand his Maiesties pleasure, and what should become of vs.

To this we all agreed, and accordingly for that purpose, were by the Lord Gouernour, safely by these armed horse-men which were his guard, conducted to his owne house. To that place were al the people of the Iland summoned together, they came at the appointed day to the number of fiue or six hundred, circling vs round with Bils, Holbards, two-hand Swords, and diuers other weapons: And at the first sight of vs grew into such rage, that presently they would haue cut all our throats, and hewed vs to pieces, but that the authoritie of the Gouernor kept them from offering violence, yet was hee faine to vse the faireſt meanes of perswasion to allay their furie. For they would not beleeue but that our arriuall there was to destroy them. Yet the Gouernour shewed vnto them all our number, which was but three hundred men, and those all vnweaponed, and so consequently, neither likely nor able to vndertake any mischiefe against them: Charging the vnruly multitude, vpon paine of death, not to touch the least finger of vs, but to diuide vs equally into seuerall Villages, as it should seeme best vnto them, and so bestow kinde and louing entertainment vpon vs till they heard further from him, which command of his they accordingly performed.

Immediately vpon this setling of them and vs in quietnesse, one of our Officers with two of the Gouernours men, were sent away to the King of *Denmarke*, to vnderstand his Highnesse pleasure, which Messengers were no sooner dispatched about the businesse, but the Ilanders growing more and more suspitious, came againe to the Gouernour, and neuer would cease or giue ouer troubling him, vntill they had gotten him to make Proclamation (in hearing of vs all.) That if any of vs would freely discouer the true cause of our landing vpon that Coast, and reueale the plots of any dangerous enterprise intended against them, he should not onely be rewarded with great store of money, and haue new apparell to his backe, but also should without tortures, imprisonment, or death be set free, and sent backe againe into his owne Countrie. This Proclamation strucke vs all with feare and astonishment, because albeit we to our selues were not guiltie of

Iealousie of the people.

any

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any plot, or villany intended to the place or people, yet wee knew this might be a meanes to endanger all our liues, how innocent ſoeuer. Our ſuſpition of danger fell out according to our feares: for one *Thomas Griffyn* a Welch man, one of our owne company, went and kneeled before the Gouernour, and with a face counterfeiting a guiltineſſe and fearefull deſtruction, told him that we came thither onely, and for no other purpoſe, then to ſurpriſe the Iland, kill the Inhabitants, make ſpoile of their wiues and goods, and hauing ſet fire of their Townes and Villages, to flye to Sea againe. Yet for all this would not the Gouernour beleeue him, telling him it was a matter very vnlikely, that ſo ſmall a number, ſo diſtreſſed for want of foode, ſo weather-beaten and ſo diſarmed, ſhould venture vpon an enterpriſe ſo full of dangerous euents; but the villaine replyed, that all thoſe complaints of want, were but ſongs to beguile the people, for that vpon the leaſt Allarum giuen, other ſhips that lay houering at Sea, and furniſhed both with men and armour, would on the ſudaine, and that very ſhortly land for the ſame deſire of ſpoyle, as theſe their fellowes had done, and therefore counſelled the Gouernour to preuent ſuch imminent miſchiefes betimes.

Griffin a baſe coward and traitor to his fellowes.

A wiſe Gouernour.

The Gouernour being thus farre vrged, preſently called before him Lieutenant *Walton*, whoſe lodging was appointed in his houſe, and hauing related to him all that *Griffin* had diſcouered, and withall, demanding of Lieutenant *Walton* what he could ſay to this matter of treaſon and conſpiracie: the Lieutenant at the firſt ſtood amazed, and vtterly denied any ſuch intended villany, proteſting by the faith of a Souldiour, that this report of the Welch-man proceeded from the rancour of a vile traitors heart, and therefore on his knees intreated the Gouernour, not to giue credit to ſo baſe a villaine, who for the greedineſſe of a little money, went about to ſell all their liues, and to make all the inhabitants of the Iland become murderers: The reſt lay ſcattered about and knew nothing of the matter. Now ſoone after, iuſt as the traitor had told the Gouernour, that more ſhips were not farre off, but were ready to ſecond vs vpon our arriuall, it chanced that in the very heat of this buſineſſe, and their feares of danger where none was, two other ſhippes full of armed Souldiers came to the ſame place of the Iland where our ſhippe put in: Theſe two ſhips had brought Souldiours out of the low Countries (a ceſſation of warres being there) and were going into *Swethland*, as we were, but by croſſe windes and fowle weather, lay ſo long at Sea, that wanting victuals, they were driuen in hither for ſuccour. Whoſe ſudaine approach and ariuall being ſignified to the Lord Gouernor, the Welch-mans words were then thought true; all the Iland was preſently vp in Armes, to reſiſt the ſtrength and furie of a moſt dangerous ſuppoſed enemy: and ſo ſecretly did the Inhabitants put on Armes, that we who were kept like priſoners amongſt them, knew not of theſe vproares. But night approaching, the Generall gaue ſpeciall charge that ſecret watch ſhould be ſet and kept ouer euery Souldior that lodged in any mans houſe: which by the common people was as narrowly performed, for they did not onely watch vs as the Gouernor commanded; but amongſt themſelues a ſecret conſpiracie was made, that in the dead of night, when wee ſhould be faſt aſleepe, they ſhould come and take vs in our beds, and there to binde vs with cords: it being an eaſie thing to doe ſo, when our company were diuided one from another ouer the whole Iland. At the houre agreed vpon, the plot was put in force, for they entred our Chambers, and bound euery Souldier as he lay, making them all ready like ſo many ſheepe marked out for the ſlaughter. For mine owne part, I had fiue men and three women to binde me, who ſo cunningly tyed me faſt with cords, whilſt I ſlept, and felt nothing, nor deampt of any ſuch matter, that with a twitch onely I was plucked ſtarke naked out of my bed, and laid vpon the cold earth vnderneath a Table, with my armes bound behinde me, ſo extreamely hard, as foure men could draw them together, my feete tyed to the foote of the Table, and my necke bound to the vpper part or bord of the Table.

Two Ships.

Hard vſage.

In theſe miſerable tortures lay I, and all the reſt (in ſeuerall houſes) all that night, and the moſt part of the next day, our armes and legges being pinched and wrung together in ſuch pittileſſe manner, that the very bloud guſhed out at the fingers ends of many. The enduring of which torments was ſo much the more grieuous, becauſe none knew what we had done that could incenſe them to this ſo ſtrange and ſpitefull cruelty, neither could we, albeit we inquired, learne of our tormenters the cauſe, becauſe we vnderſtood not their language.

Whileſt thus the whole Iland was full of the cries of wretched men, and that euery houſe ſeemed a ſhambles, ready to haue Innocents there butchered the next day, and that euery Ilander had the office of a common cut-throate or executioner; Gods wonderfull working turned the ſtreame of all their cruelty: For the two ſhips that came out of the low Countries, and whoſe arriuall draue ſo many miſerable ſoules almoſt vpon the rocks of deſtruction, hauing in that dolefull and ruinous night, gotten ſome prouiſion aboord, weighed Anchor, and departed towards *Swethland*. Which happy newes being ſerued vp at breakfaſt to the Lord Gouernour betimes in the morning, and that the Shippes had offerd no violence to the Countrey, but had paid for what they tooke: About eleuen of the clocke the very ſame day at noone, wee were all like vnto ſo many dead men cut downe, and bidden to ſtand vpon our legges, although very few had ſcarce legges that could ſtand.

Of one accident more that befell, I thinke it not amiſſe to take note, which began merrily, but ended

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ended tragically, and in bloud; and that was this: Foure of our company being lodged in one Village, and they being bound to the peace, as you may perceiue the reſt were; it happened that an Hoaſt, where one of them lay, had tipled hard, and gotten a Horſes diſeaſe, called the Staggers: In comes he ſtumbling, to the roome where the poore *Engliſhman* was bound to the Table hand and foote: which thing the drunken Sot beholding, drew his Hatchet, which he wore at his girdle, according to the fashion of the Country, and becauſe hee would be ſure his priſoner ſhould not eſcape, with his Hatchet he cleft his head. And thinking in that drunken murderous humour, he had done a glorious act, away he reeles out of his owne houſe to that houſe where the other three Souldiours lay bound, where beating at the doores and windowes, and the Hoaſt asking what he meant to make ſuch a damnable noyſe; he told him ſo well as he could ſtammer it out, that the Lord Gouernour had ſent him thither to put the three *Engliſh-men* to death. Vpon this, the diuell and he (hand in hand) were let in, the one ſtanding ſo cloſe at the others elbow, that he neuer left him till he had cleft two of their heads, that lay bound: and being then weary (it ſhould ſeeme) with playing the butcher, he neuer ceaſed ſwearing and ſtaring, and flouriſhing with his bloudy Axe about their heads, till the people of the houſe had hung the third man vpon a beame in the roome. But they hauing leſſe cunning in the Hang-mans trade, then will to practiſe it, tyed not the halter ſo faſt about his necke, as to ſtrangle him: ſo that after hee had hung an houre, hee was cut downe, reuiued againe, was well, and afterwards was ſlaine in *Ruſſia*. Effects of drunkenneſſe.

This bloudy feaſt being thus ended, and all ſtormes as we well hoped, being now blowne ouer to our freedome, and ſitting at liberty from our tormentors; on the necke of theſe former miſeries fell a miſchiefe more dangerous to vs then all the reſt: for tidings were brought to the Gouernour, that our Auncient, who trauailed with the Gouernours two men to the King, had trayterouſly murdered thoſe his guides, and then ranne away himſelfe: vpon this rumour, nothing but thundring and lightning flew from the common peoples mouthes: there was no way now with vs but one, and that one was, to haue all our throats cut, or our heads cleft with their Axes. But the Gouernor pittying our misfortunes, laboured both by his authority, & by faire ſpeeches, to keepe that many-headed dogge (the multitude) from barking. And in the end, when he ſaw nothing but the bloud of vs poore *Engliſhmen* would ſatisfie their thirſt, becauſe they ſtill held vs in ſuſpition and feare; he moſt nobly, and like a vertuous Magiſtrate, pawned to the inhumane Raſcals (to my knowledge) his honour, all that euer he was worth, yea, his very life vnto them, that within three dayes the meſſengers ſent to the King, ſhould returne home, and that during thoſe three dayes we ſhould be of good behauiour to the Ilanders: and beſides that, if they did not returne in ſuch a time, that then he would deliuer vs vp into their hands. Our Auncient with the Gouernours two men, came home vpon the third day, to the Gouernours houſe, and brought from the King of *Denmarke* his licence, to carry vs not onely through the Country, but commanding that we ſhould be allowed ſhipping alſo at conuenient place, to carry vs to *Sweueland*, whither we were to goe: And according to this Licence the Gouernour cauſed vs to be called all together the very next day; at which time, *Thomas Griffin* the Welch *Iudas*, who had all this while lyen feaſting in the houſe of the Lord Gouernour, began to tremble and repent him of his villanie, begging moſt baſe forgiueneſſe on his knees, both from the Gouernour, and vs his Countrimen and fellow Souldiours, proteſting that what he did, came out of his feare to ſaue his owne life. But our Officers (vpon hearing him ſpeake thus) had much adoe to keepe the companies from pulling downe the houſe where *Griffin* lay, becauſe they would in that rage haue hewed the villaine in peeces. Cruell cowardiſe and baſe iealouſie. King of *Denmarks* bounty.

But leauing him and all ſuch betrayers of mens bloud to the hell of their owne conſciences, let vs ſet forward out of this infortunate Iland, and not ſtay in any place elſe, till in ſmall Boates wee come by water to *Elzmore* in *Denmarke*, where wee ioyfully got aboard once more; and are hoyſing vp ſailes for *Sweueland*. Yet euen in this ſun-ſhine day a ſtorme fals vpon vs too: for our Officers not hauing ſufficient money to furniſh vs with victuals, wee were enforced to pawne our Auncient and Lieutenant *Walton*, for the ſafe returne of the Shippe, with condition, that they ſhould not be releaſed vntill a ſufficient ſumme of money was ſent to defray all charges. So that we left our Officers behinde vs; but the King of *Sweueland* did afterwards releaſe them, and then they came to vs. But before their comming, wee hauing a good winde, landed at a place called *Newleas* in *Swene*: and from thence were carried to *Stockholme* (the Kings ſeate) and there was the King at the ſame time, betweene which two places, it was a daies march on horſebacke. *Elzinore.* *Stockholme.*

Vpon this our arriuall at *Stockholme*, wee met with the reſt that had gone before vs, and with diuers others of our Countrimen, that came out of the *Low-countries*, as before is related. In this place we lay ſo long, and had ſuch poore meanes, that wanting money to buy foode, wee wanted foode to maintaine life, and ſo a number of vs were readie to ſtarue: till in the end, our miſeries making vs deſperate, we fell together by the eares with the *Burgers* of the Towne: in which ſcambling confuſion and mutinie, euery man got one thing or other, of which he made preſent money to relieue his body withall: yet lay wee at the Miſery after miſery.

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walles of the Citie, crying out continually for money, money, till our throates grew hoarse with bauling, but the stones of the walles gaue more comfort to vs, then the Inhabitants. One day (aboue all the rest) wee heard, that the King was to ride a Hunting; and wee imagining that all the abuses, wrongs, and miseries, which wee endured, proceeded from some vnder-hand hard dealing, and packing of our Captaines and Officers, resolued to gather about the King at his comming forth, and to cry out for money: but the King being angry (as wee supposed) came riding amongst vs, drawing his Pistoll from the Saddle-bow, as if hee purposed to haue shot some of vs: but seeing none of vs to shrinke from him, nor to be dismayed, hee rode backe againe, wee following him, and desiring, hee would either giue vs money, or else to kill vs out-right; one amongst the rest (whose name was *William Attane*) spake to the King aloud, thus: *I hold it honour to dye by the hands of a King, but basely to starue to death, I will neuer suffer it.* Vpon these our clamours, the King looking better vpon our necessities, sent money the next day, and immediately after gaue vs a moneths meanes in money, and two moneths meanes in cloath, to make vs apparrell.

Captaines cozenage.

Of the cloath wee receiued some part, but the money being payed, was by our Captaines sent into *England* to their wiues; no part of it euer comming to the poore common Souldiours hands: for presently vpon this, wee were commanded aboord the Ships, with promise that when wee were aboord, wee should haue our money. But being in the Shippes vnder hatches, away were wee carried with prouision onely of one moneths victuals; when by reason of the weather, wee were forced to lye eight weekes at Sea: in all which time, wee had nothing but pickelled Herrings, and salt Stremlings, with some small quantitie of hard dryed meates: by which ill dyet, many of our men fell sicke, and dyed. In the Shippe wherein I was, wee liued foureteene dayes without bread, all our best foode being salt Herrings, which wee were glad to eate raw; the best of vs all hauing no better sustenance.

Finland.

At the last, it pleased God to send vs to a place called *Vfrasound* in *Fynland*, where wee landed, (*Fynland* being subiect to the King of *Sweueland.*) From *Vfrasound* wee were to goe to *Weyborough*, a chiefe Towne in the Countrie of *Fynland*: where wee no sooner arriued, but our Souldiors ranne some one way, and some another, so long that the Captaines were left alone with the Shippes: This running away of them, being done onely to seeke foode, so great was their hunger.

Dispersing.

By this careless dispersing themselues, they lost the command of the whole Countrey, which they might easily haue had, if they had beene vnited together: and not onely were depriued of that benefit, but of Horses also, which were allowed by the King for them to ride vpon. So that, what by the reason of the tedious Iourney (which wee were to trauell, being fourescore leagues) and what by reason of the extreame cold, being a moneth before Christmas, at which time the Snow fell, and neuer went off the ground vntill Whitsontide following; but all the Raine, and all the Snow that fell, freezing continually, diuers of our men were starued to death with the Frost. Some lost their fingers, some their toes, some their noses, many their liues: insomuch, that when wee all met at *Weyborough*, wee could make no more but one thousand and foure hundred able men; and yet when we were landed at *Vfrasound*, wee were two thousand strong; the extremity of the cold Countrey hauing killed so many of our Souldiours in so little time.

Distresse by Frost.

At our landing at *Weyborough* wee had good hopes to receiue better comforts, both of money and victuals: for the Inhabitants told vs, the King had allowed it vs, and in that report they spake truth: yet contrary to our expectation, wee lay there about foureteene dayes, and had nothing but a little Rice, of which we made bread, and a little butter, which was our best reliefe. Drinke had we none, nor money: our Captaines gaue vs certaine letherne pelches, onely made of Sheeps skins, to keepe vs from the cold.

Their miserable march into *Russia.*

At this place we receiued armes to defend vs against the enemy, and six Companies that were allowed by the King for Horsemen, receiued Horses there. From thence wee were to march into *Russia*, where our enemies continued. But the iourney was long and vncomfortable: for wee marched from Newyeares day vntill Whitsontide, continually in Snow, hauing no rest, but onely a little in the nights. So that the miseries and misfortunes which wee endured vpon the borders of *Fynland*, were almost insufferable, by reason the number of them seemed infinite. For all the people had forsaken their houses long before wee came, because they were euermore oppressed by Souldiours: by which meanes we could get neither meate nor drinke, but were glad to hunt Cats, and to kill them, or any beasts wee could lay hold on, and this wee baked, and made them serue for daily sustenance. The greatest calamitie of all was, wee could get no Water to drinke, it had beene so long frozen vp, and the Snow so deepe, that it was hard to say, whether wee marched ouer Water, or vpon Land. So that wee were compelled to digge vp Snow, and with stones redde hot, to melt in tubbes, and then to drinke it.

Want of meate and of Water.

This

This affection continued about twelue or foureteene dayes, till we came into *Russia*. Vpon our very first entrance into which Kingdome, we marched ouer an arme of the Sea, that was eight leagues ouer, many of vs starving to death in that passage, by the cold freezing windes that blew the same day. In which frosty iourney, I saw so much bread as a man might buy for twelue pence, sold away in little bits, for the value of fortie shillings. But this misery ended the next day, at our setting foot into *Russia*, where we found plenty both of corne and cattle; onely the people of the Countrey ranne away, leauing all their goods behinde them, but so cunningly hidden, that the best pollicie of ours could hardly finde them out. By this meanes of the peoples running away, we were glad to play the Millers, and to grinde all our corne our selues, to bake our bread, and to dresse our owne victuals. Then marched wee vp to *Nouogrod* (a chiefe Citie in *Russia*) where wee were to receiue all our meanes that rested behinde vnpayed: but our Captaines beguiled vs, and kept it for themselues: yet to stoppe our mouthes, they told vs wee should goe into *Muscouy*, and there all reckonings should be made euen.

Russians runne away.

Nouogrod.

Wee had scarce marched aboue three dayes towards *Muscouy*, but that newes came, how a certaine number of our enemies lay in a sconce by the way; the strength of them was not perfectly knowne, but it was thought they were not aboue seuen hundred, and that we must vse some stratagem to expell them from thence: vpon which relation, our Captaines drew forth to the number of three hundred *English* horsemen, and two hundred *French* horsemen: so that in all we were about fiue hundred that were appointed to set vpon the supposed seuen hundred *Polanders*, (our enemies) that so lay insconsed: vpon whom we went. Our chiefe Commander in that seruice was *Monsier la Veile*, a *French* man, who so valiantly led vs on, that the enemy hearing of our comming, fled ouer a water that was by the sconce; yet not with such speede, but that wee slue to the number of foure hundred of their side, and lost onely three men of our owne; but we tooke the sconce. About the sconce stood a faire Towne called *Ariona*, with a riuer called the *Volga*, running through the middle, but no bridge ouer it; onely a few Boates and Sloates (made and cut out of trees) were there, to carry the people ouer from the one halfe of the Towne to the other. This sconce furnished vs not onely with great store of riches, but also with a number of *Polish* Horses, and as many armes as serued to arme fiue hundred men; our want of that commoditie being as much as of any thing besides: for of those fiue hundred men that went vpon the seruice, there were not three hundred fixed armes; yet through the hand of him that deales victories, or ouerthrowes, as it pleaseth him best, the day was ours.

Polake enemies.

They fled.

Sconce taken with store of Armes.

Ouer this riuer *Volga* the enemies were neuer driuen before, either by the Emperor of *Russia*, or by the King of *Swethland*: for which cause (as afterward wee heard) the next day when they departed from the other side of the Riuer, they burnt that halfe of the Towne on which side they were themselues, and in most bloudy, barbarous, and cruell manner, made hauocke both of men, women and children, albeit (not aboue halfe a yeare before) the Inhabitants on that side had reuolted from their owne Emperour, and turned to them. In which tyrannicall vprore, their custome was, to fill a house full of people, and then (the doores being locked vpon them, that none might issue forth) the house was fired about their eares: and oftentimes were yong children taken by the heeles, and cast into the middest of the flames: This inhumane tyrannie being practised not onely by the *Poles*, that were our enemies, but euen by those *Russes* that were traitors to their owne Emperour, and serued vnder the *Poles*, and were called *Cossakes*, whose cruelty farre exceeded the *Polish*.

Poles cruelties most execrable

The Towne being thus burnt to the earth, all the sixe thousand (which as I said before, fled ouer the Riuer, out of the sconce, and were by vs supposed to be but seuen hundred) came downe in full battalion to the Riuers side with such fierceneſſe, as if presently they and their horses would haue swom ouer, to fight with vs, which being perceiued, our poore fiue hundred stood ready to resist them. But whether they feared our numbers to be greater then they were, and that wee had some other secret forces, I know not: but away they marched, the selfe same day in which they came downe in that brauery, not doing any thing: of which, wee for our parts, were not much sorry; because if the battailes had ioyned, wee knew our selues farre vnable to withstand them. And this was the seruice of the most noate, that wee went vpon.

Two or three other sconces and Townes we tooke from our enemies, they not once daring to resist vs, because they knew nothing of our numbers and force. But the dishoneſt dealings of our Captaines, made the whole Armie discontent; insomuch, that our Souldiors would oftentimes deny to goe forth vpon seruice, because they had beene almost a yeare in the Land, and had receiued no more but one *Rubble* (amounting to the value of ten shillings *English*.) So that vpon these discontents, fiftie of our men ranne away to the enemy at one time, and discouered to them our strength. After which, we durst not be so bold as before we had beene. The fire of a new conspiracie was likewise kindling, but it was perceiued, and quenched with the bloud of the conspirators, of which, the chiefe were hanged. On therefore we went: when

Gayriffe Captaines.

Fugitiues.

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HONDIVS *his Map of* Muſcouia.

we came within fortie leagues of *Muſcouie*, newes was brought, that the enemy had beleaguard ſeuen thouſand *Ruſſes* that were our friends, and that vnleſſe wee forced the ſiedge to breake vp, the ſeuen thouſand *Ruſſes* would euery man be ſtarued where they lay. This ſad report, (albeit we had reſolued neuer to goe vpon any more ſeruice, vntill wee had our pay) ſo wrought in our hearts, that wee much pitied the miſeries of others, becauſe wee our ſelues had taſted of the like.

Our Generall (whoſe name was *Euerhorne*) was a *Fynlander*, and with a company of *Fynland* blades (as they tearme them) well appointed on Horſebacke, was by the King of *Sweueland*, ſent after vs, as our Conuoy, vntill wee ſhould come to *Pontus le Guard*, who was chiefe Generall ouer the whole armie of ſtrangers that came into the Land: ſo that according as he was ſent and charged by the King, hee ouertooke vs before we came to *Arioua*. By the intreatie therefore of this *Fynlander*, and the flattering promiſes of our owne Captaines, we were contented to goe vpon this ſeruice, and to deliuer the *Ruſſes*, or to dye our ſelues in the action. Yet with condition, that (as they promiſed to vs) we ſhould by the way meete our chiefe Generall, *Pontus le Guard*, who with certaine numbers of *Engliſh*, *French* and *Dutch* (which the yeare before were come into the Land) was vpon a march out of *Muſcouy*, not onely to meete vs, but to ioyne with vs, and pay vs all our money which remained good to vs; prouided likewiſe, that ſo ſoone as euer wee ſhould releaſe the ſeuen thouſand *Ruſſes*, our money ſhould be payed downe. On theſe conditions (I ſay) wee yeelded to goe vpon the buſineſſe.

Pontus le Guard

They meet.

At length *Pontus le Guard* met vs (according to the promiſe) and with him was money brought to pay vs, and his word giuen that preſently wee ſhould receiue it. But the lamentable eſtate, in which the poore beſiedged *Ruſſes* were (within the ſconce) being at the point of death for want of foode, required rather ſpeedy execution, then deliberation: ſo that the neceſſities of their hard fortunes craning haſte, on wee went, hauing about nineteene or twenty

thouſand

thousand *Russes*, that were people of the same Countrey, ioyned to our Armie, to aide them in this enterprize. But as we all were vpon a march, the enemy hauing receiued intelligence of our approaching, set forward, to the number of eight thousand Lanciers and more, to intercept vs by the way: and being within one dayes march of the place to which wee were likewise going, they set fire vpon three or foure Villages hard by the place where we lay at Grasse with our Horses, for a token that they were comming. And this was done vpon Midsummer day last in the morning, by breake of day. Then came they thundring with shouts and cries to set vpon vs: but no sooner was the Alarum giuen, when the greatest part of those nineteene or twenty thousand *Russes*, that were ioyned to vs as our aide, fled most basely before any blow was giuen. This sudden cowardize of theirs somewhat amazed vs: but the houre being now come, wherein we were not to talke of dangers, but to goe meete them, with our sixe companies of *English* horse, we brauely resisted the *Polanders*, and with great hurt to them, but with little losse vpon our part, charged them three seuerall times.

An. 1610.

Base *Russe* flight.

At last *Pantus le Guard* (our chiefe Generall) tooke his heeles and fled too, leauing vs vtterly destitute of all direction: which much astonished vs, as not well vnderstanding what to doe: for our greatest strength (being by their flight) taken from vs, none but wee strangers were left in the field, and of vs there was not in all, aboue two thousand, and of that number there were aboue six hundred *French* horsemen, who seeing both the Generall gone, and the *Russes* fled, turned their backs vpon vs, and ranne away too most valiantly, yet not out of the field, but to the enemy.

P. le Guard fleeth.

French flee.

Then were wee not aboue twelue or foureteene hundred at the most left to resist eight thousand at the least: vpon whom notwithstanding, our six companies of *English* horsemen, charged three seuerall times, without any great losse, but with much honor: And at the fourth time, for want of powers to second them (which the *French* should haue done) all our six companies were scattered and ouerthrowne with the losse of few of our colours. The Captaines ouer these sixe Companies of Horse, were these:

English honour.

Captaine *Crale*, of whose company I was. Captaine *Kendricke*, Captaine *Benson*, Captaine *Carre*, Captaine *Colbron*, Captaine *Creyton*.

Which six Captaines had not in all their companies aboue fiue hundred men. In this battaile, Captaine *Creyton* was slaine in the field; Captaine *Crale* was shot in the knee, and within a short time after dyed of that wound; not aboue twelue of his companie escaping. Captaine *Kendrick* was wounded in diuers places of the head, and dyed. Captaine *Benson* was shot in the hand, and wounded in the head, and yet escaped, and liued: onely Captaine *Carre* and his Cornet escaped, but all his companie scattered and lost. Diuers other Officers were slaine, whose names I cannot remember.

Thus were all our *English* horse-men dispersed and ouerthrowne, to the number of fiue hundred and vpwards. Our Generall *Euerhorne* with his companies of *Finland*, or *Finsco* blades, were also put to retrait: so that there was not left in the field aboue sixe or seuen hundred, which were foot-men. And of these, one halfe was *English*, one halfe *Dutch*, who kept onely a certaine place by a wood side, barricadoed about with wagons, hauing with them foure field pieces, with which they did great spoile to the Enemie. But their number being but few, neither durst they venture on the Enemie, nor durst the Enemie enter vpon them, but kept them still (as it were besieged) in that place onely, because they could no wayes escape. The inconuenience of which cooping vp in so narrow a roome, being looked into, and the dangers on euery side well considered, it was held fittest for safetie, to summon the Enemie to a parley. In which parley, the Enemie offered, that if they would yeeld, and fall to their sides, they should haue good quarter kept. And if any man had desire to goe for his owne Countrie, hee should haue libertie to goe with a Pasport from the King of *Poland*. Or if any would serue the King of *Poland*, hee should haue the allowance of very good meanes daly paid him. Vpon these compositions they all yeelded, and went to the Enemie; onely Captaine *Yorke* and his Officers, with some few of their Souldiers, went backe into the Countrie, and came not to the Enemie, as the rest had done: who from thence marched vp to the *Polish* Leaguer, being ten miles distant from the place, and there they continued. But such as desired to trauell to their owne Countries, were sent to the King of *Polands* Leaguer, which lay at that time at a place called *Smolensko*, and there accordingly had their Passe, to the number of one hundred, of which number I my selfe was one. What became of the rest I know not: but I with fiue more held together in trauell, vntill we came to *Dantzicke*, a great Towne in *Prussia*, being distant from *Smolensko* one hundred leagues.

To make an end of this Storie of the Foxe and the Beare, the pretending *Demetrius* and contending *Suiskey*; it is reported, that *Demetrius* seeing these perplexities of *Suiskey*, raysed a great Armie of such *Russes* as voluntarily * fell to him (the *Pole* hauing now reiected him, except some Voluntaries) and againe laid siege to *Mosco*; *Zolkiewsky* for *Sigismund*, beleagred another part thereof with fortie thousand men, whereof one thousand and fiue hundred were *English*, *Scottish*, and *French*. *Suiskey* seeing no hope to withstand them, his Empire renouncing him, hee would

* Some say he had 10000. which is scarsly credible.

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Moſco yeelded.

Second *Demetrius* ſlaine.

* Vnder the Lord *Willughby* Gen. Sir *Iohn Poole*, &c.

A. Ianſonius, quindecies miſſe vaſorum pul. ſul.

Suiskys impriſonment and death.

Poliſh crueltie.

Their reward.

Eaters of mans fleſh forced to eate mans fleſh.

feeme to renounce the Empire firſt, betaking himſelfe to a Monaſterie. But not the ſanctitie of the place, nor ſacred name of an Emperour might protect or ſecure him. The *Muſcouites* yeelded vp their Citie and his Perſon to the *Pole*, and the Caſtle was manned for *Sigiſmund*. All ioyne againſt *Demetrius*, who betaketh him to his heeles, and by a *Tartar* (as before is ſaid) was ſlaine in his campe. *Charles* King of *Sweden* dyed Octob. 30. 1611. and *Guſtauus* his ſonne ſucceeded. *Sigiſmund* obtayneth *Smolensko* alſo after two yeeres ſiege and more: in which time the Defendants had held out ſo reſolutely, that the *Polſh* Peeres and States (which in that Kingdom beare great ſway) had called the King to their Parliament, the rather in regard of the King of *Denmarke* warring vpon *Sweden* (in which warre diuers thouſands of our *Engliſh* voluntaries * aſſiſted the *Dane*) but he firſt deſiring to trie his fortune, carried the Citie with two hundred pieces of Ordnance and other rich ſpoile. Many were ſlaine, and diuers great perſons taken, of which was the Archbiſhop. Many were blowne vp (as was thought) by their owne voluntarie act, by fire caſt into the ſtore-houſe, in which is ſaid to haue beene (if our Author miſtake not) fifteene thouſand veſſels of poulder; whereupon ſeemed to returne the very Chaos, or in ſtead thereof a Hell into the World. It is accounted one of the ſtrongeſt Forts in Chriſtendome, the walls able to beare two Carts meeting in the breadth. It was taken the twelfth of Iuly, 1610.

Suiskey was carried into *Poland* and there impriſoned in *Waringborough* Caſtle, and after the loſſe of libertie and his Empire, expoſed to ſcorne and manifold miſeries, hee dyed in a forraine countrie. But before that Tragedie, the *Poles* are ſaid to haue more then acted others. For when they held him priſoner before his departure from *Moſcouia*, they ſent for many *Grandes* in *Suiskeys* name, as if he had much deſired to ſee them before his fatall farewell, to take a friendly and honourable leaue of them. They come, are entertayned, and in a priuate place knocked on the head and throwne into the Riuer: and thus was moſt of the chiefe remayning Nobilitie deſtroyed. The *Poles* fortified two of the Forts at *Moſco*, and burnt two others, as not able to man them. But the *Muſcouite* alſo there held them beſieged till famine forced them to yeeld: the *Ruſſians* finding there ſixtie barrels of pouldred mans fleſh (it ſeemeth of ſuch as had dyed, or were ſlaine, that their death might giue life to the Suruiuers) a iuſt, but miſerable and tragicall ſpectacle. We ſhall conclude this Diſcourſe with giuing you two Letters, the one taken out of a Letter written from *Colmogro* Sept. 7. (the yeere is not dated) amidſt theſe broiles; the other from Captaine *Margaret* before mentioned by *Thuanus*: and after them, for further illuſtration and profitable vſe of this ſtorie, is added part of a Letter of Doctor *Halls*.

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* The *Poliſh Vaiuod* whoſe daughter married *Demetrie* that was ſlaine; who now had recouered libertie.

Ruſsia ſpoyled by *Tartars*.

a Generall of the forces of *Suiskey* in the field.

A *Dane* borne, ſee Doct. *Halls* Epiſtles.

Euan Vaſiloui h.

Suiskey now raigning.

Thoſe of the Citie onely.

c *Lieflanders* that inhabit there.

* The ſecond *Demetrius*, which was ſoone after ſlaine by a *Tartar*.

* 1611. in *Engliſh* account.

The *Poles* in *Moſco* beſieged by the *Ruſſes*.

ON Thurſday morning came George Brighouſe *from* Moſco, *he hath beene three weekes on the way, but by reaſon of his ſmall ſtaying here, I can learne but ſmall occurrents, which is, ſtill* Moſco *holdeth out, of late ſome of the Nobilitie iſſued out and gaue the Enemie a ſmall skirmiſh, ſlue neere foure thouſand of them, tooke priſoners one hundred and ſeuentie, whereof eleuen* Poliſh *Gentlemen gallant men, are almoſt ſtarued in priſon.* Sandomirsky * *is entred the borders with a new ſupply of Souldiers, the which* Demetrie *his ſonne in Law hath long ſince expected.*

The Crim Tartar *is returned from thence into his owne Country, hath taken more then twentie thouſand priſoners captiues out of* Reſan *and thereabouts:* Knez Scopin * *is two nineties from* Yeraſlaue, *he meanes to march from thence to* Moſco, *but by* Georges *ſpeeches he makes no great haſte.*

Bouginsky *that was Secretarie to* Demetrie, *is ſtill vnder preſtaue with an Officer, was almoſt ſtarued with hunger, but Maſter* Brewſter *doth daily releeue him to his great comfort.*

George Brighouſe *came Poſte by* Volodemer: *the Princeſſe, wife to* Euan Euanowich, *that was eldeſt ſonne to the* * *old Emperour (ſhee to whom you gaue the good intertainment to) is there at his going vp and comming backe, made very much of him; he dined in her Preſence: after dinner ſent him a great Preſent of many diſhes and drinkes for your ſake, and often remembred you and your great kindneſſe to her and hers; ſtill remembring* T. La. *and kept him ſo a long time in her owne Cell.*

There is a great conſpiracy ſtill in the Moſco *againſt the Emperour* Vaſili Euanowich, *onely the* Muſcouites *ſtand with him, and very few of the Nobilitie. Daily there iſſueth out by force or ſtealth diuers of the Gentrie, moſt of the* Dutch c, *ſpecially the Women are gone out of the* Moſco *to the* Tartar. *It is ſuppoſed that the Emperour cannot long hold out, and* * Demetrie Euanowich *is reported to bee a very wiſe Prince.*

Captaine MARGARETS Letter to Maſter MERICK from *Hamborough*, Ian. 29. * 1612.

RIght worſhipfull Sir, I could not omit this commoditie without commending my ſeruice to your Worſhip, and alſo briefly to aduertiſe you of the State of Moſco, *which is not as I could wiſh. Alſo I left Maſter* Brewſter *in good health at my departure; but three dayes after the Towne within the red wall was burnt with certaine fire Bals ſhot in by the* Ruſſes, *ſo that there is but three houſes left whole, the*

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the English *house also being burnt. Master* Brewster *is constrained to haue his dwelling in a Seller vnder the Palace, without great friends except* Misslofsqui. *The Generall* Cotqueuilsh *is arrined there, and left a sufficient number of men to keepe the Castle, and the red Wall, hee himselfe with his Armie is gone towards* Resan, *and he hath sent with much to doe, and vpon certaine conditions, to the Riuer of* Sagia *towards the* Volga, *to bring victuals to maintayne them that are in the Castle besieged of the* Muscouites. *The King of* Poland *is altogether resolued to goe there in person this summer, and if the* Russes *haue no forraine helpe, as there is no appearance, no question it will come to passe as I writ last to your Worship, that they will be forced to yeeld. I write briefly to your Worship, because I hope to take my voyage to* France *through* England, *and there to meet with your Worship; intreating your Worship to accept these few lines as a testimony of the seruice I haue vowed to your Worship, &c. and so I end in haste.*

English house burnt.

Thus haue we finished foure Acts of this Tragedie: the first, ending with the end of *Bealas* family; the second, with the ruine of that of *Boris*; the third, with that (whatsoeuer) *Demetrius*; the fourth, with this *Suiskey*, attended with that shadow or ghost of another *Demetrius*. Now as I haue seene sometimes the Spectators of Tragedies whiled with discourse of a *Chorus*, or (as in our vulgar) entertayned with musicke, to remit for a time those bloudie impressions fixed in attentiue mindes; so haue we represented *Phedores* Coronation added to the first; *Boris* his Charter to the *English* to conclude the second; that of *Demetrius* to the third, and for this fourth I haue here made bold with a Letter of my worthy friend (so am I bold to call that good Man, zealous Protestant, elegant Writer, industrious Preacher, learned Doctor, and Reuerend Deane, Doctor *Hall*, a Hall adorned with so rich Arras, and with all the ground, light, life, the *All* of these, Christian humilitie) which may serue as a Letter of commendation to my intent, as it was intended to another worke, which had it beene publike, might haue preuented the greatest part of this: A worke of Master *Samuel Southeby*, in Sir *Th. Smiths* Voyage mentioned, touching those *Russian* occurrents which he in part saw. As a Traueller he deserueth place here. And howsoeuer I haue neither beene so happy to see the Worke nor the Workman, yet this Epistle tells what we haue lost, and my worke easily proclaimes the defect of such a Wardrobe, being (as you see) like a Beggars cloke, all of diuerlity'ed patches; so much more labour to mee, in both getting and stitching them, though so much lesse satisfaction to thee. Once, as I haue placed this long *Russian* storie in the midst of Marine Discoueries, to refresh the Reader a while on Land: so amidst these tragicall, harsh Relations, I thus seeke to recreate thy wearie spirits with this chat of mine, and after these *Minda* gates, more really, with this Letter so vsefull to the present subiect, so pleasing in the stile. The whole, and the next following to *Buchinski*, the Reader may finde in his so oft published Decades of Epistles.

Master Sdi Southeby.

TRauell perfiteth wisedome; and obseruation giues perfection to trauell: without which, a man may please his eyes, not feede his braine; and after much earth measured, shall returne with a weary body, and an empty minde. Home is more safe, more pleasant, but lesse fruitfull of experience: But, to a minde not working and discursiue, all heauens, all earths are alike. And, as the end of trauell is obseruation; so, the end of obseruation is the informing of others: for, what is our knowledge if smothered in our selues, so as it is not knowne to more? Such secret delight can content none but an enuious nature. You haue breathed many and cold aires, gone farre, seene much, heard more, obserued all. These two yeares you haue spent in imitation of Nabuchadnezzars *seuen; conuersing with such creatures as* Paul *fought with at* Ephesus. *Alas! what a face, yea what a backe of a Church haue you seene? what manners? what people? Amongst whom, ignorant Superstition striues with close Atheisme, Treachery with Cruelty, one Deuill with another; while Truth and Vertue doe not so much as giue any challenge of resistance. Returning once to our* England *after this experience, I imagine you doubted whether you were on Earth, or in Heauen. Now then (if you will heare mee, whom you were wont) as you haue obserued what you haue seene, and written what you haue obserued; so, publish what you haue written: It shall be a gratefull labour, to vs, to Posteritie. I am deceiued, if the ficklenesse of the* Russian *State, haue not yeelded more memorable matter of Historie then any other in our Age, or perhaps many Centuries of our Predecessors. How shall I thinke, but that God sent you thither before these broiles, to bee the witnesse, the Register of so famous mutations? He loues to haue those iust euils which hee doth in one part of the World, knowne to the whole, and those euils, which men doe in the night of their secresie, brought forth into the Theater of the World; that the euill of mens sinne being compared with the euill of his punishment, may iustifie his proceedings, and condemne theirs. Your worke shall thus honour him; besides your second seruice, in the benefit of the Church. For, whiles you discourse of the open Tyrannie of that* Russian *Nero,* Iohn Basilius; *the more secret, no lesse bloudy plots of* Boris; *the ill successe of a stolne Crowne, though set vpon the head of an harmelesse Sonne; the bold attemps and miserable end of a false, yet aspiring challenge; the perfidiousnesse of a seruile people, vnworthy of better Gouernours; the misse-carriage of wicked Gouernours, vnworthy of better Subiects; the vniust vsurpations of men, iust (though late) reuenges of God; crueltie rewarded with bloud, wrong claimes with ouerthrow, treachery with bondage; the Reader, with some secret horror, shall draw-in delight, and with delight instruction: Neither know I any Relation whence hee shall take out a more easie Lesson of Iustice, of Loyaltie, of Thankefulnesse.*

But

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But aboue all, let the World see and commiserate the hard estate of that worthy and noble Secretarie, Buchinsky. *Poore Gentleman! his distresse recalls euer to my thoughts* Æsops *Storke, taken amongst the Cranes: He now nourishes his haire, vnder the displeasure of a forreigne Prince; At once in durance, and banishment. Hee serued an ill Master; but, with an honest heart, with cleane hands. The Masters iniustice doth no more infect a good Seruant, than the truth of the Seruant can iustifie his ill Master. A bad Worke man may vse a good Instrument: and oft-times a cleane Napkin wipeth a foule mouth. It ioyes me yet to thinke, that his pietie, as it euer held friendship in Heauen, so now it winnes him friends in this our other World: Lo, euen from our Iland vnexpected deliuerance takes a long flight, and blesseth him beyond hope; yea rather, from Heauen, by vs. That God, whom hee serues, will bee knowne to those rude and scarce humane Christians, for a protector of innocence, a fauourer of truth, a rewarder of pietie. The mercy of our gracious King, the compassion of an honourable Counsellour, the loue of a true friend, and (which wrought all, and set all on worke) the grace of our good God, shall now lose those bonds, and giue a glad welcome to his libertie, and a willng farell to his distresse. He shall (I hope) liue to acknowledge this; in the meane time, I doe for him. Those* Russian *Affaires are not more worthy of your Records, than your loue to this friend is worthy of mine. For neither could this large Sea drowne or quench it, nor time and absence (which are wont to breed a lingring consumption of friendship) abate the heate of that affection, which his kindnesse bred, religion nourished. Both rareneſſe, and worth shall commend this true loue; which (to say true) hath beene now long out of fashion. Neuer times yeelded more loue; but, not more subtle. For euery man loues himselfe in another, loues the estate in the person: Hope of aduantage is the Load-stone that drawes the yron hearts of men; not vertue, not desert. No Age affoorded more Parasites, fewer friends: The most are friendly in sight, seruiceable in expectation, hollow in loue, trustlesse in experience. Yet now,* Buchinsky, *see and confesse thou hast found one friend, which hath made thee many, &c.*

§. V.

Of the miserable estate of Russia *after* Swiskeys *deportation, their election of the King of* Polands *Sonne, their Interregnum and popular estate, and chusing at last of the present Emperour, with some remarkabe accidents in his time.*

THus haue we seene the *Russian* sinnes vtterly rooting vp so many *Russian* Imperiall Families and persons: the whole Family of *Ivan* extirpate, that of *Boris* succeeding, annihilate; two pretending *Demetrij* and *Suiskie* extinct: and yet haue wee greater abhominations to shew you. No Tyrant, no Serpent, no Dragon is so exorbitant and prodigious as that which hath many heads: and therefore in diuine Visions Monarchies (how euer excessiue and tyrannical) haue beene resembled by simpler and more vniforme beasts, but the Deuill in a great red *Dragon with seuen heads and ten hornes*, and the *Beast* likewise *to which hee gaue his power and his seat and great authoritie, which opened his mouth in blasphemie against God, &c. On which sate the great Whore*, the Antichristian *Babylon. There was no King in Israel*, is both *Alpha* and *Omega*, Preface and Conclusion in Diuine Writ to some misery in *Israel*; as if *all Kings and no King*, were the Circumference of all the lines proceeding from Mischiefes Centre. And now was *Russia* a Monster of many heads, that is, a bodie fallen into many pieces. One man possessed of the Wife of that double *Demetrius*, got to *Astracan*, there seating himselfe to set vp an vsurped shop of Rule; the Southerne parts chose Prince *Vladislaus*, Son of K. *Sigismund* of *Poland*; those of the North thought of other Princes; and at last when neither the *Fig-trees* sweetnesse nor *Olives* fatnesse, nor *cheering Wine* from the *Vine* could take place in their inconstancie, the *Brambles* conceiued *a fire which deuoured the Cedars of Libanus*: a popular gouernment happened, or if you will, a Confusion of the multitude bare sway, which killed and murthered euery Great Man, whom any Rascall would accuse to be a friend to the *Poles*, or to any of the dead Emperours, whom those popular iniudicious Iudges fancied not. And now *Russia* blushed with impudencie, that is with shamelesse sight of the daily effusion and profusion of her best bloud; now euery man was an Actor: and oh had they beene but Actors! too really did they present (not represent) bloudie Tragedies, of which their whole Countrey was becomne the Theatre; the Deuill the *Choragus (a Murtherer from the beginning)* and the whole World Spectator, stupid with admiration, quaking with horrour of so vncouth a sight!

Dan.2.& 7.& 8 Ap.12.3.& 13. 1,2.& 17.1. Iud 17.6.& 18. 1.& 19.1.& 21. 25.

Iud.9. Popular gouernment in *Russia.*

Now for the ouertures betwixt the *Muscouites*, and *Stanislaus Stanislawich Zolkiewskie*, Generall of the *Polakes*, touching their Election of *Vladislaus* Sonne of King *Sigismund*, and the Articles propounded: also the answere of Prince *Vladislaus* to the same Articles, *Anno* 1612. I haue here expressed in *Latine* as I found them; fearing I should be ouer-tedious to translate them, especially seeing the businesse came not to effect: and the *English* Articles following of the *Russian*

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Russian Embassage to the King of *Poland*, doth lay open that and other passages of the *Russian* Confusions.

Pactainter Primarium Ducem Exercituum Regni *Poloniæ*, & inter Heroes *Moscouiæ*.

SErenissimi Potentissimiq; Imperatoris Sigismundi *tertij Dei gratia Regis* Poloniæ, *Magniq; Ducis* Lithuaniæ, Russiæ, Prussiæ, Samogitiæ, Kiouiæ, Volhoniæ, Podoliæ, Podlachiæ, Suecorum, Oestonorum, *aliorumq; nec non hæreditarij Regis* Suecorum, Gottorum, Vandalorum, Finlandiæque *Principis*. Palatinus Kijouiensis, *Primarius Dux Exercituum Regni* Poloniæ Capitaneus Rohatiuensis, Camænacensis, Kaluscienſis. *Ego* Staniſlaus Staniſlaides Zolkiewsky *de* Zolkiewia; *Manifestum facio præsentibus pactis, & confirmatis meis literis. Quòd Omnipotentis in Trinitate adorandi Dei gratia, & voluntate, tum & benedictione venerabilis* Hermogenis, Moscouitarum, totiusq; Russiæ Patriarchæ, *Metropolitarum, Archiepiscoporum, Episcoporum, Archimandrytarum, Humanorum totiusq; venerabilis Cleri. Et post pacta omnium Heroum, Comitum, Capitaneorum, Primariorum Dapiferorum, Aulicorum, Tenutariorum, Aulicorum arcibus Præfectorum, & Decurionum Sclopetariorum, necnon quorumuis* Moscouiæ *hæredum, Heroumq; liberorum, Aduenarum, Mercaturam exercentium, Iaculatorum, velitum, Fabrorum tormentariorum, & reliquorum incolarum magni Imperij* Moscouitarum. *Heroes, vtpotè Comes* Albertus Iuanouiz Mscislawskij, *Dux* Venceslaus Venceslaides Galiczijn, Albertus Iuanouiz Seremetij, *Dux* Venceslaus Mielnechij, *& Primarij Deputati* Venceslaus Telepnieuij, *&* Thomas Lugowskij, *& vniuersi totius* Moscouiæ *Primates, Egerunt, deliberauerunt q; mecum, de eligendo Imperatore, in* Wlodijmirienſe *vniuersumq;* Moscouitarum *Imperium, ac tradiderunt mihi suam confirmatam sigillatamq; obligationem & sacrosanctum viuificum baptisma sacræ Regiæ Maiestatis exosculati sunt non tantum Primarij Comites, sed etiam Heroes, incolentes. Aulici, Capitanei, Primary Dapiferi, Aulici, Cubicularij, Structores, Tenutarij, & Decuriones Sclopetariorum, omniſq; dignitatis homines, Iaculatores, velites, Fabri Tormentarij, variisq; status seruiles, & liberi homines Imperij* Moscouitici, *Hunc in modum: Quod venerabilis* Hermogenes Moscouiæ, *& vniuersæ* Russiæ *Patriarcha, Metropolitæ, Archiepiscopi, Episcopi, Archimandrytæ, Humani singuli & vniuersi venerabiles Heroes, Capitanei, Primarij Dapiferi, Aulici, Cubicularij, Structores, & Decuriones Sclopetariorum, Tenutarij, hæredes Heroum, Aduenæ, homines Mercaturam exercentes, Iaculatores, Velites, Fabri tormentarij, omnis generis seruiles, & hæreditarij Imperij* Moscouitici, *constituunt Legatos mittere, atq; supplicare magno Imperatori, Serenissimo* Sigismundo *Regi* Poloniæ, *& Serenissimo sacræ eius Maiestatis Regiæ filio* Vladislao Sigismundi, *vt Serenissimus Imperator* Sigismundus *Rex, commiserei eorum velit, constituatq;* Vlodijmirienſis *totiusq; Imperij* Moscouitici *Imperatorem* Vladislaum Sigismundi *sacræ suæ Regiæ Maiestatis filium. Quod vt fiat, venerabilis* Hermogenes *totius* Moscouiæ *Patriarcha, Metropolitæ, Archiepiscopi, Episcopi, Archimandrytæ, Humani, totus deniq; venerabilis Clerus, Deum ter optimum maximum rogat, & Imperatorem Serenissimum* Vladislaum Sigismundi *filium sacræ Regiæ Maiestatis Imperio totius* Moscouiæ *constitui læto exoptant animo. Omnes etiam Heroes, Aulici Imperatorij, Capitanei, Primarij Dapiferi, Equites, Cubicularij, Structores, Decuriones Sclopetariorum, Tenutarij, in arcibus Præfecti, Dispensatores, liberi Heroum, Aduenæ, Mercaturam exercentes, Iaculatores, velites, Fabri tormentarij, omniſq; conditionis seruiles, & liberi incolæ Imperij* Moscouiæ, *Serenissimi Imperatoris, filij Serenissimi Regis* Poloniæ Vladislai Sigismuntouiz, *& posteritatis (si quæ ipsius futura) exosculati sunt sacrosanctum viuificum baptisma, hoc signo indicantes, se cùm ipsi Imperatori, tùm omni ipsius posteritati æternis temporibus seruituros, omniaq; prosperima exoptantes, in omnibus non secus vt superioribus hæreditarijs magnis Imperatoribus, &* Cæsaribus, *Magnis item Ducibus vniuersi Imperij* Moscouitici, *nec vllum malum ipsi, & eius posteritati ominaturos, machinaturos, cogitaturos, aut alium quempiam ex* Moscouito *Imperio, vicinisq; Imperijs, in Imperatorem* Moscouiæ, *præter Serenissimum* Vladislaum Sigmuntouiz *filium Serenissimi Regis* Poloniæ *introductores, adoptaturosue. Quibus verò cum conditionibus in Imperatorem* Moscouitici *Imperij eum sint susceptari, hac de re Heroes Dux* Albertus Iuanouiz Mscislawskij *cum Collegis suis tradidere mihi obligatorium pactum. Ego verò Primarius dux Regni* Poloniæ, *post pactum istud in scriptis mihi traditum, de omnibus punctis cum Heroibus certam conclusionem constituimus, & approbauimus. Harumq; conditionum approbandarum gratia tradidi Heroibus Duci* Alberto Iuanouiz *cum Collegis eius obligationem, & confirmaui mea manu subscriptione, & sigilli appositione, & sacrosanctum viuificum Baptisma exosculatus sum ego Primarius Dux exercituum Regni* Poloniæ *& omnes Primipili, Centuriones sese obligando, pro Magno Imperatore nostro Serenissimo* Sigismundo *Rege* Poloniæ, *ipsiusque filio Serenissimo* Vladislao, Sigmuntouiz, *& pro magnis Imperijs, vniuersoq; magno Regno* Poloniæ, *Magnoq; Ducatu* Lithuaniæ, *& pro nobismetipsis, totoq; exercitu, qui est penes sacrosanctam Regiam Maiestatem, & penes me Primarium suum. Eum in modum. Quòd benedictione castissimæ Deiparæ, & Sanctorum, qui magna miracula in* Moscouia *præstitere, vtpotè Sancti* Petri Alexij, *&* Anthonij, *omniumq; Sanctorum, Serenissimus* Sigismundus *Rex noster* Poloniæ *miserebitur Imperij* Moscouitici, *& creabit Imperatorem* Wlodijmirienſem, *omniumq; magnorum Imperiorum, totius* Muscoviæ, *filium sacræ suæ Regiæ Maiestatis* Vladislaum

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laum Sigmuntouiz. *Cum verò iam Serenissimus* Vladislaus Sigmuntouiz *filius Serenissimi Regis* Poloniæ *aduenerit ad Arcem Sedis Imperatoriæ* Moscouiticæ, *tum coronabitur in Imperatorem* Wlodimirienſem, *omniumq; totius* Moscouiæ *Imperiorum, ipsiq; Imperatoria Corona, & Diadema imponetur à venerabili Hermogene Patriarcha totius* Moscouiæ, *& ab vniuerso venerabili Clero* Græcæ *Religionis, secundum priſtinum morem & dignitatem. Factus verò Serenissimus S. R. Maiestatis filius* Vladislaus Sigmuntouiz *Imperator* Moscouiæ, *Templa Dei in* Moscouia *per omnes Arces, Vicos, vniuersumq; Imperium* Moscouiæ *repurgabit, & augebit in omnibus ad priſtinam consuetudinem, & ab omni incommodo tutabitur, tum Sanctis Dei, & Diuorum imaginibus, & castissimæ Deiparæ, omnibus ossibus Sanctorum, quæ magna prodigia in* Moscouia *faciunt, debitum cultum flexis genibus præstare, illaq; adorare tenebitur. Et Politica, nec non Spirituali vtriusq; sexus Christianitati, omnibusq; vere Christianis, vt sint vera Christiana legis* Græcæ *Religionis non prohibebit. Romanæ Religionis aliarumq; diuersarum Sectarum Religionis Templa, aut Synagogas, in* Moscouitici Imperij *Arcibus, & pagis, nullibi ædificare debet vt nihilominus in Arce* Moscouia *præfata, vnum Romanum Templum esse possit, propter homines* Polonos, *& Lithuanos, qui penes Imperatorem filium Serenissimi R.* Polo. *sunt futuri, ea de re cum sacra R. Maiestate, & venerabili* Hermogene *Patriarcha* Moscouiæ, *omnibus spiritualibus, tum Heroibus, & Capitaneis collatio instituenda.*

Religio autem sacrosancta Græca *nullo in puncto violanda, aut perturbanda, vel alia quæpiam innsitata introducenda est, in idq; danda opera, vt sancta, vera, Christiana* Græca *Religio, suum integritatem, & cultum retineat, iuxta morem antiquum, nec Imperium* Moscouiticum, *eiusq; incolæ, veri Christiani, à* Græca *Religione ad* Romanam, *aut aliam quampiam, vi, seu robore, & seruitute, aliisq; his similibus modis abducantur.*

Iudæi *in vniuersum* Moscouiæ *Imperium causa Mercaturæ, aut alterius cuiuspiam rei proficiscendi permittantur. Venerabilia & ossa Sanctorum, ab Imperatore filio Serenissimi R.* Pol. Vladislao Sigmuntouiz *sancta cum veneratione debent venerari. Et venerabilem* Hermogenem *Patriarcham* Moscouiæ, *Metropolitas, Archiepiscopos, Episcopos, Archimandrytas, Hegumenos, Presbyteros, Diaconos, & præsentes spirituales, vniuersumq; Clerum Christiana sacrosancta Religionis* Græcæ, *debito afficere honore, in omnibusq; tutari, spiritualibus negotijs sese immiscendo, alienas sectas præter* Græcam *religionem introducere nullas debet. Quod autem Templis, Monasterijsue non Patrum dicuntur, de variis prouentibus, & qui dabantur antiquorum tempore Imperatorum* Moscouiæ, *vtpotè sacrati panes, legumina, summæ pecuniales, & his de varijs reditibus similia: hos prouentus Ecclesia dicatos, & omnium Imperatorum antiquorum* Moscouiæ, *nec Heroum, aut aliorum hominum donationes, si quas Templis, aut Monasterijs Dei dicauerunt, aut dicaturi sunt, adimere debet, nullo secundum antiquum morem constituta violando. Spirituales, & Regulares status nullo modo infringendo, Dimensarijs omnia pensa spiritualia, & Regularia, quibus antiquitus dabantur, ex fisco Imperatorio omnia reddendo, vt solitum fuit, & ex Imperatorio Thesauro in Templa & Monasteria, stipem variorum redituum augendo. Heroes, Imperatorij Aulici, Capitanei, Primarij Dapiferi, Cubiculary, & cuiusuis generis Tenutarij, in omnibus negotijs, in omnibus Imperialibus, Castrensibus, & terrestribus causis, in Arcibus* Palatini, *Capitanei, siue Tenutarij & Telonarij, aut alij cuiusmodi Præfecti, & omnis conditionis homines, vt antiqua retinent Priuilegia prout constitutum est in* Moscouitico *Imperio, ab antiquis magnis Imperatoribus, in id Serenissimus Imperator incumbet serio.*

Poloni *verò &* Lithuani, *in* Moscouia *nullis in terrestribus, forensibus negotijs, aut Arcibus Palatinorum, Capitaneorumue esse debent, nec successiones Præfecturæ, aut dignitatis in Arcibus illis tribuendæ sunt.*

Quia autem Poloni, *&* Lithuani *ex vtroq; Imperio videtur consultum, vt præficiantur confinibus Arcibus ad absolutum leuamen huius Imperij, ea de re Serenissimus Imperator cum Heroibus collationem instituet suo tempore.*

Iam vero vniuersa Respublica supplex Serenissimum Imperatorem precatur, ne ad executionem perducat hanc conditionem, antequam fuerit hac in parte vtriusq; deliberatum.

Qui verò Poloni *&* Lithuani *penes Serenissimum Imperatorem* Vladislaum Sigmuntouiz *sunt futuri, eos non solum honoraturi, sed etiam contentaturi pecuniali numeratione, & promeriturí secundum vniuscuiusq; merita suntum.*

Moscovitici *Imperij Heroes, Aulices, Imperatorios, Capitaneos, Primarios Dapiferos, Cubiculariosos, Præfectos, Structores, Tenutarios, Arcium Præfectos Sclopetariorum, omnesq; ad Aulam Imperatoriam pertinentes homines, & liberos Heroum, Aduenas, Mercatores, laculatores, velites, Fabros tormentarios, & omnis conditionis bellicosos homines, aliosq; heredes Imperij* Moscovitici, *Serenissimus Imperator debet habere in dignitate, honore, gratia, & amore, vt fuit antiquitus apud primos magnos* Moscoviæ *Imperatores; Nec antiquos mores & status qui erant in Imperio* Moscoviæ *immutare, vel* Moscoviæ *Ducum, Heroumq; viduas Aduenis in patria, vel Tenutis elocare, aut deprimere.*

Tributa pecunialia, stipendia reddere, & hereditates quas aliquis possidebat ad hæc vsq; tempora, is etiamnum, & in posterum possidere debet.

Hereditaria bona à nemine abalienare, sed semper omnibus hominibus Moscovitici *Imperij prouidere perpendendo seruitia eorum, prout aliquis de Republica meritus est.*

Aduenis omnibus qui vocati fuerant ex varijs Nationibus, à primis Imperatoribus Moscoviæ,

ne-

necessarijs prouidere, prout antea solitum fuit: nec stipendia, Tenutas, & possessiones eorum ab ijs abalienare.

Heroibus, Aulicis, Cubicularijs, Dapiferis, & liberis Heroum, omnibusq; Aulæ Imperatoriæ inseruientibus, Imperatoriam beneuolentiam commonstrare, & salaria debita, secundum antiquum morem reddere, Serenissimus Imperator tenebitur.

Quod si verò alicui salaria multiplicabuntur, possessioneſq; aut tenutæ, supra eius dignitatem, vel contra alicui minuentur, præter culpam ipsius, ea de re Serenissimus Imperator conferre, & consultare debet cum Heroibus Primarijs: & prout vnanimes decreuerint, idq; secundum æquitatem, ita sit facturus.

10 *Qui vero Aulici, aut liberi Heroum sumunt beneficio Imperatoris, ex Arcibus omnibus stipendiarijs, quibus beneficia tempore prateritorum Magnorum Imperatorum* Moscoviæ *ob merita ipsorum dabantur, illis quoq; iam & stipendia pecunialia, & alimentaria, ex Mandato Imperatoris danda sunt.*

In Arce dicta Moscovia, *aliisq; Arcibus, Iudicia exequi debent, & obseruari vt solitum, secundum statuta* Moscovitici *Imperij. Quod si verò aliqua essent corrigenda, ad corroborationem Iudiciorum, conceditur Serenissimo Imperatori, sed cum consensu omnium Heroum Vniuersitatis* Moscoviæ, *ita tamen, vt respondeant æquitati.*

Magnus autem Imperator Serenissimus Rex Poloniæ, *Magnus Dux* Lithuaniæ, *eiusq; totius Regni* Poloniæ, *Imperia, necnon Magnus Ducatus* Lithuaniæ, *cum Magno Imperatore filio Regis* Po-
20 loniæ Vladislao, Sigmuntoviz, *cum omnibus Imperijs* Moscoviæ, *in amicitia, societate, amore, æternis temporibus inuiolabiliter, nec contra se inuicem exercitus colligere, & bella concitare nullis modis debent.*

Quod si autem aliquis hostium tentarit impetus facere in Imperium Moscoviæ, *siue etiam in Regnum* Poloniæ, *& Magnum Ducatum* Lithuaniæ: *contra istiusmodi omnes hostes iunctis viribus insurgere vtrumq; Imperium tenebitur.*

Cæterum, in Tartarorum *finibus quod si necessum fuerit seruare vtriusq; Imperij milites, cum iam coronatus fuerit filius Serenissimi Regis* Poloniæ, *Imperator Imperij* Moscovitarum: *hac de re, collatio cum Heroibus instituenda, & cum magno Imperatore Serenissimo* Sigismundo *Rege* Poloniæ, *idq; decenter, animo sincero, absq; vlla machinatione damni alicuius, aut Tyrannidis illationis in homines* Mos-
30 couitici *Imperij: honorem, vitam, aut aliud quippiam istiusmodi nemini adimendo, cuiuscunq; conditionis ille fuerit: Aut si in* Poloniam, *vel* Lithuaniam, *aliaq; Imperia* Moscouitici *Imperij homines transmittendo, aut ex* Lithuania *in locum eorum alicuius alterius generis homines supponendo: Vxores, aut liberos alicuius dolose corrumpendo, vel sobolis procreandæ gratia sumendo, & ad exteras Nationes parentes cum liberis transmittendo.*

Qui autem ex quocunq; Imperio istiusmodi facinoris reus, & pœna dignus inueniretur: Is in Imperatorijs & terrestribus iudicibus prout meruit, puniendus est: & decretum per Imperatorem, aut Heroes, vel Capitaneos de illo ferendum.

Vxores autem eorum & liberi, fratres, & qui istud facinus nec perpetrarunt, nec ipsis fuit cognitum, aut illud perpetrandum consentiêre. Illi vedum puniendi, sed secundum æquitatem Priuilegiorum suo-
40 *rum, patrimonia, tenutas, vitam, aulas, retinere debent.*

Sin verò reus non possit explorari, nemo tum Iudicio Imperatoris, at Heroum iudicari, puniri, proscribi, vel incarcerari, aut ad alienos transmitti debet: sed vnusquisq; in suis Tenutis & Aulis conseruari.

Steriles autem, quia ex hac decesserint vita, bona ab illis relicta, vel consangineis ipsorum, siue cuicunq; ipsi legauerint, tradenda: id tamen non absq; mutua collatione, & consilio esse debet.

Porro quoniam tempore præsentis seditionis multi perire, & multos ex Moscovitis *prostratos constat à* Polonis, *&* Lithuanis, *& contra* Polonos *&* Lithuanos *à* Moscovitis: *istud factum, & nunc, & imposterum, nec commemorandum, nec vlla vindicta vtrinq; pensandum esse debet.*

Qui autem Poloni, *&* Lithuani *Primipoli, Centuriones, aliq; diuersæ sortis homines duxêre captiu-*
50 *nitatem in Imperio* Moscoviæ, *quorum aliqui adhuc in vinculis tenentur, illi ex* Moscoviæ *Imperio reddendi, sine vlla pecuniali liberatione. Tum quoque vice versa Aulici, liberi Heroum, Iaculatores, Velites, Fabri tormentarij, omneſq; seruiles & liberi homines, Aulicorum liberi, Iaculatorum, Fabrorum tormentariorum, Sclopetariorum, & horum similium. Item Matres, Vxores, Liberi, & his similes, ex Imperio* Moscovitarum, *virilis aut muliebris sexus, in præsentem seruitutem præsente primo* Moscovitarum, *virilis aut muliebris sexus, in præsentem seruitutem præsente primo* Moscouitarum *Imperatore* Venceslao *accepti in* Poloniam *vel* Lithuaniam, *illi ab Imperatore Serenissimo Rege* Poloniæ, *restituendi à minimis ad maximos vsq; absq; pecuniali redemptione. Prouentus Imperatorios ex Arcibus, aliisq; possessionibus, tum ex tenutis & arendis census, omneſq; reditus, debet Serenissimus Imperator*
60 *exigere, vt antea fecere Primi Imperatores, & prioris Magistratus mores, & statuta absq; consensu in nullis immutare.*

Arces, aut Ciuitates, quæ bello vastatæ, ad eas mittere debet Serenissimus Imperator, & præcipere, vt conscribantur Registra eorum, quæ per vastationem periere: vt vicissim sumptis prouentibus aliunde, secundum conscripta registra, possint resarciri.

Quorum verò Hæreditates, Possessiones, vel Tenutæ spoliatæ, ijs leuamen dandum, sed non absq;

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conſenſu Heroum. Et quæ recens vaſtata Arces, illas quamprimum reſtaurare, conſilio inito cum Heroibus, & Nobilibus.

Mercatores Moſcouitici *Imperij omnium Ciuitatum, in* Polonia, *&* Lithuania, *ſic* Poloni, Lithuani, *in* Moſcouia, Polonia, Lithuania, *merces coemere debent more vſitato, vt antea: Iſtud tamen cauendum, ne inuicem ſibi faceſſent negotia Mercatores, & aly Chriſtiani in* Lithuaniam *ex* Ruſſia, *& ex* Lithuania *in* Ruſſiam, *ſeſe tranſportando cum mercibus Heroes, & Aulici omnes, mancipia debent in ſeruitute detinere, prout ſolitum.*

In Volda, Dona, *&* Tekier *Arcibus, velites, ſi illis opus fuerit, ſeruari debent: de quibus Sereniſſimus Imperator conferre debet cum Heroibus, & Nobilibus, poſtquam coronabitur.*

Arces Moſcouitici *Imperij, ad Imperatorem pertinentes, tum illæ, quæ in tenuitas* Polonis, *&* Lithuanis *traditæ ſunt, vel quas iam* Vor *præfatus ſub poteſtatem ſuam ſubiecit: Ego Primarius Dux exercituum Regni* Poloniæ, *conſtitus cum Heroibus* Moſcouiæ, *quod Sereniſſimus Rex* Poloniæ, *Filio ſacræ ſuæ Regiæ Maieſtatis Sereniſſimo* Vladiſlao Sigmuntouiz, *has arces, cum omnibus quæ ſunt vaſtatæ,* Moſcouitico *Imperio reſtituere debet. Illuſtres vero Legati* Moſcouienſes, *hoc in negotio tractaturi ſunt cum ſacra Regia Maieſtate de ſumptibus, & expenſis ſacræ Regiæ Maieſtatis in milites expoſitis, & de perſoluendis* Polonis, *&* Lithuanis, *ſunt quoque conſulturi, quomodo abſolui poſſint.*

Demetrius ſuppoſititius ſecundus.

Vor *autem præfatus, qui ſeſe Cæſaridem* Moſcouitici *Imperij,* Demetrium Euanouiz *appellat: de illo, mihi Primo Duci Regni* Poloniæ *conſilium ineundum, & omnis cura habenda, vt capi, vel penitus è vita tolli poſſit.*

Qui poſtquam captus, vel occiſus fuerit, Ego Primarius Dux Exercituum Regni Poloniæ, *cum exercitu ſacræ Maieſtatis à primaria Arce, ſedis Imperatoriæ,* Moſcouia *præfata diſcedere ad Arcem* Mozaisko, *vel vbi fuerit opus, poſt collationem cum Heroibus inſtitutam, ibiq; Legatos* Moſcouiæ, *& mandatum ſacræ Regiæ Maieſtatis, præſtolari tenebor. Quod ſi nihilominus* Vor *præfatus contra Imperatoriam arcem* Moſcouiam *ſic dictam tentauerit inſidiari, aut ſeditiones aliquas excitare; Ego Primarius Dux Regni* Poloniæ, *illum profligare, & armis perſequi tenebor.*

Dominum vero Sapieza, *qui ſe* Vor *præfato adiunxit, ab illo & exercitum* Polonicum, *&* Lithuanicum *abducere; Quod ſi idem* Vor *præfatus, ex* Moſcouia *cum* Ruthenis *diſceſſerit, militum autem* Polonorum, *&* Lithuanorum *quoſdam apud ſe detinuerit; Ego Primarius Dux Regni* Poloniæ, *cum exercitu ſacræ Regiæ Maieſtatis, vna cum Heroibus* Moſcouiæ, *ne ſanguicidium impoſterum exoriatur, ſed Imperium pace publica aſſecuratum ſtabiliatur, dabimus operam.*

Demetrij primi ſup. vxor. Palæologilla.

Mulier verò, quæ cum eodem Vor *præfato per* Moſcouiticum *Imperium, cum exercitu paſſim graſſatur, Imperatricem* Moſcouiæ *ſeſe ventilando; Illi prohibendum, ne eandem ſe impoſterum cognominare, vel quippiam iſtiuſmodi, aut aliquas difficultates, contra Imperium* Moſcouiticum *moliri audeat: ſed, quamprimum in* Poloniam *reducenda eſt. Imperator verò Sereniſſimus, filius Regis* Poloniæ Vladiſlaus Sigmuntouiz *in omnibus antiquitus, iura ſancita, & pacta Magnorum Legatorum* Moſcouiæ, *cum Sereniſſimo* Sigiſmundo *Rege* Poloniæ, *& confirmata priuilegia imitari debet.*

Ciuitatem & Arcem Smolinsk *præfatum quod attinet; Ego Dux Primarius exercituum regni* Poloniæ *ſupplicabo apud S. R. Maieſtatem, vt prohibeat, ne milites in Ciuitate tanta homicidia exerceant, & Arcem ſpolient.*

De Baptiſmo repetendo.

De baptiſmate verò, vt illud Imperator Vladiſlaus Sigmuntouiz, *filius ſacræ Regiæ Maieſtatis ſuſcipiat, & baptizetur in illorum Sacroſancta legis Græcæ religione, in illaq; perſeueret, vt & de aliis nondum contractis actis, & conditionibus, & reliquis circumſtantijs antiquitus in Imperio* Moſcouitico, *ad præſentem vſq; expeditionem bellicam obſeruatis: Inter Sereniſſimos Imperatores & Imperia omnium, conſilium & collatio inſtitui debet, vt amor, & amicitia, vtrinq; augeri, & conſeruari poſſit. Qua de re, Ego Primarius Dux militiæ, cum iam à S. R. Maieſtate commiſſa, & mandata nulla habeam, contuli cum Heroibus, quid ipſis reſponſi ſum daturus: ſed primùm cum ſacra Regia Maieſtate hoc in negotio, tum etiam cum Sereniſſimo Imperatore* Vladiſlao Sigmuntouiz *filio ſacræ Regiæ Maieſtatis, conferam.*

Inſuper, Ego Primarius Dux exercituum regni Poloniæ, *in Arcem* Moſcouiam *præfatam,* Polonos, Lithuanos, Germanos, *& omnis generis bellicoſos, qui ſunt mecum, & cum Domino* Sapieza, *abſq; permiſſu Heroum, vel ipſa neceſſitate, intromittere non debeo. In Arcem* Moſcouiam *præfatam, Mercatorum* Polonorum, *&* Lithuanorum, *mercium coemendarum gratia, ex omnibus Prouincijs regni* Poloniæ, *cum meis Imperialibus teſtimonialibus literis non vltra viginti, vel paulo plures ſunt intromittendi: abſq; literis à me datis teſtimonialibus, in Arcem* Moſcouiam *præfatam, aut alibi, nemo proficiſci debet.*

Ob maius verò robur, & confirmationem Pactorum iſtorum, Ego Primarius regni Poloniæ *Dux exercituum,* Staniſlaus Staniſlaides, Zolkiewsky de Zolkwia *ſigillum meum appoſui, & manum propriam ſubſcripſi. Sic etiam Domini Primipoli, & Centuriones exercitus, qui tum temporis mihi aderant, ad hæc mea ſcripta nomina ſua ſubſcripſere. Datum in Caſtris, apud Arcem ſedis Imperatoriæ* Moſcouitici *Imperatoris. Anno* 1610. *Auguſti* 27. *die.*

Reſpon-

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Responsum ad Pacta inter Primarium Ducem Exercituum Regni *Poloniæ*, & Heroes *Moscouiæ*, Serenissimi Regis *Poloniæ*, & Serenissimi VLADISLAI SIGMVNTOVIZ Filij Sacræ Regiæ Majestatis.

MAgnus Dei gratia *Imperator* Vladislaus Sigmuntouiz, *Filius Serenissimi Regis* Poloniæ, Sueciæ, &c. *Amplissimi* Moscouitarum *Imperij vniuerso venerabili Clero, Ministris Dei vigilantissimis, Heroibus, Capitaneis, Liberis Heroum, Aduocatis velitum, Iaculatoribus, & Velitibus, Aduenis, Mercatoribus, omnibus seruilibus, & liberis hominibus significamus. Nos quandoquidem vobis Imperatorem totius Imperij* Moscouitici, *Cæsarem, & Magnum Principem* Wlodymirienſem, *necnon vniuersarum* Moscouitici *Imperij Prouinciarum coronari petijstis: Nos quoq; post Legatorum vestrorum supplicationem, pro vobis intercessimus apud Serenissimum Tertium Regem* Poloniæ, *Magnumq; Ducem* Lithuaniæ, *Dominum parentem nostrum, vt secundum suæ sacræ Regiæ Maiestatis misericordiam, consuetudinem, vestræ subueniat calamitati, & prout capit, ad finem vsq; vos, & totum* Moscouiticum *Imperium restauret, & pace confirmet: & sanguinem Christianum qui per malos quosdam pacis publicæ violatores, & periuros effunditur, coerceat: Serenissimus itaq; Rex* Poloniæ, *Dominus Parens noster, post vestrum Legatorum supplicationem, & nostram filij sui intercessionem, Decreuit nobiscum filio suo, in* Moscouiticum *Imperium, iter quamprimum suscipere: vt confirmetur Imperium, & sanguinicidium sanguinis vestri cohibeatur, vobis verò pax, & Patria, ex integro restituatur. Et vobis venerabili Clero, Heroibus, Incolis, Capitaneis, & vniuersis cuiuscunq; sortis hominibus, Spiritualibus, & Politicis, istud necessariò sciendum est. Vos autem, qui Serenissimo Regi* Poloniæ, *Domino Parenti nostro, & nobis, ad hoc vsq; tempus fidem inuiolatam conseruastis, iam quoq; nobis Magnis Imperatoribus vestris officia vestra, & promptitudinem animi conseruabitis, aduentumq; nostrum in Imperium* Moscouiticum, *cum gaudio in pace expectabitis. Qui verò malâ de nobis opinione, contumacia, & seductione Vor præfati, repulsam fecere, ijs ne amplius tergiuersentur, promittendo illis nostram beneuolentiam, & amorem, persuadere debetis, & ad nos Imperatores conuertere, vt sint quoq; vobiscum vnanimes, Et Supremi Cancellarij Exercitus, Serenissimiq; Regis* Poloniæ, *Domini Parentis nostri, nostrisq; se adiungant: Et cum supremo Cancellario, de nostris Imperatorijs, & terrestribus negotijs consultent, commodaq; Patriæ curent, vt quamprimum possit Imperium* Moscouiticum, *ad pristinum statum reduci, & paci, ac tranquillitati antiquæ restitui: ac nos, donec venerimus, læti præstolentur. Seditiosis, ac malè de nobis opinantibus, nullam fidem habeant, nec vllis obediant, qui secundum animi sui præsumptionem falsam, se suamq; posteritatem Imperatoribus* Moscouiticis *successuram arbitrantur. Et qui de sacra Regia Maiestate, Domino Parente nostro, nobisq; metipsis, rumores nefarios, scriptis ad Arcium Præfectos literis sparsere, & disseminarunt, verbaq; dolosè excogitata, inter homines dimisere, & iam disseminant: atque hac tyrannide, & malitia sua, recentes seditiones in* Moscouia *concitauerunt, quibus multam copiam sanguinis Christiani frustra effundi passi sunt, & totum Imperium diuiserunt, & hac pertinacia, atque malitia suâ, Dei ter Opt. Max. castissimæq; Deiparæ voluntati, necnon Serenissimi* Sigismundi *Dei gratia Regis* Poloniæ *misericordiæ, & ipsius benenolo erga se animo aducrsantur, Nobisq; Serenissimo Imperatori iuramentum exosculatione vnifici Baptismatis præstitum violant. Quare quosdam eorum iam etiam propterea Deus Omnipotens, iusto suo iudicio, ex hac vita sustulit, & punijt: quosdam verò, eius atrocissima vindicta expectat, nisi à sua contumacia conuersi, apud nos, Magnos Imperatores suos, culpam quamprimum supplices deprecentur. Insuper, omnibus vobis in vniuersum sciendum est, quod ij, qui ad nos Magnos Imperatores suos, & nostram misericordiam, asylumq; confugerint, ijs secundum magnum affectum nostrum Imperatorium, miserebimur: panis remissis condonabimus omnia, & in tutelam eosdem nostrum recipiemus.*

Sacrosanctam quoq; Religionem vestram Legis Græcæ permittimus, earumq; secundum constitutiones Patrum Sanctorum, tuebimur, in nullo puncto violandam, & immutandam. Et vniuersam venerabilium Patrum, Ministrorum Dei Confessariorum vestrorum Coronam, debito in honore sumus habituri. Heroes, Aulicos, & cuiuscunq; sortis alios diligere, promouere, patriam possessionem, pecunialem, aliamque omnem prouisionem, à nemine abalienando: sed suum vnicuique attribuere promittimus, secundum antiquam consuetudinem: & insuper nostra Imperatoria prouisione, vnumquemq; secundum ipsius dignitatem, & merita promouere. Qui autem in malitia, & contumacia sua perseuerare non cessabunt, ij, Deum Opt. Max. & castissimam eius Genitricem, strictissimo illos gladio puniturosq; certo sciant: & nostrum Imperatorium beneuolum animum, in iram, & vindictam mutatum experientur. Non vult enim Deus Omnipotens, vt, ob malitiam, & contumaciam Rebellium, innocentium vlterius sanguis effundatur, Templa Dei spolientur, & gloria sancti Nominis eius, magis, ac magis deprimatur. Vos omnes, apud animum vestrum diligentius perpendite, & his, qui adhuc nobis tergiuersantur renunciate, vt animo mutato, ad veritatis agnitionem redeant, & seditiosos, & pacis publicæ diremptores relinquant.

Iam verò, ad quas Arces, & Ciuitates, hæ literæ nostræ peruenerint, Mandamus, vt earum Capitanei, & Tenutarij, omnia ad victum necessaria, & pecuniam colligant, in paratisq; habeant, ad nostrum aduentum. Interea Exercitus sacræ Regiæ Maiestatis, Domini Parentis nostri, nostriq; proprij, ne vllum detrimentum patiantur, sed vna in fraterno amore, quoad venerimus, viuatis: Et donec Opt. Max.

ex mera gratia ſua, noſtraq; Imperatorium cura, & diligentia, toto Imperio Moſcouitico *firmato, & reſtaurato, vobis potiri conceſſerit. Dabantur* Varſouiæ, *Anno Domini* 1612. *9. die Martij.*

The points of the Embaſſage of the Ruſſian *Meſſenger ſent to his ſacred Maieſtie, briefly collected.*

Ruſſes. BY what manner their naturall Lords ruled ouer them, they alleaged, to wit, beginning from *Borik*, who was of the bloud of *Auguſtus Ceſar*, Emperour of *Rome*, euen vnto the laſt Lord and Emperour *Pheodor Euanowich*, in whom their Race ceaſed.

Pheodor Euanowich. *Boris Godonowe.* That *Boris Godonowe* abiding with *Pheodor Euanowich*, was created (by his owne force and power) Emperour or Lord: but after a little time, the pleaſure of God ſo working, being thruſt out of the Imperiall ſeate, departed this life ſhamefully, and by violent death, together with his Wife and Children.

Gregorij Eutropio, Roſtrige. *Demetrij Euanowich.* Primates. That *Chriſtophorus Otropitij* the *Roſtrige*, being of baſe deſcent, vnder the Name which he did beare of Emperour, otherwiſe *Demetrij Euanowich*, ſlaine at *Owglets*, did fraudulently and by deceit (wherewith he deceiued the common people, and others that beleeued them) obtaine the Imperiall Seate by force, without the conſent of the Spiritualtie, and all the chiefe Biſhops and Lords, and great men of the Kingdome, who durſt not withſtand the ſame, ſeeing the Commons to yeeld thereunto.

Lord *Palatin* of *Sandomire.* How the excellent Lord *Palatin* of *Sandomire*, gaue his daughter in marriage to the *Roſtrige*, and himſelfe (many Gentlemen both of the Kingdome of *Poland*, and great Duchy of *Litow*, accompanying him) came into *Moſcouia*.

Vaſili Euanowich Suiskey. Then, that *Vaſili Euanowich Suiskey*, with his brethren, and many others aſſociated to this attempt, and ſtirring vp other great men of the Land, did kill the *Roſtrige*, with many Gentlemen of *Poland*, and the great Duchy of *Litow*, and put the reſt into diuers Caſtles. And himſelfe was made Emperour, although he were not elected by all the States. Whereupon many of our ſort did not willingly acknowledge him Emperour, and many would not obey him.

The *Wor.* *Coluga.* How another named the *Wor*, did riſe vp at *Kaluſia*, and cauſed himſelfe to bee named *Demetrij*, and ſo accounted. Whereof when many (both *Ruſſes* and *Poles*) heard, they aſſembled vnto him, thinking him to be the true *Demetrij*: and the *Ruſſes* did ſo much the more willingly draw vnto him, becauſe of the murtherers.

Other *Wors*, or pretenders, *Iuan, Peter, Pheodor.* How others called *Wors*, did name and call themſelues ſonnes of the ſlaine Emperour, as *Iuan, Peter, Pheodor*, and by many and diuers other names: and vnder the ſame names, did conſume the State, and ſhead much bloud.

The King of *Poland.* The Lord of *Premiſlaue.* How the Kings ſacred Maieſtie, comming to *Smolenſko*, ſent his Meſſengers the Lord of *Premiſlaue*, and other noble men, who comming vnto the Campe, the forenamed *Wors* fled away: but diuers of the *Ruſſes* came vnto his Maieſtie. And taking counſell with the *Boiarins*, at that time remayning with *Suiskey* in the chiefe Citie, we ſent our Meſſengers to his Maieſtie at that time, being at *Smolenſko*, viz. *Michael Salticowe*, and others, requeſting that his Maieſtie would grant vs his Sonne to be our Lord.

Michael Salticowe. How they were diſpatched away, and what anſwere they brought from his Maieſtie, with conditions engroſſed, and ſigned with his hand and ſeale.

The Articles are before in Latin. How that after the depoſing of *Suiskey*, the noble Lord Generall of the Kingdome, comming into *Moſcouia*, concluded all the ſaid buſineſſes and treaties: and confirmed them with the oath of himſelfe, and his fellow Souldiers. And that they after that oath, likewiſe made their oath for the ſame. Then, that for the greater defence of the ſaid principall Citie from the *Wors*, they ſent Souldiers into the Citie, and ſent alſo their Meſſengers from the whole Countrie *Fudareu*, the *Metropolitan* and *Vaſili Galichin*, with others, vnto the Kings Maieſtie, and required an oath in his Maieſties behalfe, of all the ſeuerall Prouinces.

Vaſili Galichin. How that his Maieſties Souldiers dwelled and behaued themſelues in this capitall Citie of *Moſco*, before the troubles began, without iniuring any man, puniſhing the euill according to their deſerts.

How the *Boiarins* handled other Gentlemen, and principall perſons of the *Ruſſe* Religion, although more inclined vnto them: but eſpecially the Officers and Seruants of the *Wors*, as alſo ſuch as had fled ouer.

It followeth, how they often ſent word vnto the Citie of *Smolenſko*, and willed them to deliuer vp the Citie vnto his Maieſtie, to bee vnder his proſperous gouernment and power. As for the ſecret plots of their Meſſengers, *Galochin* and others, they ſaid, they were ignorant, as alſo of ſome vnknowne practiſes, handled with the *Wor* called *Haluſin*. But they ſaid, that they had written very often to the Citie of *Smolenſko*, and commanded them to doe whatſoeuer ſtood with his Maieſties pleaſure, and liked him, without further effuſion of bloud.

Galochin. *Haluſin a Wor or Pretender.*

How

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How alſo it befell in the chiefe Citie to *Lepun*, and *Saruſky*, and the other Rebels, when they violated their fidelitie. *Lepun. Saruſki.*

That they certified his Maieſties Souldiers thereof, and that they, with them, did riſe againſt the Rebels, and that euen to this preſent, they doe keepe, and will keepe their oath once made, and their due obedience vnto their Lord.

And, in that *Lepun* was puniſhed of God for his treacherie, and departed this life with ſo ſhamefull a death, wee thinke it to bee for the good example of others, to reduce them into their former eſtate, to reuoke others vnto their fidelitie, and for keeping their oath alreadie giuen.

Therefore, after many circumſtances, they inferred, that they would preſently ſend their Meſſengers to the generall Parliament: but mooued with the perſwaſion of the honorable Lord Generall, to wit, that his Maieſtie would bee contented with their fidelitie once made, and performed vnder oath, and with their griefe for the ſame cauſe, and will cheerefully forgiue them: and doth not refuſe to giue his Sonne to raigne ouer them. Adding withall, that many Kingdomes, to wit, the Kingdome of *Hungarie*, the Kingdome of *Bohemia*, and a great part of *Ruſſia*, doe earneſtly requeſt, that he would receiue them vnder the happy gouernment of his Maieſtie: that they might enioy the priuiledges of *Poland*, and *Litow*, to which, none in the whole world can be compared.

But, becauſe his Excellent Maieſtie, as a Chriſtian Lord, reiecting all other Kingdomes, and Dominions, will graciouſly receiue vnder his Rule and gouernment the ſaid Dominions, and that he is ſorry for their deſtruction: he therefore now admoniſheth them, if they will bee vnder his proſperous Rule, and enter into an vnion together with the Kingdome of *Poland*, and the great Duchy of *Litow*, and liue friendly with them: if they will performe, and conſent therevnto, His Excellent Maieſtie promiſeth to remit their offence, and to receiue them vnder his happy gouernment and authoritie, and refuſeth, and by no meanes will alter or change their faith and conſcience, or places dedicated vnto God, or builded for deuotion: neither will impoſe on them any other Religion, or alter their ancient Manners, or Cuſtomes, but will beſtow on them priuiledges and offices: and that the Rights and Priuiledges, which the *Poles*, with the great Duchy of *Litow* doe enioy, ſhall be conferred on them: and that they ſhall be equalled with the Kingdome and great Duchy of *Litow*, &c. which iuriſdictions and priuiledges, in former times, their Predeceſſors wanted. The King aſſents.

For this perſwaſion therefore of the honourable Lord Generall, which he had in charge from his Maieſtie to make, they yeeld all thankes: but notwithſtanding they propound, and plainly adde, that their oath ſhall be ſo, that his Maieſties ſonne ſhall ſucceed in their gouernment, with certaine additions; to wit, that they will haue none other ouer them but onely his Maieſties ſonne, and that the whole Land doth make it knowne, and propound their iudgement and ſentence, by way of denunciation, that by no meanes, but by offering his Maieſties ſonne, theſe troubles of *Moſcouia* can be extinguiſhed. Adding withall, that at that time, in the firſt troubles, when the honourable Lord Generall came into the Country of *Moſcouia*, and required the oath for the Kings Maieſties ſonne: if his Maieſtie had made any mention thereof, it is certaine, that the Commons and all the Nobilitie, would not haue conſented thereunto by any meanes, and that greater effuſion of bloud had riſen thereupon: And that they had taken for their Prince *Klutzinsky*, called the *Wor*, to whom all were not aſſembled, who alſo at that time had a great power of men, as well of *Poles*, as *Ruſſes* and *Litowes*. They therefore ſeeing the great diſcord amongſt the people, taking counſell, did freely chooſe for their Lord and Emperour his Excellent Maieſties ſonne, vnto whom they had a great affection, and who had a long time before layen in their hearts: aſſuring themſelues alſo, that by this election of his Maieſties ſonne, many troubles and diſſentions would be pacified, and ſo reiected the aforeſaid *Wor Klutzinsky*: As alſo they receiued into their chiefe Citie the chiefe Generall. But, when it was heard that his Excellent Maieſtie, would by no meanes giue vnto them his ſonne for their Lord, and to rule ouer them, they fell into ſuch effuſion of bloud and inſurrections, As alſo the ſame time, the whole Country of *Moſcouia* looked and expected nothing elſe then his Maieſties ſonne. Calling to memorie, for their better aduice, that it was to be feared, leaſt whileſt his Maieſtie came too late with his ſonne, diuers parts of the Land ſhould chooſe vnto themſelues ſeuerall Lords. As to the Southward the Caſtles *Strachen* and others, to the King of *Perſia*; part of *Pomerland* and *Siberia*, to the Kings of *Denmarke* and *England*; *Nouogrod*, *Pleſco*, *Iuanogrod*, and others, to the King of *Sweden*: and that the other Cities would chooſe to themſelues other Lords ſeparate from the reſt. In the meane ſeaſon, they deſire his Excellent Maieſtie, to make a ſpeedy end of theſe warres, according to his Obligation and promiſe ratified by the oath of the honorable Lord Generall, and the whole Armie: and that his Maieſtie himſelfe, with his ſonne, would come into *Moſcouia*. They requeſt alſo, that his Excellent Maieſtie would retayne with himſelfe and his Sonne, Counſellors, and Meſſengers of their Commonwealth, for the ordayning and concluding of perpetuall Conditions. They requeſt alſo, that his Maieſtie, in the name of his Sonne, would ſend vnto all the Inhabitants of the Townes, and write vnto the ſeuerall Cities, ſignifying his

Klutzinsky a *Wor* or Pretender, acknowledged Emperour.

Aſtracan. Laplande.

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comming into their Dominions, and willing, that out of the ſeuerall Prouinces, all ſorts of men ſend their Meſſengers, to treate and conclude of the affaires of all ſorts of People, and of perpetuall tranquillitie. Promiſing after the ſaid Charge and Letters to all people in generall, and notifying from their ſaid Lord, that (by Gods grace) there may bee throughout the whole Land of *Moſcouia*, tranquillitie, peace, and ſecuritie.

To conclude, they pray heartily vnto the Lord God, to grant vnto his Maieſtie in this buſineſſe begun, a proſperous and ſpeedy end.

Ruſſian Inconſtancy.

Thus haue wee ſeene diſſolute reſolutions, or reſolute diſſoluteneſſe, men onely conſtant in inconſtancy, reſolued vpon irreſolution. As we often ſee ſicke perſons turning euery way, and no way eaſed; in the night time longing for day, and in the day for night; ſuch was now the *Ruſſian* ſickneſſe, they would and they would not, and yet would againe, and againe would not, they ſcarſly knew what or why; fluctuating in an inward ſtorme of diuerſifyed hopes, feares, deſires, diſtracted affections, no leſſe then in that outward broile of State. For it was not long that they looked toward *Poland*, whether for breach of conditions of that part, or out of inueterate hate to the *Pole*, or their Nationall jealouſie and diſtruſt of Strangers, or a naturall inconſtancy; they fell off from that Prince: and their Chancellor (Father to the now raigning Emperour) employed there with others in Embaſſage) were detayned thereupon priſoners. It is alſo reported that they made ſecret ouertures to His Maieſtie of Great *Britaine*, and that Sir *Iohn Merick* and Sir *William Ruſſel* were therein employed: but the ſtrong conuulſions and ſharpe agues and agonies of that State could not, or would not endure the lingring of ſuch remote phiſicke; the wheele of Things being whirled about before ſuch a Treatie might admit a paſſage of Meſſengers to and fro. Once that *Ruſſian* Head grew ſo heady and giddy, that

Many-headed body.

at laſt it bred innumerable Heads, yea the whole Body became Heads in the worſt of tyrannies, a popular (gouernment ſhall I ſay? or) confuſion. Neither were *Hydras* heads (monſtrouſly multiplying two for each cut off) like this: for beſides ſo many *Wor's* after the firſt and ſecond *Demetrius* (which might make vp that compariſon) each limbe, nay almoſt each haire of this *Hydra* (not the Nobles alone, but the baſeſt which had nothing but themſelues, and were nothing but Numbers) became ſo many prodigious Heads; they alſo like *Pharaohs leane kine deuouring the fat*, and vpon light pretences beheading themſelues in cutting off the heads and nobler Perſons amongſt them.

Ianſon. A. 1612.

When they had thus made away almoſt all the *Grandes*, and left the South parts to the ſpoile of the *Poles*, which once againe were drawing neere to *Moſco* to beſiege it; the *Poles* alſo ſuffered ſome diſaſter, their Souldiers mutinying for want of pay, and banding themſelues to returne into *Poland*, there inuaded the Mints and Cuſtome-houſes, and ſome gouernments, detayning them for their pay; ſending alſo threatning Letters to diuers Cities and Townes, forced diuers Nobles and Plebeians to compoſition. The *Turkes* and *Tartars* brake likewiſe into *Walachia*, *Moldauia*, and *Polonia*, ſo that *Zolkiewsky* or *Sulcosky* the Generall was forced to goe againſt them, of whom he made ſo great a ſlaughter, that the Great *Turke* committed the *Polake* Embaſſadour at *Conſtantinople* to Ward, and threatned the *Poles* with inuaſion. Theſe mutinous Souldiers continued meane while that and the next yeere to ſpoile *Poland*, doing much damage to the King and the Biſhops, challenging many millions due, as they ſaid, for pay. Yea they paſſed further into *Pruſſia*, and made ſpoile in euery place, on the eight of Nouember 1613. paſſing with a great prey to *Thorn*, being parted into three Bands, the *Sapians*, the *Sboronians*, and *Smolenskians*. Another companie of them terrified *Sileſia*. The *Tartars* likewiſe made impreſſion and committed great ſpoile in *Podolia*.

Gods prouidence permits not the vtter ruine of *Ruſsia*.

Thus an Armie diuided could not conquer, nor ſo vtterly exterminate *Ruſſia* as otherwiſe opportunity was offered: the *Pole* Souldiers being herein like angry Elephants which ſometime recoyle vpon their owne troupes and doe more ſpoyle then the enemy could either haue effected or expected. But whiles the Inuaders were thus inuaded, the *Ruſſes* were forward to worke thoſe executions on themſelues, which their enemies could haue wiſhed to them; till at laſt awakened with the horrour of their owne euils, ſome began to thinke of a better courſe. In the

Strange alteration of affaires by a Butcher.

North about the *Dwina*, a bold fellow, a Butcher, rayling at the Nobilities baſeneſſe, and the Officers corruptions, ſaid, if they would chooſe a good Treaſurer and pay Souldiers well, they might haue thoſe which would fight and expell the *Poles* their Enemies: prouided, that they would firſt chooſe a worthy Generall, for which place he recommended to them a poore maymed Gentleman, called *Pozarsky*, who had done good ſeruice, but being neglected, now had retyred himſelfe not farre off. The multitude approued the Butchers counſell, and choſe *Pozarsky* for their Leader, and that Butcher for a Treaſurer, deliuering into his hands what money they had, which he ſo faithfully diſburſed, *Pozarsky* alſo diſcharging ſo well the truſt repoſed, that a great Army was gathered, and the ſiege of *Muſco* thereby rayſed. And joyning with *Knes Demetry Maſtroukswich* (a kind of *Tartar* which commanded an Army of *Coſſaks* in ſeruice of the *Ruſſe*) they fell in conſultation with *Boris Licin*, the third Great Souldier of that Countrey, vpon choice of an Emperour. Their mindes herein diſagreeing (ſome naming one, ſome another) ſome named *Maſtroukswich* himſelfe, other for further ſecuritie againſt the *Poles*, and

Pozarsky choſen Generall, and a Butcher Treaſurer.

Boris Licin.

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and to recompence the ſufferings and impriſonment of the *Ruſſian* Chancellor in *Poland*, named his young Sonne *Mucallowich*, vnder whoſe Empire (hauing a good Councell appointed) they might liue happily. This was firſt approued by the *Coſſaks*, and then by the other Armies, the Butcher alſo was taken to become a Counſellor, and thoſe three Leaders aforeſaid were made Militarie Commanders for the preſent Emperour againſt the *Poles*. Embaſſadours alſo were ſent to diuers Princes to mediate betwixt them and the *Pole*, and betwixt them and the *Sweden*; and by his Majeſtie of Great *Brittaine* (whom God long preſerue to reigne ouer vs) his countenance and interceſſion, there hath beene ſome agreement, and the young Emperour hath ſetled his Dominions in peace; making at laſt a truce for fourteene yeeres with the *Poles*, obtayning alſo in that Treatie his Father the Chancellour his libertie and returne out of *Poland*, who ſince is conſecrated Patriarke of *Ruſſia*.

Micalowich Son to the Chancellor choſen.

Our Kings mediation.

His Fathers returne and Patriarkſhip.

His Embaſſadour to the Emperour came to *Linetz* in December 1613. and thence was conueighed by the Emperours Officers to the Court, where hee had ſolemne audience, where after rich preſents of Furres and his Letters, he deliuered his ſpeech, that *Michael Phedorowich* was now by vnanimous conſent aduanced to the *Ruſſian Empire*, and willing to entertayne and continue the ancient confederacie betwixt both Empires: deſiring the Imperiall Majeſtie to dehort the *Pole* from his vniuſt attempts, to deliuer the *Ruſſe* Captiues, and not againe to infeſt the recouered *Muſco*, but to enter into peace, and abſtayne from Chriſtian bloudſhed. Likewiſe to ſend an Embaſſadour to his Court, &c. This mediation *Ceſar* promiſed, and gaue the Embaſſadour liberall entertainment, and gentle diſpatch.

Ianſen.

Not long after in May 1614. the *Ruſſian* Embaſſadour had audience with the States of the Vnited Prouinces at *Hage*; and before that in *England*. I was preſent both at his arriuall at *Graueſend*, and his honourable entertaynment into *London*, and ſaw him alſo preſently after the running at Tilt at White-hall, the foure and twentieth of March, admitted to his Maieſties preſence, performing that *Ruſſian* Rite of bowing with his face downe to or neere the ground, &c.

Anno 1615. The *Turkiſh* Embaſſador treated with the *Ceſarean* Majeſtie about the mediation betwixt the *Pole* and the *Muſcouite*, who employed to that purpoſe *Eraſmus Heidel* and the Baron of *Dohn*. The *Pole* notwithſtanding ſent an Army in his Sonnes challenge (who was ſhortly to follow to *Smolensko*) into *Muſcouia*; *Pontus Tellagard* the *Sweden* Commander infeſting alſo the *Ruſſians* at the ſame time. But the next yeere 1616. Sir *John Merike* Knight, a man of great experience in thoſe Northerne parts, was employed his Majeſties Embaſſadour to negotiate betwixt thoſe two Great Princes, the *Moſcouite* and the *Sweden*, the Articles of whoſe compoſition I obtayned by the mediation of Sir *Thomas Smith* (my ancient Benefactor in this kind) and haue here communicated to thee, but in another Chapiter as being now paſt our Tragicke Thunders: as alſo the following *Ruſſe-China* Newes, that you may ſee not only the face of *Ruſſia* waſhed from her bloudy pollutions, but her hands further then euer extended (fortunate in treaty of Commerce) as far as *China*: likewiſe the *Ruſſe* Patent to the *Engliſh*. Sweet is the name of Peace, and the thing it ſelfe a Heauen vpon Earth. BLESSED ARE THE PEACEMAKERS (His Maieſties word elſe-where, here his deed) *for they ſhall be called* (ſaid the only begotten Son) *the Children of God*; euen the God of peace will make them his heires of Heauen, which (models of Deity) ſeeke to eſtabliſh the peace of God vpon Earth. And let it not ſeeme tedious here to preſent theſe His Majeſties Trauels, amongſt our other Trauellers, but in a more glorious manner (I ker to God *vnmoueable* which moueth all things) who hath not only been our Sunne, and with lightſome heate and influence filled our *Britiſh* Hemiſphere, but hath diſperſed his bright rayes of Light, and warmed with ſweet quickning beames of heat, thoſe remoter frozen Climates of *Sweden* and *Ruſſia*, (not to mention, or but to mention the quarrels of *Denmarke* and *Sweden*) and after their long froſtie Night (ſuch is the nature, ſuch was the ſtate of thoſe States) to reduce the faire day-light of Peace, the warmth whereof hath thawed the Icie hardned hearts of Enmity, and filled all things with ſweets, and cheere of a returning Spring. *Nulla ſalus bello, pacem te poſcimus omnes.*

Sir *I. Merikes* negotiation. Sir *Dudley Digs* was alſo ſent Embaſſador in a troubleſome time, when he could not with ſafetie paſſe vp to *Moſco* for the enemie, in the firſt times of *Micalowich*.

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CHAP. X.

A briefe Copie of the points of the Contracts betweene the Emperours Maiestie, and the Kings Maiestie of *Sweden*: at *Stolbova* the seuen and twentieth of February, 1616.

Oblivion of former quarels.

IN primis, *and especially that all matters be set aside, forgotten, pacified, and renounced, which passed these former yeeres since the conclusion of peace at* Taffina *in the yeere* 7003. *betweene the former great Lords, Emperours, and great Dukes of all* Russia, *and afterwards our great Lord, Emperour and great Duke* Michaelo Phedorowich *of all* Russia Sam. *his Imperiall Maiestie, and Empire of* Russia; *and betweene their late high, mightie Lord King* Charles *the Ninth of* Sweden, *the aboue named Kings Maiesties highly honored and beloued Father, especially their high mighty Lord King* Gustavus Adolphus *of* Sweden, *his Kingly Maiesty and the Crowne of* Sweden: *As also both the Princes their Dominions, Lands, Cities, and people, chance or hap of the Subiects, which happened or was done by robbery, burning, killing, or other enmities what soeuer might bee, or by whom it was done, that all those griefes and troubles in all matters shall be set aside, and hereafter not be reuenged or remembred of neither party, for euer and by this present strong conclusion of peace betwixt our great Lord Emperour and great Duke* Michaelo Pheodorowich *of all* Russia, Sam. *and betwixt their great mightie Lord, King* Gustavus Adolphus *of* Sweden, *&c. and of other Dominions, Lands, Castles, aswell those of old, as those which by this conclusion of peace are giuen and yeelded vp, and betwixt all the Subiects and people to bee renewed, established, confirmed and held vnremoueable in the manner of a peace for euer and euer; and sure friendship perpetually: Also that the Emperours Maiesty, and the Kings Maiesty shall desire one anothers best in all matters, and neyther seeke a better friend, but to deale faithfully and truly in all matters reciprocally.*

Michaelo Pheodorowich Emperor of *Russia.* *Gustavus Adolphus* King of *Sweden.*

2. Item, *is giuen vnto our great Lord Emperour and great Duke* Michaelo Pheodorowich *of all* Russia, Sam. *his heires, successors and hereafter comming great Lords, Emperors, and great Dukes of all* Russia, *and the Empire thereof, by their great Lord King* Gustavus Adolphus *of* Sweden, *for himselfe, his successors, and hereafter being Kings of* Sweden, *and for the whole Crowne of* Sweden, *doth deliuer and cleere by the power of this conclusion of peace, these Castles of the Empire in* Russia *with the Townes and Suburbs which were taken in these yeeres, namely, great* Nouogrod, Stararouse, Porcoue, Lodiga, Odo, *with their Territories,* Somerskey, Voloft, *with the Villages belonging to the Emperors Houshold, to Metropolie, Monasteries, Gentlemens Lands, Inheritances, Farmes, with all their profits and reuennes according to former Borders and Limits, except those Castles which the Emperours Maiestie doth yeeld by power of this Contract of peace, as hereafter more certainly shall be expresst.*

Great *Nouogrod*, &c. returned to the *Russe.*

3. Item, *The Kings Maiestie of* Sweden *doth giue vnto the Emperours Maiestie, with the aforesaid Castles and Townes, all manner of Church ornaments which are in the Church of* Sophia, The Sapience of God, *and within all Churches and Monasteries in* Nouogrod, *and in other Castles and Townes which the Kings Maiesty hath giuen to the Emperours Maiesty without carrying any thing away. Also the Kings Maiesty doth giue the Metropolite and all the Spiritualtie, with all their goods, as also all manner of* Russe *people what calling soeuer they be, which are in those Townes, Castles, and Territories, dwelling now or planting themselues there with their Wiues, Children, and all their goods what soeuer any hath. As also the Kings Maiesty shall giue all manner of Writings and Bookes, which are in those Castles and Townes to be found in* Roserades *iudgement houses, or elsewhere with all* Russe *Ordnance, Munition, and Prouisions there belonging, and the Bells in those aforesaid Castles and Townes, in such manner as they were the twentieth of Nouember last past, according to agreement made with the Kings most excellent Maiesty of Great* Britaines *Ambassadour Sir* Iohn Merick, *except those Bells which the people of* Nouogrod *themselues did sell after that agreement, for the payment of Souldiers, and were carried away from* Nouogrod, *but those Bells which the Kings seruants and people did take perforce without buying, shall be in right manner sought out and brought backe againe to* Nouogrod *and restored there. Also which Bells the Kings Maiesties people bought at* Nouogrod, *it shall bee free for the* Nouogrod *men to redeeme them backe againe at the same price they sold them for, and the Kings people hereafter shall not buy any more Bells of the people of* Nouogrod *by no meanes what soeuer.*

Churches restored with their goods, &c.

Sir *I. Merike* Ambassador.

4. Item, *the Kings Maiesties people of* Sweden, *at their departure out of the Emperours Maiesties Castles and Towns aforesaid, namely, great* Nouogrod, Stararouse, Porcoue, Lodaga, Somersko, Volotco, *&c. shall vse no violence to the Emperors Maiesties people by burning, robbing, or killing, neyther carry any* Russe *people with them to the Kings Maiesties side, neither men, nor women, nor children, nor any of their goods: and if any goods remayne of the* Swethish *people, at their going out of the aforesaid Towne, which at that time they cannot take all with them, such goods shall be kept in safetie by those with whom they are left, till such time as euery one of them shall come thither for his owne goods, or send some bodie for them, and these people shall haue free libertie to goe without all molestation or let, to come for their goods, and to returne againe at their owne conuenient time.*

Libertie of persons.

5. Item,

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5. Item, *the Kings Maiesties Gouernours and Officers shall deliuer vnto the Emperours Maiesties* Voyauodes *and Commanders the aboue named Townes and Castles, to say great* Nouogrod, Stararoufe, Porcoue, *with their Territories, and* Somerskey, Voloft *in presence of the great Lords,* Iames *King, &c. his Maiesties great Ambassadour Sir* Iohn Merike *Knight, &c. or the said Kings Maiesties Gentlemen, the which the aboue said great Ambassadour shall send to that end clensing and giuing ouer the said Castles and Townes, two weekes after this contract is confirmed betweene vs both, great Commissionors by Writings, Hand, Seale, and Kissing of the Crosse of our side, and on their part, by oath vpon the holy Euangelists.* Time of delliuerie.

6. *And after that the Castle of* Lodiga *and Territories, shall bee deliuered to the Emperours Maiesties Messengers by the Kings Maiesties Gouernour, three weekes after the confirmation of this contract, in presence of the aboue said great Lords,* Iames *King, &c. his Gentlemen, which to that purpose the great Ambassadour shall send, then the said Castle and Prouince to be redeemed and giuen vp, with all the* Russe *Ordinance, people thereto belonging, none to be carried away, nor no violence to bee offered them by robbing, or otherwise spoyling of them; nor no* Russe *Ordnance to bee carried away. But the Castle of* Odow, *and Prouince, and people is to remayne on the Kings Maiesty* Gustavus Adolphus *of* Sweden, *for a time, till this contract of peace be confirmed by both the Potentates, by their Writings, by the Emperours Maiesty with the Seale of the Empire, and by the Kings Maiesties hand and Seale of the Kingdome of* Sweden, *as also by the Emperours Maiesties kissing of the Crosse, and the Kings Maiesties Oath vpon the holy Euangelists confirmed, and the borders diuided and measured out iustly. And the Ambassadour which both the Princes shall send to that effect hauing beene with both the Princes shall returne againe to the borders, hauing well concluded the busines, as then two weeks after that time the Emperors Maiesties* Voyauodes *and Commanders, which his Maiestie shall send for the receiuing of the said Castle and Prouince of* Odow *from* Vlasquo *shall receiue the said from the Kings Maiesties Gouernours, with all the* Russe *people and Ordnance with all their goods, and what they haue, and as long as the Castle of* Odow *is on the Kings Maiesties side, all the people of* Odow *and the Prouince thereof shall giue vnto the Kings Maiesty their former Corne, and doe seruice as before for the mayntayning of those Souldiers that remayne there, the Kings Maiesties people in the meane time shall do to those people of* Odow *no violence nor robbery, neyther carry any* Russe *people, or Ordnance from thence, nor cause any to be conueighed away.* Odow to remayne cautionary.

7. Item, *the Kings Maiestie* G.A. *&c. best beloued brother Prince* Charles Phillip, *Prince hereditarie of S. &c. shall hereafter lay no claime or challenge to these Castles, and Townes, namely great* Nouogrod, Porcoue, Stararoufe, Somerskey, Voloft, Odow, Ladogo, *and all their confines, borders and Prouinces; nor come vpon them with no manner of Warre, to seeke to attaine them: nor remember any more* that oath *which formerly the people of those places made to the Prince* C. Ph. *Also the Kings Maiestie* G.A. *shall promise not to giue any aide of men or money to his aboue said Brother* C. Ph. *against the aforesaid Castles and Townes in no wise.* Charles Phillip Prince of Sweden not to lay clayme.

8. *And against or in liew of the aboue said our great Lord Emperor, and great* D.M.F. *of all* Russia, Sam. *&c. for himselfe, his successours, and hereafter being great Lords, Zares, and great Dukes of all* Russia, *&c. and for the whole Empire of all* Russia, *&c. especially, for the dominion of* Nouogrod *the great, hath giuen and yeelded vnto their high mighty Lord King* G.A. *of* S. *&c. from the dominion of* Nouogrod, *from himselfe and the whole Empire of* Russia, *especially in respect of loue and friendship, these Castles, Forts, and Land, following, which heretofore did adioyne to the Dominions of* Nouogrod, *as namely* Euanogrod, Yam, Coporea, Orieseke, *with all vnto them adioyning, Townes, Lands, and Prouinces, with all Townes, and Villages in the Countrey to them belonging, and due vnto them, according to their former, iust, and auncient borders, with the people that dwell, and plant themselues there, with all other profits, reuenewes; and paiments, with the shoares of Riuers, with Lakes, nothing exempted, the Emperours Maiestie hath yeelded, and giuen to their Kings Maiestie,* G.A. *of* Sweden *&c. as proper and owne to him and his Maiesties successours, and hereafter being Kings of* Sweden, *and to the Crowne of* Sweden *for an euerlasting propertie for them to hold, without cauillation or any contradiction, by the Emperours Maiestie, or his Maiesties Successours, or hereafter being Emperours, and great Dukes of all* Russia, *as also by the whole Empire of* Russia, *and from the Dominion of* Nouogrod, *for euerlasting times, in all points, as former great Lords, and great Dukes of all* Russia, *held and kept the same; namely the late, of blessed memory, great Lord Emperour, and great Duke* Euan Vasiliwich, *of all* Russia, Sam. *and the great Lord Emperour, and great Duke,* Pheodor Euanowich *of all* Russia, Sam. *and the spiritualty, as Monkes, and all others in those Castles and Townes, as well Gentlemen, as other inhabitants of the said places, two weekes after the conclusion of this contract, when it shall be reuealed vnto them, they shall haue free libertie, all such as desire to goe to the Emperours Maiesties side, with their wiues, children, families, all goods and chattels, which way soeuer they will into the Emperours Maiesties Lands and Townes. And that all* Russe *people, in the said Castles, Forts, and Townes, might know the same: it is here agreed and concluded, that as soone as the conclusion of this peace shall be effected and confirmed betwixt vs both, the great Potentates great Commissioners shall send their Posts and Messengers into all the aforenamed Townes and Castles, which they in presence of the Lord King* Iames *his great Ambassadours, Messengers, shall openly reueale and proclaime, that all spiritualty, with their goods, Courtiers, Gentlemen, Burgesses, and Townesmen, which are desirous to goe from thence within* Zar or Czar, is a Title of the great Duke. Places yeelded by the Muscouite to the Swedes.

two

two weeks after to the Emperors Maiesties side, they shall haue libertie to go from thence with their wiues, children, families, all their goods, and chattles, and none of them to leaue any thing behinde them against their wil, neither to be staied nor violated by the Kings Maiesties people; but moreouer, to haue conuoys and prestanes, to bring them without all feare or wrong to the Emperours Maesties next borders, in such manner that they be neither robbed nor killed, but especially and certainely, it is concluded and agreed on betweene vs both sides great Commissioners, that all Russe *Countrie Priests, and Husbandmen in the said Townes and Countries which are giuen and yeelded by the Emperours Maestie, shall by no manner of meanes be inticed or carried from thence, but shall remaine there with their wiues, children, and familie, vnder the* Swethe *Crowne, as also all Courtiers, Gentlemen, and Burgesses, which doe not remoue from thence, in the foresaid two weekes.*

Money to be giuen to the *Sweden.*

9. *As also from the Emperours Maiestie, great Lord and great Duke* M. F. *of all* Russia, Sam. *&c. the Kings Maiestie, &c. shall haue* 20000. *rubbles, in ready good current vnchangeable Siluer deynings, and those monies immediately as soone as this contract of peace shall be concluded and confirmed betweene vs, shall be giuen to the Kings Maiestie of* Sweden *great Commissioners, by the great Embassadour of the Kings most excellent Maiestie of great* Brittaine *his great Ambassadour Sir* Iohn Merricke, *Knight.*

Ordnance and Munition to remaine.

10. *And as for the* Russe *Ordnance in these Castles which shall be giuen to our Lord Emperour, and great Duke, &c. from the Kings Maestie* G.A. *&c. which Ordnance shall remaine there, shall be giuen to his Maiesties Officers, and what munition of Artillerie, as prouision for Warres, and Bels, and other matters, which their Kings Maiestie hath taken in the Land of* Russia *out of those Castles, before the contract which the Kings Maesties great Commissioners, and the great Lord King* Iames *&c. great Ambassadour Sir* Iohn Merricke, *Knight, did erect, as the twentieth of November, such Ordnance and prouisions shall remaine to the Kings Maesties vse, and Crowne of* Sweden, *without all contradiction or cauilation.*

The cõtract of *V Ester Corelia* and the Territories, confirmed to *Sweden*

11. *And because the late great Lord Emperour, and great Duke* Vasilly Euanowich *of all* Russia, Sam. *did giue and confirme by writings, vnto their high, mighty, late Lord, King* Charles *the ninth of* S. *&c. and to the Crowne of* Sweden *the Castle* Corela, *and the Prouince thereof, for that faithfull and good willing aide which was done vnto him, against the* Polish *people: in like manner doth confirme, and establish the same by this contract of our great Lord Emperour, and great Duke* M.F. *&c. the same yeelding and donation of the great Lord Zare, and great Duke* Vasily Euanowich, *&c. for himselfe, his successours, and hereafter being Emperours, and great Dukes of all* Russia, *and for the whole Empire of all* Russia, *that the said Castle of* Corela, *with all profits, reuenewes, and rents, by Land and by Water, according to their former auncient, and now being borderers, nothing exempted in all, accordingly as it was by former Emperours, and great Dukes of all* Russia, *as they possest and held it, so hereafter it shall remaine to their Kings Maiestie, G.A. of* S. *&c. and to his Maiesties Successours, and hereafter following Kings of* Sweden, *and the Crown of* Sweden, *without all cauilation or contradiction for euerlasting times.*

Commissioners of both sides to meet.

12. *And that hereafter there be no more difficulty or variance concerning the borderers of the Land, it is concluded and agreed vpon, that in this yeare* 7125. *vpon the first of Iune, our great Lord Emperour, and great Duke* M.F. *&c. and their high, mighty King* G.A. *&c, shall send on both sides, speciall good Courtiers, and Notaries, to meete between* Lodiga *and* Oreseke, *at the mouth of the Riuer* Laua, *whence it doth fall into the Lake of* Lodiga, *so that they shall meete vpon the said Riuer, on the midst of the Bridge, which of both sides their people shall make vpon that Riuer, and when there the one shall haue shewed the other their ample Commissions, and shall appeare that they are worthy to measure out the borders thereby, betweene the Emperours Maiestie, and the Kings Maiesties Lands: so that from the borders of* Nouogrod, Lodiga, *and* Odow, *with their Prouinces, and also from* Somerskey, Voloſt, *be deuided from the auncient and former precincts, and borders of* Oreseeke, Copora, Yam *and* Euanogorod, *in iust manner as it ought to be, at the same time next ensuing the first day of Iune, then the said Courtiers and Notaries, three in presence in the said manner on both sides, shall meete together vpon the borders of* Nouogrod, *betweene the Prouince of* Olimets *and* Corela *at* Salomensky *Towne, by the Lake of* Lodiga, *; which Courtiers also shall view the same Prouinces according to the former borders, and as the former are expresst, how they haue bin, and confirme the same, and if they so chance, that they cannot happen vpon the former auncient borders, then shall they, by iust inquisition, make new borders and Land-markes, in such manner, that hereafter there be no further controuersie concerning those borders, and those Courtiers or Gentlemen shall not part asunder of neither side, till they haue sufficiently and friendly ended that businesse in all manner, and what those Courtiers shall finish and effect in this manner, the same according as befitteth there shall expresse by writing vpon parchment on both sides, and confirme the same by their subscription, Seales, kissing of the Crosse, and oath interchangeable: and as concerning the deuiding of borders, and the Gentlemen shall doe it; as namely of* Nouogrod, Lodiga, Odo, Somerskey, Voloſt, *of one part, and also betweene* Oreseke, Copora, Yam, *and* Euanogorod, *on the other side, and also betweene the borders of* Nouogrod *and* Corela, *shall be set downe and written, the same shall be inremoueable and fast for euerlasting times, by our great Lord Emperour, and great Duke* Michall Fedorowich *of all* Russia, *&c. and the Kings Maiestie* Gustauus Adolphus, *&c. and their successours, and hereafter being on both sides, for euerlasting times, according to this contract of an euer-*

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laſting peace: and for more firme confirmation of the ſame, that it ſhall be held and kept; it ſhall be declared further in the Letters of contract, which ſhall be hereafter giuen betweene both Princes, from the Emperours Maieſtie, by kiſſing the Croſſe, and confirmation of his ſaid Letters by his great Seale, and by the Kings Maieſties oath vpon the holy Euangeliſts.

13. *As alſo the former, of bleſſed and moſt famous memory, great Lord Emperour, and great Duke* Fedor Euanowich *of all* Ruſſia, Sam. *our great Lord Emperour, and great Duke* Michall Fedorowich, *of all* Ruſſia, Sam, *&c. Vnckle in concluſion of peace made at* Taviſin, *in the yeare* 7103. *did yeelde and giue ouer all his pretention and claime to the Countrey of* Leifland, *as alſo the great Lord Emperour, and great Duke* Vaſily Euanowich, *of all* Ruſſia, Sam. *in a concluſion of peace made at* Wyburgh, *in the yeare* 7117, *did renounce the ſame; ſo it is now here concluded and agreed, that our great Lord Emperour, and great Duke* M.F. *&c. and his ſucceſſours, and hereafter being Emperours and great Dukes, ſhall at no time for euer challenge vnto themſelues any right, or pretence to the Countrey of* Leifland; *neither ſhall our great Lord Emperour and great Duke* M.F. *of all* Ruſſia, Sam. *nor his ſucceſſours, great Lords, Emperours, and great Dukes of all* Ruſſia, *hereafter write vnto their great Lord, King* Guſtauus Adolphus, *nor his ſucceſſours hereafter, being Kings of* Sweden, *nor to the Crowne of* Sweden, *with the title of* Leifland, *or thoſe Caſtles which the Emperours Maieſtie hath now renounced to the Kings Maieſtie for euer, neither by Letters of confirmation to write themſelues, or name themſelues in them, nor ſuffer his Voyauodes, Seruants and Commanders, to write themſelues with the title of* Leifland, *or the Townes aforeſaid, neither in writing nor ſpeeches, to name themſelues. As alſo our great Lord Emperour, and great Duke* M. F. *of all* Ruſſia, Sam. *his ſucceſſours, and hereafter being great Lord Emperour, and great Duke of all* Ruſſia, *in their writings and ſpeeches, ſhall giue to their Kings Maieſtie, and hereafter being Kings of* Sweden, *their accuſtomed title of* Leifland, *and* Corella. Item, *on both ſides, the great Commiſſioners haue agreed, ſince at this Treatie we could not accord vpon the full title of both the great Potentates; As to intitle the Emperours Maieſtie, and of many other Dominions, Lord and Conquerour, and the Kings Maieſtie, with the title of* Ingermanland, *wee haue of both ſides great Commiſſioners, referred the ſame to both great Potentates liking therein; and if that either Potentate will be pleaſed to write the other with the full title, as to the Emperours Maieſtie, the Kings Maieſtie doth write the full title with the word Conquerour; and that the Emperours Maieſtie alſo doe write to the Kings Maieſtie his full title with* Ingermanland, *then both the Potentates are to ſend thoſe titles by their Ambaſſadours, and nominate the ſame full title in one of their Letters of confirmation, and the other Letter to be written according to this our preſent agreement: and if in both the Letters, the titles be written to the full, as the Emperours Maieſties full title, with Conquerour; and the Kings Maieſtie with* Ingermanland, *then both ſides Ambaſſadours ſhall ſhew one the other the ſaid Letters, and hauing ſhewen them, ſhall goe to each Prince with the ſame; if then on either ſide the Potentate ſhall not like thereof, and ſhall ſend the ſaid Letters of confirmation with the ſhort title, according to this our preſent agreement: the Ambaſſadours of both ſides ſhall in like manner make knowne the ſame one to the other, and ſo proceede therewith to both Potentates.*

The title of *Leifland* reſigned by *V.E.* at *Wiburgh, Anno* 7117. now confirmed.

Title to be giuen.

14. *Alſo it is agreed and concluded, that there ſhall be free commerce of Trade betweene both the great Kingdomes, the Empire of* Ruſsia, *and the Kingdome of* Swethen, *and both Kingdomes ſubiects: ſo that all the ſubiects of our great Lord Emperour, and great Duke* Michael Fedorowich, *of all* Ruſsia, Sam. *Merchants of the Dominions of* Ruſsia, *from* Nouogrod, Pleſco, *and other Cities and Townes, paying their due cuſtome, ſhall haue free liberty without let to trafficke at* Stockholme, Wiburgh, Reuell, Narue, *and other Townes in the Countries of* Swethland, Fynland, *and* Leifland, *and they that dwell and plant themſelues at* Iuangrod, Yam, Copora, Nettingburgh, *and* Coreilla, *what Nation ſoeuer, either* Ruſſe *or other people, ſhall haue free liberty without let to trafficke, and to trade, paying their due cuſtome, in the right Cuſtome houſes, at* Moſco, Nouogrod, Pleſco, Lodiga, *and other Townes of* Ruſsia, *with the Emperours Maieſties ſubiects, and alſo haue libertie to trauell through the Dominions of our great Lord Emperor, and great Duke* M.F. *&c. for their trade of Merchandize within the Dominions of* Ruſsia.

Commerce of Trade.

15. *And by reaſon heretofore our great Lord Emperour and great Duke* Michall Phedorowich, *of all* Ruſsia, *&c. his Maieſties ſubiects Merchants, had their free houſe of merchandize at* Reuell, *alſo now by contract of* Tauſin *and* Wiburgh, *it is concluded they ſhould haue a good place for a houſe, appointed them in* Reuell, *as alſo in other the Kings Maieſties Townes, as at* Stockholme, *and* Wyburgh, *they ſhall haue houſe and Diuine Seruice, according to their Religion, in the ſaid houſes, without let or hinderance, but at* Reuell *in their Church, as formerly they haue done; yet to ſet vp no Church, according to their Religion. And as heretofore their Kings Maieſties his Subiects, haue had a free houſe of trade at* Nouogrod, *now alſo according to the contract of* Tauſina, *and* Wyburgh, *they are to haue a good place for a houſe, prepared them at* Nouogrod, *and the Emperours Maieſties other Cities, as* Moſco *and* Pleſco, *houſe for the ſaid purpoſe, and vſe their Diuine Seruice according to their Religion, in the houſe; but to build no Churches for that vſe any where.*

Merchants of both Kingdoms to haue houſes and Churches in each others Countries.

For breuitie, I haue omitted the following Articles to the 29. the ſubſtance whereof is as followeth. The 16. determineth what debts ſhall be recouerable. The 17. Free paſſage of Subiects thorow each others Territories. 18. Freedome of Priſoners, on both ſides. 19. Liberty of Inhabitants to ſtay in the places ſurrendred. 20. Fugitiues to be redeliuered. 21. Borderers

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to be restrained from robberies. 22. For ending of quarrels, if any happen. 23. 24. Confirmation of former contracts, of *Tawsina* and *Wiburge*. 25. No priuate or publike practise to be made against each other. 26. Shewing of Letters of confirmation at the meeting of Ambassadours of both sides. 27. Honorable conuoy for Ambassadours on either part. 28. And also for Interpreters free passage.

New Ambassadors in case of new successors.

29. Item, *It is agreed and concluded, that if by the permission and pleasure of God, there happen an alteration of gouernment in* Sweden *or* Russia, *then that Prince which shall newly come to his gouernment first, shall reueale by his Ambassador to the other Prince from himselfe, and after that the other shall visit him by his Ambassadour.*

Place of Ambassadors meeting.

30. Item, *If it so fall out at any time, that of both sides the Princes, as our great Lord, &c. & their great Lord King* Gustavus Adolphus *shall send one to the other their great Ambassadours, to confer of good matters; then those said great Ambassadours vpon the borders shall meet without all controuersie or strife, either betweene* Odow *and* Euangorod: *or betweene* Lodiga *and* Oreseke, *where they shall thinke most fitting for them on both sides, in the midst of the diuision of the borders, and there to conferre of these good matters in friendly and louing sort, eyther by the Princes Commission or other commandement, as they shall haue.*

Case of Shipwracke.

31. Item, *If it happen that the Emperours Maiesties Subiects and Merchants, their Boates, Lodies, and Merchants Vessels shall go to* Reuell, Wybourgh, *or other Townes and Castles of* Swethen, Fynland *or* Liefland, *or ships and other Vessels, whereupon the Emperours Maiesties Ambassadours and Messengers shall be going to the Emperors Maiestie, to the Pope, into* England, *or any other King. dome, by the Kingdome of* Swethen, *or comming backe againe bee cast away and brought to the* Swethish *shoare, eyther vpon the Salt Sea or the Lake of* Lodiga, *by tempests or other meanes, such people shall haue free libertie without hinderance to goe from thence with all the goods they can saue or shall get saued, and the Kings Maiesties people shall helpe them to saue their goods. In like manner if it happen with the Kings Maiestie* Gustavus Adolphus *of* Swethen, *&c. Subiects, and Merchants Boats, and Merchants Vessels with Commodities, or otherwise be cast away and brought to the Emperors Maiesties shoare vpon the* Ladigo *or* Plesco *Lake, then these people shall haue free liberty to goe away with all their goods which they can saue or get to be saued without let or hinderance, and the Emperors Maiesties people shall helpe them to saue their goods.*

Neither party to aide the Pole. &c.

32. Item, *It is concluded and agreed on, that our great Lord, &c. shall not ayde or assist against the Kings Maiesty of* Sweden Gustavus Adolphus, *and the Crowne of* Swethland, *the Kingdome of* Poland *and* Lettow, *nor his Sonne* Ladislaus *and the Crowne of* Poland, *and the Dukedome of* Lettow, *nor all the Dominions of* Poland *and* Lettow, *nor shall helpe him with men or treasure, nor stand for him as one himselfe, nor any other Prince for him shall not practise or seeke any thing against the King of* Sweden. *Those Lands and Castles which belongeth to the Kingdome of* Sweden *of old, or those which now the Emperours Maiesty hath yeelded to the Kings Maiesty by this conclusion of peace, he shall not seeke to get them vnder him, or haue possession of them. In like manner the Kings Maiesty of* Sweden *shall not stand against the Emperours Maiesty &c. to assist the King of* Poland *and* Lettow, *and all the Dominions of* Poland *and* Lettow, *neyther with men nor treasure, and not to be with him as one. Neyther shall the Kings Maiesty by himselfe or other Princes and Gouernours seeke any practise against the Emperours Maiestie and his Lands and Castles which belong to the Emperour of* Russia, *hee shall by no meanes seeke to get vnder him or possesse the same. It is also agreed and concluded betweene vs, that those Ambassadours which the Emperours Maiesty shall send to the Kings Maiesty, and the Kings Maiesty to the Emperours Maiesty, for the confirmation of this conclusion of peace, shall haue full authority to conferre betweene the Emperours Maiesty and the Kings Maiesty of* Swethland *for a vnion and ioynt assistance against* Sigismond *King of* Poland, *and the Crowne of* Poland, *and the great Dukedome of* Lettow *in such manner as shall be thought fit and requisite by both the Princes.*

Confirmation.

33. *And for more certaine and firme assurance, that all this here hath bin concluded, and agreed on betweene vs the aboue said Emperours Maiestie, and Kings Maiesties great, ample, and powerfull Ambassadours, by the mediation and intercession of the great Lord King* Iames *his Maiesties great Ambassadour, in his presence, this conclusion is made, established, and finished, and shall by our great Lord, and great Duke* M. F. *of all* Russia, Sam. *and by his successours, and hereafter being great Lords, Emperours, and great Dukes, be kept faithfully, firmely, and vnmoueable, and shall be followed in all points, and finished without all falshood or deceipt: and our great Lords, Emperours, and great Dukes, &c. by his commandment, wee his great Commissioners,* Ocholuech *and* Namestincke *of* Susdall

Names of the Cõmissioners.

Knese Dannyll Euanowich Mezetskey. *I the Emperours Maiesties* Dwarenni *and* Namestincke *of* Shatskey Olexsey Euanowich Zuzen. *I the Emperours Maiesties Duke,* Michcola, Meketesin Nouokleno. *I the Emperours Maiesties Duke,* Dobrenia Semenou, *haue confirmed this conclusion of peace, with the kissing of the Crosse, and thereunto set our hands and Seales: also the Kings Maiesties of great* Brittaines *great Ambassadour, Sir* Iohn Merricke *Knight, Gentleman of his Maiesties priuie Chamber, for the more witnessing of the same, that this is also concluded here betweene vs, hath firmed with his owne hand and Seale, both these obligations, and a confirmation, which wee the Emperours Maiesties ample Ambassadours, haue giuen to the Kings Maiesties great Commissioners; and against that we haue taken the like writing of confirmation, from the Kings Maiesties great Ambassadours*

dours. Written at Stalbo, *in the yeare from the creation of the World* 7125. *the seuen and twentieth day of February.*

HAuing here presented the fruits of his Maiesties mediation betwixt the *Muscouite* and *Sweden*: I thought good also to adde this other testimonie of *Beati Pacifici*, in the peaceable fruits of his endeuours betwixt the said King of *Sweden*, and the King of *Denmarke*, after bloudy warres betwixt them, in which the *English* voluntaries were so great a part: of whom (if I mistake not) foure thousand serued the *Dane*, vnder the command of the right honorable the Lord *Willoughby*. The Articles of agreement betwixt them are these six, concluded Ianuary 16. 1613. translated out of the *Dutch* Copie, Printed at *Copenhagen* first, and after at *Hamburge*.

1. *That the King of* Sweden *shall haue againe the Citie of* Calmar, *with all that belongeth vnto it, excepting Artillery, which shall be restored to the King of* Denmarke, *or to be sold for his profit.*

2. *That the King of* Denmarke *shall haue* Elsborch *and* Orland, *with all the forces and strength of* Arensborch, *in pawne, for the space of twelue yeares ensuing, for the sum of fifteene Ton of Gold; the which sum of money the King of* Sweden *shall pay vnto the King of* Denmark *within the foresaid twelue yeares, at certaine times, in consideration of his charges during the said warres.*

3. *That the Nauigation and passages by Seas and Land to* Norway *shall be vsed free without any hinderance of those of* Sweden.

4. *That* Lapland *shall be free without giuing of any contribution.*

5. *That the King of* Denmarke *shall haue* Grone-land *free, without paying of any contribution vnto the King of* Sweden.

6. *That the King of* Denmarke *shall beare the three Crownes without any gaine-saying or contradiction of the King of* Sweden *(which was the first and principall cause of these aforesaid bloudy and vnneighbourly warres, and continuall irruptions.)* Both Kings subscribing hereto.

CHAP. XI.

A relation of two Russe Cossacks *trauailes, out of* Siberia *to* Catay, *and other Countries adioyning thereunto. Also a Copie of the last Patent from the* Muscouite. *A Copie of a Letter written to the Emperour from his Gouernours out of* Siberia.

TO our Lord Emperour and great Duke *Michailo Fedrowich* of all *Russia*, your Maiesties Vassals, *Euan Koorakin*, and *Euan Koboolitin*, doe knocke their heads, &c. Lord this present 7127. yeere (or 1619) we writ vnto your Maiestie by a Cozack of *Tobolsko*, *Clement Oboskin*, that there were come to *Tobolsko* Ambassadours out of the Dominions of *Catay*, and from the King of *Altine*, with the people of *Tobolsko*. *Euashko Petlin*, and *Andrashko Madiegene:* And with them together doe go to you great Lord Ambassadours, out of the Dominions of *Labin*, and the *Altine Char*, from *Skiugis* with presents, the which we dispatcht to your Maiestie, with *Burnash Nikonone*, the sixt of July, and before them wee dispatcht to your Maiestie *Euashko Petlin* and *Patoy Kizall*, by whom we sent vnto your Maiestie a Letter from *Tambur*, King of *Cathay*, and a Copie of the King *Altines* Letter translated, with a Card and description of the places, which way *Euashko Petlin*, & *Andrushko Madigene*, passed from the Castle of *Tomae*, into the Dominions of *Catay*, as also in what other Dominions they were. The Letter it selfe which came from *Altine Char*, *Labatharshan* doth carrie to your Maiestie: but as for the Letter out of *Catay*, there is none in *Tobolsko* to translate it.

Ambassadour from *Catay* and from the King of *Altine*. See *sup.* pag. 527. & 552.

None able to translate the *China* Characters.

The Copie of the Altine Chars, *or golden Kings Letter to the Emperour of* Russia.

TO the Lord Emperour and great Duke; The golden King receiued your Letter. In former times (Lord) it came to my hearing, that your Princely good Ambassadours, did seeke a way or passage to come to me, since which time it is now thirteene yeeres, but then the people

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Eaſterne *Tartar* Nations.

Ruſſian Preſents.

ple of *Iskirgi*, *Tubents*, *Mattara*, & black *Kolmaks* did not ſuffer your Princely good Ambaſſadors to come to me, but did rob and ſpoile them. Now ſince ten of your Maieſties people are come to me, and I haue ſent to you *Ichkmen Kichenga*, to do obeyſance vnto your Maieſty, and ſee your Princely eyes, whom your Majeſtie vouchſafed to doe their obeyſance and ſee your Princely eyes. And to me you ſent of your Grace three Cups of Siluer, a Bow, a Sword, two Gunnes, and two Garment Clothes, all which your Princely fauours I haue receiued, and what ſhall bee behouefull for your Majeſty from hence, I will furniſh you withall. As alſo I am to requeſt your Maieſtie in reſpect the Ambaſſadours doe paſſe betweene vs very miſerably, and poore, by reaſon there are now ſome ſmall warres betwixt vs and the blacke *Kolmacks*, and there are but ſmall forces in *Tobolske* Caſtle, and in the Caſtles of *Tomno*, *Tarko*, and from the *Barban* people. Now if ſo be your Majeſtie will fauour me, and defend me with theſe people from *Karakula*; and will bee pleaſed to proceed on warre on your owne ſide, and I on mine, that matter will bee done betweene vs, and all good matters continue betwixt vs. And ſo by your Princely fauour, Ambaſſadors may continually paſſe betweene vs. *Iuan Tarchan Varchies* and *Andrei Tarchan Varchies*, did conduct two of your Maieſties Meſſengers into the Dominions of *Catay*, according to your Majeſties commandement, and they are returned to me againe out of *Catay*. Alſo (Lord) there is come vnto me the *Tarchan* of *Labaia*, and I haue ſent vnto you with my Preſents the ſaid *Tarchan Labar* and *Kitibacſhij Anchaij*, and with them ten men, and two men of *Sirgos*; in their Letter is written that there is ſent vnto your Majeſtie three Leopards with their clawes, an Irbiſh with his clawes, three Lizernes with their clawes, a red and a yellow Damaske vpon a gold ground, a piece of Veluet, and an ambling Horſe. And I am humbly to requeſt your Majeſtie, if it bee your Majeſties fauour to grace mee for your owne honour with a garment of cloth of Gold, and of diuers colours, fiue Garments of fine Cloth, a Head-piece, a ſhirt of Male, a Sword, a Bow, twentie Gunnes, a Flaggon of Gold, a Kettle of Siluer, and fiue ſorts of Precious Stones, of each one, a Iennet, a Dwarſe, and Workmen to make Guns and Powder, and two thouſand pence. Your Maieſties name is growne renowmed and famous euery where, therefore I doe reuerence vnto your Majeſtie, becauſe many Kings of many Countreyes haue ſpread abroad the fame of your Majeſties name euery-where. And I requeſt that Ambaſſadours may ſpeedily paſſe betwixt vs, and now if it be your Maieſties fauour, I deſire you to diſpatch theſe my Ambaſſadours with ſpeed to me backe againe.

Tarchan of *Labaia*.
Sirgos.
Three Leopards, &c. for a Preſent.
His requeſts.

Relation of two *Ruſſe* trauellers of their Voyage to *Catay*.

Anno 7128. the three and twentieth of September in the Emperours Dominions at *Soldeta*, a *Cazacke* of *Siberia*, called *Euaſhko Pettlin*, did report, beeing examined of his Trauels. The laſt yeere paſt 7127. hee ſaid that the *Boiaren* and *Voyauod Knez Euan Simonowich Koorockin*, ſent him from the Caſtle of *Tomo*, and his fellow *Andraſhko*, to conduct the Kings *Altines* Ambaſſadours, as alſo to inquire or ſearch the Kingdomes of *Catay*. They went from the Caſtle of *Tomo*, about the ninth of May, and trauelled from *Tomo* to *Kirgis*, with much expedition tenne dayes, and in *Kirgis* is a Duke ſubiect to the Emperours Maieſtie, his name is *Nemi*, who gaue them victuals and poſt. Through this Land of *Kirgis* they went halfe a day, and came to the Dominion of *Mutalla*, to the *Altine* King, who gaue them prouiſions and poſt, and diſpatched them thence: ſo they paſſed through his Land fiue weekes to the Country of *Sheremugaly*; where raigneth a Queene called *Manchika*, who cauſed to haue prouiſion and poſt giuen them. In this Countrey of *Sheromogula* they trauelled foure dayes, and came into the Dominions of *Catay*; called *Crim*, where is a wall made of ſtone fifteene fathomes high, alongſt the ſide of which wall they went ten dayes, where they ſaw pettie Townes and Villages belonging to the Queene *Manchika*; but in thoſe ten dayes they ſaw no people vpon the wall at all. At the end of theſe ten dayes, they came to the gate, wherein lye very great Peeces of Ordnance, ſhooting ſhot as bigge as a mans head, and in the ſaid gate ſtandeth in watch three thouſand men, and they come with their Merchandizes to traffique at the gate. The *Altine* men alſo come to the gate, with their Horſes to ſell to the *Catay* men; but are not permitted to come within the walls, except very few at once. Thus their whole trauell from *Tomo* Caſtle to this gate, was twelue weekes, beſides ſome dayes that they ſtood ſtill; and from the gate to the great Empire of *Catay* tenne dayes, and came to the Citie or Caſtle of *Catay* about the beginning of September; and were lodged in the great Embaſſadors houſe: and hauing beene there in *Catay* foure dayes, there vſed to come vnto them a Secretary with two hundred men vpon Aſſes very well apparelled, and did entertayne and feaſt them with Sacke and other Drinkes made of Grapes, and told them that the Emperour, or King *Tambur* had ſent him to aske them wherefore they were come into the Dominions of *Catay*. Whereupon they anſwered that our great Lord and Emperour had ſent them to diſcouer the Dominions of *Catay*, and ſee the King thereof; but hee anſwered them againe, that without preſents they could not ſee the King, and withall gaue them a Letter, which Letter they brought with them to *Tolboske*, and from thence is ſent to the Emperours Maieſtie by them. Out of *Catay* they went about the twelfth of October, and came to the Caſtle of *Tobolsko* about Whitſontyde the ſame yeere 1619.

Tomo a new Caſtle beyond *Ob*. See *ſup. pag.* 527.
Kirgis.
Mutalla.
Sheremugala.
Q. *Manchika*.
Wall of *Catay*.
The gate and guard.

See for better vnderſtanding hereof, *Goes* & other Ieſuites Relations in the ſecond Booke.

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A Description of the Empires of Catay *and* Labin, *and other Dominions aswell inhabited, as places of Pasture * called* Vlusses *and Hords, and of the great Riuer* Ob, *And other Riuers and Land passages.*

* Such are the *Tartars* dwellings or fleetings, rather with their beasts.

FRom *Kirgis* to the Riuer *Bakanna* is sixe dayes trauell, and from *Bakanna* to *Kinchike*, is nine dayes trauell, from *Kinchike* to the great Lake, (in which Lake Rubies or Saphires grow) is three dayes trauell, and the compasse of that Lake is twelue dayes trauell on horsebacke. There falleth also into the said Lake foure Riuers, to wit from the East, South, West and North, yet the water doth not increase in the Lake, nor decrease. There falleth yet another Riuer into the said Lake, which commeth from betweene the East and the North, and is called *Kitta*, vpon which we went fifteen dayes to the head of it, where we found the King *Altine* in progresse; the way is very stony. And from the King *Altine* to an *Vlusses* fiue dayes trauell; the *Vlusses* is called *Algunas*, and the Duke in it is called *Tormoshine*; from him to another *Vlusses* fiue dayes, the *Vlusses* is called *Chikursha*, and the Duke in it is called *Carakula*; from thence to an *Vlusses* fiue dayes called *Sulduss*, wherein is a King called *Chaksata*, from him to an *Vlusses* called *Bisut*, fiue dayes, the Dukes name is *Chichim*; from him to an *Vlusses* called *Iglethin*, fiue dayes, the Duke is *Taschils Cherekta*, from him to an *Vlusses* called *Beskuta*, fiue dayes, the Duke is called *Cherkar*; from him to an *Vlusses* called *Girut*, foure daies without water, the Duke is called *Chicheuoas*. From him to an *Vlusses* called *Isut* fiue dayes, the Duke of it is called *Chechen*. From him to an *Vlusses* called *Tulent Vnient* foure dayes, the Duke is called *Tayku, Katin*. From him to the *Vlusses Togerfin* three dayes, there is a King called *Bakshuta*. From thence to an *Vlusses* of the yellow *Mugalls* called *Mugolchin*, wherein is a Dutchesse called *Manchika*, with her Sonne *Ouchai Taichie*, it is within two dayes journey of the Land of *Mugalla*, a very dangerous passage through the cliffes of the Rockes, which being past they came into the Land of *Mugalla*, wherein are two Castles or Cities built of stone, they are called with them *Bashum*, in one of them is a Duke called *Talay Taishen*; and in the other the Duke is called *Egidon Taishen*; there is also a third Citie in it called *Lobin*, wherein doth gouerne a woman called Dutchesse *Manchika* with her Sonne, the said Dutchesse doth command all the Cities of *Mugalla*, and her command extendeth into *Catay*. If any man be to trauell ouer the borders, and into *Catay*, he must haue a Passe vnder her Seale; which if they haue not, they may not passe through *Catay*. The Land of *Mugalla* is great and large from *Bughar* to the Sea; all the Castles are built with stone foure square; at the corners, Towers, the ground or foundation is layd of rough, grey stone, and are couered with Tiles, the gates with counterwards as our *Russe* gates are, and vpon the gates alarum Bels or Watch-bels of twentie poode weight of metall, the Towers are couered with glazed Tiles; the houses are built with stone foure cornerd high, within their Courts they haue low Vaults, also of stone, the seelings whereof, and of their houses are cunningly painted with all sorts of colours, and very well set forth with flowres for shew. In the said Countrey of *Mugalla* are two Churches of Friers, or Lobaes, built of square stone, and stand betweene the East and the South; vpon the tops of them are made beasts of stone, and within the Church iust against the doore are set three great Idols or Images, in the forme of women of two and an halfe fathome long, gilt all ouer from the heads to the feet, and sit a fathome high from the ground vpon beasts made of stone, which beasts are painted with all manner of braue colours. Those Idols haue each in their hand a Vessell, and there burne before them three tallow Candles; on the right side of them are erected eight Idols more in the forme of men, and on the left side eight Idols more in the forme of Maydens, gilt all ouer from the head to the foote, their armes stretched out after the manner as the *Mugall* people, or Religious men vse to pray. And a little way from these Idols stand two Idols more made naked as a man is in all parts, not to be discerned, euen as though he were aliue, hauing before them Candles burning, as small as a straw, and burne without a flame only in an Ember or Corall.

Their seruice or singing in these Churches is thus. They haue two Trumpets of a great length, about two fathomes and an halfe long, and when they sound on these Trumpets, and beate vpon Drummes, the people fall downe vpon their knees and clap their hands againe, casting their armes asunder, they fall to the ground and lye so halfe an houre. Their Churches are couered with glazed Tiles. As for bread in the Land of *Mugalla* there groweth all manner of Graine, as *Prosso*, or *Russe* Rice, Wheate, Oates, Barley, and all sorts of other Graine in abundance, and their Wheate bread is as white as Snow. As for Fruit in *Mugalla* they haue of all sorts, as Apples, Melons, Arbuses, Pompeons, Cheries, Lemons, Cucumbers, Onions, Garlicke. The men are not faire, but the women exceeding faire, and weare for their Apparell, Veluets and Damasks, the Capes of their Garments both of the men and women hang downe to their shoulders. They distill *Aquauitæ* out of all sorts of Graine, without Hops. As for Precious Stones and Gold they haue none, but for Siluer they haue great store out of *Catay*. Their Boots they weare of their

Their Iournal, or daily iourneyes from place to place.

Huge Lake.

King *Altine*.

Vlusses, or *Tartarian* Hords.

Yellow *Mugals*, or *Moal Tartars*.

Mugalla, or *Tartaria Orientalis* from *Bughar* in *Bactria* to the Sea.

Their buildings.

Friers.

Idols.

Candles.

Candle burning without flame.

Rites of Religion.

Corne.

Fruits.

People and attyre.

Distilled wine.

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owne fashion. They haue no Horses, only Mules & Asses in abundance; they till and plough their ground with great and small Ploughes, as we doe in *Siberia* at *Tobolske*. Their *Cuttuffs* are in our Language Patriarkes, and both in *Mugalla* and *Catay* are but two *Cuttuffs*; the one was about twentie, and the other thirtie yeeres of age. Within the Churches are made for them high places with seats whereupon they sit: the King doth honour them with bowing downe before them. Their *Lobaes* are in our Language Friers, which are shorne about twentie yeeres of age, and know no women from their Mothers wombe, they eate flesh continually euery day, and shaue both Beards and Mustachoes: their Garments are of Damaske of all sorts and colours, and their Hoods yellow, they say that their Religion and ours are all one, only the *Russe* Monkes are blacke, and theirs white.

Cuttuffs, or Patriarkes.

Lobaes, or Friers Continencie, shauing.

Beyond the Land of *Mugalla* are three other Countreyes or Dominions, stretching towards *Bughar*, the one called *Onus*, the Kings name there is *Enakan*, the Citie is of stone, and the Kingdome rich.

Three Kingdomes. *Onus.*

The other is called Dominions of *Talguth*, the Kings name is *Saualanche*, his Cities are also of stone, and his Kingdome rich.

Talguth.

The third Countrey where the chiefe Citie is, is called *Shar*, and the King thereof is called *Zelleznay*, or Iron King, his Kingdome is rich, and not farre from *Bughar*. From this Iron King come Diamonds, and all these three Kingdomes are vnder the South, and on the other side of the blacke *Mugalls* are the yellow *Mugalls*, stretching all alongst the Sea, aswel Townes as walking people, with their Families and Herds.

Shar.

Blacke *Mugols*, or *Cara Catay.*

From the Countrey of *Mugalla*, where the Dutchesse *Manchika* dwelleth, to the Citie of *Shrokalga* in *Catay*, is two dayes trauell on horse backe: and the bordering or frontier wals stand vnder the South towards *Bughar*, two moneths trauell, all made of Bricke of fifteene fatheme high, whereupon they told about a hundred Towres in sight, on both sides of them, but towards *Bughar*, and towards the Sea, the Towres are not to bee numbred, and euery Towre standeth from another about a flight shot distant. The said wall stretcheth downe towards the Sea foure moneths trauell. The people of *Catay* say, that this wall stretcheth alongst from *Bughar* to the Sea, and the Towres vpon it stand very thicke; it was made, as they say, to be a border betweene *Mugalla* and *Catay*. The Towres vpon it are to the end, that when any enemy appeareth, to kindle fires vpon them, to giue the people warning to come to their places where they are appointed vpon the wall. At the entring without the wall dwell the blacke *Mugalls*; and within is the Countrey and Cities of *Catay*. In the wall to *Catay* are fiue gates, both low, and straight or narrow, a man cannot ride into them vpright on horse-backe, and except these fiue gates there is no more in all the wall; there all manner of people passe into the Citie of *Shrokalga*.

Shrokalga in *Catay*.

Walls of *Catay*.

Tower-becons

Cara Catay.

But fiue gates in the wall.

Within the borders or wall is a Citie or Castle of *Catay*, called *Shirokalga*, built of stone, the Gouernour thereof is called Duke *Shubin*, who is sent thither for a time from *Tambur* King of *Catay*, the Castle is very high walled and artificially built; the Towres are high after the manner of *Mosco* Castle, in the Loope-holes or Windowes are Ordnance planted, as also vpon the Gates or Towres; their Ordnance is but short, they haue also great store of small shot, and the Watchmen euery-where vpon the Gates, Towres, and Wals, well appointed; and assoone as they perceiue the Sunne going downe, the Watch discharged their Peeces of Ordnance thrice, as also at the breake of day in the morning, they shoot out of their Pieces thrice, and doe not open the Castle Gates till the sixt houre of the day. Within the Castle are shops built of stone, and painted cunningly with diuers colours, wherein they haue all manner of Merchandizes, as Veluets, Damaskes, Dorogoes, Taffataes, Cloth of Gold, and Tissue of diuers colours, sundry sorts of Sugars, Cloues, &c. in the Gouernours house is a strong Watch of *Partisans* and Halberds, and their Drummes made like great Barrels. When the Gouernour goeth abroad, they carry a Canopie ouer him, and make way before him with Rods, as before our Emperour in *Mosco*.

Shirocalga.

Short Ordnance.

And from *Shirokalga* to the Citie *Yara* is three dayes trauell: this Citie is large, built of stone, and the circuit of it is two dayes trauell, with many Towres, and foure Gates to come in at, the Markets in the Citie are well and richly accommodated, with Iewels, Merchandizes, Grocerie, or Spices, the Citie well inhabited hauing no place void or waste in it. The houses and shops are built with stone, with streets betweene; the Gouernours here are called Duke *Bym* and Duke *Iuchake*, heere they haue Post Stages as wee, their Markets haue a very odoriferous smell with Spices.

Yara.

And from this Citie, to a Citie called *Tayth*, is three dayes iourney, it is built of stone, large, and high walled, & is in compasse two daies trauel about, at the first comming to it are fiue gates barred and bolted with Iron, very thicke and close, fastned with Nailes; the houses and shops, or Ware-houses are all built of stone, wherein are all manner of Merchandizes, Spices, or Grocerie, and precious things more abundant then in the aforesaid Cities, they haue Tauernes or Drinking houses stored with all manner of Drinkes, as *Aquauitæ*, Meade, and Wines from beyond Seas in abundance, there they haue also their Watch, Ordnance, and Munition in great store; the Gouernours of this place are one Duke *Tuga*, and the other Duke *Zumia*, there wee saw Sinamon, Anniseeds, Apples, Arbuzes, Melons, Cucumbers, Onions, Garlicke, Radish, Carrets, Parse-

Tayth.

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Parſenips, Turnops, Cabbage, Limons, Poppiſeeds, Nutmegs, Rice, Almonds, Pepper, Rubarbe, & many other Fruits, which we know not, ſo that they want nothing whatſoeuer groweth in the World; the ſhops are within the Citie, ſtored of all manner of Commoditie as is ſaid, as alſo victualling and drinking Houſes, ſtored with all manner of Drinkes, where they haue alſo Dicers and Whores, as with vs. Their Priſons in the Citie are of ſtone, for theft they hang the theeues, and for Robberie or Murther they ſtake the Murtherers, or elſe head them.

And from *Shirokalga* to a Citie of *Catay*, called *Shirooan* is a dayes iourney: this Citie is built of ſtone high walled, and large in compaſſe, it is a dayes trauell, it hath twelue Towres; whereupon, as alſo on the Citie Gates is planted Ordnance and ſmall ſhot great ſtore, with a continuall Watch or Guard, night and day, at the firſt comming are fiue Gates well furniſhed with Ordnance and Warlike Munition; and from one Gate to the other through the Citie is halfe a dayes going. The Gouernour of this place is called Duke *Sanchik*. For Victuals and Merchandizes, here is more then in the Cities mentioned, all their ſhops very full, and the Citie ſo populous, that one can hardly paſſe the ſtreets for the throng of people. The Ambaſſadors Houſes are alſo faire built of ſtone, their Wels couered with Braſſe, ſo that this Citie is adorned more with precious things then the former mentioned, and much more populous. *Shirooan.*

Now from the Citie of *Tayth*, to a Citie called *White Caſtle*, is two dayes trauell: this Citie is built of white ſtone, and thereof hath his name, it is high walled and large, being in compaſſe or circuit three dayes trauell, at the firſt entry it hath three Gates vnder one Towre, the Gates are high and wide with ſtrong Iron barres: and the Gates faſtened with Iron Nayles whited with Tinne, it hath great Ordnance in the Gates and Towres: ſome Peeces carrying ſhot of two Poode waight, the ſhops within the Citie reach from Gate to Gate, and betweene them are ſtreets paued with ſtone, all their ſhops and houſes are built of ſtone before their ſhops. They haue grates painted cunningly, with all manner of colours, flowres and ſuch like, and vpon the ſhops are the houſes painted cunningly with Pictures and flowres in diuers colours, and the painting within is vpon Paſtboord adorned with Damaske and Veluets; heere is more abundance of Riches and Commodities then in any of the Cities afore mentioned. The Gouernours names here were Duke *Toyuan*, and Duke *Sulan*. *White Caſtle.*

From this white Citie, or Caſtle, to the greateſt Citie of all *Cataya*, called *Catay*, is two dayes iourney, where the King himſelfe dwelleth, it is a very great Citie, built of white ſtone foure ſquare, and in compaſſe it is foure dayes iourney, vpon euery corner thereof are very great Towres high built, and white, and alongſt the wall are very faire and high Towres, likewiſe white and intermingled with Blue or Azure, vpon the Gates, Wall, and Towres, the Loop-holes or Windowes are well furniſhed with Ordnance, and a ſtrong Watch. In the midſt of this white Citie ſtandeth a Caſtle built of *Magnet*, or Load-ſtone, wherin the King himſelfe dwelleth, called *Tambun*; this Caſtle ſtandeth ſo in the midſt of this Citie, that euery way you haue halfe a dayes going to it from the Gates, through the ſtreets which hath ſtone ſhoppes on both ſides with all manner of Merchandizes; vpon their ſhops they haue their houſes built of ſtone, cunningly painted more then the former Cities. The Caſtle of *Magnet* is curiouſly ſet forth with all manner of artificiall and precious deuices, in the middeſt whereof ſtandeth the Kings Palace, the top whereof is all gilt ouer with Gold. And they would not admit vs to come before their King without Preſents, ſaying, it was not the manner of *Catay*, to come before their King without ſome Preſent, and though (ſaid they) your white Emperour had but ſent with his firſt Ambaſſadours to our King ſome thing of no great value, our King would haue ſent him many precious things, and diſmiſſed you his Ambaſſadours honourably, and haue ſent his Ambaſſadours with you: but now hee only endeth his Letter to your Emperour. The Citie of *Catay*, where the King dwelleth, is built vpon an euen plaine ground, and is incompaſſed round about with a Riuer called *Yonga*, which falleth into the blacke Sea, which is from the Citie *Catay* ſeuen dayes trauell, ſo that there come no ſhips neerer the Citie *Catay*, then ſeuen dayes trauell off, but all things are tranſported in ſmall Veſſels and ſhip-boats. The Merchandizes the King doth ſend into all parts of his Dominions of *Catay*, and from thence are carried ouer the borders, into the Land of *Mugalla*, to the King *Altine*, to the blacke *Kollmakes*, to the Iron King, into *Boghar* and other Dominions, their Patriarkes and Friers, trauell with the Commodities, as Veluets, Sattens, Damaskes, Siluer, Leopard Skinnes, Turkeſſes, and blacke Zenders, for which they buy Horſes, and bring them into *Catay*, for in *Catay* are but few horſes, only Mules and Aſſes, and Cloth they haue none, their Horſes and Siluer goeth into ſtrange Countreyes, or as they ſay, *Nemtſy*, the Siluer is made in Brickes, which they call *Kritſy*, valued each *Kritſy* at fiftie two Rubles, their Apparell they weare with long broad hanging ſleeues, like the Gentlewomens Summer-coats or *Lettinks* in *Ruſſia*, the people are very faire but not warlike, timorous & moſt their endeuour is in great and rich traffick. They told vs that not long before our comming, the people of *Mugalla* had taken two Caſtles from them by deceit, alſo *Catay* greateſt Citie of *Catay*. If *Catay* be the ſame with *China* (as before in *Goes* and the Ieſuites is obſerued) many difficulties ariſe. But this *Ruſſian* Relation and that of *Cheggi Memet* ſeeme to agree to place ſome *Catay*, North from *China*, if this did not ſpeake of the wall. The *Tartar* names ſo differ from thoſe of the *Portugalls*, that it is hard to reconcile them. And the Ieſuits make foure moneths trauell from the wall to *Pequin*, which is here but a few daies: except we ſay the *Ruſſes* entred the wall at the North East part of it: which the

ſhortneſſe of their iourney admits not. Perhaps this chiefe Citie was but the chiefe of that Prouince where the Vice-roy reſided, and they were willing to make the moſt of their trauells *Ruſſica fide*. Yet the neereneſſe of the Sea, there alſo cauſeth ſcruple. I ſuppoſe rather that theſe *Ruſſes* entred *China* but a little way, and receiued the Vice-royes Letter only (there obſerued with Regall Rites) and had much by Relation, of that little which they tell. How euer I haue here offered this to thy view at more leiſure to vſe thy more iudgement.

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they told vs that their King hath a stone which lighteth as the Sunne both day and night, called in their Language *Sarra*, and in our Tongue *Iachant*, or Rubie; another stone they say hee hath, which driueth away water from it, it is also called a Rubie. There come to them Strangers, or *Nemtsij* euery yeere, with all manner of Merchandizes, and barter for Deere Skinnes, and Loshids, Sables, Beuers, Veluets, Taffataes, and Zendews, or Calico; these strangers, they say, come to them out of the blacke Sea, from the East and the South, also, they say, there is a Riuer called *Kartalla*: which falleth into the great Riuer *Ob*; but they know neyther the head, nor the fall of it, they imagine it commeth out of the blacke Sea, and falleth into it againe, vpon this Riuer dwell many people with walking Herds.

Merchants.

Kartalla Riuer.

Ob.

For a triple testimony of Sir *Iohn Merikes* honourable courtesie, I haue added this succeeding Patent, which howsoeuer in some things it concurre with the former of *Boris* and *Demetrius*; Yet those being obscurely translated or written, this may illustrate them; and it also presenteth both larger Priuiledges, the Patriarkes name ioyned with the Emperours, and the Golden Seale.

WE *the great Lord Emperour and great Duke* Michaell Pheodorowich *of all* Russia, *sole Commander of* Volodemer, Mosco, *and* Nouogrod, *Emperour of* Cazan, *Emperour of* Astracan, *Emperour of* Siberia, *Lord of* Plesco, *and great Duke of* Smolensky, Twensky, Vgorsky, Permesky, Vatsky, Bolgorsky, *and others*; *Lord and great Duke of* Nouogrod, *in the lower Countreyes*, Cheringosky, Rahansky, Rostouskey, Yaraslausky, Belozersky, Vdorskey, Obdorsky, Condinsky, *and of all the Northerne parts Commander, and Lord ouer the Country of* Iuersky, *and* Caberdynland, Cherkaskey, *and of the Dukedomes of* Igorskey, *and of many other Kingdomes, Lord and Conquerour. Together with the great Lord* Philleret Neketich, *the holy Patriarke and Head of the Reuerend Clergie of the Imperiall Citie of* Mosco, *and of all* Russia *by the flesh our naturall Father, and by the power of the Holy Ghost our Spirituall Pastor and Ghostly Father.*

Whereas there was sent vnto vs the great Lord Emperour, and great Duke Michaell Pheodorowich *of all* Russia, *and to our Father, the great Lord, the holy Patriarke of* Mosco, *and of all* Russia, *From our louing Brother* Iames, *by the grace of God, King of* England, Scotland, France, *and* Ireland; *and of many others his Maiesties Ambassadour Sir* Iohn Merike, *Knight and Gentleman of his Maesties Priuie Chamber, vpon both our Princely Affaires.*

The said Sir Iohn Merike, *in the name of our said louing Brother King* Iames *requested our Imperiall Maiestie, and our Father the great Lord, the holy Patriarke, to bee pleased graciously to fauour the* English *Merchants, to grant them leaue to come with their shippes vnto our Port and Hauens of* Archangell, *with all kind of Commodities, and freely to traffique from the Sea side, to our Imperiall Citie of* Mosco, *and to our Patrimonie of great* Nouogrod *and* Plesco, *and vnto all other our Cities, Townes, and Countreyes of our Empire, with all sorts of Commodities, without paying of Custome in as ample manner as formerly hath beene granted to the* English *Merchants, and that our Imperiall Maiestie, together with our deere Father the holy Patriarke, would be pleased to grant a new our gracious Priuiledges vnder our Princely Seale, according as our Predecessors Emperours, and great Dukes of all* Russia, *haue heretofore granted vnto them.*

We therefore the great Lord Emperour, and great Duke Michaell Pheodorowich *of all* Russia, *sole Commander; together with our deere Father the holy Patriarke of* Mosco, *and of all* Russia; *for the loue we beare to our most louing Brother the great Lord King* Iames, *with whom wee are willing and desirous euer to remayne in the strongest bonds of brotherly loue and friendship, haue graciously granted to his Kingly Maesties Subiects the* English *Merchants, Sir* Thomas Smith *Knight, Sir* Iohn Merike *Knight, Sir* Richard Smith *Knight, Sir* William Russell *Knight, Sir* George Bowles *Knight*, Hugh Hamersley *Alderman*, Ralph Freeman, Richard Wytch, Morris Abbot, Robert Bateman, William Stone, Rowland Healing, Iob Hanby, Richard Ironside, Edward Iames, Iohn Casten, Beniamin Deicrow, Fabyan Smith, *and their fellowes free leaue to come with their shippes into our Kingdomes, into our Countreyes of* Dweena, *vnto the Port of* Archangell, *and from thence to our Imperiall Citie of* Mosco, *and of* Nouogrod *the Great, and vnto* Plesco, *and into all other the Cities of our Empire, to trade and traffique with all kind of Merchandizes, free of all Customes, as well the great Customes as Tole: vnlading of Vessels or Boats, passages through any place by water or Land entries, Head-money, Bridge-money, Ferryings, or any manner of Customes, or Duties whatsoeuer can bee named.*

The English *Merchants being thus licensed to trade in our Kingdomes, free of all customes for their owne commodities, shall neither colour nor sell strangers wares, as their owne; neither shall our people sell for them any of their goods, nor yet shall they keepe any of our people vnder their protection: and into what Cities the* English *Merchants themselues, or their Factors, or Seruants shall come with their goods, it shall be lawfull for them freely to traffick and sell their owne commodities, in barter, or otherwise against Commodities of our Countrey.*

And whensoeuer the said Merchants shall come into our Patrimony of great Nouogrod *and* Plesco, *or into any other the Cities of our Empire; Wee straightly command our Nobles in generall, and all o-*

ther

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ther our authorized people, that according to this our Imperiall letters of priuiledge, they suffer the foresaid Merchants to passe without all manner of hindrance or lets, & without taking any manner of custome of them for themselues, or for their goods; and into what place soeuer they shall come, or passe with their Merchandize, and shall not desire to buy nor sell with our people; those our authorized people shall freely let them passe without taking any manner of customes, according to this our Imperiall gracious priuiledge.

And whereſoeuer the English *Merchants shall happen to sell or barter any of their commodities with our Merchants, they are to barter and sell them in their owne house by grosse sale, and not by retaile, in small measure and weight, as by the yard, pound and ounce; that is to say, their Cloath by whole Cloathes and Packs: Damaske and Veluets by the Peece; and all other wares that are to be sold by weight accordingly. Also the Wines by the great, viz. by the Butt, the Pipe, the Hogshead, and by the Anme, and not by small measure, as Vaders or Pots.* This doth cleer the doubtfull passages, pag. 760.

And the said English *Merchants are to sell and barter their owne Commodities themselues in our Empire. But the* Russe *Merchants shall neither sell nor barter for them, neither shall the* English *carry or transport to or from any place, any Wares belonging to other Strangers, by way of their owne goods.*

And if the said English *Merchants shall be desirous to sell any of their commodities, at* Colmogro, *or vpon the Riuer of* Dwina, *or at* Vologda *or* Yereslaue, *or other the Townes and Cities of our Empire, they may sell at their pleasures; as likewise at their owne choise and pleasure, they may transport their goods into all or any part of our Dominions, and hire Carriers, Boats, and men at such price as they themselues can agree.*

Also when the English *Merchants themselues, or any of their Factors, doe trauell out of our Dominions into their owne, or other forraigne Kingdomes, and that wee shall be pleased to deliuer them of our Treasure, they shall take it with them, and sell, and barter it for such commodities as wee shall thinke fit and necessarie for our vse, and Treasury: our Gouernours, and all other our Officers, in all our Cities and Dominions, shall suffer them and their people freely to passe without taking any custome of them: but when the* English *Merchants haue done their trafficke, and are going from our Citie of* Mosco, *they shall giue notice thereof vnto the Chancellour of our Office of Ambassadours.*

Further, when any English *Merchants shall come with their Shippes and Vessels by Sea, into our Dominions, and that any misfortune happen vnto them by shipwracke on any of our shoares or coasts, our Gouernours and Officers shall cause search to be made for their goods, and shall aide and helpe them faithfully therein, and the goods gathered together shall be restored to the* English *Merchants, who shall be at that time in our Kingdomes; and if there shall be at that time none of the* English *Merchants, or people in our Kingdomes, the said goods shall be taken and laid vp in safety, and deliuered without delay to the* English *Merchants when they shall come into our Countrey, and shall challenge the same.*

Further, of our gracious goodnesse, we gaue free leaue to the English *Merchants, and Company, to keepe the house in* Mosco *by Saint* Maxsime *behinde the Market place, and shall remaine after their old manner, and therein shall haue one housekeeper a* Russe, *or else one of their owne Seruants; but no other* Russe *people: the houses which the* English *Merchants haue in other places of our Dominions, as at* Yereslaue, Vologda, Collm. *and at Saint* Michaell *Archangell, they shall keepe and vse at their pleasure, according to our former gracious fauour, without paying any duetie, rent, taxe, or any manner of custome whatsoeuer: neither shall the people of the said Townes take any thing of them, or theirs, for any duetie whatsoeuer belonging to their houses: and the said* English *Merchants shall enioy their said houses peaceably to themselues, without the annoyance of any Stranger or other to lodge in them, whether in time of their being there, or in their absence.*

And in their houses at Yereslaue, Vologda, Collmogro, *and* Archangell, *they shall likewise haue a housekeeper of their owne people, or of our Subiects, a man or two of the meaner sort; but so, that those our people be no merchants.*

Their Housekeeper being a Russe *shall not vndertake to meddle or sell any of their wares without themselues be present, and they the* English *Merchants, by vertue of this our gracious Letters of priuiledge, shall lay their wares and commodities in their owne houses, and sell them to whom they please.*

And it shall be lawfull for the said Merchants, when they shall arriue at our Sea Port, to lade and vnlade their Merchandizes, as in times past, at their pleasures: and when they lade or vnlade their Shippes, it shall be lawfull for them to hire any of our Subiects to helpe them, and shall haue leaue to carry their goods to and fro with their owne Vessels, and howse them in their owne Ware-houses: onely they shall giue a note vnder their hand to our Gouernours, Customers, or sworne men, what goods they bring in, and Shippe out; whereby it may be knowne what goods commeth in, and goeth out of our Kingdomes: but in no wise our Officers shall open or vnpacke any of their Wares or Merchandize in any place whereſoeuer.

Also when the English *Merchants shall Shippe or transport any of their Countrie Commodities from Saint* Michaell *Archangell, to our royall Citie of* Mosco, *or* Russe *Commodities, into their owne Countrie: our authorised Officers and Customers, by vertue of this our Imperiall Letters of priuiledge,*

shall suffer them to passe with their goods in and out, without doing them any manner of hindrance.

And whensoeuer any of the said English *Merchants or Factors shall haue occasion to send ouerland, out of our Dominions, any of their people, or Seruants, into their owne Countrie ouerland, they shall freely passe by this our speciall command, onely they are to take a passe letter from our Chancellour of the Office of Embassie.*

And whosoeuer in any of our Cities, shall haue any matter against the English *Merchants by way of contention, we command that none of our Gouernours, nor other of our Officers, doe iudge the* English *Merchants, their Factors or people: neither shall they send Officers for them, except for matter of murther or theft, and that also not to be done, but by manifest token thereof: but the* English *Merchants, their Factors and people, shall onely haue triall, and be iudged in our Imperiall Citie of* Mosco, *by vertue of this our gracious Letters of priuiledge, before our Chancellour in this Office of Embassie, and in no other place or Towne, and he to heare their causes, and to giue iustice betweene both parties, according to equitie and right; and where the truth cannot be found out by Law, it shall be referred to oath and lot, and on whom soeuer the lot fals, to him shall the right be adiudged.*

And if any of the English *Merchants, in any of our Cities within our Kingdomes, doe complaine of any wrong offered them by our people, for debts growing by trade or otherwise: we command our Gouernours, and all other our authorised people, that they presently minister true iustice vnto them. And for any wrong or other matter of controuersie that the* English *Merchant shall haue against any of our Subiects, our Gouernours and other our authorised people vpon their complaint for all controuersies (matters of debt excepted) shall giue our Subiects so offending vpon suretie, setting them time to appeare at* Mosco, *to answere the same with the* English *Merchants, face to face, before our Chancellour in the Office of Embassy: and in these matters our Chancellour shall truely examine the businesse, and minister true iustice: and what by examination cannot be found, shall be referred, as before, to oath and lot: the Iudges and Iustices through our Dominions shall take no kinde of duetie of the* English *Merchants for their matters of Law.*

We will and command, that these our Imperiall gracious Letters of priuiledge, be strictly obserued in all points, in all parts of our Dominions, and by all our Subiects, Gouernours, Secretaries, and other Officers, without disobeying in any thing.

And whosoeuer shall not obey this our Princely and gracious Letters of priuiledge, but shall offer wrong to the English *Merchants, those our Subiects shall be with vs in our high displeasure.*

Sealed with th Golden Seale.

These our gracious Letters of priuiledges, are sealed with our Imperiall Seale of Gold, in our Princely Pallace of our Imperiall Citie of Mosco, *in the yeare from the Worlds creation 7129. in the moneth of May, the eleuenth day.*

Subscribed by our Imperiall Maiesties Chancellour of our Office of Embassy, and our priuie Chancellour Euan Corbatouesin Gramotin.

BVt it is now high time to leaue Russia, *and all that Barbarous shoare, of* Samotees *and* Tartars: *onely we will borrow helpe of some Barbarians to shippe vs thence to Sea. And although* Finch, Gourdon, *and others haue in the former Booke inserted so great light: yet seeing Master* Marsh *hath entertained other guides, we will take Sea by* Ob, *and thence set forth on further discoueries.*

CHAP. XII.

Notes concerning the discouery of the Riuer of Ob, *taken out of a Roll, written in the* Russian *tongue, which was attempted by the meanes of* ANTONIE MARSH, *a chiefe Factor for the* Moscouie *Company of* England, 1584. *with other notes of the North-east.*

FIrst he wrote a Letter from the Citie of *Mosco*, in the yeare 7092. after the *Russe* accompt, which after our accompt was in the yeare 1584. vnto foure *Russes* that vsed to trade from *Colmogro* to *Pechora*, and other parts Eastward: whose answere was:

By writings receiued from thee, as also by reports, wee vnderstand thou wouldest haue vs seeke out the mouth of the Riuer *Ob*; which we are content to doe; and thou must giue therefore fiftie rubbles: It is requisite to goe to seeke it out with two Cochimaes, or companies; and each Cochima must haue ten men: and wee must goe by the Riuer *Pechora* vpwards in the Spring, by the side of the Ice, as the Ice swimmeth in the Riuer, which will aske a fortnights time; and then we must fall into *Onson* Riuer, and fall downe with the streame before we come to *Ob*, a day and a night in the spring. Then it will hold vs eight dayes to swimme downe the Riuer *Ob*, before we come to the mouth: therefore send vs a man that

How to finde out *Ob* from *Pechora*.

Onson Riuer.

can

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can write; and assure thy selfe the mouth of *Ob* is deepe. On the *Russe* side of *Ob* soiourne *Samoeds*, called *Vgorskai* & *Sibierskie*, *Samoeds*; and on the other side dwel another kinde of *Samoeds*, called *Monganei*, or *Mongaseisky*, *Samoeds*. We must passe by fiue Castles that stand on the Riuer of *Ob*. The name of the first is *Tesuoi Gorodok*, which standeth vpon the mouth of the Riuer *Padon*. The second small Castle is *Nosoro-gorodock*, and it standeth hard vpon the side of *Ob*. The third is called *Necheiour-goskoy*. The fourth is *Charedmada*. The fift is *Nadesneaa*, that is to say, *The Castle of comfort, or trust*; and it standeth vpon the Riuer *Ob*, lowermost of all the former Castles toward the Sea. *Vgorskai* and *Sibierskie*.

Heretofore your people haue bin at the said Riuer of *Obs* mouth with a Ship, and there was made shipwracke, and your people were slaine by the *Samoeds*, which thought that they came to rob and subdue them. The Trees that grow by the Riuer are Firres, and a kinde of white, soft and light Firre, which we call *Yell*. The bankes on both sides are very high, and the water not swift, but still and deepe. Fish there are in it as Sturgeons, and Cheri, and Pidle, and Nelma, a dainty fish like white Salmons, and Moucoun, and Sigi, and Sterlidi: but Salmons there are none. Not farre distant from the maine, at the mouth of *Ob*, there is an *Island*, whereon resort many wilde beasts, as white Beares, and the Morses, and such like. And the *Samoeds* tell vs, that in the winter season, they oftentimes finde there *Morses* teeth. If you would haue vs trauell to seeke out the mouth of *Ob* by Sea, we must goe by the Isles of *Vaygats*, and *Noua Zembla*, and by the Land of *Matpheone*, that is, by *Matthewes* Land. And assure thy selfe that from *Vaygats*, to the mouth of *Ob*, by Sea, is but a small matter to saile. Written at *Pechora*, the yeare 7092. the twenty one of February. A shipwracke at the mouth of *Ob*. An *Island* neere the mouth of *Ob*. The way to discouer *Ob* by Sea *Mattpheone* or *Matthewes* land. After our stile 1584.

Master MARSH *also learned these distances of places and Ports, from* Caninos *to* Ob *by Sea.*

FRom *Canines* to the Bay of *Medemske* (which is somewhat to the East of the Riuer *Pechora*) is seuen dayes sayling. The Bay of *Medemsky* is ouer a day and a halfe sayling. From *Medemske Sanoroft* to *Carareca*, is sixe dayes sayling. From *Carska* Bay to the farthest side of the Riuer *Ob*, is nine dayes sayling. The Bay of *Carska* is from side to side, a day and a nights sayling. *Canines*. *Medemske*. *Carareca*. *Carska*. *Ob*.

He learned another way by *Noua Zembla* and *Matthuschan Yar* to *Ob*, more North-eastward. From *Canines* to the Iland of *Colgoieue*, is a day & a nights sayling. From *Colgoieue* to *Noua Zembla* are two dayes sayling. There is a great *Osera* or Lake vpon *Noua Zembla*, where wonderfull store of Geese and Swannes doe breede, and in moulting time cast their feathers, which is about Saint *Peters* day: and the *Russes* of *Colmogro* repaire thither yearely, and our *English* men venter thither with them seuerall shares in money: they bring home great quantitie of Doune-Feathers, dried Swannes, and Geese, Beares skinnes, and Fish, &c. From *Naromske Reca* or Riuer to *Mattuschan Yar*, is sixe dayes sayling. From *Mattuschan Yar* to the *Perouologli Teupla*, that is to say, To the warme passage ouer-land, compassing or sayling round about the Sands, is thirteene dayes sayling: And there is vpon the Sands at a full Sea, seuen fathomes water, and two fathomes at a low water. The occasion of this highing of the water, is the falling into the Sea of the three Riuers, and the meeting of the two Seas, to wit, *The North Sea*, and *The East Sea*, which make both high water and great Sands. And you must beware that you come not with your Shippe neere vnto the Iland by the Riuer *Ob*. From *Mattuschan Yar* to this Iland, is fiue dayes sayling. *Mattuschan Yar* is in some parts fortie Versts ouer, and in some parts not past six Versts ouer. *Canines*. *Naromske*. *Mattuschan Yar*. The Sands. The two Seas: that is, the North and the East Sea. The bignes of the Cliffe or Isle of *Mattuschan*.

The aforesaid *Anthonie Marsh* sent one *Bodan* his man, a *Russe* borne, with the aforesaid foure *Russes*, and a yong youth, a *Samoed*, which was likewise his Seruant, vpon the discouery of the Riuer of *Ob*, by Land, through the Countrie of the *Samoeds*, with good store of commodities to trafficke with the people. And these his Seruants made a rich Voyage of it, and had bartered with the people about the Riuer of *Ob*, for the valew of a thousand rubles in sables, and other fine Furres. But the Emperour hauing intelligence of this Discouery, and of the way that *Bodan* returned home by, by one of his chiefe Officers lay in waite for him, apprehended him, and tooke from him the aforesaid thousand Markes worth of Sables, and other Merchandises, and deliuered them into the Emperours Treasurie, being sealed vp, and brought the poore fellow *Bodan* to the Citie of *Mosco*, where he was committed to prison, and whipped, and there detained a long while after, but in the end released. Moreouer, the Emperours Officers asked *Anthonie Marsh*, how he durst presume to deale in any such enterprise? To whom he answered, that by the priuiledges granted to the *English* Nation, no part of the Emperours Dominions were exempted from the *English* to trade and trafficke in: with which answere, they were not so satisfied, but that they gaue him a great checke, and forfeited all the aforesaid thousand Markes worth of goods, charging him not to proceede any further in that action: whereby it seemeth they *Anthonie Marsh* sent two of his men vpon the discouery of *Ob* by land with foure *Russes*. *Bodan* Master *Marsh* his man brought to *Mosco*. *Russian* icalousie of discouery

they are very iealous that any Christian should grow acquainted with their Neighbours that border to the North-east of their Dominions, for that there is some great secret that way, which they would reserue to themselues onely. Thus much I vnderstood by Master *Christopher Holmes.*

The report of Master FRANCIS CHERRY *a* Moscouie *Merchant, and Master* THOMAS LYNDES *touching a warme Sea to the South-east of the Riuer* Ob, *and a Note of* FRANCIS GAVLLE.

MAster *Francis Cherry*, one of the chiefe Merchants of the *Moscouy* Companie, which was the Emperour *Iuan Basiliwich* his Interpreter, and hath trauailed in person into *Permia* farre to the East in *Russia*, saith, That he hath eaten of the Sturgeon that came out of the Riuer of *Ob*. And that in those parts it is a common receiued speech of the *Russes* that are great trauailers, that beyond *Ob* to the South-east there is a warme Sea. Which they expresse in these words in the *Russe* tongue; *Za Oby reca moria Teupla*, that is to say, *Beyond the Riuer Ob is a warme Sea.* Furthermore, Master *Thomas Lynde* an honest and discreet *English* Merchant, which hath likewise liued many yeeres in those parts of *Moscouy*, saith, That this Sea beyond *Ob*, is by the report of the *Russes*, that are trauailers, so warme, that all kinde of Sea fowles liue there as well in the Winter as in the Summer, which report argueth, that this Sea pierseth farre into the South parts of *Asia*.

A warme Sea beyond *Ob.*

Master *Thomas Linde.*

Third Volume of *English* voyages, *pag.* 446.

Francis Gaulle that passed the Ocean betweene *Iapan* and *Noua Hispania*, in the Latitude of 37. degrees and a halfe, writeth thus. Prouing a great Sea to come from the North-east parts of *Tartaria*; running thus East and East and by North about three hundred leagues from *Iapan*, we found a very hollow water, with the streame running out of the North and North-west, with a full and very broad Sea, without any trouble or hinderance in the way that we past. And what winde soeuer blue, the Sea continued all in one sort with the same hollow water and streame, vntill we had passed seuen hundred leagues. About two hundred leagues from the Coast of *New Spaine* we began to lose the said hollow Sea, whereby I perswade my selfe that there you shall finde a Channell or straite passage betweene the firme Land of *New Spaine* and the Countrie of *Asia* and *Tartaria*. We found all this way Whales, Tunnies, Bonitos, which are fishes that keepe in Channels, Straits, and running Waters, there to disperse their seede, which further confirmeth me in that opinion.

See of these voyages, *Hak. Tom.* I.

But seeing thus we are shipped from Russia, *and haue againe taken Sea, that which Ice permitted not to* Stephen Burrough, Pet *and* Iackman, *nor others*, English *and* Dutch, *which haue attempted that North-east passage; and that which Master* Baffin *said to me, that if he might haue imployment, he would aduenture to discouer from the Coast of* China *and* Iapan *on the North of* Asia *hitherward; all this shall be suddenly pernious to our swifter and vnstayable thoughts, to set vs in a new discouery by* Danish *and* English *assistance for a North-west passage, so often, not so fortunately attempted, as by Reason it seemeth probable and almost certaine, especially that way where Sir* Th. Button *and* Nelson *left. But we will discouer these Discoueries more methodically and historically to you, that you may see the* English *ancient right, as I may say, to those parts of the new World.*

CHAP. XIII.

Discoueries made by English-*men to the North-west: Voyages of Sir* SEBASTIAN CABOT, *Master* THORNE, *and other Ancients: and of Master* WEYMOVTH.

WE haue before giuen some light of the North-west, in *Hudsons* and other mens Voyages. The desire of Riches in some, of Knowledge in others, hath long whetted mens industries, to finde out a more compendious way to the East *Indies*, by a shorter cut then the vsuall passage, which in going to the places of principall Trade there, and the returning thence by enforced compassings, is made no lesse a Voyage for time, cost, danger and labour, then the immediate compassing of the whole Globe, as in Master *Candishes* circumnauigation (not to mention others) is euident. But if either by the North-east, or North-west, or North, a passage be open, the sight of the Globe (the Image of the site of the World) easily sheweth with how much ease, in how little time and expense the same might be effected, the large Lines or Meridians vnder the Line contayning sixe hundred miles, con-

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contracting themselues proportionably as they grow neerer the Pole, where that vast Line and Circumference it selfe becomes (as the whole Earth to Heauen, and all earthly things to heauenly) no Line any more, but a Point, but Nothing, but Vanitie. Hence such laborious searches from *Columbus* his first discouerie (that also occasioned by a conceit of finding the East by the West, whereupon he named *Hispaniola Ophir*, thinking he had then arriued at the East *Indies*) especially the *English*, seated commodiously for that discouerie, and to reigne ouer the Northerne and Westerne Ocean, haue herein beene more then industrious.

Doctor *Powell* in his historie of *Wales* saith, that *Madoc sonne of* Owen Guyneth *left the Land in contention betwixt his brethren, and prepared certaine ships with men and munition, and sought adventures by Sea, saying West, and leauing the Coast of* Ireland *so farre North, that hee came vnto a Land vnknowne, where he saw many strange things.* There hee left many of his people *An.* 1170. and returned for more of his owne Nation and Friends to inhabite that large Countrie, going the second time thither with ten sailes. This westerne Land is like to be some part of the West *Indies*, though the vniuersall sauagenes of those parts make it questionable where. But he which seeth how some of our *English* in small time haue growne wilde in *Ireland*, and become in language and qualities *Irish*, few of whom doe in exchange become ciuilized and *English* (euen as healthfull men are easier infected in a contagious aire, then sicke men recouered in that which is wholsome and sound) will not wonder that in so many Ages the halfe ciuilized *Welsh*, amongst *Barbarians*, without succession of Priests and entercourse of these parts, might wholly put on feritie. *Meredith ap Rise* a *Welsh* Poet, which liued before *Columbus* had begun his discouerie, hath these verses.

Some thinke that the *Mexican* Kings (*Mutezuma* the last, professed that they were strangers) were hence deriued.

Madoc wyf, myedic wedd, Iawn Genau, Owyn Guynedd
Ni sinnum dir, fy enaid oedd Na da Mawr, ond y moroedd. that is.

Madoc I am the sonne of *Owen Gwynedd*, With stature large and comely grace adorned,
No lands at home nor store of wealth me please, My mind was whole to search the Ocean seas.

Columbus also sent his brother *Bartholomew* to King *Henrie* the seuenth, to make offer of his seruice in the New-Worlds discouerie, which fell by the way into the hands of Pirats, whereupon pouertie assaulted him with sickneſſe in a forraine Countrie, so that hee was forced to get some- what about him by making of Maps: one whereof had this more ancient then elegant inscription. *D.F. Colon de vita patris Christoph. Col. c.13.*

Ianua cui patria est, nomen cui Bartholomæus Columbus de Terra Rubra, opus edidit istud Londonijs An. Domini 1480. *atq; insuper anno Octauo decimaq; die cum tertia mensis Februarij. Laudes Christo cantentur abundè.*

Whose Countrie *Genua* is, whose name *Bartholomew Colon de Terra Rubra*, this worke set forth new
At *London*, A thousand foure hundred eightie
Februarie thirteenth, sing praise to Christ on height.

One of these Maps hee presented to King *Henrie* with the said offer, who cheerfully accepted the same, and sent to call his brother into *England*, who before he could effect it, was imployed by the Kings of *Castile*.

Columbus his fortunes awakned others industrie, amongst the rest *Iohn Cabota* a *Venetian*, and his three sonnes *Lewis*, *Sebastian*, and *Sancius*, who obtayned a Patent of King *Henrie* the seuenth for discouerie with fiue ships with *English* Masters, Mariners, and Colours also, the same to erect in whatsoeuer Lands vnknowne before to Christians, to hold the same to them and their Heires as Vassals and Lieutenants to the Crowne of *England*, paying the fifth part of their gaine at *Bristoll*, &c. See *Hak. tom. 3. pag. 5.*

In the yeere 1497. Iohn Cabot *a* Venetian, *and* Sebastian *his sonne* (these are the wordes of the great Map in his Maiesties priuie Gallerie, of which *Sebastian Cabot* is often therein called the Authour, and his Picture is therein drawne, with this Title, *Effigies Sebast. Caboti Angli, filij Io. Ca. Venetiani, Militis Aurati*, &c.) *discouered that Land which no man before had attempted Iun.* 24. *about fiue in the morning. This Land he called* Prima vista (primum visam, *or* first seene) *because that was first descried from Sea. That Iland which lyeth out before the land; he called Saint* Iohns *Iland, because on that feast day it was discouered. The Inhabitants weare beasts skins and as much esteeme them, as we doe garments most precious. In their warres, they vse Bowes, Arrowes, Pikes, Darts, Clubs of wood and Slings. The soile is barren in some places and yeeldeth little fruit; but it is full of white Beares and Stags of vnusuall greatnesse. It aboundeth with Fishes and those great, as Seales and Salmons; Soles also an elle long. Especially there is great store of those fishes which they call commonly* Bacallaos. *There breede also Hawkes as blacke as Ravens, Partridges and blacke Eagles.* This Map, some say, was taken out of Sir *Seb. Cabots* Map by *Clem. Adams* 1549.

Thus wee see New-found Land discouered by *English* Ships, Mariners and iurisdiction. Sir *Sebastian Cabot*, for his *English* breeding, conditions, affection and aduancement, termed an *English* man, thus reported of this voyage; That vpon occasion of the admiration of *Columbus* his voyage into the East, where Spices grew, by the West, so rife then in the Court of King *Henrie* the seuenth, there arose in his heart a great desire to attempt some notable thing. And vnderstanding *Ramus. Tom. 2.* See *Hak. Tom. 3. pag. 7.*

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ſtanding by the Sphere (ſaith he) that if I ſhould ſaile by the North-weſt, I ſhould by a ſhorter Tract come into *India*; I thereupon cauſed the King to be aduertiſed of my deuiſe; who immediately commanded two Caruels to bee furniſhed with all things appertayning to the Voyage; which was, as farre as I remember, in the yeere 1496. in the beginning of Summer. I beganne therefore to ſaile toward the North-weſt, not thinking to find any other Land then that of *Cathay*, and from thence to turne toward *India*. But after certaine dayes I found that the Land turned toward the North, which was to me a great diſpleaſure. Neuertheleſſe, ſayling along by the Coaſt to ſee if I could finde any Gulfe that turned, I found the Land ſtill continent to the 56. degree vnder our Pole. And ſeeing that there the Coaſt turned toward the Eaſt, deſpayring to finde the paſſage, I turned backe againe, and ſayled downe by the Coaſt of that Land toward the Equinoctiall (euer with intent to finde the ſaid paſſage to *India*) and came to that part of this firme land, which is now called *Florida*; where my victuals fayling I returned towards *England*; the tumults and preparations of warres againſt *Scotland* cauſed that then no more conſideration was had to this voyage. Whereupon I went into *Spaine*, &c. By the King and Queene there he was ſet forth and diſcouered the Riuer of *Plate*, and ſayled into it more then ſixe ſcore leagues. After this he made many other voyages, &c. Sir *Seb. Cabot* was after by King *Edward* the ſixt conſtituted grand Pilot of *England* with the annuall ſtipend of one hundred and ſixtie ſix pounds thirteene ſhillings and foure pence, and was Author of the *Ruſſian* and North-eaſterne diſcoueries. *Fabian* in his Chronicle *A. R. Hen.* 7. 14. hath this teſtimonie. This yeere alſo were brought vnto the King three men taken in the New-found Land, in *William Purchas* time being Major. Theſe were clothed in beaſts skins, and did eate raw fleſh, and ſpake ſuch ſpeech that none could vnderſtand them, and in their demeanour like to bruit beaſts, whom the King kept a long time after. Two yeeres after I ſaw two of them at *Weſtminſter*, apparelled like *Engliſh*, &c.

All the Coaſt to *Florida* diſcouered by the *Engliſh*: from 67. deg. 30. min. as he writ to *Ramuſio. R. Preſat. Tom.* 3. as likewiſe he was cauſe of the *Ruſſian* and *Greenland* diſcoueries.

See *ſup. l.* 2. *c.* 1.

W. Purchas.

Thorn and *Eliot* firſt finders of *America.*

Maſter *Robert Thorne* writes, that his Father and Maſter *Hugh Eliot* a Merchant of *Briſtoll*, were the firſt diſcouerers of New-found Land: and if the Mariners would haue beene ruled and followed their Pilots minde, the Weſt *Indies* had beene ours: ſo that it ſeemeth this Diſcouerie was before that of *Columbus*. Maſter *Hakluyt* hath publiſhed the particulars of theſe things more fully, as alſo diuers Treatiſes touching the North-weſt of Sir *Humphrey Gilbert* and others: to which I referre the Reader; and no leſſe for the Voyages made by diuers *Engliſh* into thoſe parts: three by Sir *Martin Frobiſher*, in the yeeres 1576, 77, and 78. Two of Captaine *Iohn Dauies*, in 86, and 87. that of Maſter *Hore*, *An.* 1536. that of Sir *Humphrey Gilbert*, 1583. that of Maſter *Charles Leigh* to *Ramea*, *An.* 1597. and before in 1593. that of *George Drake*; with thoſe of *Iaques Cartier*, and diuers others. My purpoſe is not to ſteale Maſter *Hakluyts* labours out of the World, by culling and fleecing them for our purpoſe, but by this *Index* to inſtruct men where they may haue feſtiuall ſtore in this kinde. I had rather giue you new things. Such are to the World, theſe that you had before in *Hudſons* voyages ſet together, as alſo thoſe of *Greenland*: and ſuch are thoſe of *Waymouth*, *Knight*, *Hall*, *Baffin*, *&c.* And firſt, as Foreman of our Queſt, we will giue you Sir *Humphrey Gilberts* Letter, written with his owne hand from *New-found Land*, whereof he tooke formall poſſeſſion to the Crowne of *England*, and was as a Martyr of thoſe Diſcoueries. It was written to Sir *George Peckham* (a great Aduenturer in that voyage, and a greater in one of longer life, his written Treatiſe of Weſterne planting, extant in Maſter *Hakluyts* third Tome) and I haue here inſerted, it being hitherto vnprinted, as a memorial of both their worths; and after it (though in time before) wee will recreate you with a plaine Mariners Letter endorſed in homely phraſe, To the Honorable Kings Grace of *England*, here (as I thinke) giuen you from the Originall. I haue alſo another written to Cardinall *Wolſey* touching the ſame voyage in Latin, by *Albertus de Prato*; for the antiquitie, rather then any remarkable raritie, worthy here to be mentioned.

Sir George, *I departed from* Plymouth *on the eleuenth of Iune with fiue ſailes, and on the thirteenth the Barke* Rawley *ran from me in faire and cleere weather, hauing a large winde. I pray you ſolicite my brother* Rawley *to make them an example of all Knaues. On the third of Auguſt wee arriued at a Port called Saint* Iohns, *and will put to the Seas from thence (God willing) ſo ſoone as our ſhips will be ready. Of the* New-found Land *I will ſay nothing, vntill my next Letters. Be of good cheare, for if there were no better expectation, it were a very rich demaynes, the Country being very good and full of all ſorts of victuall, as fiſh both of the freſh water and Sea-fiſh, Deere, Pheaſants, Partridges, Swannes, and diuers Fowles elſe. I am in haſte, you ſhall by euery Meſſenger heare more at large. On the fifth of Auguſt, I entred here in the right of the Crowne of* England; *and haue engrauen the Armes of* England, *diuers* Spaniards, Portugals, *and other ſtrangers, witneſſing the ſame. I can ſtay no longer; fare you well with my good Lady: and be of good cheare, for I haue comforted my ſelfe, anſwerable to all my hopes. From Saint* Iohns *in the* New-found Land, *the* 8. *of Auguſt*, 1583.

Yours wholly to command, no man more,

Hvm. Gilbart.

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I mentioned before Master *Thornes* fathers finding *New-found Land*, with Master *Eliot*. These animated King *Henrie* the eight to set forth two ships for discouerie, one of which perished in the North parts of *New-found Land*. The Master of the other, *Iohn Rut*, writ this Letter to King *Henrie*, in bad *English* and worse Writing. Ouer it was this superscription.

Master *Grubes* two ships departed from *Plymouth* the 10. day of Iune, and arriued in the *New-found Land* in a good Harbour, called *Cape de Bas*, the 21. day of Iuly: and after we had left the sight of *Selle*, we had neuer sight of any Land, till we had sight of *Cape de Bas*.

PLeasing your Honorable Grace to beare of your seruant Iohn Rut, *with all his Company here, in good health, thanks be to God, and your Graces ship. The* Mary *of* Gilford, *with all her thanks be to God: And if it please your honorable Grace, we ranne in our course to the Northward, till we came into* 53. *degrees, and there we found many great Ilands of Ice and deepe water, we found no sounding, and then we durst not goe no further to the Northward for feare of more Ice, and then we cast about to the Southward, and within foure dayes after we had one hundred and sixtie fathom, and then wee came into* 52. *degrees and fell with the mayne Land, and within ten leagues of the mayne Land we met with a great Iland of Ice, and came hard by her, for it was standing in deepe water, and so went in with* Cape de Bas, *a good Harbor, and many small Ilands, and a great fresh Riuer going vp farre into the mayne Land, and the mayne Land all wildernesse and mountaines and woods, and no naturall ground but all mosse, and no inhabitation nor no people in these parts: and in the woods wee found footing of diuers great beasts, but we saw none not in ten leagues. And please your Grace, the* Samson *and wee kept company all the way till within two dayes before wee met with all the Ilands of Ice, that was the first day of Iuly at night, and there rose a great and a marualous great storme, and much foule weather; I trust in Almightie Iesus to heare good newes of her. And please your Grace, we were considering and a writing of all our order, how we would wash vs and what course wee would draw and when God doe send foule weather, that with the* Cape de Sper *shee should goe, and he that came first should tarry the space of sixe weeks one for another, and watered at* Cape de Bas *ten dayes, ordering of your Graces ship and fishing, and so departed toward the Southward to seeke our fellow: the third day of August we entered into a good Hauen, called Saint* Iohn, *and there we found eleuen saile of* Normans, *and one* Brittaine, *and two* Portugall *Barkes, and all a fishing, and so we are readie to depart toward* Cape de Bas, *and that is twentie fiue leagues, as shortly as we haue fished, and so along the coast till we may meete with our fellow, and so with all diligence that lyes in me toward parts to that Ilands that we are commanded by the grace of God, as we were commanded at our departing: And thus Iesu saue and keepe your honorable Grace, and all your honourable Reuer. in the Hauen of Saint* Iohn, *the third day of August, written in haste.* 1527.

By your seruant *Iohn Rut*, to his vttermost of his power.

I haue by me also *Albert de Prato's* originall Letter, in Latin stile, almost as harsh as the former *English*, and bearing the same date, and was indorsed, *Reuerend. in Christo Patri Domino Domino Cardinali & Domino Legato Angliæ:* and began, *Reuerendissime in Christo Pater salutem. Reuerendissime Pater, placeat Reuerendissimæ paternitati vestræ, scire, Deo fauente postquam exiuimus à Plemut quæ fuit x. Iunij &c.* (the substance is the same with the former, and therefore omitted) *Datum apud le Baya Saint Iohan in Terris Nouis, die x. Augusti,* 1527. *Reuer. Patr. vest. humilis seruus, Albertus de Prato.* (the name written in the lowest corner of the sheet.)

The voyage of Captaine GEORGE WEYMOVTH, *intended for the discouerie of the North-west Passage toward* China, *with two fly Boates.*

ON Sunday the second day of May, 1602. in the afternoone, I weighed anchor and set saile from *Redcliffe* with two Fly-boates, the one called the *Discouery*, of seuentie Tunnes; and the other called the *God speed*, of sixtie Tunnes, to discouer the North-west passage, hauing in my ships fiue and thirtie men and boyes, throughly victualled and abundantly furnished with all necessaries for a yeere and an halfe, by the right Worshipfull Merchants of the *Moscouie* and *Turkie* Companies: who for the better successe of the voyage prouided mee of a great trauailer and learned Minister one Master *Iohn Cartwright*. The Master vndermee in the Discouerie was one *William Cobreth*, a skilfull man in his profession; and in the *God speed*, one *Iohn Drewe*, and Mate in the said ship one *Iohn Lane*.

Mosc. and *Turkie* Companies. Master *Cartwright* had bin in *Persia* and *Turkie*. See the former Tome, *Buquhamnes*.

The first of Iune, we descried *Buquhamnes* in the Latitude of 57. degrees. The second day we saw the Point of *Buquhamnes* North-west from vs, being a very smooth land; and the land by

by it to the Southward riseth with many Homocks. There lyeth a ledge of Rockes hard by the Nesse, in a sandie Bay faire by the shore. When we came neer the land, we met with a fisher Boat, and I agreed with one of the fisher men to carry me betweene the Isles of *Orkney*, because I was not acquainted with the coast. The fourth day, at ten of the clocke, wee descried the Isles of *Orkney*. Some of those Southerne Ilands are prettie high land; but the Northerne Iland, which is called the *Start*, is very low land. There is no danger, giuing the shore a good birth, vnlesse it be by the Norther point of the *Start*: there doth a ledge of Rockes lye a mile from the shoare. At noone I found my selfe to be in the latitude of 59. degrees and 30. minutes, the point of the *Start* bearing West: and at one of the clocke in the afternoone, we saw a faire Ile, which bare North-east and by North from vs: and at eight of the clocke at night, wee were North of the *Start*: Then I directed my course West and by North. The fifth day about ten of the clocke in the morning, we ranne some tenne leagues, and then we saw two small Ilands, some two leagues off: and at eight and nine of the clocke we saw foure or fiue Boats of Fisher-men, and spake with one of them, and they were *Scottish-men*. The sixt, in the morning fell much raine, and lasted till nine of the clocke: and at ten of the clocke it cleared vp, and became very faire weather, and very temperate and warme, and our course was West. The seauenth, the winde was at East and by North, faire weather, and our course West. The eight, at noone I obserued the Sunne, and found vs to be in 59. degrees and fortie seuen minutes, and we ran West South-west.

Orkney.

The *Start.*

59. degrees 30. minutes.

Faire Ile.

Two small Ilands.

The twelfth day we held our course West, the winde at East North-east, with fogge in the morning: at noone I obserued the Sunne, and found my selfe in 57. degrees, and 55. minutes. the variation here was nothing at all. The thirteenth at noone, our course was West and by North, the winde at North-east, with fogge some three or foure houres, and then cleare againe: the ayre very warme, as in *England* in the moneth of May. The foureteenth was faire weather, and the winde at East North-east, and our course West and by North. The fifteenth much raine all the forenoone, our course West, the winde at East and by North. The sixteenth, the winde was at North North-east, with much raine, winde and fogge. In the forenoone, being very cold, and at noone, I obserued the Sun, and found vs to be in 57. degrees and 35. minutes: we found the variation to be eleuen degrees Westward; and by that meane I found my selfe to be one degree more to the Southward, then we should haue bin by our course; for we could not see the Sunne in 96. houres before this day at noone, and at our last obseruation before this, which was the twelfth day, we could not finde any variation at all. Then we stood close by a winde to the Westward, the winde being at North North-east. The seauenteenth wee ranne North and by West, the winde at North North-east, faire weather. This day we saw many gray Gulles, and some Pigions. The eighteenth at noone I obserued the Sunne, and found our selues to be in the latitude of 59. degrees, and 51. minutes. And then we first descried a great Iland of Ice, which lay North from vs, as farre as we could ken it from the head of our maine topmast: and about two of the clocke in the afternoone, we saw the South part of *Groneland*, North from vs some ten leagues. As we coasted this Ice to the Northward, we found it to be a maine banke of Ice; for we saw the other end of it to beare West North-west from vs; the winde being at South South-west, little winde: Then we ranne West South-west, to cleere vs of the Ice. The nineteenth, the winde was at East South-east, with some small raine. The twentieth, our course was West North-west, the winde being at North and by East, little winde. This day sometimes we came into blacke water as thicke as puddle, and in sailing a little space the water would be cleare againe. Seeing this change of water, so often to be thick, and cleare againe so suddenly, we imagined it had beene shallow water: then we sounded, and could fetch no ground in one hundred and twenty fathomes: and the Sea was so smooth, that we could discerne no current at all. At this time I reckoned the *Cape of desolation* to beare North North-east twentie foure leagues from vs. The one and twentieth, the winde was variable. The two and twentieth, we were in the latitude of 60. degrees and 37. minutes: the winde being at West, wee ranne North and by West. The seauen and twentieth, the winde was at West South-west: then our course was North-west and by North, the weather faire and warme, as in *England*, in the moneth of May. This day we saw great store of Gulles, which followed our Ship sundry dayes.

57. degrees 55. min. no variation.

Variation eleuen degrees Westward.

No variation.

Guls and Pigions.

59. deg. 51. min.

A great Iland of Ice.

Groneland.

A maine bank of Ice.

Black water as thick as puddle

The Cape of desolation.

60. deg. 37. min.

Store of Guls.

The eight and twentieth, the winde being at North and by West, wee directed our course to the Westward; and about twelue of the clocke the same night, we descried the land of *America*, in the latitude of 62. degrees and 30. minutes; which we made to be *Warwicks* foreland. This Headland rose like an Iland. And when we came neere the *Foreland*, we saw foure small Ilands to the Northwards, and three small Ilands to the Southward of the same *Foreland*. The *Foreland* was high land: all the tops of the hils were couered with Snow. The three small Ilands to the Southward were also white, that we could not discerne them from Ilands of Ice: also there was great store of drift Ice vpon the East side of this *Foreland*: but the Sea was altogether voide of Ice: the Land did lye North and by East, and South and by West, being six leagues off length.

America descried in 62. degr. and 30. min.

The nine and twentieth, at sixe of the clocke in the morning, wee were within three leagues of this *Foreland*: then the winde came vp at North-east and by East, a good stiffe gale with fogge,

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fogge: and wee were forced to ſtand to the Southward, becauſe wee could not wether the Land to the Northward: and as wee ſtood to the Southward along by *Warwicks Foreland*, we could diſcerne none otherwiſe, but that it was an Iland. Which if it fall out to be ſo, then *Lumleys* Inlet, and the next Southerly Inlet, where the great Current ſetteth to the Weſt, muſt of neceſſitie be one Sea; which will be the greateſt hope of the paſſage that way. The thirtieth, the winde was at North-eaſt, with fogge and Snow. This day wee came into a great whirling of a Current, being in the latitude of 61. degrees, and about twelue leagues from the coaſt of *America*.

Warwicks Foreland ſuppoſed to be an Iland.

The greateſt hope of the North-weſt paſſage.

A current Weſtward in ſixtie one degrees.

The firſt day of Iuly, the winde was at Weſt, with fogge and Snow; the ayre being very cold. This day wee came into many Ouerfals, which ſeemed to runne a great current; but which way it did ſet, wee could not well diſcerne. The greateſt likelihood was, that it ſhould ſet to the Weſt. But hauing contrary windes ſome ſixteene or ſeuenteene dayes, we alwayes lay in trauerſe among theſe ouerfals; but could neuer finde any great current by our courſes: wee ſounded ſometimes, but could get no ground in one hundred and twentie fathomes.

A current likely to ſet to the Weſt.

The ſecond day, wee deſcried a maine Banke of Ice in the latitude of 60. degrees: the winde was at North North-weſt, and very faire weather. Wee wanting freſh water did ſayle cloſe to this Land of Ice, and hoyſed out our Boate, and loaded her twice with Ice, which made vs very good freſh water. Within twenty leagues of the coaſt of *America*, wee ſhould often-times come into many great ouerfals. Which doth manifeſtly ſhew, that all the coaſt of *America* is broken Land.

A maine banke of Ice in 60 degrees.

The North coaſt of *America* ſeemeth to be broken land.

The third, the winde was at South-weſt, very foggie: and as wee ſtood toward the coaſt of *America*, wee met with another maine Banke of Ice. The fogge was ſo thicke, that we were hard by the Ice, before wee could ſee it. But it pleaſed God that the winde was faire to put vs cleare from this Ice againe; and preſently it began to cleare vp, ſo that wee could ſee two or three leagues off; but we could ſee no end of the Ice. Wee iudged this Ice to be ſome tenne leagues from the coaſt of *America*. We found the water to be very blackiſh and thicke, like puddle water.

Blacke puddle water.

The eight, the winde was at North North-weſt, very faire weather; wee ſtanding to the Weſtwards met with a mighty maine Banke of Ice, which was a great length and breadth, and it did reſt cloſe to the ſhoare. And at eleuen of the clocke in the forenoone, wee deſcried againe the Land of *America*, in the latitude of 63. degrees and 53. minutes, being very high Land: and it did riſe as Ilands, the toppes being couered with Snow. This Land was South-weſt and by Weſt, ſome fiue leagues off vs: we could come no neerer it for the great quantitie of Ice, which reſted by the ſhoare ſide.

America againe diſcried in 63. deg. 53. min.

The ninth, the winde being at North-eaſt and by Eaſt, blew ſo extreamely, that we were forced to ſtand to the Southward, both to cleare our ſelues of the Land, and of the Ice: for the day before we paſſed a great banke of Ice, which was ſome foureteene leagues to the Eaſtward of vs, when the ſtorme began; but thankes be to God, we cleared our ſelues both of the Land and of the Ice. This day in the afternoone the ſtorme grew ſo extreame, that we were forced to ſtand along with our forecourſe to the Southward.

The ſeuenteenth was very foggie, the winde being at Eaſt: and about two of the clocke in the afternoone, wee ſaw foure great Ilands of Ice, of a huge bigneſſe: and about foure of the clocke we came among ſome ſmall ſcattered Ice, and ſuppoſed our ſelues to be neere ſome great Banke. The fogge was very thicke, but the winde large to ſtand backe the ſame way wee came in; or elſe it would haue indangered our liues very much. And at nine of the clocke at night we heard a great noyſe, as though it had bin the breach of ſome ſhoare. Being deſirous to ſee what it was, we ſtood with it, and found it to be the noyſe of a great quantity of Ice, which was very loathſome to be heard. Then wee ſtood North North-weſt, and the fogge continued ſo thicke, that wee could not ſee two Shippes length from vs: whereupon we thought good to take in ſome of our ſayles; and when our men came to hand them, they found our ſayles, ropes, and tacklings, ſo hard frozen, that it did ſeeme very ſtrange vnto vs, being in the chiefeſt time of Summer.

The loathſome noyſe of Ice.

Sayles, ropes and tackling frozen.

The eighteenth day, the winde was at North-eaſt and by North, the ayre being very cleere and extreame cold, with an exceeding great froſt; and our courſe was North-weſt. This day in the forenoone, when we did ſet our ſayles, we found our ropes and tacklings harder frozen then they were the day before: which froſt did annoy vs ſo much in the vſing of our ropes and ſayles, that wee were enforced to breake off the Ice from our ropes, that they might runne through the blockes. And at two of the clocke in the afternoone, the winde began to blow very hard, with thicke fogge, which freezed ſo faſt as it did fall vpon our ſayles, ropes, and tackling, that we could not almoſt hoyſe or ſtrike our ſayles, to haue any vſe of them. This extreame froſt and long continuance thereof, was a maine barre to our proceeding to the Northward, and the diſcouraging of all our men.

Thick fogge freezing as faſt as it fell.

The nineteenth day, the winde was at North and by Eaſt, and our courſe to the Eaſtwards.

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Mutinie.

The same night following, all our men conspired secretly together, to beare vp the helme for *England*, while I was asleepe in my Cabin, and there to haue kept mee by force, vntill I had sworn vnto them, that I would not offer any violence vnto them for so doing. And indeede they had drawn in writing, the causes of their bearing vp of the helme, and thereunto set their hands, and would haue left them in my Cabin: but by good chance I vnderstood their pretence, and preuented them for that time.

The twentieth day, I called the chiefest of my Company into my Cabin, before Master *Iohn Cartwright* our Preacher, and our Master, *William Cobreth*, to heare what reasons they could alleadge for the bearing vp of the Helme, which might he an ouerthrow to the Voyage, seeing the Merchants had bin at so great a charge with it. After much conference, they deliuered mee their reasons in writing:

Concluding, that although it were granted, that we might winter betweene 60. and 70. degrees of latitude, with safetie of our liues and Vessels, yet it will be May next before wee can dismore them, to lanch out into the Sea. And therefore if the Merchants should haue purpose to proceede on the discouerie of these North-west parts of *America*; the next yeare you may be in the aforesaid latitudes for *England*, by the first of May, and so be furnished better with men and victuals, to passe and proceede in the aforesaid action.

Seeing then that you cannot assure vs of a safe harbour to the Northward, wee purpose to beare vp the Helme for *England*; yet with this limitation, that if in your wisedome, you shall thinke good to make any discouery, either in 60. or 57. degrees, with this faire Northerly winde, we yeelde our liues with your selfe, to encounter any danger. Thus much we thought needefull to signifie, as a matter builded vpon reason, and not proceeding vpon feare or cowardise.

68. deg. 53. min

Then, wee being in the latitude of 68. degrees and 53. minutes: the next following, about eleuen of the clocke, they bare vp the Helme, being all so bent, that there was no meanes to perswade them to the contrary. At last vnderstanding of it, I came forth of my Cabin, and demanded of them, who bare vp the Helme? They answered me, One and All. So they hoysed vp all the sayle they could, and directed their course South and by West.

They returne frō the North.

Mutiners punished.

The two and twentieth, I sent for the chiefest of those, which were the cause of the bearing vp of the Helme, and punished them seuerely, that this punishment might be a warning to them afterward for falling into the like mutinie. In the end, vpon the intreatie of Master *Cartwright* our Preacher, and the Master, *William Cobreath*, vpon their submission, I remitted some part of their punishment. At twelue of the clocke at noone, wee came hard by a great Iland of Ice: the Sea being very smooth and almost calme, wee hoysed out the Boates of both our Shippes: being in want of fresh water, and went to this Iland to get some Ice to make vs fresh water. And as wee were breaking off some of this Ice (which was verie painefull for vs to doe; for it was almost as hard as a Rocke:) the great Iland of Ice gaue a mightie cracke two or three times, as though it had bin a thunder-clappe; and presently the Iland began to ouerthrow, which was like to haue sunke both our Boates, if wee had not made good haste from it. But thankes be to God, we escaped this danger very happily, and came aboord with both our Boates, the one halfe laden with Ice. There was great store of Sea Foule vpon this Iland of Ice.

A great Iland of Ice cracked like a thunder-clap and was ouerthrowne.

Great store of Sea Foule vpon the Ice.

The fiue and twentieth and six and twentieth, the winde being at East, did blow a hard gale, and our course was West and by South, with fogge. This day in the afternoone I did reckon my selfe to be in the entering of an Inlet, which standeth in the latitude of 61. degrees and 40. minutes.

An Inlet in 61. degrees & 40. minutes.

The seuen and twentieth, the winde was at South South-east, and blew very hard, our course was West. The eight and twentieth and nine and twentieth, our course was West and by South, the winde blowing very hard at East South-east, with fogge and raine. The thirtieth, the winde came vp in a showre by the West North-west, blowing so hard, that wee were forced to put a fore the Sea. Now because the time of the yeare was farre spent, and many of our men in both Shippes sicke, wee thought it good to returne with great hope of this Inlet, to bee a passage of more possibilitie, then through the Straight of *Danis*: because I found it not much pestered with Ice, and to be a straight of fortie leagues broad. Also I sayled an hundred leagues West and by South, within this Inlet; and there I found the variation to be 35. degrees to the Westward, and the needle to decline, or rather incline 83. degrees and an halfe.

The return out of the Inlet.

The variation 35. degrees Westward.

The fifth of August (the winde all that while Westerly) wee were cleare of this Inlet againe. The sixth the winde was at East South-east with fogge. The seauenth, eight, and ninth, we passed by many great Ilands of Ice. The ninth day at night, we descried the land of *America*, in the latitude of 55. degrees, and 30. minutes. This Land was an Iland, being but low land and very smooth: then the night approaching, and the weather being something foggie and darke, we were forced to stand to the Northward againe. This night we passed by some great Ilands of Ice, and some bigge peeces which did breake from the great Ilands: and we were like

An Iland on the coast of *America* in 55. deg. & 30. min.

to

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to ſtrike ſome of them two or three times: which if we had done, it might haue endangered our Shippes and liues. Our conſort, the *Godſpeede*, ſtrooke a little piece of Ice, which they thought had foundred their Shippe; but thankes be to God they receiued no great hurt, for our Shippes were very ſtrong. The *Godſpeede* ſtroke vpon a piece of Ice.

The tenth day, the winde was at North-eaſt and by North, with fogge and raine: and our courſe was to the South-eaſtward: for we could by no meanes put with the ſhoare, by reaſon of the thickneſſe of the fogge, and that the winde blew right vpon the ſhoare, ſo that we were forced to beare ſaile to keepe our ſelues from the land, vntill it pleaſed God to ſend vs a cleare, which God knoweth we long wanted. At ſixe of the clocke in the afternoone, it was calme; and then I iudged my ſelfe, by mine account, to be neere the Land: ſo I ſounded, and had ground in 160. fathomes, and fine grey Oſie Sand: and there was a great Iland of Ice, a ground within a league of vs, where we ſounded, and within one houre it pleaſed God to ſend vs a cleere. Then we ſaw the land ſome foure leagues South-weſt and by South from vs. This land lyeth East and by South, and Weſt and by North, being good high land, but all Ilands, as farre as wee could diſcerne. This calme continued vntill foure of the clocke in the afternoone of the eleuenth day: the weather being very cleere, we could not diſcerne any Current to goe at all by this Land. This day the Sea did ſet vs in about a league neerer the Land, ſo that wee iudged our ſelues three leagues off. Here we ſounded againe, and had but eightie fathoms. Many Ilands.

The variation of the Compaſſe we found to be 22. degrees and 10. minutes Weſtward. At ſixe of the clocke there ſprung vp a fine gale of winde, at East South-east, and being ſo neere night, wee ſtood to the Southward, thinking the next day to ſeeke ſome harbour. But it pleaſed God, the next day, being the twelfth, to ſend vs a ſtorme of foule weather, the winde being at East and by South, with fogge: ſo that we could by no meanes get the ſhoare. Thus wee were forced to beate vp and downe at Sea, vntill it ſhould pleaſe God to ſend vs better weather. The variation 22. degrees to Weſt. A Storme.

The foureteenth, I thought good to ſtand to the Weſtward to ſearch an Inlet, in the latitude of 56. degrees. I haue good hope of a paſſage that way, by many great and probable reaſons.

The fifteenth the winde continued at the South, with exceeding faire weather, and our courſe was Weſt. We were this day at noone in the latitude of 55. degrees and 31. minutes: and I found the variation to be 17. degrees and 15. minutes, to the Weſtward. And about ſeuen of the clocke at night, we deſcried the Land againe, being tenne leagues to the Eaſtward of this Inlet. This Land did beare from vs South-weſt, ſome eight leagues off: and about nine of the clocke the ſame night, the winde came to the Weſt; which blew right againſt vs for our entring into this Inlet. 55. deg. 31. min. Variation 17. degr. 15. min. They diſcrie the land again.

The ſixteenth, the winde was at Weſt North-weſt, and was very faire weather, and our courſe South-weſt: about nine of the clocke in the forenoone, we came by a great Iland of Ice; and by this Iland we found ſome peeces of Ice broken off from the ſaid Iland: And being in great want of freſh water, wee hoyſed out our Boates of both Shippes, and loaded them twice with Ice, which made vs very good freſh water. This day at noone wee found our ſelues to be in the latitude of 55. degrees and twentie minutes: when we had taken in our Ice and Boates, the weather being very faire and cleare, and the winde at Weſt North-weſt, we bent our courſe for the Land, and about three of the clocke in the afternoone, we were within three leagues of the ſhoare. It is a very pleaſant low Land; but all Ilands, and goodly ſounds going betweene them, toward the South-weſt. This Land doth ſtand in the latitude of 55. degrees; and I found the variation to be to the Weſt 18. degrees and 12. minutes. This coaſt is voide of Ice, vnleſſe it be ſome great Ilands of Ice, that come from the North, and ſo by windes may be driuen vpon this coaſt. Alſo we did finde the ayre in this place to be very temperate. Truely there is in three ſeuerall places great hope of a paſſage, betweene the latitude of 62. and 54. degrees; if the fogge doe not hinder it, which is all the feare I haue. At ſixe of the clocke, wee being becalmed by the ſhoare, there appeared vnto vs a great ledge of rockes, betweene vs and the ſhoare, as though the Sea did flye ouer it with a great height. As we all beheld it, within one houre, vpon a ſudden it vaniſhed cleane away; which ſeemed very ſtrange vnto vs all. And to the Eaſtward of vs, ſome two leagues, we ſaw a great Rocke, lying ſome three leagues off the Land: we then ſuppoſing it to be ſhoald water, by this broken ground, ſounded, but could get no ground in one hundred and ſixtie fathoms. About ſeuen of the clocke, there ſprung vp a gale of winde, by the South South-eaſt, which was a very good winde to coaſt this Land. 55. deg. 20. min. A pleaſant low land, being all Ilands. 55. degrees. The variation 18. deg. and 12. min. Weſtward. Temperate ayre. Great hope of a paſſage in three places. A great ledg of Rocks ſtrangly vaniſhing. A great Rocke

But the ſeuenteenth in the morning, the winde being at the South, it began to blow ſo extreamely, that we durſt not ſtay by the ſhoare, for it was like to be a great ſtorme: then our courſe was East North-eaſt, to get vs Sea roome. This ſtorme ſtill increaſing, our flye-boates did receiue in much water; for they wanted a Sparre-decke, which wee found very dangerous for the Sea. About twelue of the clocke at noone, this day there roſe vp a great ſhowre in the Weſt, and preſently the winde came out of that quarter with a whirle, and taking vp the Sea into the ayre, and blew ſo extreamely, that we were forced alwayes to runne before the Sea, howſoeuer A Whirlwinde taking vp the Sea.

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euer the winde did blow. And within twelue houres after this storme begonne, the Sea was so much growen, that we thought our fiye Boates would not haue beene able to haue endured it.

The eighteenth, the winde was at North-west, and the storme increased more extreame, and lasted vntill eight of the clocke in the morning of the nineteenth day, so furious, that to my remembrance, I neuer felt a greater: yet when we were in our greatest extremities, the Lord delivered vs his vnworthy seruants. And if the winde, with so great a storme, had bin either Northerly, or Southerly, or Easterly but one day, we had all perished against the Rocks, or the Ice: for wee were entred thirty leagues within a Head-land of an Inlet, in the latitude of 56. degrees. But it pleased God to send vs the winde so faire, as we could desire, both to cleare our selues of the Land and Ice. Which opportunitie caused vs for this time to take our leaues of the coast of *America*, and to shape our course for *England*.

They were entred 30. leagues into an Inlet in 56. degrees.

They returned for *England*.

This Booke was also subscribed by *W. Cobreth* and *Iohn Drew*.

The fourth, in the morning, wee descried the Iland of *Silly* North-east and by East, some foure leagues off vs. Then wee directed our course East and by North: and at tenne of the clocke in the forenoone, wee descried the Lands end, and next day were forced to put into *Dartmouth*.

The lands end.

Chap. XIV.

Iames Hall *his Voyage forth of* Denmarke *for the discouery of* Greenland, *in the yeare* 1605. *abbreuiated*.

May 1605.

IN the name of God Amen, we set sayle from *Copeman-hauen* in *Denmarke*, the second day of May, in the yeare of our redemption 1605. with two Shippes and a Pinnace: The Admirall, called the *Frost*, a shippe of the burthen of thirty or fortie lasts, wherein was Captaine, and chiefe commander of the whole Fleet, Captaine *Iohn Cunningham*, a *Scottish* Gentleman, seruant vnto the Kings Maiestie of *Denmarke*, my selfe being principall Pilot. The *Lyon* Viceadmirall, being about the foresaid burthen, wherein was Captaine, one *Godscaio Lindenose*, a *Danish* Gentleman, and Steereman of the same, one *Peter Kilson* of *Copeman-hauen*. The Pinnace, a Barke of the burthen of twelue Lasts, or thereabouts: wherein was Steereman or commander, one *Iohn Knight*, my Countrie-man. So setting sayle from *Copeman-hauen*, with a faire gale of winde Easterly, wee came vnto *Elsonure*, where we anchored, to take in our water.

Iohn Cunningham.

Iohn Knight, of whom after.

The third day we tooke in our water, at which time, the Captaines, my selfe, with the Lieutenants, and the other Steeremen, did thinke it conuenient to set downe certaine Articles, for the better keeping of company one with another, to which Articles or couenants wee were all seuerally sworne, setting thereunto our hands.

Flecorie.

The sixt we came to *Flecorie*, into which harbour, by Gods helpe, we came at two a clocke in the afternoone. The seauenth day we supplied our wants of wood and water. The eight day, about two a clocke in the afternoone, we set sayle forth of the harbour of *Flecorie*, about six a clock it fell calme, till about eight, about which time, the *Naze* of *Norway*, by the *Danish* men, called *Lyndis-nose*, bare next hand North-west of vs, sixe leagues off; at which time I directed my course West North-west, finding the compasse varied 7. degrees 10. minutes, to the Eastwards of the true North.

The thirteenth, we had sight of the Iland of *Faire Ile*, and also of the South-head of *Shetland*, called *Swimborne head*, which are high Lands: at noone, the Iland of *Faire Ile* bearing West halfe a point Northerly: foure leagues off I made obseruation, and found vs in the latitude of 59. degrees 20. minutes. This night about seuen a clocke, wee came about an *English* league to the Northwards of the North-west end of *Faire Ile*, wee met with a great race of a tyde, as though it had beene the race of *Portland*, it setting North North-west. Being out of the said race, I directed my course West and by North, hauing the winde North-east and by North: this euening *Faire Ile* bearing East South-east foure leagues: *Swimborne head*, North-east and by North eight leagues: the Iland of *Foole*, North-east and by East, seuen leagues. I found by exact obseruation, the compasse to be varied to the East-ward of the true North 60. degrees 10. minutes.

Variation obserued.

A race of a tide

Variation obserued.

The fourteenth in the morning, the winde came to the East South-east, wee steering West and by North away: this morning the Iland of *Faire Ile* did shew in my sight to bee about ten leagues off, at which time we did descrie two of the Westermost Ilands of *Orkney*, which did beare South-west and by South.

The eighteenth, the winde at North-west and by West, wee laid it away South-west and by West, and sometimes South-west. This day at noone wee were in the Latitude of 58. degrees 40. mi-

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40. minutes. The nineteenth day, the winde at South-weſt and South-weſt and by Weſt, wee lying as the night before, being at noone in the Latitude of 59. degrees and a halfe. The foure and twentieth day, the winde at North-eaſt and by East, we ſteering ſtill with a freſh gale West South-weſt, this euening we looked to haue ſeene *Buſſe* Iland, but I doe verily ſuppoſe the ſame to be placed in a wrong Latitude in the Marine Charts. The ſixe and twentieth at noone, wee were in the latitude of 57. degrees 45. minutes. The thirtieth day in the morning betweene ſeuen and eight, the weather began to cleere, and the Sea and winde to waxe leſſe, wee looking for the *Lion* and the Pinnaſſe, could haue no ſight of them, we ſuppoſing them to bee aſterne off vs, we ſtanding ſtill vnder our courſes. This day the winde came to the North-eaſt and by East, being very cold weather, we lying North North-weſt away. Making my obſeruation at noone, I found vs in the latitude of 59. degrees 15. minutes, our way North North-weſt fortie leagues. This afternoon betweene one and two a clock we deſcried Land, it bearing North North-eaſt off vs about ten leagues off North-eaſt & by North off vs about ten leagues, it being a very high ragged land, lying in the latitude of 59. degrees 50. minutes, lying alongſt South-eaſt and by South, and North-weſt and by North.

Buſſe Iland wrong placed.

First ſight of *Groenland*.

This Head-land wee named after the Kings Maieſties of *Denmarke*, becauſe it was the firſt part of *Groenland*, which we did ſee. This afternoone about one a clock, bearing in for the ſhoare we ſaw an Iland of Ice, which bore West South-weſt of vs three leagues off, ſo hauing the wind at East South-eaſt, we bore in for the ſhoare, where wee found ſo much Ice that it was impoſſible either for vs or any other ſhip to come into the ſhoare without great danger: yet wee put our ſelues into the Ice as wee thought conuenient, being incumbred and compaſſed about with the ſame in ſuch ſort, as the Captaine, my ſelfe, the Boatſwaine with another of our companie, were forced to goe ouerboord vpon an Iland of Ice, to defend it from the ſhip, at which time I thought it conuenient to ſtand off into the Sea againe, and ſo being cleere of the Ice, to double Cape *Deſolation*, to the North-weſtwards of which I doubted not but to find a cleer coaſt, ſo ſtanding away all this night West South-weſt, to cleere vs of the Ice, which lay farre from the ſhoare, being very thicke towards the Land with great Hands of Ice that it is wonderfull. This euening, the Cape *Chriſtian* bearing North-eaſt and by East fiue leagues, I found the Compaſſe varied 12. degrees 15. minutes to the North-weſtwards. Moreouer, ſtanding to Seaward from the foreſaid Cape, we came in blacke water, as thicke as though it had beene puddle water, we ſayling in the ſame for the ſpace of three houres.

Cape *Chriſtian*.

The ſhoare full of Ice.

Cape *Deſolation*.

Compaſſe varied.

Black water.

The one and thirtieth in the morning faire weather, with the winde ſomewhat variable, wee ſteering away North-weſt and by Weſt, betweene foure and fiue in the morning we had ſight of the *Lion* againe, but not of the Pinnaſſe. They being a Sea-boord off and hauing eſpied vs, they ſtood with vs, at which time the Captaine, Lieutenant, and Steereman came aboord vs, earneſtly intreating mee to beſtow a Sea Chart of the Steerman, and to giue him directions if by tempeſtuous weather they ſhould loſe vs, they proteſting and ſwearing that they would neuer leaue vs as long as winde and weather would permit them to keepe companie with vs. By whoſe ſpeechees I being perſwaded did giue them a Sea Chart for thoſe Coaſts, telling them that if they would follow me, that by Gods aſſiſtance I would bring them to a part of the Land void without peſter of Ice, and alſo harbour the ſhips in good Harbour, by Gods helpe; they ſwearing and proteſting, that they would follow mee ſo long as poſſibly they could, with which oathes and faire ſpeeches I reſted ſatisfied, thinking they had thought as they had ſworne, but it fell out otherwiſe. So hauing made an end with vs about noone, they went aboord againe, wee being this day in the latitude of 59. degrees 45. minutes, hauing ſtood all the night before, and this forenoone alſo, ſo nigh the ſhoare as wee could for Ice, the Cape *Chriſtian* South South-eaſt and North North-weſt, and from the Cape to Cape *Deſolation*, the Land lyeth East and by South, and Weſt and by North about fiftie leagues. This day betweene one and two a clocke, the Vice-admirals Boat, being newly gone aboord, it fell very haſie and thicke, ſo that wee could not ſee one another by reaſon of the fog, therefore our Captaine cauſed to ſhoote off certaine Muskets with a great peece of Ordnance, to the intent the *Lion* might heare vs, which heard of them they preſently ſtood with vs, at which time the fogge began ſomewhat to cleere, wee hauing ſight one of another and ſo ſtood alongſt the ſhoare, as nigh as we could for Ice.

Sight of the *Lion*.

The firſt of Iune, wee had a freſh gale of winde at South-weſt, wee ſteering North-eaſt and by North into the ſhoare, about three in the morning there fell a mightie fogge, ſo that we were forced to lye by the lee, for the *Lion* playing vpon our Drum to the intent for them to heare vs, and to keepe companie with vs, they anſwering vs againe with the ſhooting of a Musket, wee trimming our ſailes, did the like to them, and ſo ſtood away North-eaſt and by East: larboord tackt aboord halfe a glaſſe, when we were hard incumbred amongſt mightie Ilands of Ice, being very high like huge Mountaines, ſo I cauſed to caſt about and ſtand to the Weſtwards North-weſt and by Weſt. About twelue of the clocke this night it being ſtill calme, wee found our ſelues ſuddenly compaſt round about with great Ilands of Ice, which made ſuch a hideous noyſe as was moſt wonderfull, ſo that by no meanes wee could double the ſame to the Weſtward: wherefore wee were forced to ſtand it away to the Southwards, South South-Weſt, ſtemming

Iune 1605.

Ilands of Ice.

Mightie incumbrance of Ice.

A mightie current ſetting North North-weſt.

ming the Current, for by the ſame Current wee were violently brought into this Ice, ſo being incumbred and much to doe to keepe cleere of the mightie Ilands of Ice, there being as both I and others did plainly ſee vpon one of them a huge rocke ſtone, of the weight of three hundred pounds or thereabouts, as wee did ſuppoſe. Thus being troubled in the Ice for the ſpace of two or three houres, it pleaſed God that we got thorow the ſame.

The ſecond day in the morning about three a clocke, I came forth of my Cabin, where I found that the Shipper whoſe name was *Arnold* had altered my courſe which I had ſet, going contrarie to my directions North North-weſt away, whereupon hee and I grew to ſome ſpeeches, both for at this time and other times hee had done the like. The Captaine likewiſe ſeeing his bad dealing with we, did likewiſe roundly ſpeake his minde to him, for at this inſtant wee were nigh vnto a great banke of Ice, which wee might haue doubled if my courſe had not beene altered, ſo that we were forced to caſt about to the Southwards, South and by Eaſt and South South-eaſt, with the winde at South-weſt and by South or South-weſt till ten a clocke, when we ſtood againe to the Weſtwards, lying Weſt North-weſt and North-weſt and by Weſt, being at noone in the latitude of 60. degrees 18. minutes, Cape *Deſolation* is, I did ſuppoſe, bearing North and by Weſt three or foure leagues off, the weather being ſo thicke and haſie that wee could neuer ſee the Land.

The fourth day betweene one and two a clocke in the morning, it began to blow a freſh gale Eaſterly, we ſteering away North and North and by Weſt, we being at noone in the latitude of 59. degrees 50. minutes, hauing made a Weſt and by North way foure and twentie leagues. This euening about ſeuen a clocke we had very thicke water, and continued ſo about halfe an houre: about nine a clocke we did ſee a very high Iland of Ice to the windward of vs, and about halfe an houre after with ſome drift Ice, they in the *Lion* thorow the fearefulneſſe of their Commanders preſently caſt about ſtanding away larboord tackt, till they did perceiue that I ſtood ſtill away as I did before, without impediment of the Ice, they caſt about againe and followed vs.

The fift in the morning, being very faire weather with the winde at Eaſt South-eaſt, our courſe North North-weſt, ſome of our people ſuppoſed they had ſeene the Land: our Captaine and I went aboord the Pinnaſſe, when after an houre of our being there wee did ſee the ſuppoſed Land to be an haſie fogge, which came on vs ſo faſt that wee could ſcarce ſee one another. But the *Lion* being very nigh vnto vs, and it being very calme, wee laid the Pinnaſſe aboord of her, and ſo the Captaine and I went aboord of them.

The ninth day about foure a clocke, it began to blow an eaſie gale at South-eaſt and by South, I directing my courſe ſtill North North-weſt, when ſome of our people would not be perſwaded but they did ſee Land, and therefore I ſtood in North and by Eaſt and North North-eaſt, till about three a clocke in the afternoone, when wee met with a huge and high Iland of Ice, wee ſteering hard to board the ſame, and being ſhot a little to Northwards of it, there fell from the top thereof ſome quantitie of Ice, which in the fall did make ſuch a noyſe as though it had beene the report of fiue Cannons. This euening wee came amongſt much drift Ice, being both windwards and to leewards of vs, yet by Gods helpe we got very well through the ſame, when being cleere I directed my courſe againe North North-weſt.

A huge high Iland of Ice.

Noyſe by the fall.

The tenth day the winde at South-weſt and by Weſt, I ſteering ſtill North-weſt and by North. This forenoone alſo wee met with great Ilands of Ice, it being very haſie and thicke weather, the which did driue them in the *Lion* into great feare, and calling to vs very fearfully perſwaded me to alter my courſe and to returne homeward, ſaying that it was impoſſible for vs by any working, and courſe keeping to ſeaſe vpon the Land, which did driue all our companie into ſuch a feare, that they were determined, whether I would or not, to haue returned home, had not the Captaine as an honeſt and reſolute Gentleman ſtood by mee, proteſting to ſtand by me ſo long as his blood was warme, for the good of the Kings Maieſtie, who had ſet vs forth, and alſo to the performing of the Voyage. Which reſolution of his did mitigate the ſtubborneſſe of the people: yet nothing would perſwade thoſe fearfull perſons in the *Lion*, eſpecially the Steerman, who had rather long before this time haue returned home, then to haue proceeded on the action, as before the ſaid Steerman had done when he was imployed eight yeeres before in the ſaid action or diſcouerie. Therefore our Captaine and my ſelfe ſeeing their backwardneſſe now, as before we had done, went our ſelues the ſame euening into the Pinnaſſe, hauing a mightie banke of Ice of our larboord ſide, and ſpake to them very friendly, giuing order both to our owne ſhip and to them, that they ſhould keepe a Seaboord of vs (for I did ſuppoſe this banke of Ice to lye in the narroweſt of the Streight, betweene *America* and *Groenland*, as indeed by experience I found the ſame to be) therefore I determined to coaſt the Ice alongſt till I found it to bee driuen and fall away, by reaſon of the ſwift current that ſetteth very forcibly through the ſaid Strait, and then by the grace of God to ſet ouer for a cleere part of the coaſt of *Groenland*, ſo all this night we coaſted the Ice as cloſe aboord as we could Eaſt North-eaſt and North-eaſt and by Eaſt, till about midnight, when we found the ſaid banke to fall away.

Our people determined to returne backe againe.

Former diſcouenes.

A mightie banke of Ice.

The eleuenth day, being cleere of the Ice, I ſtood away North North-eaſt till ſixe a clocke, when

when we met with another great banke of Ice, at which time the Commanders of the *Lion* being now againe very fearfull as before, came vp to our ship, perswading the Shipper and Com- Another banke of Ice.
panie to leaue vs, and to stand to Seaboord with them. But the Shipper who was also Lieftenant of the ship, being more honestly minded, said, that he would follow vs so long as he could: with which answere they departed, vsing many spitefull wordes, both of the Captaine and mee, saying we were determined to betray the Kings ships, at which time they shot off a peece of Ordnance, and so stood away from vs. I seeing their peruerse dealing let them goe, wee coasting alongst the Ice North North-east with a fresh gale, it being extreme cold with snow and hayse, the Sea also going very high by reason of a mightie current, the which I found to set very forceably through this Strait, which being nigh vnto *America* side, setteth to the Northwards, and on the other side to the contrarie, as by proofe I found. So coasting alongst this mayne banke of Ice, which seemed as it had beene a firme Continent till about eleuen a clocke, when wee espyed the Ice to stretch to windward; on our weather bow wee letting our starboord takes aboord, stood away East and by South with the winde at South and by East, till wee had doubled a Seaboord the Ice, at which time I directed my course directly ouer for the cleere coast of *Groineland*, East and by North, which course I directed all the *Frost* to goe, wee standing away our course all this night, it being very much snow and sleete.

The Lions departing from vs.

A mightie current.

The twelfth day in the morning about foure a clocke, we espyed the Land of *Groenland*, being a very high ragged Land, the tops of the Mountaines being all couered with snow, yet wee found all this coast vtterly without Ice, wee standing into the Land espyed a certaine Mount aboue all the rest, which Mount is the best marke on all this Coast, the which I named Mount *Cunningham* after the name of my Captaine. We comming into the shoare betweene two Capes or Head-lands, the Land lying betweene them North and by East, and South and by West, the Southmost of which Forelands I named Queene *Annes* Cape, after the name of the Queenes Maiestie of *Denmarke*, and the Northermost of the two I called Queene *Sophias* Cape, after the name of the Queene Mother.

Sight of Land.

Mount *Cunningham*.

Queene *Annes* Cape.

Queene *Sophias* Cape.

So standing into the Land, we came amongst certaine Ilands, where sayling in still amongst the same vnto the Southermost foot of the foresaid Mount, wee came into a goodly Bay, which wee did suppose to be a Riuer, being on both sides of the same very high and steepe Mountaines, wee named the same King *Christianus Foord*, after the name of the Kings Maiestie of *Denmarke*. So sayling vp this Bay, which wee supposed to bee a Riuer, the space of sixe or seuen *English* leagues, finding in all that space no anchoring, being maruellous deepe water, till at the length we had sayled vp the Bay the foresaid distance, at length I brought the Ship and Pinnasse to an anchor in sixteene fathom shelly ground, at which time our Captaine and I went aland, giuing thankes vnto God for his vnspeakable benefits, who had thus dealt with vs as to bring vs to this desired Land into so good an Harbour; which done, the Captaine and I walked vp the Hills, to see if wee could see any of the people, hauing our Boat to row alongst with vs. Hauing gone alongst the Riuer side vpon the tops of the Hills the space of three or foure *English* miles, at length looking towards our Boat, wee saw vpon the Riuer side foure of the people standing by their Houses or rather Tents, couered ouer with Seale-skins. Wee comming downe the Hills towards them (they hauing espyed vs) three of them ranne away vpon the Land, and the other tooke his Boat and rowed away leauing their Tents. Wee being come downe the Hills called to our men in the Boat, and entring into her rowed towards the Sauage who was in his Boat made of Seale-skins. Hee holding vp his hands towards the Sunne, cryed *Yota*; wee doing the like, and shewing to him a knife, hee presently came vnto vs and tooke the same of the Captaine. When hee had presently rowed away from vs, wee rowed a little after him, and seeing it was but in vaine wee rowed aland againe and went into their Tents, which wee found couered (as is aforesaid) with Seale-skins. Wee finding by the houses two Dogs being very rough and fat, like in shape to a Foxe, with very great abundance of Seale fish, lying round about their Tents a drying, with innumerable quantities of a little fish like vnto a Smelt (which fish are commonly called *Sardeenes*) of which fish in all the Riuers are wonderfull skuls, these fishes also lay a drying round about their Tents in the Sunne in great heapes, with other sundrie kindes. Then entring into their Tents, wee found certaine Seale skins and Foxe skins very well drest; also certaine Coates of Seale skins and Fowle skins with the feather side inward: also certaine Vessels boyling vpon a little Lampe, the Vessell being made after the manner of a little Pan, the bottome whereof is made of stone, and the sides of Whales finnes; in which Vessell was some little quantitie of Seale fish boyling in Seale oyle; and searching further, wee did finde in another of their Vessels a Dogs head boyled, so that I perswaded my selfe that they eate Dogs flesh. Moreouer, by their houses there did lye two great Boates, being couered vnder with Seales skins, but aloft open after the forme of our Boates, being about twentie foote in length, hauing in each of them eight or ten tosts or seates for men to sit on, which Boates, as afterwards I did perceiue, is for the transporting of their Tents and baggage from place to place, and for a saile they haue the guts of some beast, which they dresse very fine and thin, which they sow together.

Christians Foord.

Our anchoring.

Our first landing in *Groenland*.

Our first sight of the people.

Boat of Seale skins.

Our entring into their Tents.

Eaters of Dogs.

Also

Of the other sort of Boats. There is one of these Boats in Sir *T. Smiths* Hall.

Also the other sorts of their Boats are such as Captaine *Frobisher*, and Master *Iohn Danis* brought into *England*, which is but for one man, being cleane couered ouer with Seale skins artificially dressed except one place to sit in, being within set out with certaine little ribs of Timber, wherin they vse to row with one Oare more swiftly, then our men can doe with ten, in which Boates they fish being disguised in their Coates of Seale skinnes, whereby they deceiue the Seales, who take them rather for Seales then men; which Seales or other fish they kill in this manner. They shoot at the Seales or other great fish with their Darts, vnto which they vse to tye a bladder, which doth boy vp the fish in such manner that by the said means they catch them. So comming aboord our ships hauing left certaine trifles behind vs in their Tents, and taking nothing away with vs, within halfe an houre after our comming aboord, the Sauage to whom wee had giuen the Knife with three others, which we did suppose to be them which we saw first, came rowing to our ships in their Boats, holding vp their hands to the Sunne, and striking of their brests, crying *Yota*. We doing the like, they came to our shippe or Captaine: giuing them bread and Wine, which, as it did seeme, they made little account of; yet they gaue vs some of their dryed fishes, at which time there came foure more, who with the other bartered their Coats, and some Seale skinnes, with our folke for old Iron Nailes, and other trifles as Pinnes and Needles, with which they seemed to be wonderfully pleased, and hauing so done, holding their hands towards the Sunne they departed.

The manner of killing of their great fish or Seales.

Their comming to our ships.

The thirteenth, there came fourteene of them to our ship, bringing with them Seale skinnes, Whale Finnes, with certayne of their Darts and Weapons, which they bartered with our people, as before. This day I made obseruation of the latitude, and found this Road sted in the latitude of 66. degrees 25. minutes, and the mouth of this Bay or Sound, lyeth in the latitude of 66. degrees 30. minutes. Also here I made obseruation of the tydes, and found an East and West Moone to make a full Sea, vpon the Full and Change, more it floweth, three fathome and an halfe water, right vp and downe.

Obseruation of the latitude.

Obseruation of the tides.

The fourteenth and fifteenth dayes we rode still, the people comming to vs, and bartering with vs for pieces of old Iron, or Nailes, Whale Finnes, Seales Skinnes, Morse Teeth, and a kind of Horne which we doe suppose to be Vnicornes Horne, at which time the Captaine went with our Boat, to the place where we had seene their Tents, but found them remoued; and the other fish and the Seale fish lying still a drying: the Captaine taking a quantitie of the Sea fish into the Boat, caused some of the Mariners to boyle it ashoare, the Sauages helping our men to doe the same, the Captaine vsing them very friendly, they hauing made about a barrell and an halfe of Oyle, leauing it aland all night, thinking to bring the same aboord in the morning. But the Sauages the same night let the same forth. Yet notwithstanding, the Captaine shewed no manner of discontent towards them.

The sixteenth day, I went into the Pinnasse, to discouer certaine Harbours to the Northwards, the wind being at East South-east, I loosed and set saile, but instantly it fell calme, and so continued about an houre. When the wind came opposite at the West North-west a stiffe gale, we spending the tide till the floud being come, I put roome againe, and came to an Anchor a little from the *Frost* in twelue fathomes sandie ground. About one in the afternoone, the *Frost* departed from vs further vp the Bay, which we did suppose to be a Riuer, promising to abide our returne two and twentie dayes.

Our departing in the Pinnasse from the ship.

The seuenteenth day, the wind continuing at the West North-west blowing very hard, wee rode still, the people comming and bartering with vs.

The eighteenth day, the winde and weather as before, wee riding still. This forenoone there came to the number of thirtie of them, and bartered with vs as they had done before, which done, they went ashoare at a certaine point about a flight-shot off vs, and there vpon a sudden began to throw stones with certaine Slings which they had without any iniury offered at all; yea, they did sling so fiercely, that we could scarce stand on the hatches. I seeing their brutish dealing, caused the Gunner to shoot a Falcon at them, which lighted a little ouer them, at which time they went to their Boates, and rowed away. About one a clocke in the afternoone, they came againe to vs crying in their accustomed manner, *Ylont*, they being sixtie three in number, the shipper inquired of me whether they should come to vs or not. I willed him to haue all things in a readinesse, they comming in the meane time nigh to the Pinnasse, I did perceiue certaine of them to haue great bagges full of stones, they whispering one with another began to sling stones vnto vs. I presently shot off a little Pistol which I had for the Gunner, and the rest of the folke to discharge, which indeed they did, but whether they did hurt or kill any of them or not, I cannot certainly tell, but they rowed all away making a howling and hideous noise: going to the same point, whereas in the forenoone they had beene, being no sooner come on Land, but from the Hils they did so assaile vs with stones, with their slings, that it is incredible to report, in such sort that no man could stand vpon the Hatches, till such time as I commanded for to lose sailes and bonnets two mens height, to shield vs from the force of the stones, and also did hide vs from their sight; so that we did ply our Muskets and other Peeces such as wee had at them: but their subtiltie was such, that as soone as they did see fire giuen to the Peeces, they would suddenly ducke

The Sauages begin to sling stones at vs.

They sling stones againe.

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ducke downe behind the Cliffes, and when they were discharged, then sling their stones fiercely at vs againe. Thus hauing continued there till foure a clocke, they departed away.

The nineteeneth day in the morning, about foure a clocke it beeing calme, I departed from this Roadsted, so causing our men to row alongst the shoare, till the tide of the ebbe was bent, at which time it began to blow a fresh gale at North-west and by West, we running downe till about two a clocke, when the tide of floud being come: when I came to an Anchor in an excellent Hauen, on the South side of *Cuninghams Mount*, which for the goodnesse thereof, I named *Denmarks Hauen*. *Denmarks Hauen.*

The twentieth day, in the morning the weather beeing very rainie with a little aire of wind, I loosed and caused to row forth of the foresaid Harbour, and comming forth betweene the Ilands and the maine, the people being as it seemed looking for vs espied vs: making a hideous noise, at which time at an instant were gathered together about seuentie three Boats with men rowing to vs. I seeing them, thought it best to preuent the worst, because we were to come hither againe: therefore to dissemble the matter, I thought it best to enter into barter with them for some of their Darts, Bowes and Arrowes, wee finding euery one of them to bee extraordinarily furnished therwith: so rowing forth to Sea amongst the Ilands, there still came more Boats to the number of one hundred and thirtie persons, they still rowing by vs, made signes to vs to goe to anchor amongst some of the Ilands: but I preuenting their deuices, made certaine Skonces with our sailes, to defend vs from their Stones, Arrowes and Darts. They seeing this, went certaine of them from vs rowing to certaine Ilands, to which they did thinke wee would come: leauing no more but about ten men and Boates about vs, who rowed alongst the space of an houre with vs, making signes of friendship to vs. At length perceiuing, that wee were not minded to goe forth amongst these Ilands, vpon which the rest of their folke were, they threw certaine shels and trifles into the Boat, making signes and tokens to fetch them, the which my Boy called *William Huntries* did. He being in the Boat, they presently shot him through both the buttockes with a Dart, at which time they rowed from vs, they muttering vpon the Ilands to the number of three hundred persons, keeping themselues farre enough from our danger. About sixe a clocke this Euening it began to blow a faire gale Easterly, we getting off to Sea, stood all this night North and by East alongst the Land.

The people come againe.

The subtilitie of the Sauages.

My Boy shot with a Dart.

A Topographicall Description of the Land as I did discouer the same.

NOw hauing proceeded for the discouerie of the Coast and Harbours so farre, and so long time as the time limited to me, therefore I thinke it conuenient, to make a briefe description of the same, according as by my short experience I found the same to be.

The Land of *Groenland* is a very high, ragged and mountainous Countrey, being all alongst the Coast broken Ilands, making very goodly Sounds and Harbours, hauing also in the Land very many good Riuers and Bayes, into some of which I entred sayling vp the same the space of ten or twelue *English* leagues, finding the same very nauigable, with great abundance of fish of sundrie sorts. The Land also in all places whersoeuer I came, seemed to be very fertile, according to the Climate wherein it lyeth; for betweene the Mountaynes was most pleasant Plaines and Valleyes, in such sort as if I had not seene the same, I could not haue beleeued, that such a fertile Land in shew could bee in these Northerne Regions. There is also in the same great store of Fowle, as Rauens, Crowes, Partridges, Pheasants, Sea-mewes, Gulles, with other sundry sorts. Of Beasts I haue not seene any, except blacke Foxes, of which there are very many. Also as I doe suppose there are many Deere, because that comming to certaine places where the people had had their Tents, we found very many Harts Hornes, with the bones of other beasts round about the same. Also going vp into the Land wee saw the footing and dunging of diuers beasts, which we did suppose to be deere, and other beasts also, the footing of one which wee found to be eight inches ouer, yet, notwithstanding we did see none of them: for going some two or three miles from the Pinnasse we returned againe to goe aboord. Moreouer, in the Riuers we found sundry sorts of Fishes, as Seales, Whales, Salmons, with other sorts of fishes in great abundance. As concerning the Coast, all alongst it is a very good and faire Land, hauing very faire shoalding of the same: for being three *English* leagues off the same, I found very faire shoalding in fifteene fathomes, and comming neerer the same fourteene, twelue, and tenne fathomes very faire sandie ground. As concerning the people, they are (as I doe suppose) a kinde of *Samoites*, or wandring Nation trauelling in the Summer time in Companies together, first to one place, and hauing stayed in that place a certayne time in hunting and fishing for Deere and Seales with other fish, streight they remoue themselues with their Tents and baggage to another. They are men of a reasonable stature, being browne of colour, very like to the people of the East and West *Indies*. They be very actiue and warlike, as we did perceiue in their Skirmishes with vs, in vsing their Slings and Darts very nimbly. They eat their meate raw, or a little per-

The description of the land of *Groenland*.

Of the fertilitie of the Countrey.

Store of fowle. Blacke Foxes.

Fishes.

Of the Coast.

Of the people.

The colour of the people. The people very actiue.

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They eat their meat most part raw.

perboyled either with bloud, Oyle, or a little water, which they doe drinke. They apparell themselues in the skinnes of such beasts as they kill, but especially with Seales skins and fowle skins, dressing the skins very soft and smooth, with the haire and feathers on, wearing in Winter the haire and feather sides inwards, and in Summer outwards.

Of their apparell.

Their Weapons are Slings, Darts, Arrowes, having their Bowes fast tyed together with sinewes; their Arrowes haue but two feathers, the head of the same being for the most part of bone, made in manner and forme of a Harping Iron.

Of their weapons.

As concerning their Darts, they are of sundry sorts and fashions. What knowledge they haue of God I cannot certainly say, but I suppose them to bee Idolaters, worshipping the Sunne. The Countrey (as is aforesaid) seemeth to be very fertile, yet could I perceiue or see no wood to grow thereon. Wee met all alongst this Coast much Drift-wood, but whence it commeth I know not. For coasting all this Coast alongst from the latitude of 66. degrees and an halfe, vntill the latitude of 69. degrees, I found many goodly Sounds, Bayes, and Riuers: giuing names vnto diuers of them, and purposing to proceed further, the folke in the Pinnasse with me did earnestly intreate me to returne to the ship againe, alleaging this, that if we came not in conuenient time, the people in the ship would mutinie: and so returne home before we came: the which indeed had fallen forth, if the Captaine as an honest Gentleman had not by seuere meanes withstood their attempts, who would needes contrarie to their promises haue beene gone home within eight dayes after my departure from them. But the Captaine respecting his promise to mee, would by no meanes consent, but withstood them both by faire meanes and other wayes. So that vpon the seuenth day of Iuly, I returned again into the *Kings* Foord, which they in the ship had found to be a Bay, and comming to the place where wee had left the ship hoping to haue found them there, I saw vpon a certaine point a Warlocke of stones, whereby I did perceiue that they were gone downe the Ford. So the tide of ebbe being come, it being calme we rowed downe the Foord, finding in the mouth of the same amongst the Ilands, many good Sounds and Harbours.

We could see no Wood.

Drift-wood.

Iuly 1605.

The tenth day of Iuly the wind being at North North-west, I beeing in a certaine Sound amongst the Ilands, it being high water I weighed, stood West forth of the Foord going to Sea on the South side betweene a little Iland and the Maine, which Iland at our first comming, we called *Frost Iland*, after the name of the ship: we espied on the South sides certaine Warlockes set vp, whereupon I suspected that the *Frost* might be there, commanded the Gunner to shoot off a Peece of Ordnance, they presently answered vs againe with two other. We seeing the smoake (but heard no report) bore in to them, comming to an Anchor in a very good Sound by them, and found them all in health: the Captaine being very glad of our comming, forasmuch as hee had very much trouble with the company for the cause aforesaid. Also in the time of our absence the people did very much villanie to them in the ship, so that the Captaine tooke three of them; other of them also he slew, but the three which he tooke he vsed with all kindnesse, giuing them Mandillions and Breeches of very good cloth, also Hose, Shoes, and Shirts off his own backe. This afternoone, I with my Boy came againe aboord the ship, taking in this Euening all our prouision of water.

Frost Iland.

Our meeting againe with the ship.

Three of the people taken.

The eleuenth day, the wind being at North North-east, we set saile forth of the Sound which we named *Frost Sound*, but before our comming forth of the same our Captaine commanded a young man whose name was *Simon*, by the expresse commandement of the State-holder of *Denmarke* to bee set aland, wee also in the Pinnasse set another aland, they both being Malefactors, the which was done before our comming away, we giuing to them things necessarie, as victuall and other things also. Thus hauing committed both the one and the other to God, wee set saile homewards, we standing forth to Sea South-west, and South-west and by West till noone, when making obseruation, Queene *Annes* Cape bearing South and by East halfe Easterly some ten leagues, I found my selfe in the latitude of 66. degrees 10. minutes, when I directed my course South South-west till sixe a clocke when wee were amongst much Drift Ice, being to leeward two points vpon our lee-bow, so that I was forst to lie off West North-west till we were cleere of the same, at which time I directed my course South-west and by South, wee saying so all the night following.

Two men set aland.

The twelfth day, the wind at North North-east, wee went away South-west and by South till ten a clocke, when we were amongst more Drift Ice, wee being againe to lie West North-west, to get cleere of the same, which we did about noone, we hauing this day and the Euening before a mightie hollow Sea, which I thought to be a current, the which setteth thorow *Fretum Dauis* to the Southwards, as by experience I proued: for making obseruation this day at noone, we found our selues in the latitude of 62. degrees 40. minutes, whereas the day before we were but in the latitude of 66. degrees 10. minutes, hauing made by account a South and by West way about ten leagues. This afternoone I directed my course South South-west.

A great current setting to the Southwards.

The thirteenth day, the wind as before, we steered still South and by West, being at noone in the latitude of 60. degrees 17. minutes, going at the same time away South and by East. This foresaid current I did find to set alongst the Coast of *Gronland* South and by East. The fourteenth day, close weather, being an easie gale we steering South-east and by East. The fifteenth day,

still

ſtil cloſe weather til noone, we ſteering as before, being in the latitude of 59. degrees. This day at noone I went away East South-east; this afternoone it was haſie and ſtill weather, when we had ſight of ſome Drift Ice. The 16. day, cloſe weather with the wind at North-weſt and by West, our courſe East South-east til about ten aclock, when we met with a mightie bank of Ice to windward of vs, being by ſuppoſition ſeuen or eight leagues long, wee ſteering South South-east to get cleere of the ſame. We met all alongſt this Ice a mightie ſcull of Whales. Moreouer, wee light with a great current, which as nigh as we could ſuppoſe, ſet West North-weſt ouer for *America*. This day at noone, the weather being very thicke, I could haue no obſeruation, this Eueningby reaſon of the Ice, wee were forced to lye South and by West, and South South-weſt, to get cleere of the ſame, amongſt which we came by diuers huge Ilands of Ice.

Drift Ice.
A mighty bank of Ice.
A great ſcul of Whales.

The ſeuenteenth day, being cleere of the Ice, about foure in the morning, I directed my courſe South-east by South till noone, at which time I went away East and by South, the weather being very hayſie and thicke: about midnight it fell calme, the wind comming vp Eaſterly.

A great current.

The eighteenth day, the wind ſtill Eaſterly, we lying East South-east, away vnder a couple of courſes larboord tackt. This day in the forenoone, we ſaw certayne Ilands of Ice. The nineteenth day, the wind ſtill Eaſterly with the weather very haſie.

The firſt day of Auguſt alſo it was very thicke weather, with a faire gale at South-weſt and by West. This forenoone wee met with a ſcull of Herrings, ſo that I knew wee were not farre from the Iles of *Orkney*, ſo hauing a ſhrinke at noone, I found vs in the latitude of 58. degrees 40. minutes, at which time I ſounded with the deepeſt Lead, finding 42. fathomes redde ſandie ground, with ſome blacke dents. This Eueningbetweene fiue and ſixe a clocke wee ſounded againe, when we had no more but twentie fathomes dent ground, whereby I knew that we were faire by the ſhoare, when ſome of our men looking forth preſently, eſpied one of the Ilands of *Orkeney*, it being very thicke, wee caſt about, and ſtood with a ſmall ſayle to Seaboord againe, we lying West North-weſt off all this night.

We fell with *Orkeney*.

The tenth day, about fiue in the morning, we came thwart of the Caſtle of *Elſonuere*, where we diſcharged certaine of our Ordnance, and comming to an Anchor in the Road, the Captaine with my ſelfe went aſhoare, and hearing of his Majeſties being at *Copeman-Hauen*, wee preſently went aboord againe, and ſet ſayle comming thither about two a clocke. The Pinnaſſe alſo which he had loſt at Sea, in which my Countreyman *Iohn Knight* was Commander, came alſo the ſame night about foure a clocke, both they and we being all in good health, praiſed bee Almightie God. *Amen.*

CHAP. XV.

The ſecond Voyage of Maſter IAMES HALL, *forth of* Denmarke *into* Groenland, *in the yeere* 1606. *contracted.*

WE departed from *Copeman-Hauen*, the ſeuen and twentieth of May, in the yeere of our Redemption 1606. with foure ſhips and a Pinnaſſe. The *Froſt* beeing Admirall, wherein went for principall Captaine of the Fleet Captaine *Godske Lindeno* a *Danish* Gentleman with my ſelfe, being vnder God Pilot *Maior* of the Fleet. In the *Lyon* which was Vice-Admirall, went for Captaine and Commander, Captaine *Iohn Cunningham* a *Scottiſh* Gentleman, who was with me the yeere before. In the *Yewren* went *Hans Browne*, a Gentleman of *Norway*. In the ſmal ſhip called *The Gilleflowre*, went one *Caſtine Rickerſon* a *Dane*. In the Pinnaſſe called the *Cat*, went one ſhipper *Andres Noll*, of *Bergen* in *Norway*. So by the prouidence of God, wee weighed and ſet ſaile about ſixe a clocke in the Euening, with a faire gale at South-South-weſt, comming to an Anchor in *Elſonuere* Road to take in our water.

Godske Lindeno.
Captaine *Cunningham.*
Hans Browne a Gentleman of *Norway.*
Rickerſon a *Dane.*
Andres Noll of *Bergen.*

The nine and twentieth in the morning, we ſhot off a Peece of Ordnance, for all the Captaines and Commanders to come aboord of vs, who being come, our Captaine commanded the Kings Orders to bee read, which done, they returned aboord, at which time wee weighed with a faire gale at East North-east, ſtanding away North and by West till I had brought the *Cole* North-east and by East off, when I ſteered away North North-weſt, and North-weſt and by North. This Euening about fiue a clocke, I ſet the *Annold*, it bearing West halfe Northerly, three leagues and an halfe. All this Euening wee ſtood away North-weſt and by North.

The thirtieth day, the wind at East South-east, wee ſteering as before, this morning about ſixe a clocke, the *Leſold* bore West and by North of vs ſixe leagues off. At fiue this Euening, the *Scaw* bearing West South-weſt fiue leagues, I directed my courſe West North-weſt, with the wind at North-east and by East.

The one and thirtieth in the morning, very haſie weather with a ſtiffe gale at East North-east,

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East, we steering West North-west away, till about nine a clocke, when we had a shrinke of the Land which was the wester gate of *Mardo*, we steering alongst the Land. Wee came to an anchor in *Flecorie*, where we were to make and take in wood and water.

Our comming to *Flecorie*.

The second of Iune we weighed, and came forth of the Harbour of *Flecorie* about sixe in the morning, hauing a fresh gale at East North-east. About eleuen at noone, I set the Nase of *Norway*, it bearing North North-west foure leagues off. The fourth day in the morning about two a clock, we were faire by the high Land of the *Teddoe*, I causing to cast about stood to the Southwards, West and by South and sometimes West. This day at noone, I found my selfe in the latitude of 57. degrees 45. minutes, the Nase of *Norway* bearing East North-east two and twentie leagues off. This day at noone also I cast about and stood to the Northwards, lying North with the stemme, hauing the winde at North North-west. This afternoone dyed one of our *Greenlanders* called *Oxo*. All this euening, and the night following, the winde as before, we lying also North with little winde.

Our departure.

One of our *Groenlanders* dyed.

The seuenth day, the winde at South-west and by South and South South-west, we steering West and West and by North. This day at noone we were in the latitude of 58. degrees 40. minutes. The tenth day about foure in the morning, it began to blow a fresh gale at East and by South, at which time we stood alongst the Land to the Southward, till I had brought the South Head of *Shotland*, called *Swinborne* Head, North-west and by North about three leagues off; and *Faire Ile* next hand South-west and by South eight leagues off, at which time I directed my course away West with a fresh gale at East South-east about halfe an houre to three. I set the South head of *Shotland* it bearing North-east eight leagues off, *Faire Ile* next hand South-east seuen leagues off, foule next hand North foure leagues, wee still steering away West with a fresh gale at East South-east. All this afternoone and the night following it was very thicke and raynie weather, the winde continuing as before. This night at midnight dyed the *Groenlander* which we had aboord vs, named *Omeg*.

The fift and sixt most what calme.

Shotland.

Our *Groenlander* dyed.

The fourteenth day, the winde as the night before a faire gale, we steering as we did before, with hayse weather hauing a shrinke, at noone I found vs in the latitude of 58. degrees 40. minutes, hauing made a West and by South way Southerly two and thirtie leagues, differing to the Westward from the Meridian of the Nase 19. degrees 45. minutes. This afternoone we had a faire gale at South-east with thicke weather, we steering away West.

The fifteenth day, the winde as before, we steering away West, being by my imagination in the latitude of 58. degrees 40. minutes. The three and twentieth day, the winde at the North-east a faire gale, we steering betweene the West North-west, and the West and by North, being at noone in the latitude of 56. degrees 10. minutes, hauing by reason of a Northerly current contrarie to my expectation, made a West way Southerly two and twentie leagues. The Compasse also as I doe suppose, being varied more then a Point to the westwards.

Sight of Land with Ice.

The first of Iuly wee saw Land being eight leagues off, with a great banke of Ice lying off South-west, wee setting our tacks aboord laid off East and by South and East South-east, to double the same, about two a clocke hauing doubled the same, wee went away West and by South all this euening and night following. This Land I did suppose to be *Busse* Iland; it lying more to the Westwards then it is placed in the Marine Charts.

A current.

The Pinnasse came foule of the *Lion*.

The second day thicke weather with the winde at North North-west, we steering West and by North. This afternoone we were in a great Current setting South South-west. The which I did suppose to set betweene *Busse* Iland and *Freseland* ouer with *America*; wee steering West North-west with a faire gale at North. This night about nine a clocke, the Pinnasse came foule of the Vice-admirall, where with her anchor shee tore out about a foot of a planke a little aboue water, and broke downe the beakes head.

South current.

Variation obserued.

The sixth making obseruation, I found vs in the latitude of 58. degrees 50. minutes, contrarie to my expectation, whereby I did see the Southerly Current to bee the principall cause. The seuenth day, the winde at North and by East, we lying West North-west, being at noone in the latitude of 59. degrees 40. minutes, our way North-west two and twentie leagues. This euening I found the North Point of the Compasse to be varied 12. degrees 5. minutes, to the Westward of the true North.

The eight day, the winde came vp more Southerly betweene the South-west, and the South-west and by West with an easie gale, we steering away North-west and by West; being at noone in the latitude of 59. degrees 30. minutes, hauing by reason of the Current and Variation made a West way Southerly about ten leagues.

A current setting South-west.

Sight of *America* in 58. degrees and 30. minutes.

The ninth day close weather, it being calme all the forenoone, wee perceiuing by our ships which lay becalmed, a violent Current setting South-west. This day at noone, we were in the latitude of 59. degrees 40. minutes. The tenth about foure in the morning, the winde came vp to the North North-west. I casting about stood to the Westwards, lying West with the stemme, being in the latitude of 60. degrees 16. minutes. We saw the coast of *America* about nine leagues off, at which time I made obseruation of the variation, and found the Needle varie 24. degrees to the Westwards of the true North.

The

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The Hill tops were couered with ſnow, and the ſhoare to the Northwards full with Ice, but to the Southwards it ſeemed cleere. Here I found a great Current to ſet Weſt into the ſhoare, which about midnight did bring vs to bee incumbred with very many Ilands of Ice, hauing much to doe to get cleere off the ſame without danger: but by Gods helpe it being faire weather with a freſh gale at South-weſt, wee got cleere off the ſame, ſtanding Eaſt South-eaſt and South-eaſt and by Eaſt. A Current.

The fourteenth in the morning being cleere of the Ice, I went away Eaſt North-eaſt and North-eaſt and by Eaſt till eight a clocke, when I directed my courſe North-eaſt and by North, being at noone in the latitude of 59. degrees, the Cape or Head land which wee ſaw that night bearing Weſt South-weſt ſixteene leagues off. All this afternoone and night following it was for the moſt part ſtill weather: this euening I found the variation 23. degrees 55. minutes. Variation obſerued.

The ſixteenth faire weather with a freſh gale at Eaſt South-eaſt, our courſe as before, being in the latitude of 60. degrees 20. minutes, the ſhips way North and by Eaſt northerly twentie leagues. This afternoone and the night following the wind as before, we ſteering ſtill North-eaſt and by North.

The eighteenth alſo thicke weather, being forced to ſtand away North North-weſt to double a great banke with great Mountaines of Ice almoſt incredible to be reported, yet by the helpe of God wee paſſed the ſame, ſayling all this day by great and huge mountainous Ilands of Ice, with the winde at South-weſt and by South, being at noone in the latitude of 63. degrees 45. minutes. Wee did ſee our ſelues beſet round about with mightie bankes of Ice, being forced to make more ſaile, and to lye to and againe all this night to keepe vs cleere of great and ſmall Ilands of Ice, where many times we were in ſuch danger, that we did looke for no other thing then preſent death, if God had not beene mercifull vnto vs and ſent vs cleere weather, where by his aſſiſtance we kept our ſelues very hardly and with great difficultie cleere of the Ice. Compaſſed about with Ice.

The nineteenth day in the morning cleere weather with a freſh gale at South-weſt, wee plying amongſt the Ice to ſee if wee could get a gut to get cleere of the ſame, at which time wee ſaw the Land of *America* about the latitude of 64. degrees, it lying next hand South and North, being high ragged Land couered with ſnow, the ſhoare being all beſet with Ice. So lying off and on amongſt the Ice in great perill till about noone, when God of his goodneſſe ſent vs to eſpie a little gut where wee went through; and ſtood South South-eaſt away, comming ſtill by many Ilands of Ice. Land of *America.*

Heere I did finde both by my courſe and reckoning (the variation alſo of the Compaſſe reſpected) that wee were carried with a mightie Current to the Weſtwards, as both now and afterwards wee did probably proone and ſee the ſame. For I ſetting my courſe from the coaſt of *America* in the latitude of 58. degrees and a halfe for the coaſt of *Groenland* North North-eaſt with a compaſſe, whoſe wyers were placed more then two third parts of a Point to the Eaſtwards of the North, the variation being 23. degrees 30. minutes Northweſting and 24. degrees, as by obſeruation I found betweene the latitude of 58. and a halfe and 54. degrees, yet I did finde my ſelfe contrarie either to mine owne, or to any of their expectations which was in the Fleet with mee, carried almoſt foure Points with the Current to the weſtwards ouer our iudgements. A mightie current ſetting to the weſtward. Note.

The twentieth, wee ſtill ſayled to the Eaſtwards by many great Bankes and Ilands of Ice, being ſtill compaſſed in, wee being forced to ſtand to the Southwards to get cleere, where being ſometimes becalmed, wee did plainly ſee and perceiue our ſelues carried into the Ice to the weſtward very violently. This Current ſetteth Weſt North-weſt. The twentieth in the euening I found the Compaſſe varied 23. degrees. Here I did giue direction to the other ſteerman to direct their courſe for *Groenland.*

The one and twentieth day in the morning faire weather, wee eſpyed a gut through the Ice, it ſeeming cleere to the ſouthwards of the ſame, where bearing into the ſame about noone, wee were cleere of all the Ice by the mercifull prouidence of God. Here I obſerued the latitude, it being 63. degrees 33. minutes. Now hauing the one and twentieth day at afternoone cauſed the Admirall to call the other Captaines and Steermen aboord, with whom wee might conferre, and hauing ſhewed briefly my reckoning with the other euents, which contrarie to my expectation had happened, the cauſe whereof at that inſtant they did plainly ſee and perceiue: They confeſſing, the Current as they did now plainly ſee, to bee the cauſe of the ſame. So hauing done, I gaue to the other Steermen directions, that being cleere of the Ice they ſhould goe betweene the Eaſt and the Eaſt and by North ouer for the coaſt of *Groenland* and not to the Northwards of the Eaſt and by North, becauſe of the former euents. And now at this inſtant, by Gods helpe, being cleere I called to them, giuing the ſame directions. This afternoone and the night following it was calme. This euening I found the Compaſſe varied 23. degrees 25. minutes. Variation obſerued. The Current.

The two and twentieth day at noone I found vs in the latitude of 63. degrees 10. minutes. The three and twentieth faire weather, the ayre very cold, as with vs in the moneth of Ianuarie, the winde variable betweene the Eaſt North-eaſt, and the South-eaſt and by Eaſt, being at noone in the latitude of 63. degrees, hauing made a South-eaſt and by South way

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eleuen leagues. This day at noone I caſt about to the Weſtwards, the other ſhips doing the like, lying North-eaſt and by North with the ſtemme, finding this euening the Needle varied to the Weſtwards 23. degrees 30. minutes.

Variation obſerued.

The foure and twentieth, the winde variable betweene the South South-eaſt and the South-eaſt and by South with raine and fogge. This day about eleuen a clocke wee did ſee much Ice to leeward, wherefore I caſt about to the Southwards, the winde comming to the Eaſt North-eaſt, wee lying South-eaſt with the ſtemme, ſuppoſing the ſhip to haue made a North and by Weſt way halfe Northerly two and twentie leagues. This afternoone, by reaſon of the fogge, we loſt ſight of the *Lion* and the *Gilliflowre*, wee looking earneſtly forth for them, and ſhooting both we and the *Vrin* diuers pieces of Ordnance, but wee could neither ſee nor heare them, at which time the winde came vp Southerly, we ſtanding away our courſe betweene the Eaſt and Eaſt and by North.

Wee loſt the *Lion* and *Gilliflowre*.

The fiue and twentieth, wee had ſight of *Groenland*, being about ten leagues to the Southward of Queene *Annes* Cape. Wee ſtanding away Eaſt South-eaſt in with the Land with the winde at South. All this night it did blow very much, wee ſteering North by Weſt and North North-weſt.

The ſeuen and twentieth day in the morning was reaſonable cleere weather with a freſh gale at South South-weſt. This morning betweene foure and fiue of the clocke, I eſpyed Queene *Annes* Cape to beare Eaſt by South next hand of mee, and King *Chriſtians Foord* South South-eaſt of me, being thwart of *Rumels Foord*, Queene *Sophias* Cape bearing North halfe weſterly, about fiue leagues off. Therefore I thought it conuenient to put into *Cunninghams* Foord where the ſiluer was, both in regard that I had ſworne to his Maieſtie as concerning the ſame; and alſo becauſe wee were expreſſely commanded to bring home of the ſame. So hauing a faire gale at Weſt South-weſt, wee came into the aforeſaid Riuer, anchoring in a very good Sound, hard by the *Vre* in ſixteene fathoms, at the mouth of *Cunninghams* Foord, about fiue of the clocke. There came preſently foure of the Countrie people vnto vs after their old accuſtomed manner. This euening about ſixe of the clocke the *Vrin* anchored by vs. This night the Admirall, my ſelfe, and Captaine *Browne* went on Land to ſee the Myne of ſiluer: where it was decreed, that we ſhould take in as much thereof as we could.

The ſiluer Myne.

The place of the ſiluer Myne.

On Sunday the third of Auguſt, the Sauages ſeeing our curteſie toward them, battered Seales skinnes and Whales finnes with vs: which being done, wee went to our Boat, and rowing away, three of them taking their Boats, rowed with vs vp the Foord, calling to other of the people, telling them and making ſignes to vs, of our dealing towards them. Then they alſo came to vs and bartered with vs for old Iron and Kniues, for Seales skinnes and coates made of Seales skinnes, and Whales finnes, and rowed ſtill all with vs. In the end, hauing rowed fiue or ſixe leagues vp the Foord, and ſeeing it to bee but a Bay, wee returned alongſt many greene and pleaſant Ilands, where wee found good anchoring: the people ſtill followed vs to the number of fiue and twentie perſons till about ſixe of the clocke; when it fell thicke with ſome raine, and the winde being Southerly, wee rowed in among the Sounds, at which time they went from vs: wee rowing our Boat to one of the Ilands went to ſupper. And hauing ſupped, wee rowed ſome three leagues vp an other Foord, where we found very ſhallow water, in which place we ſtayed with our Boat all that night.

Barter for Seales skinnes and Whales finnes.

Many greene Ilands.

Another foord.

The fourth day in the morning about three of the clocke, wee returned to our ſhip againe with a gale of winde Southerly, being ſomewhat thicke and raynie weather, ſayling by the Land among the Ilands, till we came three leagues to the Northwards of Queene *Sophias* Cape, when going without the Ilands, wee met with a very high Sea, ſo that wee had much to doe, but by the prouidence of Almightie God, the Boat was preſerued from being ſwallowed vp of the Sea. In the end, wee got againe among the Ilands, and ſo about noone wee came to our ſhips. The fift day, ſome of our men went on Land among the Mountaines, where they did ſee reine Deere.

Queene *Sophias* Cape.

Reine Deere.

The ſixt day, I caſting about, ſtood into the ſhoare South-eaſt, till wee had brought *Rumels* Foord Eaſt and by North off vs, bearing roome for the ſame Foord. There goeth a very hollow Sea betweene the Ilands of the *Kings Foord* and *Rumels Foord*. The winde being ſomewhat ſtill, wee towed on head with our Boats till wee came thwart of a Bay, in which I was in the *Vrins* Boat, which I named *Fos Bay*, after the name of *Philip de Fos*, Pilot of the *Vrin*. But the Admirals wilfulneſſe was ſuch, that I could by no meanes counſaile him therein though night were at hand, but hee would goe vp the Foord, till wee came on the ſtarboord ſide of the Foord to ſixe and twentie fathomes ſandie ground. The *Vrin* let fall anchor by vs, but the winde comming off the Land (our Captaine and Companie being ſo obſtinate and willfull, that I could by no meanes get them to worke after my will) the ſhip draue into the mid-foord, where wee could haue no ground at an hundred fathoms, till the Tyde of flood came, when the flood ſet the ſhip to the ſhoare: but I laying out a Cage-anchor got the ſhip off; and ſetting our foreſaile, ſtood for another roade vp the Riuer.

Rumels Foord. A hollow Sea.

Fos Bay.

No ground at 100. fathoms in the middeſt of *Fos Bay*.

The eight day about foure in the morning, wee came to an anchor in twentie fathomes ſandie ground,

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ground, hauing very faire shoalding within vs. About noone the *Vrin* came and anchored by vs. It floweth in this Riuer South-east and North-west, and it standeth in the latitude of 66. degrees and 25. minutes.

Fos Riuer in 66. degrees 25. minutes.

The ninth in the morning, our Captaine with the Captaine of the *Vrin*, went with their Boates vp the Riuer, where they did come to see their winter houses, which were builded with Whales bones, the balkes being of Whales ribbes, and the tops were couered with earth, and they had certaine Vaults or Sellers vnder the earth foure square, about two yards deepe in the ground. These houses were in number about some fortie. They found also certaine Graues made vp of stones ouer the dead bodies of their people, the carkasses being wrapped in Seales skins, and the stones laid in manner of a Coffin ouer them.

A Town found ten leagues vp the Riuer.

This day, in this place we set a man on Land, which had serued our Captaine the yeere before, which for a certaine fault committed by him our Captaine left behinde in the Countrie. About noone our men came aboord againe; and after Dinner some of the people came vnto vs, of whom wee caught fiue with their Boates and stowed them in our ships, to bring them into *Denmarke*, to enforme our selues better by their meanes of the state of their Countrie of *Groineland*, which in their owne language they call *Secanunga*, and say, that vp within the Land they haue a great King, which is carried vpon mens shoulders.

A man left on Land.

Fiue of the people taken againe.

Groenland called by the Inhabitants *Secanunga*.

The tenth of August in the morning, the winde being at East South-east, we weighed and came forth of *Rombes Foord*, but being come forth to Sea amongst the Ilands, the winde came vp to the South-west and by South, the Sea going maruellous high, we lying West and West and by North to Sea, doubling certaine Ilands and Rocks. Where the Sea going so wonderfull high had set vs vpon the Rocks, where we had all dyed, if God of his mercy at that instant, when wee saw nothing before our eyes but present death, had not sent vs a great gale of winde at South South-west, whereby wee lay West North-west away with a flawne sheat, wee doubling of the Ilands and Rocks, were forced to goe betweene certaine little Ilands, which lye off Queene *Sophias* Cape foure leagues into the Sea. The which Ilands I named the yeere before, *Knights* Ilands, after the name of *Iohn Knight*. So hauing passed these Ilands not without great danger, wee found betweene them many blinde Rocks, and being cleere in the Sea. The thirteenth at noone, we were in the latitude of 66. degrees 50. minutes, being off Cape *Sophia* West and by North halfe westerly about sixteene leagues.

Knights Ilands.

The eighteenth about foure in the morning, we got cleere off the Ice, steering South and by West away, it being very thicke weather till noone, when it cleered vp: at which time wee saw the shoare rising like Ilands, being very high and stretching South and by East, and North and by West about foure and twentie leagues, the shoare being beset all full with Ice, so that in that place it is impossible for any ship to come into the shoare. Also of the Southermost of these two Capes, lay such a great banke of Ice stretching into the Sea, that wee were forced to lye West and by North to double the same.

All this afternoone, wee were almost compast with Ice, we bearing to the same, the winde comming vp to the East South-east, we standing South to the Ice were forced to loose for one Iland, and to beare roome for another till about foure a clocke, when by Gods helpe wee got cleere off the same, the winde comming vp to the South-east and by South, wee lay South-west and by South off all this night.

The two and twentieth thicke weather, the winde as before. This morning about seuen a clocke we saw a saile West and by South of vs, we standing to him, for it was our Vice-admirall the *Lion*, who had beene greatly troubled with the Ice, wee being glad to meete one another againe.

We met againe with the *Lion*.

The eight and twentieth about foure in the morning, the storme ceased, the winde comming vp to the West South-west. About three a clocke wee set our sailes standing South-east away. But being vnder saile, we spyed great bankes and Ilands of Ice to leeward of vs, lying off East and by South, which Ice I did iudge to lye off Cape *Desolation* about eight leagues off: the which by reason of the fogge we could not see.

The nine and twentieth about sixe in the morning, the winde came vp to the North-east and by North, we making saile went South South-east away till noone with a stiffe gale, wee seeing in the morning pieces of drift Ice to windward of vs; hauing at noone a shrinke of the same I found vs in the latitude of 59. degrees 46. minutes, hauing from noone to noone made a South-east and by South way eight leagues.

The one and thirtieth, the winde continuing, wee holding still our course with the winde still at North North-west, with faire and cleere weather it blowing very much, so that wee stood away vnder a couple of courses low set, the Sea very much growne, being in the latitude of 59. degrees 10. minutes, hauing made an East South-east way somewhat Easterly foure and thirtie leagues. This afternoone after my obseruation, wee saw some Ilands of Ice with some drift Ice, I something maruelling of the same, knowing both by my account and my noones obseruation, that we were shot too farre from any part of *Groinland*, that was described in the Ma-

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rine Chart. For the ſouthermoſt part deſcribed therein is not in the latitude of 60. degrees, and we being now in the latitude of 59. degrees ten minutes, Cape *Deſolation* bearing Weſt North-weſt halfe Northerly about ſixtie foure leagues, and Cape *Chriſtian* which was the next known part of *Groenland* North-weſt and by Weſt weſterly eight and thirtie leagues, ſo holding our
Sight of Land. courſe East South-east away, about foure a clocke we had ſight of Land, being very high Land, it lying alongſt East South-east about ſixteene leagues, the weſtermoſt part ſeemed either to fall away East North-east, and the ſouthermoſt point bearing East northerly, fell away East and by North. This Land is very high, hauing the Hills couered with ſnow, the ſhoare being very thicke with Ice: this place becauſe I knew not whether it was of the Mayne or an Iland, I named *Froſt Iland*, after the name of the ſhip.

Froſt Iland.

The firſt of September, at noone, I made obſeruation, and found vs in the latitude of 58. degrees, hauing made a South-east and by South way ſoutherly ſixe and twentie leagues. This day at noone I directed my courſe East and by South, This afternoone about ſixe a clock it fell calme,
Variation obſerued. and ſo continued all the night following. This euening I found the variation 10. degrees 50. minutes Northweſting.

The fourth day the winde at East and by South, we lying South and by East, hauing a ſhrinke of the ſunne about noone, I did ſuppoſe vs in the latitude of 57. degrees 20. minutes, hauing made a South-east and by South way ſoutherly about ten leagues; all this day and the night following we lay as before.

The eight day faire weather, the winde as before, it being almoſt calme, wee going away as before, being at noone in the latitude of 58. degrees 36. minutes, hauing made an East North-
A great Southerne Sea. east way northerly twentie leagues, by reaſon of the great ſoutherly Sea. All this afternoone
Variation obſerued. and the night following it was for the moſt part calme. This euening I found the Compaſſe varied about two degrees 45. minutes northweſting.

The ninth day alſo faire weather, the winde ſoutherly a freſh gale, our courſe ſtill East, being at noone in the latitude of 58. degrees 40. minutes, our way East and by North eaſterly twelue leagues. This afternoone the winde came vp to the South or South and by East with raine. This night about midnight thicke weather with raine, the winde comming to the South-east, we lying East North-east and North-east and by East with the ſtemme.

The tenth day about two in the morning, the winde came vp to the South South-weſt, wee ſteering our courſe East, being at noone in the latitude of 59. degrees 10. minutes, hauing made an East and by North way eaſterly foure and fortie leagues, wee hauing a freſh gale weſterly.
A *Bas* Gooſe. This day wee ſaw one of the Fowle the which are on the Iland of *Bas* in *Scotland*, called *Bas Geeſe*.
Variation obſerued to the North-east. This euening I found the variation 1. degree 4. minutes northeaſting.

The eighteenth, this forenoone about nine a clocke, wee eſpyed land, riſing ſomewhat ragged, the Eaſtermoſt point of the ſame bearing South-east and by South, and the Weſtermoſt part South and by Weſt about eight leagues. Theſe Ilands by my account and obſeruation, I
Sight of *Ferris*. found to be the Ilands of *Ferris*, being at noone in the obſeruation of 62. degrees 5. minutes.

The nineteenth I ſet a little Rocke, called the *Monke*; which lyeth off to the South-east end, it being about fiue a clocke, East South-east of vs three leagues off. This night about ten a clocke it fell calme.

The ſtreame vnder the Ilands of *Farre*. The twentieth, wee did ſee the ſtreame had ſet vs to the Northwards. This ſtreame ſetteth vnder the Ilands of *Farre* next hand East and Weſt. So caſting about wee ſtood to the weſtwards, lying Weſt South-weſt and ſometimes Weſt and by South, and ſometimes South-weſt, it being very raynie weather, about midnight it fell calme and ſo continued all night vnto the morning.

The firſt of October in the afternoone about foure of the clocke, we had ſight of *The Holmes*. The ſecond day, wee ſteered away South-east and by South and South South-east for *The Col*.
Turco. And about eight of the clocke this night wee came into *Turco*, where wee rode all the day following. The third day at night the winde came to the North-east; ſo wee weighed and came into *Elſenor* Road. The fourth day, by the prouidence of God, we arriued in our deſired Port of *Copen Hauen*, 1606.

The ſeuerall burthens and numbers of men employed in the ſhips of the Fleet aforeſaid, were as followeth.

THe *Truſt* being Admirall, was of ſixtie tunnes, had eight and fortie men. The *Lion* Vice-admirall, was of ſeuentie tunnes, had eight and fortie men. The *Vrin* or *Eagle* Reare-admirall, of one hundred tunnes, had fiftie men. The *Gilliflowre* was of fortie tunnes, had ſixteene men. The Pinnaſſe called the *Cat*, was of twentie tunnes, had twelue men. *Bredaranſies Foord* is moſt Northerly: *Cunninghams Foord* is next in ſixtie ſeuen degrees and odde minutes. The Foord wherein they ſaw the Towne ten leagues vp the ſame, is two leagues to the South of *Cunninghams Foord*. The Kings *Foord* is in ſixtie ſixe degrees and an halfe.

William

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William Huntris of *Stowborow* in *Yorke*-ſhire, is Maſter *Hall* his man, and is allowed thirtie pound by the yeere of the King of *Denmarke*, for his ſkill in Nauigation.

I haue alſo Maſter Halls *Voyage of the next yeere* 1607. *to* Groenland *from* Denmarke, *written, and with repreſentations of Land-ſights curiouſly delineated by* Ioſias Hubert *of* Hull, *but the* Danes *(enuious perhaps that the glory of the Diſcouery would be attributed to the* Engliſh *Pilot) after the Land ſaluted, mutined, and in fine forced the ſhip to returne for* Iſland. *For which cauſe I haue here omitted the whole.*

CHAP. XVI.

The Voyage of Maſter IOHN KNIGHT, *(which had beene at* Groenland *once before* 1605. *Captaine of a Pinnaſſe of the King of* Denmarke) *for the Diſcouery of the North-weſt Paſſage, begun the eighteenth of Aprill* 1606.

I Set ſayle from *Graueſend* in a Barke of fortie tunnes, called the *Hope-well*, well victualled and manned at the coſt of the Worſhipfull Companies of *Moſcouie*, and the Eaſt *Indie* Merchants, for the Diſcouerie of the North-weſt Paſſage the eighteenth of Aprill 1606. and arriued the ſixe and twentieth of the ſame moneth in the Ile of *Orkney*, in a Sound called *Pentlefrith*. Heere wee were ſtayed with contrary winds at Weſt and North-weſt, and with much ſtorme and foule weather aboue a fortnight. In which meane ſpace, I entertained two men of this Countrey, which are both luſtie fellowes at Sea and Land, and are well acquainted with all the Harbours of theſe North parts of *Scotland*. Theſe men brought vs into a very good Harbour, called Saint *Margarites Hope*, where we had the Sea open to vs for all winds that are good for vs to proceed on our Voyage. In this Countrey we found little worthy of Relation. For it is poore, and hath no wood growing vpon it. Their Corne is Barley and Oates. Their fire is Turffe, their houſes are low and vnſeemely without, and as homely within.

April 18. 1606.

Pentlefrith, in *Orkney*.

Saint *Margarites Sound*.

Vpon Munday the twelfth of May, I ſet ſayle from Saint *Margarites Sound* or *Hope* in *Orkney*, at nine of the clocke in the morning, our courſe being Weſt and by South: and at eight of the clocke at night, the Hill called *Hoyce*, did beare Weſt Southerly eleuen or twelue leagues, and the *Stacke* South and by Eaſt Eaſterly three leagues and an halfe, the winde beeing at Eaſt South-eaſt.

This day was for the moſt part calme, and ſometimes wee had a freſh gale of winde: our courſe was Weſt and by South, halfe a point Southerly. This day I paſſed by two ſmall Ilands. The one of them is called, the *Clete*, and the other the *Run*. They are diſtant foure leagues the one from the other. The courſe betweene them is South-weſt and North-eaſt. The Southermoſt is called the *Clete*, and is the leſſer of the twaine: it is diſtant from the North-eaſt part of *Lewis*, called the *Bling-head*, ſeuen leagues: and the courſe betwixt them is North-weſt and South-eaſt. Alſo this *Bling-head* is diſtant from the *Farro Head*, of the *Hieland* of *Scotland* Weſt and by North halfe a point Weſterly, and is diſtant ſeuenteene leagues. Alſo the courſe betweene *Bling-head* and the North-weſt part of *Lewis*, is Weſt and by South halfe a point Weſterly, and faire low Land without Wood. There is good riding all along the ſhoare, the winde beeing off the Land, and in ſome places are very good Harbours for all winds. From eight to twelue at night, we ran ſixe leagues Weſt South-weſt.

Two ſmall Ilands.

The *Bling-head* the North-eaſt part of *Lewis*.

This morning we had a freſh gale of wind at Eaſt North-eaſt: our courſe was South-weſt and by Weſt two houres fiue leagues. From two to ten South-weſt, and by South 20. leagues. From ten to twelue Weſt South-weſt ſixe leagues. The latitude at noone was 58. degrees 27. minutes.

Fifty eight degrees 27. min.

From Wedneſday at noone till Thurſday at noone, was for the moſt part raine and fogge, the wind at North-eaſt and by Eaſt: our courſe was Weſt halfe a point Southerly: our latitude at noone being Thurſday, 58. degrees 23. minutes. From Thurſday at noone till Friday at noone, being the ſixteenth, our way was Weſt Southerly about twentie leagues: the latitude at noone was 58. degrees 19. minutes. This night the wind was ſometimes variable betweene the South and by Weſt and South-eaſt, with faire weather, the Magneticall Declination 18. degrees: the height of the Pole was 58. degrees 10. minutes. Alſo in the morning the Sunne beeing tenne degrees aboue the Horizon, was diſtant from the Eaſt to the North-wards of the Eaſt twentie two degrees.

Eighteene degrees of variation.

From Friday at noone vntill midnight was little wind Southerly, and ſometimes calme, and from midnight till twelue at noone the next day a ſtiffe gale of wind at Eaſt North-eaſt. This foure and twentie houres I judged our way to be made good Weſt, ſomething Southerly thirtie

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leagues. The latitude at noone was 58. degrees 10. minutes. Also the sunne did rise fiftie degrees to the Northward of the East.

From Saturday at noone being the seuenteenth, till Sunday at noone being the eighteenth, our course was West and by South a stiffe gale of wind fiftie leagues, being close weather, we made no obseruation of latitude.

From Sunday at noone till Munday at noone I steered away West and West and by South, hauing a storme at East and by North: our course was West and Southerly fiftie leagues.

From Munday at noone till midnight, our course was West and Southerly: and from that time till noone West and by North and West among. I iudged wee sayled fortie leagues these foure and twentie houres, being for the most part foggie. The latitude at noone was 57. degrees 50. minutes.

A current to the Northward

From Tuesday at noone till noone on Wednesday, our course was West and by North fortie fiue leagues, being foggie weather without obseruation. Here wee had a current, which I iudge setteth to the Northwards.

From Wednesday at noone till Thursday at noone, being the two and twentieth, our course was West and by North fiftie leagues with much fogge and close weather, and much winde at North-east and by East.

From Thursday at noone till midnight, our course was West and by North. Then the winde came to the North: wee tooke in our mayne course, and I spooned away with our fore-saile till Friday, the winde being at North North-east, I iudged our way West South-west, the twelue houres that I spooned about fifteene leagues, the other twelue houres West Northerly fiue and twentie leagues. This three and twentieth day, wee saw many Gulles and much Rock-weed.

Many Gulles and much Rock-weed.

A current to the North-east ward.

From Friday at noone till Saturday at noone, I iudged our way to bee made South-west and by West, but it proued West and by South, rather Westerly, twentie leagues by reason of a current, that I iudge setteth to the North-eastward. The latitude at noone was 57. degrees 53. minutes. The variation of the Compasse was about a point to the Westward. This forenoone and all night the wind was at North a very hard gale; wee spooned with our fore-sayle. Also this forenoone, we saw much Sea Tange and Rock-weed.

The variation 13. degrees Westward.

From Saturday at noone till Sunday at noone, our course was Southward about twentie leagues, the wind being Northerly. This day we saw much Rock-weed and Drift-wood. The latitude was fiftie seuen degrees. The variation was to the Westward thirteene degrees or thereabout. The sunne being fiue degrees high in the morning, was twentie foure degrees to the Northward of the East.

An Owle.

From Sunday at noone till two of the clocke the next day in the morning, being Munday, our course was West North-west, we made our way West and by North twentie leagues, hauing a fresh gale at South-east and by East: it fell calme till foure of the clocke: then it blew an easie gale at West South-west, wee stemming North-west, &c. betweene that and North North-east the wind being variable. The wind freshed toward noone. This morning we saw an Owle.

The variation 14. degrees and an halfe to the West.

The latitude at noone the eight and twentieth, was 57. degrees 57. minutes. The variation of the Compasse was fourteene degrees and an halfe to the West. This day wee had blacke water, and many ouer-falls, streame leeches, and sets of currents, as it seemed to the Northward, and some to the Westward.

Fiftie eight degrees of latitude.

The thirtieth, we found our latitude to be fiftie eight degrees. Heere it seemed that we were in a tyde gate, which I iudged to set North and South, or that it was the Eddie of the currents, which we saw the other day. Also wee saw white Fowles, which cheeped like Spar-hawkes. Also we saw driuing many dead Cowes.

Wh te fowles. Dead Cowes.

The one and thirtieth, the sunne being fiftie degrees aboue the Horizon, I found it to bee twentie seuen degrees to the Eastward of the South: againe in the afternoone, the sunne beeing fiftie degrees high, it was distant from the South to the Westward fiftie one degrees: at noone it was 55. degrees 6. minutes, the height of the Pole was 58. degrees 3. minutes. The variation of the Compasse was twentie foure degrees toward the North-west. Our way made these twentie foure houres was not aboue sixe leagues West, being little wind for the most part.

The variation of the Compasse 24. degrees North-westward.

Iune 1.

From Saturday at noone till two of the clocke it was calme: then it began to blow an easie gale at North. At night I obserued the sunne setting, and found it to set twentie one degrees to the Westward of the North, the winde continuing variable betweene the North and the West North-west till noone, being the first of Iune. Then I found my selfe by obseruation to be in the latitude of 57. degrees 35. minutes. I iudged our way from noone to noone West and by South or thereabout thirteene leagues.

From Sunday at noone till ten of the clocke the same Euening, it was calme. Then it began to blow a stiffe gale of wind at South South-east. Our course was West till noone, the next day being Munday, twentie three leagues. This day wee saw many blacke Fowles like Willockes flying in flockes together.

Many blacke wild fowles.

The fourth my latitude at noone, was 56. degrees 40. minutes. The latitude next day at noone

noone was fiftie sixe degrees. The variation of the Compasse by the Scale was twentie degrees, and by my other Instrument twentie foure degrees to the West. The sunne was twentie two degrees and an halfe high, and to the North of the West thirtie degrees by the Instrument, and twentie sixe degrees by the Scale. Latitude 56. degrees. Variation 24. degrees Westward.

Our latitude at noone the eleuenth, was fiftie eight degrees. And at night the sunne did set fourteene degrees to the Westward of the North, and did rise fiftie degrees to the Eastward of the North. Fifty eight degrees.

The thirteenth, the Ice seemed to be dispersed thinner with the wind, or some other accident: then I set sayle with our two courses, but was forced to take them in againe, and moored to another great Iland of Ice, about a mile to the Westward of the other. Here setteth some smal current to the South-westward. For the great flakes of Ice that were somewhat deep, draue to the Southward, and the other small Ice which was flotie draue with the wind, which was variable betwixt the North-west and the North. Here we were in sight of Land, which bore West South-west from vs, shewing in some parts like Ilands. Our latitude at noone was 57. degrees 25. minutes. A small current to the South-west. Sight of Land like Ilands.

From Friday at noone till eight of the clocke at night, wee continued moored to the aforesaid Ice: then it fell calme, and I loosed and rowed to the West-ward with our Oares, hoping to get thorough, till twelue of the clocke, then the Ice grew very thicke. I moored againe till foure of the clocke the next morning. Then we rowed and sayled with an easie gale of wind till eight of the clocke the next morning being Saturday. Then it began to blow a fresh gale Easterly, and we cunned the ship among the Ice with our Oares till noone. Our latitude was fiftie eight degrees. From Saturday at noone till midnight wee guided our shippe to the Westward among the Ice with our Oares, hoping to get thorough: but wee were suddenly compassed about with many great Ilands of Ice, and continued so distressed with a sore storme of wind at South-east, being foggie and thicke weather: we were so bruised betweene mightie great Ilands of Ice, that we were in danger euery minute to be crushed in pieces with force of the heauing and setting of the said Ice with the great Sea that the wind made, had not God of his mercie prouided for vs: for our owne endeuours did little auaile to our helpe, though wee employed all our industries to the vttermost of our powres.

The nineteenth, we descryed the Land of *America*, which riseth like eight Ilands: the Northermost part of it did beare North and by West about fifteene leagues from vs. I obserued the latitude, and found my selfe to be in 56. degrees and 48. minutes. The variation of the Compasse was twentie fiue degrees to the Westward. All this Coast sheweth like broken Land or Ilands; and the tyde of floud commeth from the Northward. The Land of *America* descryed in 56. degrees 48. minutes. *America* here sheweth like broken Ilands.

Tuesday the foure and twentieth all the morning, there blew a storme Northerly, and such a suffe of the Sea, and so much Ice came in, that our fasts brake that were fast on shoare, and our Rudder was driuen from our sterne with the force of mightie Ilands of Ice; so that we were forced to hale close into the bottome of the Coue to saue our clothes, furniture and victuals: wee did our best, but before we had done, our ship was halfe full of water: the night comming vpon vs being wearie, we tooke a little rest.

On Wednesday, we went hard to worke when the ship was on ground, to get the water out of her, and to stop so many of her leakes as we could come by, and to saue so much of our bread as we could; and some went to building our shallop. Also I caused our Boate to be lanched ouer the Iland; and sent my Mate *Edward Gorrell*, with three others, to seeke for a better place where to bring our ship on ground, if it were possible, to mend her againe. But they returned without any certaintie by reason of the abundance of Ice, which choked euery place. They found wood growing on the shoare. *Edward Gorrell* the Masters Mate.

Thursday being faire weather.] *Here Master* John Knight *ended writing in this Iournall.* On this Thursday the sixe and twentieth of Iune in the morning, our Master caused some of our men to goe aboord our ship, to saue what things they could. And hee and *Edward Gorrell* his Mate, and his brother, and three more of our Company tooke the Boate, carrying with them foure Pistols, three Muskets, fiue Swords, and two halfe Pikes for to goe ouer to a great Iland, which was not aboue a mile from our ship, to looke if they could find any Harbour or any Coue, to get our ship into for to mend her. Also he carried an Equinoctiall Diall with him, and paper to make a Draught of the Land. When they were passed ouer to the other side, our Master, his Mate, and his brother, and one more went on shoare, leauing two of vs in the Boate with one Musket, one Sword, and an halfe Pike to keepe it: which two stayed in the Boate from ten of the clocke in the morning, vntill eleuen of the clocke at night, but could heare no newes of them after their departure vp into the top of the Hill. Then did the Trumpettor sound two or three times, and the other did discharge his Musket two or three times, and so they came away to the other side to the West of the Company, where the ship was: where they were watching for our comming; who seeing vs two comming and no more, they maruelled where the rest of the company were. When wee came on shoare, they enquired for our Master and the rest of our company. But we could tell them no newes of them after their departure out of the Boat, but that we did see them goe vp to the top of the Iland. Which report did strike all our men into a great *M. Iohn Knight* with fiue more passeth ouer to a great Iland, where he and three of his company seem to haue bin intercepted by the Sauages. Their Trumpettor.

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Their Shallop not finiſhed.

They could not paſſe to the great Iland for Ice.

great feare to thinke in what extremitie we were, becauſe we did want our Maſter and three of our beſt men, and our Ship lay ſunke, and we had nothing to truſt to but our Shallop, which was not at that time halfe finiſhed. This night lying on ſhoare in our Tent, which was betweene two Rocks, we kept very good watch, for feare of any peoples ſudden aſſaulting of vs: or if our Maſter and his company had trauailed ſo farre, that they could not come againe that night, and would ſhoote a Muſket, that wee might heare them. But they came not at all.

The next day being Friday, and the ſeuen and twentieth of Iune, wee conſulted to goe ouer ſeuen of vs with our Boate, to try if we could ſee or learne any news of our Maſter, or any of our men; for we were afraid that they were either ſurpriſed by the Sauages of the Countrie, or elſe deuoured by the wilde Beaſts. So we tooke with vs ſeuen Muskets, and Swords, and Targets, and ſuch prouiſion as we had in the Ship, and went downe to the Sea-ſide, but wee could not get ouer for Ice. At length we returned, with much adoe to get on ſhoare, and went to our Ship, to ſaue what things we could all that day.

On Saturday, the eight and twentieth, we did likewiſe ſaue what things we could, and gat all our things out of our Ship, and made her cleane in hold, hauing faire weather, hoping in God to ſaue her, and to mend all things, as well as we could; for ſhe lay vpon hard rocks: wherefore we kept her as light as we could, for beating and bruiſing of her hull. That night about nine of the clocke, it began to raine very ſore, and ſo continued all night: and about one of the clocke at night, our Boate-Swaine and our Steward being at watch, and their watch almoſt out, the Steward went aboord the Ship to pumpe, leauing the Boate-Swaine at watch ſome Muſket ſhot length from our Tent: while he was in pumping, there came ouer the rocks a great ſort of the Countrey people toward the place where the Boate-Swaine was: who when they ſaw him, they ſhot their arrowes at him, running toward him as faſt as they could. Whereupon hee diſcharged his Muſket at them, and fled to our Tent as faſt as hee could, thinking they had beſet vs, they were ſo many of them in ſight. The Steward hearing his Muſket goe off, came out of the Ship, and as he was comming, ſaw the Sauages running to our Shallop, and cryed out to vs that were aſleepe in our Tent, to come to reſcue the Boate-Swaine, and the Shallop. We made what haſte we could; when we came towards them, and ſaw ſo many of them in our Shallop, we were afraid we were betraid. At this time it rained very ſore; yet calling our wits together, we ſent two of our men backe vnto our Tent, the reſt of vs made toward them, and ſhot at them ſome three or foure Muskets: who when they ſaw vs ſhoote, they ſtood in our Shallop, and held vp their hands vnto vs, calling one to another. Then thought we with our ſelues, that we were better to dye in our defence in purſuing of them, then they vs, being but eight Men and a great Dogge. When they ſaw vs marching toward them ſo fiercely, our Dogge being formoſt, they ranne away: but we durſt not purſue them any further, for it was in the night, and they were in ſight aboue fiftie men. Thus we recouered our Shallop. Then we ſent ſome more of our men to our Tent to keepe it; and the reſt followed toward the place whither they fled. But before we could ouertake them, they were gotten into their Boates, and were rowing away through the Ice; which was ſo thicke, that they could not paſſe away, but ſtucke faſt; for their Boates were very great: wee ſeeing them ſticke faſt in the Ice, ſome ſetting with Oares, and ſome rowing, came ſo neere them, as we could, and ſhot at them ſome dozen ſhot, before they could get cleere: which ſhot cauſed them to cry out very ſore one to another; for their Boates were full of men. As farre as we could iudge, they be very little people, tawnie coloured, thin or no beards, and flat noſed, and Man-eaters.

The Sauages of the Countrie aſſault our men at one of the clocke at night.

Our men expulſe the Sauages.

Aboue fiftie Sauages in ſight.

Very great Boates of the Sauages.

The deſcriptiō of the Sauages

On Sunday, the nine and twentieth, all day long we gat ſuch things as we could aboord our Shippe, for feare they ſhould come ouer with more men, and beſet vs, our Ship lying betweene two great Rocks, and all without ſo full of Ice, that we could not paſſe any way to Sea, no not with a Boate. That day, two of our men kept watch vpon the Rocks, to giue vs warning, if they did come ouer with Boats. Then did our Carpenter make what ſhift hee could with our Shallop, and did tench her in ſome places, but neither calked her, nor pitched her. Then did wee take her, and bring her downe cloſe to the Shippe, and there ſhee did ſtand all night.

On Munday, the thirtieth day in the morning we went to worke to cut the Ice with Axes and Pick-axes, to get our Shippe; for all about the Iland was nothing but Ice, and no place to ride free neither with Shippe nor Boate. That night it pleaſed God, that wee got her out, and came away rowing with our Oares; but ſhe was exceeding leake, and our Shallop too: and, which was worſe, we had neuer a Rudder to ſtirre our Ship withall. Wee rowed all that night among the Ice.

The firſt and ſecond dayes of Iuly, we continued alſo rowing vp and downe among the floting and driuing Ice, with little hope of recouering our Countrey.

A great Current ſetting to South.

The third of Iuly, we had a gale of winde at North, and a great current ſetting to the Southward: Then made we faſt our Ship to an Iland of Ice, and went to worke, and to ſtow her things within boord, to make her ſtiffe; for wee had neuer a whit of balaſt in her. Then did our Carpenter make what ſhift he could, to hang our Rudder, hauing nothing conuenient in our Shippe

Ship to make Gudgins, nor Pintels. Then were we forced to breake open our Masters Chest, and to take all the Iron bands off it, to make fast two Pick-axes, for two Pintels, and to binde our Rudder withall. So, as it pleased God, that night we hanged our Rudder, hauing but two Pintels and a Cable through the middle of it, to keepe it to with two tacks. Then were we in good hope to get cleare of the Ice, because wee had some steerage, though it was but bad: for before, we durst beare but little sayle, our Ship being so leake, and her stemme so sore beaten with the rocks and Ice; and hauing no steerage, but were forced to rowe with our Oares, till wee were all sore and weary.

Pintels are small Iron pins made fast to the Rudder, and hung the Rudder to the Stern-post, &c.

The next day about tenne of the clocke in the morning, the winde came to the West North-west, and was faire weather: so we steered away East and by North, to get vs out of the Bay: And at noone, the watch being out, which was the third watch that we had after we came out of the Countrey (for before, continually we did watch all, to keepe our Shippe cleare of the Ice, as neere as we could) we began to Pumpe our Shippe, but could not make her sucke in a thousand stroakes, if she had stood but one halfe houre vnpumped. Then were wee forced to vnrommage our Ship, to see if we could finde our leakes. We soone found a great many of leakes, but not that which caused vs to Pumpe so sore. At the last, we found it close abaft our forefoot, where her keele was splintred in two or three places, where the Sea came running in so fast, that it was not possible to keepe her free with both our Pumps, and wee could not come to it to stop it; for it was vnder the timbers. Then did wee take our maine Bonnet, and basted it with Occom, and put it ouerboord, right against our leake, which eased vs some foure or fiue hundred stroakes in an houre. Then vpon consultation had among our selues, wee resolued to shape our course towards *Newfound Land*, to see if we could get any place to mend our Ship, hoping there to meete with some *English* or *French* men. At this time we had one of our men very sicke, and another had his hand very sore splitted; and most of vs all were so sore with rowing and pumping, that we were scarce able to stirre, but that we must perforce.

They get out of the Bay, where they rode.

Our Shippes Keele was splinted in two or three places.

They consult to touch at *Newfound Land.*

The fift of Iulie, wee shaped our course for *New found Land*, with the winde at West South-west.

The one and twentieth, the winde was at South South-west; and we fell with the Land, being nothing but broken Ilands. Then we stood to the Westward, being in the latitude of 49. degrees and an halfe.

Broken Ilands in 49. degrees and a halfe, of latitude.

The two and twentieth was faire weather, and the winde very variable: and about sixe of the clocke at night, the winde came to the West North-west. Then we steered in among the Ilands, to see if we could finde any harbour to mend our Shippe; for she was very leake. When we were come in among them, we found nothing but broken Ilands, and a great current, which did set from Iland to Iland, and had no ground at an hundred fathoms. That night we were very sore intangled with sunken Rocks, and in great danger of casting away our Ship, hauing very thicke weather: wherefore we kept to and fro all that night.

Many broken Ilands which were the Isles de Fogo.

Sunken Rocks.

The foure and twentieth of Iuly, in the morning, we spied some dozen Shallops, which were fishing some two leagues from vs. Then wee made what way wee could toward them, &c. We remained in this Bay of *Fogo*, in repairing our Shippe, and refreshing of our selues, vntill the two and twentieth of August. Then taking our leaues of our kinde and louing friends, with giuing them most heartie thankes for their goodnesse towards vs, we put forth to the Sea, and with an indifferent and reasonable good passage we arriued safely in *Dartmouth* in *Deuonshire*, and sent word to *London* vnto our owners, of the losse of our Master and his three companions, and of the dolefull successe of our Voyage, the foure and twentieth day of September, 1606.

Twelue Shallops of Fishermen.

The rest of this Iournall, from the death of Master *Iohn Knight*, was written by *Oliuer Browne* one of the Company.

CHAP. XVII.

The fourth Voyage of IAMES HALE *to* Groenland, *wherein he was set forth by* English *Aduenturers*, Anno 1612. *and slaine by a* Greenlander. *Written by* WILLIAM BAFFIN.

WEdnesday, the eight of Iuly, 1612. in the morning I perceiued the Sunne and the Moone, both very faire aboue the horizon, as I had done diuers times before. At which time I purposed to finde out the longitude of that place, by the Moones comming to the Meridian. Most part of this day I spent about finding of the Meridian line; which I did vpon an Iland neere the Sea, hanging at the extreames of my Meridian line two threeds with Plummets at them, instead of an index and sights.

Thursday, the ninth day very early in the morning I went on shoare the Iland, being a faire morning.

morning, and obſerued till the Moone came iuſt vpon the Meridian. At which very inſtant, I obſerued the Sunnes height, and found it 8. degrees, 53. minutes, North: in the eleuation of the Pole 65. degrees 20. minutes. By the which, working by the doctrine of ſphericall triangles, hauing the three ſides giuen, to wit, the complement of the Poles eleuation; the complement of the Almecanter; and the complement of the Sunnes declination, to finde out the quantitie of the angle at the Pole: I ſay, by this working, I found it to be foure of the clocke, 17. minutes, and 24. ſeconds. Which when I had done, I found by mine Ephemerides, that the Moone came to the Meridian at *London* that morning at foure of the clocke, 25. minutes, 34. ſeconds: which 17. minutes, 24. ſeconds, ſubſtracted from 25. 34. leaueth 8. 10. of time, for the difference of longitude betwixt the Meridian of *London* (for which the Ephemerides was made) and the Meridian paſſing by this place in *Groenland*. Now the Moones motion that day, was 12. degrees 7. minutes: which conuerted into minutes of time, were 48. minutes, 29. ſeconds: which working by the rule of proportion, the worke is thus: if 48. minutes, 29. ſeconds; the time that the Moone commeth to the Meridian ſooner that day, then ſhe did the day before, giue 360. the whole circumference of the earth, what ſhall 8. minutes 10. ſeconds giue, to wit, 60. degrees, 30. minutes, or neere there abuut: which is the difference of longitude betweene, the Meridian of *London*, and this place in *Groenland*, called *Cockins Sound*, lying to the Weſtward of *London*.

60. degrees 30. minutes difference of longitude betweene the meridian of *London* and *Cockins Sound* in *Groenland*.

This finding of the longitude, I confeſſe is ſomewhat difficult and troubleſome, and there may be ſome ſmall errour. But if it be carefully looked vnto, and exactly wrought, there will be no great errour, if your Ephemerides be true. But ſome will ſay, that this kinde of working is not for Marriners; becauſe they are not acquainted to worke propoſitions by the table of ſignes, and an inſtrument is not preciſe enough to finde out the houre, minute, and ſecond. For the loſſe of one minute of time, is the loſſe of 7. degrees of longitude. I anſwere, that although the moſt part are not vſed to this worke, yet I know ſome of the better ſort, which are able to worke this and the like propoſitions exactly. And thoſe which yet cannot, and are deſirous to learne, may in ſhort ſpace attaine to ſuch knowledge as ſhall be ſufficient for ſuch things. And how neceſſary it is, that the longitude of places ſhould be knowne, I leaue to the iudgement of all skilfull Marriners, and others that are learned in the Mathematicks.

Obiection.

Anſwere.

This afternoone it was agreed by the chiefe of our Company, that our Maſter, *Iames Hall*, ſhould goe in the ſmaller Ship, farther to the Northward.

The foreſaid Thurſday in the euening, he departed out of the *Patience* into the *Hariſ-eaſe*, to get forth of the Harbor, which our Maſter called *Cockins-ford*, in remembrance of Alderman Cockin one of the Aduenturers: which place, is in the latitude of 65. degrees, 20. minutes. And the variation of the compaſſe is 23. degrees, 58. minutes, to the Weſtward. That euening was very calme, and we towed our Shippe forth with the Shallops and Ships Boat. But within an houre or two after we were got into the Offin; the winde being at North, it blew a great ſtorme, which continued all that night.

Cockins Ford in 65. deg. 20. min.

Variation 23. deg. 58. min.

The foureteenth, our Maſter turned the Ship vp to the Riuer againe, toward the Riuer where the ſuppoſed mine ſhould be. But the tyde was ſo farre ſpent, that we could not get to Sea, but were conſtrained to Anker in a roade at the South ſide of the Riuer, ſome three leagues from the *Patience*, in which place are many good Rode-ſteeds to be found.

Many good Rodes.

Thurſday, the ſixteenth day, the winde was at North-weſt, and blew ſo ſtiffe a gale, that we could not get to Sea that day. That night, eighteene of vs went into the Ilands to looke for ſome Deere, but found none. But we perceiued the foote-ſteps of ſome great Beaſt, which wee ſuppoſed to be of ſome great Elke: the foote was as bigge as any Oxe foote.

Great footing.

Tueſday, the twentie one, the weather ſtill continued in ſuch ſort, that wee could not by any meanes get to the Riuer, where the ſuppoſed Myne ſhould bee. Wherefore our Maſter bare roome for *Ramelsford*, being a Riuer Southward of another, called *Cunninghams ford*, ſome twelue leagues. And we came to an Anchor at the entrance on the Southſide of the Ford, about ſeuen of the clocke.

Ramels Riuer.

Wedneſday, the two and twentieth day, about nine or ten of the clocke, the Sauages came to barter with vs, being about fortie of them, and continued about an houre and an halfe: At which time our Maſter *Iames Hall*, being in the Boate, a Sauage with his Dart ſtrooke him a deadly wound vpon the right ſide, which our Surgean did thinke did pierce his liuer. We all muſed that he ſhould ſtrike him, and offer no harme to any of the reſt: vnleſſe it were, that they knew him ſince he was there with the *Danes*; for out of that Riuer they carried away fiue of the people, whereof neuer any returned againe: and in the next Riuer, they killed a great number. And it ſhould ſeeme that he which killed him, was either brother, or ſome neere kinſman to ſome of them that were carried away: for he did it very reſolutely, and came within foure yards of him. And, for ought we could ſee, the people are very kinde one to another, and ready to reuenge any wrong offred to them. All that day he lay very ſore pained, looking for death euery houre, and reſigned all his charge to Maſter *Andrew Barker*, Maſter of the *Harts-eaſe*, willing him to place another in his roome Maſter of the ſmall Ship.

Iames Hall deadly wounded by a Sauage.

Thurſday.

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Thurſday, the three and twentieth, about eight of the clocke in the morning he dyed, being very penitent for all his former offences. And after we had ſhrowded him, wee carried him in the Shallop, to burie him in ſome out Iland, according to his owne requeſt while he was liuing. After we had buried him, we went in the Shallop to ſeeke for the mine, which we had expected ſo long. All that day we rowed along toward the North, paſſing by a Cape called, *Queene Sophias Cape.* That night we ſtaied at an Iland, ſome three leagues ſhort of the Riuer.

The death of *Iames Hall.*

Queene *Sophias* Cape.

Friday, the foure and twentieth, in the morning, wee rowed along, and came to the place, which is on the South-ſide of the entrance of *Cunninghams* Riuer: And we found diuers places, where the *Danes* had digged; it was a kinde of ſhining ſtone, which when our Goldſmith, *Iames Carlile*, had tried, it was found of no value, and had no mettall at all in it: but was like vnto *Moſcouie* ſludde, and of a glittering colour. That day after we had dyned, wee rowed vp that Riuer ſome foure leagues, where diuers of our company went vp into the Mountaines, and found a Valley more pleaſant, then they had ſeene in the Countrey. That euening we returned, and came to the place where the *Danes* had digged their ſuppoſed Mine, and tooke ſome of it in our Boate to carry with vs, and returned toward our Ship. That night we rowed and ſailed, and the next morning about nine of the clocke, we came to our Ship.

Cunninghams Riuer.

The ſuppoſed Mine found to be of no value.

A pleaſant Valley.

Saturday, the fiue and twentieth, being Saint *Iames* his day, in the forenoone, we came to our Shippe, lying on the South ſide of the Riuer, called *Ramels* Riuer. And as ſoone as our Maſter found, that the people came no more to trade with vs, he determined to depart with the Shippe into the Kings Ford to the *Patience*: and rowing about the harbour, where we lay to finde ſome neerer way out to the Sea, we found among the Ilands, where many of their winter houſes had bin, and ſome of their Tents were but lately carried away. In which place wee alſo found one of their long Boates, made of wood, and bound together for the moſt part, with ſhiuers of Whales fins, and couered with Seales skinnes, being ſome two and thirtie foote in length, and ſome fiue foote broad, hauing tenne thoughts or ſeates in it. That day about twelue of the clocke we weighed anchor, and departed out of *Ramels Ford*, which lieth in the latitude of 67. degrees, and the variation of the compaſſe is 24. degrees 16. minutes, being a very faire Riuer, and one of the moſt principall, which we ſaw in that Countrey, ſtretching in Eaſt and Eaſt and by South. This night, about one of the clocke, we came to the *Patience*, lying in the Kings Ford.

Many of their winter houſes in *Ramels* Riuer.

The faſhion of their greater Boates.

Ramels Ford in the latitude of 67. degrees.

The variation is 24. degrees 16. minutes.

Sunday, the ſixe and twentieth, Maſter *Andrew Barker*, and our Merchant, Maſter *Wilkinſon*, with other of the Company, were in conference about returning home, becauſe that ſince our Maſter was ſlaine, none of the Sauages would trade with vs, as they were wont.

Wedneſday, the nine and twentieth, we were likewiſe occupied about taking in of ballaſt, for our Shippe was very light: and that euening it was agreed, that *Andrew Barker*, Maſter of the *Harts-eaſe*, ſhould goe Maſter of the *Patience*, which was ſore againſt the minde of *William Gourdon*: and *William Huntrice* was appointed Maſter of the *Harts-eaſe*, and *Iohn Gartenby*, one of the quarter Maſters of the *Patience*, was Maſters mate of the *Harts-eaſe*.

William Huntrice Maſter of the *Harts-eaſe.*

Tueſday, the fourth of Auguſt, in the morning the winde being Northerly, a very ſmall gale we got to Sea, where the winde came to the Southward, and we tacked ſometime on the one boord, and ſometime on the other, making ſmall way on our courſe.

They come out of harbour.

Munday the tenth, was raine and foule weather, as it had continued euery day ſince wee came from harbour, ſauing the ſeuenth day, which was ſomewhat faire: For commonly while the winde is South, it is very thick and foule weather. We tacked ſometimes on one boord, and ſometimes on the other, making a South by Weſt way, at noone ſixe leagues.

Thick and foggie weather, the winde being South.

Wedneſday, the twelfth, it waxed calme, we being ſomewhat Southward of a Cape, called *Burnils* Cape: and about three or foure of the clocke in the afternoone, the winde came to the North and by Weſt, an eaſie gale, with faire weather.

Burnils Cape.

The eighteenth at noone we were in 58. deg. 50. min. The ſeuenteenth day, I tooke the variation of the compaſſe, finding it to be 13. degrees 22. minutes, contrary to the obſeruations of others in this place. And if any doe doubt of the truth thereof, they may with a little paines proue it. The eighteenth of Auguſt, the declination of the Sunne was 9. degrees 58. minutes, for the Meridian of *London*. But we being almoſt foure houres of time to the Weſtward thereof, there are three minutes to be abated from the reſt: and ſo the declination was 9. degrees 55. minutes; and his height aboue the horizon was 24. degrees 40. minutes in the latitude of 59. degrees 0. min. and his diſtance from the South to the Weſtward, by the compaſſe, was 81. degrees. And for truth of the firſt obſeruation, I tooke another ſhortly after, finding them not to differ aboue 4. minutes.

Variation 13. degr. 22. min.

Wedneſday the nineteenth, the winde ſtill continued with thicke and haſie weather, we being at noone in the latitude of 58. degrees 30. minutes, or thereabout, making a South South-eaſt way, about ten leagues.

Thurſday the twentieth, was faire weather, the winde at East North-eaſt, wee ſteered away South-eaſt and South-eaſt and by Eaſt, making at noone a South-eaſt and by South way, about thirtie leagues, being at noone in the latitude of 57. degrees 20. minutes. This day in the afternoone, I tooke the variation of the compaſſe, and found it about 11 degrees 10. minutes.

Variation 11. degr. 10. min.

Friday,

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Friday the one and twentieth, faire weather, with the winde at North and North by Eaſt, and we made an Eaſt South-eaſt way, halfe Southerly twentie foure leagues, being at noone by obſeruation, in the latitude of 56. degrees 50. minutes.

Saturday the two and twentieth, faire weather, the wind at North and Nrth by Eaſt, wee made an Eaſt way halfe Southerly, ſome twentie two leagues, being at noone in the latitude of 56. degrees 47. minutes.

Sunday the three and twentieth, faire weather, the wind at Weſt North-weſt, we making an Eaſt and Eaſt by North way about twentie foure leagues. This day I tooke the variation of the Compaſſe, and found it to be 7. degrees 23. minutes, being at noone in the latitude of 57. degrees 26. minutes.

Variation 7. degrees 23. minutes.

Munday the foure and twentieth, being S. *Bartholomewes* day, faire weather with an North North-weſt, wee making an Eaſt North-eaſt way, halfe Northerly about twentie ſeuen leagues, and were at noone by obſeruation in the latitude of 58. degrees 4. minutes. This day I obſerued and found the Compaſſe to be varied 7. degrees 20. minutes.

Variation 7. degrees 20. minutes.

Tueſday the fiue and twentieth, faire weather and calme: the winde at North, wee made a North-eaſt and by Eaſt way ſeuenteene leagues, being at noone in the latitude of 58. degrees 30. minutes. This day I found the common Compaſſe to be varied one point, and the true variation to bee 6. degrees 4. minutes.

The true variation 6. deg. 4. minutes.

Wedneſday the ſixe and twentieth faire weather alſo, with the wind North North-weſt, we made a North-eaſt and by Eaſt way halfe about twentie two leagues, being in the height of 59. degrees 10. minutes.

Thurſday the ſeuen and twentieth indifferent faire weather, with a ſtiffe gale of wind at the North North-weſt, we making a North-eaſt way about thirtie one leagues, being at noone in the latitude of 60. degrees 10. minutes.

Friday the eight and twentieth, the wind at South-eaſt with a ſtiffe gale, wee made good about noone a North-eaſt and by Eaſt way about twentie nine leagues. This day in the afternoone it blew ſo great a ſtorme, that wee were in great diſtreſſe, the winde at Eaſt South-eaſt. But about eleuen of the clocke it came to the North-weſt, and North-weſt by North. And we ranne ſome twentie leagues.

Saturday the nine and twentieth, it blew ſo ſtiffe, that wee could beare none but our fore-ſaile, making an Eaſt and by South way halfe Southerly, about thirtie leagues.

Sunday the thirtieth, all the forenoone it blew a very ſtiffe gale, and about noone the winde came Southerly; and it blew a very great ſtorme, which continued all that day and that night in ſuch ſort, that we could not ſaile at all, but all that night lay at hull.

Munday the one and thirtieth, in the morning about foure of the clocke, the winde came to the South-weſt a very ſtiffe gale. At which time we ſet our fore-ſaile. The wind continued all this day and night, we ſteered away Eaſt and by South, making at noone an Eaſt North-eaſt way about thirtie foure leagues.

Tueſday the firſt of September, the wind ſtill continued at South-weſt, blowing a very ſtiffe gale, we ſteered away Eaſt and by South, making an Eaſt way about fiftie leagues. This day at noone we were in the latitude of 60. degrees 45. minutes.

Wedneſday the ſecond faire weather with the wind at South-weſt, wee made an Eaſt and by South way halfe a point Southerly about fortie two leagues, being at noone in the latitude of 60. degrees 10. minutes. This day I obſerued, and found the Compaſſe to be varied three degrees to the Weſtward.

Thurſday the third day faire weather, the wind at South-weſt: wee made an Eaſt by North way at noone about twentie leagues. This day in the after-noone, the winde being at North North-weſt, it blew a very ſtiffe gale for two Watches; and toward ſeuen or eight of the clocke the ſtorme ſo increaſed, that our ſhippe was not able to beare any ſaile. And all that night wee lay at hull.

Friday the fourth, the ſtorme ſtill continued, and we could beare no ſaile all that day till about foure of the clocke in the afternoone, at which time we ſet our fore courſe, and our maine courſe. The night before in the ſtorme, we loſt *The Hartſ-eaſe*. This day wee made ſome twelue leagues Eaſt and by North. And we fell to lee-ward lying at hull ſome fiue leagues South by Weſt.

They loſe company of their conſort, *The Hartſeaſe*.

Saturday the fift calme weather, but very thicke and cloſe all the forenoone: the wind continued ſtill at North North-weſt, we making from the time wee ſet our courſes the day before, about twentie leagues Eaſt halfe Southerly; beeing at noone in the latitude of 59. degrees 53. minutes.

Sunday the ſixt, faire weather, the wind at North North-weſt, we ſteering away Eaſt North-eaſt, and Eaſt and by North, made an Eaſt by North way, halfe Northerly ſome 29. leagues, being at noone in 60. degrees 10. minutes. This day the Compaſſe was varied to the Eaſt ſixe degrees. This afternoone it was almoſt calme: and wee ſounded, and found ground at ſixtie eight fathomes. This Euening about ten of the clocke the wind came to the South-eaſt.

Variation 6. degrees to the Eaſt.

Ground found.

Munday the ſeuenth, very faire weather, the wind South-eaſt and South-eaſt by Eaſt, wee tacked

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tacked in the morning to the North-ward, and ranne East North-east and East by North vntill seuen or eight in the afternoone: at which time we tacked vp to the Southward, and went away South-west till toward twelue a clocke that night twentie leagues. Land descryed.

Tuesday the eight, in our morning Watch I found our selues to be in 59. degrees 20. minutes: And about fiue of the clocke I espied Land, which we supposed to bee the Iles of *Orkney*, as afterward we found them to be the same. And toward three of the clocke, we came to an Anchor in a Channell running betweene the Ilands; where the people came to vs, and brought vs Hennes, Geese, and Sheepe, and sold them to vs for old clothes and shooes, desiring rather them then money. There are about eighteene of these Ilands, which are called by the name of the *Orkeneis*. The Iles of *Orkney*.

Wednesday the ninth, it was thicke weather, and the winde so Easterly that wee could not weigh Anchor.

Thursday the tenth, faire weather, and the wind came to the North-west, and about noone we weighed Anchor; and toward fiue of the clocke we were cleere off the Iles. The Channell for the most part lyeth North-west and South-east. All that night we stood away South-east. The lying of the Channell in *Orkney*.

Friday the eleuenth, faire weather, with the wind at North North-west. And about nine of the clocke in the morning, we Heered away South South-east. At which time wee had sight of *Buquham-nesse*: And about two of the clocke we were thwart of it. The seuenteenth, we came to an Anchor in *Hull* Road, for which the Lord bee praysed. *Buquham-ness*. They arriue at *Hull*.

Here I thinke it not amisse briefly to relate the state and manners of the people of *Groenland*, forasmuch as I could learne: As also what likelihood there is of a passe into the Sea, which lyeth vpon *Tartarie* and *China*.

The North-west part of *Groenland* is an exceeding high Land to the Sea-ward, and almost nothing but Mountaynes; which are wonderfull high all within the Land, as farre as wee could perceiue: and they are all of stone, some of one colour, and some of another, and all glistering, as though they were of rich value; but indeed they are not worth any thing. For our Gold-smith *Lames Carlile* tryed very much of the Vre, and found it to bee nothing worth. If there bee any Mettall, it lyeth so low in the Mountaynes, that it cannot bee well come by. There are some Rocks in these Mountaynes, which are exceeding pure Stone, finer, and whiter then Alabaster. The sides of these Mountaynes continually are couered with Snow for the most part, and especially the North sides, and the Noth sides of the Valleyes, hauing a kind of Mosse, and in some places Grasse with a little branch running all along the ground, bearing a little blacke Berrie, it runneth along the ground like Three-leafed Grasse heere in *England*. There are few or no Trees growing, as farre as wee could perceiue, but in one place some fortie miles within the Land, in a Riuer, which wee called *Balls* Riuer. There I saw on the South-side of an high Mountayne, which we went vp, and found (as it were) a yong Groue of small Wood, some of it sixe or seuen foot high like a Coppice in *England*, that had beene some two or three yeeres cut. And this was the most Wood that wee saw growing in this Countrey; being some of it a kind of Willow, Iuniper, and such like.

High Mountaynes of stone very pure. No profitable Vre. Continuall Snow. Grasse. No Trees. *Balls* Riuer. A Groue of small wood.

We found in many places much *Angelica*. We suppose the people eate the Roots thereof, for some causes. For we haue seene them haue many of them in their Boats.

There are great store of Foxes in the Ilands, and in the Mayne, of sundry colours: And there are a kind of Hares as white as Snow, with their furre or haire very long.

Also there be Deere, but they are most commonly vp within the Mayne very farre; because the people doe so much hunt them, that come neere the Sea. I saw at one time seuen of them together, which were all that wee did see in the Countrey: But our men haue bought diuers Coates of the people made of Deeres skinnes, and haue bought of their Hornes also. Besides, we haue diuers times seene the footsteps of some beast, whose foote was bigger then the foot of a great Oxe. Furthermore, the Inhabitants haue a kinde of Dogges, which they keepe at their Houses, and Tents, which Dogges are almost like vnto Wolues, liuing by fish, as the Foxes doe. But one thing is very strange, as I thought: for the Pizzels of both Dogges and Foxes are bone.

Foxes. White Hares. Deere. These seeme to be Elkes, or Losshes. Dogges like Wolues. The pizzels of Dogges and Foxes are bone: so also is the Morses pizzle, of which I haue by me one of stone.

The people all the Summer time vse nothing but fishing, drying their fish, and Seales flesh vpon the Rockes for their Winter Prouision. Euery one both man and woman haue each of them a Boate made with long small peeces of Firre-wood, couered with Seales skinnes very well dresst, and sewed so well with sinewes or guts, that no water can pierce them through, beeing some of them aboue twentie foot long, and not past two foot, or two foot and an halfe broad, in forme of a Weauers shittle, and so light, that a man may carrie many of them at once for the weight. In these Boates they will row so swiftly, that it is almost incredible: for no ship in the World is able to keepe way with them, although thee haue neuer so good a gale of wind: and yet they vse but one Oare, who sitting in the midle of their Boate, and holding their Oare in the middle, being broad at each end like our Oares, will at an instant goe backward and forward, as they please. The great swiftnesse of their Boats. Their Oares broad at both ends.

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Salmons and Morses, &c. Angles and Lines.

In these Boates they catch the most part of their food, being Seales and Salmons, Morses, and other kinds of fishes. Some they kill with their Darts, and other some with Angles, hauing a Line made of small shiuers of Whales Finnes, and an Hooke of some fishes bones: with which Line and Hookes, we also haue caught very much fish.

Their great Boats 32. foot long.

Also they haue another kinde of Boate, which is very long. For wee haue seene one of them thirtie two foot in length, open in the toppe like our Boates; hauing tenne seates in it. In which when they remooue their Dwellings, they carrie their Goods or House-hold-stuffe: for they remooue their Dwellings very often, as their fishing doth serue, liuing in the Summer time, in Tents made of Seales skinnes, and in Winter in Houses some-what in the ground.

They worship the Sunne. Their salutation.

Wee could not particularly learne their Rites or Ceremonies: but generally they worship the Sunne, as chiefe Authour of their Felicitie. At their first approach vnto vs they vsed with their hands to point vp to the Sunne, and to strike their hands vpon their brests, crying *Ilyout*; as who would say, I meane no harme: which they will doe very often, and will not come neere you, vntill you doe the like; and then they will come without any feare at all.

Their burials.

They burie their dead in the Out-Ilands neere the Sea side. Their manner of Buriall is this. Vpon the tops of the Hils they gather a company of stones together, and make thereof an hollow Caue or Graue, of the length and breadth of the bodie, which they intend to burie, laying the stones somewhat close like a wall, that neyther Foxes, nor other such beasts may deuoure the bodies, couering them with broad stones, shewing afarre off like a pile of stones. And neere vnto this Graue where the bodie lyeth, is another, wherein they burie his Bow and Arrowes, with his Darts and all his other Prouision, which hee vsed while hee was liuing. Hee is buried in all his Apparell: and the coldnesse of the Climate doth keepe the bodie from smelling and stinking, although it lye aboue the Ground.

They burne the weapons and all other Furniture of the dead.

They eate all their Food raw, and vse no fire to dresse their Victuals, as farre as wee could perceiue. Also wee haue seene them drinke the Salt-water at our shippes side: But whether it bee vsuall or no, I cannot tell. Although they dresse not their meate with fire, yet they vse fire for other things, as to warme them, &c.

They vse fire.

They are not Man-eaters.

Diuers of our men were of opinion, that they were Man-eaters, and would haue deuoured vs, if they could haue caught vs. But I doe not thinke they would. For if they had bin so minded, they might at one time haue caught our Cooke, and two other with him, as they were filling of water at an Iland, a great way from our ship. These three I say were in the ships Boate without eyther Musket, or any other Weapon, when as a great company of the Sauages came rowing vnto them with their Darts, and other Furniture, which they neuer goe without, and stood looking into the Boate for Nayles, or any old Iron, which they so greatly desire, while our men were in such a feare, that they knew not what to doe. At length our Cooke remembred that hee had some old Iron in his pocket, and gaue each of them some, as farre as it would goe, with his Key of his Chest. And presently they all departed without offering any harme at all. But this I speake not, that I would haue men to trust them, or to goe among them vnprouided of Weapons.

Nailes & old Iron greatly desired of the Sauages.

Men are not to goe among Sauages without their weapons.

CHAP. XVIII.

A true Relation of such things as happened in the fourth Voyage for the Discouerie of the North-west Passage, performed in the yeere 1615. Written by WILLIAM BAFFIN.

The first by *Hudson* in which hee perished; the second by Sir *Thomas Button*, the third by Captaine *Gibbins*.

AFter three sundry Voyages towards the North-west, to the great charge of the Aduenturers: the last being vnder the command of Captaine *Gibbins* (in which was little or nothing performed.) Yet the Right Worshipfull Sir *Dudley Diggs* Knight, Master *Wostenholme* Esquire, Master Alderman *Iones*, with others being not therewith discouraged, This yeere 1615. againe set forth the *Discouery*, a ship of fiftie fiue tunnes or thereabouts, which ship had beene the three former Voyages on the action. The Master was *Robert Bileth*, a man well acquainted that way: hauing beene employed in the three former Voyages: my selfe being his Mate and Associate, with fourteene others and two Boyes.

The sixteenth, we weighed Anchor at Saint *Katharines*, and that tyde came to *Blackwall*, the winde being at South South-west. The seuenteenth, wee went downe to *Graues-end*, and the eighteenth to *Lee*, where we anchored that night.

Vpon

Vpon the ſixt of May, we ſaw Land on the Coaſt of *Groenland*, on the Eaſt ſide of Cape *Farewell*: and that night we had a great ſtorme: ſo wee kept a Southerly courſe to get about the Ice which lay on that ſhoare, and then kept our courſe vntill the ſeuenteenth day of May, all which forenoone we ſayled by many great Ilands of Ice, ſome of which were aboue two hundred foot high aboue water (as I proued by one ſhortly after) which I found to be two hundred and fortie foot high, and if report of ſome men be true, which affirme, that there is but one ſeuenth part of the Ice aboue water, then the height of that piece of Ice, which I obſerued was one hundred and fortie fathomes, or one thouſand ſixe hundred and eightie foote from the toppe to the bottome: this proportion I know doth hold in much Ice, but whether it doe ſo in all, I know not. *Groenland.* Cape *Farewell.* High Icie Ilands.

This ſeuenteenth of May, about noone we were come to the firme Ice, as one would ſuppoſe, being in the latitude of 61. degrees 26. minutes or thereabout, being the latitude of the South part of the *Ile of Reſolution*: we comming to this Ice, our Maſter asked my opinion concerning the putting into the Ice. My iudgement was it would be beſt for vs to ſtand, and ply it vp to the Northwards. Hee anſwered, we were on the North ſide of the South Channell, and much Ice we muſt paſſe through, and if that we could get ſome two or three leagues within the Ice, it would euery tide open, and we ſhould get ſome thing onward of our way, hauing all the Channell to the South-wards of vs. So with this reſolution we put within the Ice, the wind being at Eaſt North-eaſt: this firſt entrance I liked not very well, ſcarce finding any place to put in our ſhips head, and being neere thirtie leagues from the ſhoare, towards Euening wee were faſt amongſt the Ice. *Ile of Reſolution.*

But ſometimes each day the Ice would a little open, we making what way we could towards the North-weſt in for the ſhoare till the two and twentieth day, hauing had the wind all Southerly. Yet we plainly ſaw that we ſet to the Southwards, for all that wee could doe.

The two and twentieth day, the wind came vp at North North-weſt: then our Maſter determined to ſtand forth againe. For if the wind ſhould haue come to the North-eaſt, it would be vnpoſſible for vs to fetch any part of the Channell, ſeeing wee droue ſo faſt to the Southwards, with Southerly winds, and hauing ſo farre into the ſhoare, not hauing ſeene the Land.

Our Maſter was alſo determined to ſpend ſome twentie, or foure and twentie dayes in *Freſum Dauis*, to ſee what hopes would be that wayes, ſuppoſing there would be little good to be done in *Hudſons Streights* for this time limited: then we plying to get to Sea-ward, and ſo by eight a clock at night, the three and twentieth day, we were cleere of the thick Ice: againe, the Lord make vs thankfull, the wind at North-weſt and by North faire weather: but no ſooner were we forth of the Ice, but that our Maſter changed his opinion: and beeing cleere of this thicke Ice wee ſtood to the Northward as much as the Ice and winde would giue vs leaue, running ſome thirteene leagues true North-eaſt by North, being in the latitude of 61. degrees 50. minutes. The foure and twentieth day faire weather: the fiue and twentieth day, alſo faire weather, the wind at North and by Weſt, till ſixe a clocke, we hauing made a North-eaſt by North way about twelue leagues and an halfe, our latitude at noone 62. degrees 20. minutes, at ſixe a clocke the wind was at the North North-eaſt. The ſixe and twentieth day, all the forenoone faire weather and cold: but in the afternoone it blew very hard, being cloſe haſie weather, that about two a clocke this afternoone wee tooke in our ſailes and hulled with our ſhip till the next morning at foure a clocke, all the time that we ſayled this day we paſt through many ledges of Ice hauing great quantitie to the Northward of vs, and hauing runne about twentie one leagues true vpon a Weſt courſe. And note where I put this word *true*, I meane the true courſe, the variation of the Compaſſe, and other accidents allowed.

The ſeuen and twentieth day cloſe foggy weather with much ſnow freezing on our ſhrowds and tackling: the like we had not all this yeare before: but towards foure a clocke in the afternoone it began to cleere vp, and about fiue a clocke we ſaw Land, being the Iland of *Reſolution*, and bearing Weſt from vs about thirteene or fourteene leagues. This morning we ſet ſayle, and ſtood to and fro as the Ice would ſuffer vs, and at ten at night, wee moored our ſhip to a piece of Ice, the wind being at Weſt.

The eight and twentieth day being Whitſunday, it was faire weather, but the winde was at the Weſt, and Weſt by North: al this day we were faſt to the piece of Ice. Yet we plainly perceiued that we ſet a great deale more into the Streights with the floud. Then we ſet forth with the ebbe the nine and twentieth day, the wind was variable, and faire weather: about eleuen a clock we ſet ſaile and tacked to and fro along by the Iland. And about two a clocke the next morning, the wind came to the South South-eaſt, but we had ſo much Ice that we could doe but little good with a faire wind, the wind continued all this day and night a ſtiffe gale: this night (or rather Euening, becauſe it was not darke at all) we were ſet within the point of the Iland: ſo that now we were within the Streights. No night.

The one & thirtieth day alſo faire weather, the wind for the moſt part at North North-weſt, the afternoone being cleere wee ſaw the point of the South ſhoare, called *Buttons Iles*, to beare from vs due South by the Compaſſe, which is indeed South South-eaſt, ſomewhat Eaſtward, becauſe here the Compaſſe is varied to the Weſtwards twentie foure degrees. Variation 24. degrees.

The first of Iune, wee had some snow in the forenoone, but very faire weather in the afternoone, the wind at West North-west. We perceiuing the Ice to be more open close aboord the shoare, made the best way we could to get in, and to come to Anchor, if the place were conuenient; and by seuen a clocke we were in a good Harbour, on the North-west side of the Iland of *Resolution*, where an East South-east Moone maketh full Sea, or halfe an houre past seuen on the change day, as Sea-men account the water doth rise and fall, neere foure fathomes; the Compasse doth vary to the West 24. degrees 6. minutes, and is in longitude West from *London* 66. degrees 35. minutes. The breadth of the South Channell, or the distance betweene the Iland and the South shoare, is sixteene leagues, and the North Channell is eight miles wide in the narrowest place.

Vpon this Iland we went on shoare, but found no certaine signe of Inhabitants, but the tract of Beares and Foxes, Rockes and stonie ground, hardly any thing growing thereon: it is indifferent high Land to the Northward, hauing one high Hill or Hummocke on the North-east side, but to the Southward it falleth away very low.

The second of Iune in the morning the wind came vp at East South-east, with much snow and fowle weather, about noone wee weighed Anchor, and stood vp along by the Iland, so well as the Ice would giue vs leaue to get to the North shoare. Wee continuing our courses so neere the North shoare, as conueniently we could, with much variable weather and windes, but stedfast in continuance among Ice, till the eight day, hauing the wind full contrary to vs, and being somewhat neere a point of Land, or rather a company of Ilands, which after wee called *Sauage Iles*, hauing a great Sound or In-draught, betweene the North shoare and them. At sixe a clocke we came to Anchor neere one of them, being the Eastermost sauing one. But whiles wee were furling our sailes, we heard and saw a great company of Dogges running vp and downe, with such howling and barking, that it seemed very strange. Shortly after we had moored our ship, we sent our Boat somewhat neerer the shoare, to see if they could perceiue any people; who returning, told vs that there were Tents and Boats, or Canowes, with a great many Dogges, but people they saw none. After Prayer, when our men had supt, wee fitted our Boate and our selues with things conuenient: then my selfe with seuen others landed, and went to their Tents, where finding no people, we marched vp to the top of a Hill (being about a flight shot off) where we saw one great Canow or Boat, which had about fourteene men in it, being on the furthest, or North-west point of the Iland, and from vs somewhat more then a Musket shot. Then I called vnto them, vsing some words of *Groenlandish* speech, making signes of friendship. They did the like to vs; but seeing them so fearefull of vs, and we not willing to trust them, I made another signe to them, shewing them a Knife and other Trifles, which I left on the top of the Hill, and returned downe to their Tents againe. There wee found some Whale Finnes to the number of fortie or fiftie, with a few Seale skinnes which I tooke aboord, leauing Kniues, Beades, and Counters instead thereof; and amongst their houses I found a little bagge, in which was a company of little Images of men; one the Image of a woman with a child at her backe, all the which I brought away.

Sauage Iles.

Dogges.

Great Boat with 14. men.

Bagge of Images.

Among these Tents being fiue in number, all couered with Seales skinnes, were running vp and downe, about thirtie fiue or fortie Dogges; most of them muzled. They were of our mungrell Mastiffes, being of a brinded blacke colour, looking almost like Wolues. These Dogges they vse in stead of Horses, or rather as *the Lappians* doe their Deere, to draw their sleds from place to place ouer the Ice: their sleds are shod or lined with great bones of fishes to keepe them from wearing, and their Dogges haue Collars and Furniture very fitting.

Their Dogges described.

These people haue their Apparell, Boots, Tents, and other necessaries much like to the Inhabitants in *Groineland*, sauing that they are not so neate and artificiall, seeming to bee more rude and vnciuill, ranging vp and downe as their fishing is in season. For in most places where wee came ashoare, we saw where people had beene, although not this yeere; but where their Habitation or their abode in Winter is, I cannot well coniecture.

The people described.

This Iland lyeth in the latitude of 62. degrees 30. minutes, and in longitude West from *London*, 72. degrees or neere thereabouts, being sixtie leagues from the entrance of the Streights: here the Compasse doth varie 27. degrees 30. minutes, and a South-east Moone foure degrees East maketh a full Sea: it doth ebbe and flow almost as much water, as it doth at the *Resolution*, and here the floud commeth from the Eastward, although our Master was of opinion to the contrarie.

Situation.

The tenth day in the morning, at sixe a clocke we set sayle, the winde at North, which continued not, but was very variable till noone, and then it came to North-west, we hauing sayled along by the shoare, about some nine leagues and an halfe North North-west, the Ice lying so thicke in the offen, that wee could not well get out of it: then perceiuing a good Harbour betweene two small Ilands and the Mayne, wee went in with our ship, where wee moored her, and stayed till the twelfth day at Euening.

In this place it is high water on the change day, at nine of the clocke, or a South-east Moone maketh a full Sea: the latitude of this place is 62. degrees 40. minutes; and the floud doth come from

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from the Eastward, although our Master was perswaded otherwise, as well in this place, as at *Salvage* Ilands: for being among Ilands, euery point hath his seuerall set and eddie. But I going to the top of the Iland, plainely perceiued the Ice to come from the South-east, and from the North-west on the ebbe. In this place is no signe of people, as we could perceiue.

The sixteenth day, lying still in the Ice, the weather being very close and hasey, as it hath beene these six dayes: and being neere a great company of Ilands, in the afternoone, the winde being at West North-west, wee stood in amongst these Ilands, and in the euening we moared our Shippe to one of them in a small coue, the better to defend her from the Ice. In this place wee stayed all the seuenteenth day: and vpon the eighteenth, being Sunday, about eleuen a clocke we set sayle, being almost calme, making the best way wee could to get forth. Here are a great company of Ilands, each hath his seuerall set and eddy, that the Ice doth so runne to and fro, and with such violence, that our Shippe was in more safetie further off then in this place: the latitude of the Ile we rode by is 63. degrees 26. minutes, and longitude West from *London*, neere 72. degrees 25. minutes: the Compasse hath variation 27. degrees 46. minutes; and at a quarter of an houre after nine on the Change day, doth make a full Sea. This Euening, and the next morning, wee had a faire steering gale of winde at South-east, wee standing along by the Land, it beeing all small broken Ilands, to a point of Land about twelue leagues in distance from the Ile wee put last from: which Point, I called *Broken Point*, it being indeede a point of broken Iles.

Many Ilands and seuerall tyde Sets.

Broken Point.

On the nineteenth day, by twelue a clocke at noone, wee were about foure miles from the Point before named, fast inclosed with Ice, very faire weather; and well we might haue called this Point *Faireneſſe* or *Faire Point*, for from this day till the thirtieth day, the weather was so faire, and almost, or altogether calme, that in few places elsewhere, finer weather could not be; and till the seuen and twentieth at night, wee were so fast inclosed vp with Ice, that at some times one could not well dippe a paile of water by the Ship sides: while wee were thus fast in the Ice, vpon the one and twentieth day, I saw both the Sunne and Moone at one time, as indeede it is vsuall in faire weather.

This one and twentieth, being faire weather, as afore is said, and I seeing both the Sunne and Moone so faire: I thought it a fit time to make an obseruation for the longitude.

Obseruations of longitude.

But the two and twentieth day being very faire and cleare, and also calme, being almost as steedy as on shoare: it was no neede to bid me fit my instrument of variation to take the time of the Moones comming to the Meridian, hauing also my quadrant ready to take the Sunnes almicanter, it being indifferent large, as of foure foote semidiameter: haue taken the variation of my needle as precisely as possible I could, which was 28. degrees 20. minutes West, and if any be desirous to worke the same, they may, but my worke was as followeth.

The Sunnes almicanter, at the instant when the Moone was on the Meridian, was 26. degrees 40. minutes: and the Sunnes declination for that time 23. degrees 6. minutes. By which three things giuen, I found the houre to be fiue a clocke 4. minutes 52. seconds, 1. third 4. fourths, or 76. degrees, 13. minutes, 16. seconds, of the equinoctiall afternoone: and according to *Searles* Ephemerides, the Moone came to the Meridian at *London* at foure a clocke 54. minutes, 30. seconds: and after *Origanus* the Moone came to the Meridian at foure a clocke 52. minutes, 5. seconds, at *Wittenberge* the same day. Now hauing this knowne, it is no hard matter to finde the longitude of this place sought. For according to the Moones meane motion, which is 12. degrees a day, that is in time 48. minutes: and to this account, if she be on the Meridian at twelue a clock this day, to morrow it will be 48. min. past 12. So I hauing the time found by obseruation at this place, *viz.* 5. houres, 4. minutes, 52. seconds, 1. third 4. fourths: but in this I neede not come so precise: and at *London*, at 4. houres, 54. minutes, 30. seconds: which substracted from the former, leaueth 10. minutes, 22. seconds, 1. third, 4. fourths, now the Moones motion that foure and twentie houres, was 22. degrees, 38. minutes: which conuerted into time, is 50. minutes 25. seconds 20. thirds: then the proportion standeth thus; If 50. minutes, 25. seconds, 20. thirds, giue 360. degrees, what shall 10. minutes, 22. seconds, 1. third, 4. fourths giue? the fourth proportionall, will be 74. degrees 5. minutes, which is West of *London*; because the Moone came later by 10. minutes, 22. seconds, and by the same working by *Origanus* Ephemerides, the distance is 91. degrees, 35. minutes, West of West. But whether be the truer, I leaue to others to iudge: in these workings may some errour be committed, if it be not carefully looked vnto: as in the obseruation, and also in finding what time the Moone commeth to the Meridian, at the place where the Ephemerides is supputated for, and perchance in the Ephemerides themselues: in all which, the best iudicious may erre: yet if obseruations of this kinde, or some other, at places farre remote, as at the Cape *Bonasperanze*, *Bantam*, *Iapan*, *Noua Albion*, and *Magellan* Straits, I suppose wee should haue a truer Geography then we haue. And seeing I am entred to speake of celestiall obseruations, I will note another which I made the twenty sixt of April, being outward bound at Sea, by the Moones comming in a right line, with two fixed Starres; the one was the *Lyons heart*, a Starre of the first magnitude; the other a Starre in the Lyons rumpe, of the second magnitude, as followeth: The circumference or outward edge of the Moone, being in a right or straight line, with those

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two Starres before named: at the inſtant I tooke the altitude of the South ballance, which was 2. degrees 38. minutes, becauſe I would haue the time: but in this it is good to waite a fit time, as to haue her in a right line, with two Stars not farre diſtant, and thoſe not to be much different in longitude, becauſe the Moon will ſoone alter the angle or poſition, and ſuch a time would be taken when the Moone is in the nintieth degree of the eclipticke aboue the horizon, for then there no paralell of longitude, but onely in latitude: but who ſo is painefull in theſe buſineſſes, ſhall ſoone ſee what is needefull, and what is not: my obſeruations were as followeth:

Lyons heart	Right aſſention 46. deg. 28. min. 30. ſec.	*Lyons tayle*	Right aſſention 163. deg. 23. min. 00. ſe.	
	Declination --- 13. deg. 57. mi. 30. ſec.		Declination --- 22. deg. 38. min 00. ſe.	
	Longitude ---- 24. deg. 29. mi. 45. ſec.		Longitude ----- 5. deg. 53. min. 45. ſec.	
	Latitude ----- 00. deg. 26. min. 30. ſec.		Latitude ----- 14. deg. 20. min. 00. ſec.	
	Almicanter --- 33. deg. 40. min. 00. ſe.			

Moones	Paralax ——— 00. deg. 47. min. 46. ſec.		
	Latitude ——— 03. deg. 20. min. 00. ſec.	North.	
	Almicanter — 37. deg. 00. min. 00. ſec.		
	Latitude of the place —56. deg. 43. min.		

Theſe notes I haue ſet downe, that if any other be deſirous to trie, they may ſpend a little time therein; my ſelfe haue ſpent ſome therein, and more I would haue ſpent, if leiſure would haue permitted: but finding it not to my minde, I haue not here ſet downe my particular worke:
Maſter *Rudſton.* the working of this obſeruation I receiued from Maſter *Rudſton.*

But if it had pleaſed God, we had performed the action we were bound for, I would not feare but to haue brought ſo good contentment to the Aduenturers, concerning the true ſcituation of notable places, that ſmall doubt ſhould haue beene thereof: but ſeeing ſo ſmall hopes are in this place, I haue not ſet downe ſo many obſeruations as otherwiſe I would.

We lying here incloſed with the Ice with faire & calme weather (as before is ſaid) till the ſeuen and twentieth day at euening, at which time we ſet ſayle; the winde at South-eaſt, an eaſie gale: all the eight and twentieth and nine and twentieth dayes, we made the beſt way through the Ice we could; but the nine and twentieth day, the Ice was more open then it had beene theſe ten dayes before, and at noone we ſaw *Salisbury* Iland, it bearing due Weſt from vs.

The firſt of Iuly cloſe foggie weather, with much raine, the winde at South South-eaſt: by noone this day we were ſome three leagues from the Land: but hauing much Ice by the ſhoare, we ſtood along the Iland to the Northward: and the next morning wee were faire by another
Mill Iland. ſmall Ile, or rather a company of ſmall Ilands, which after we called *Mill* Iland, by reaſon of grinding the Ice, as this night we made proofe thereof: at noone, being cloſe to this Ile, wee took the latitude thereof, which is neere 64. degrees. Here driuing to and fro with the Ice all this day, till ſeuen or eight a clocke, at what time the Ice began to open and ſeperate; The Ice, as is ſaid, beginning to open: we had not ſtood along by the Ile, on the Eaſt ſide thereof, an houre; but the Ice came driuing with the tide of floud from the South-eaſt, with ſuch ſwiftneſſe, that it ouer went our Shippe hauing all our ſayles abroad with a reaſonable gale of winde, and put her out of the ſtreame, into the eddy of theſe Iles.

This Iland or Iles, lying in the middle of the channell, hauing many ſounds running through them, with many points or headlands, encountering the force of the tide, cauſed ſuch a rebound of water & Ice (which ran one way, and the ſtreame another) our ſhip hauing met the Ice with the firſt of the floud, which put her ſo neere the ſhoare, that ſhe was in the partition betweene the Ice, which the eddy cauſed to runne one way, and the ſtreame the other, where ſhee endured great diſtreſſe; but God, which is ſtill ſtronger then either Ice or ſtreame, preſerued vs and our Shippe from any harme at all. This continued till towards a high water, which was about one a clocke; then with no ſmall trouble we got into the channell, and ſtood away to the North-weſt ward. After we had paſt ſome diſtance from this Iland, wee had the Sea more open then it was ſince we put firſt into the Straits; and ſailed all the next day through an indifferent cleare Sea, with the winde at South-weſt: but towards eight a clocke at night, wee were come againe into much Ice; this Ice being more thicker and bigger then any wee had beene among: this place where we began to be incloſed againe, is ſixe and twenty leagues diſtant from the ſmall Iland we were at laſt: and our true courſe North-weſt by Weſt: after wee were faſt in the Ice, we made but ſmall way, yet we perceiued a great tyde to ſet to and fro. The next day, wee ſounded, and had ground at one hundred & twentie fathoms, ſoft Oſey ground: ſtanding more Northerly: the next morning we had ground at eightie fathoms, then the winde came to the North, and we ſetting ſomewhat Southward, had ground at a hundred and ten fathoms. Thus ſeeing this great abundance of Ice in this place, and the more we got to the North-weſt ward, the ſhoalder it was, the Ice alſo being foule and durtie, as not bred farre from ſhoare: our Maſter determined to ſtand to the Eaſtward, to be certainely informed of the tide.

The ſixt day in the morning, we brake in a planke and two timbers in our Ships bow, which after we had mended, we proceeded for to get to the Eaſt ſide, which we called the North ſhoare, becauſe it is the Land ſtretching from the *Reſolution*, on the North ſide of the Straits.

The

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The seuenth day we saw the land, it being but low land, and the Sea is shoald, in respect of other places, hauing ten or twelue fathom about a league off from shoare, some thirty fathoms fiue or six leagues off shore, but further off some twenty or eighteene leagues, there is a hundred or a hundred and fiue fathoms; hauing very good channell ground, as small stones & shels, some twelue or toureteene leagues from shoare, but the further off the more Osey: and also here is a very great tide runneth to the Northward; which this euening we found to be the tyde of ebbe, for comming with our Shippe neere the shoare, about seuen a clocke, we hoysed out our Boate, then I with fiue other went on shoare, and found it to ebbe: we staied on shoare about an houre and a halfe, in which time the water fell about three foote and a halfe; and a South-south East Moone maketh a full Sea, or halfe an houre past tenne, as Sea men account: we saw no signe of people to be here this yeare, but in yeares heretofore they haue beene, as we might well see by diuers places, where their tents had stood: and perchance their time of fishing was not yet come, there being such great abundance of Ice as yet.

The eight day the winde was at West, and the ninth almost calme: wee reeking neere to this shoare the tenth day, our Master determined to stand for *Nottinggams* Iland, to make triall of the tide there; yet the winde was at South-west, so that we were forced to turne, but towards night it came to the North North-west, so that then we stood away to the West wards, leauing the search of *Nottinggams* Ile, hauing a great swelling Sea, come out of the West with the winde which had blowne, which put vs in some hope: the eleuenth day in the morning, we saw Land West from vs, but had no ground at one hundred & thirty fathoms; so standing along by the Land which here lay about North-west by North, the next morne we were thwart of a Bay: then standing ouer to the Northwards towards a faire Cape or head land which we saw, in the afternoone it was almost calme, and being about a league from shoare, we hoysed out our Boat, and sent some of our men in her, to see what tide it was by the shoare, and from whence it came; they went from the Ship at fiue a clock, and came aboord againe at eight, who brought vs word, that it was falling water, and that it had eb'd while they were on shoare somewhat aboue two foot: also they affirmed, that the floud came from the Northward in this place, the which we also perceiued by the setting of our Ship, she setting a pace to the Northward, although no whit of winde: also we might see by the rocks, that the water was now falne: this put vs in great comfort and hope of a passage in this place. *Nottinggams Iland.*

Then our Master called this Cape or head land, *Cape Comfort*, for the reasons beforesaid; also we had one hundred and fortie fathoms in depth, not a league from the shoare: and here a South by East Moone maketh a full Sea: the latitude of this Cape is 65. degrees 00. min. and 85. degrees 20. minutes West from *London*. But this our sudaine comfort was as soone quailed, for the next day hauing doubled the Cape, and proceeded not past ten or twelue leagues, but we saw the land trending from the Cape to the Westward, till it bare from vs North-east by East, and very thicke pestered with Ice, and the further we proceeded, the more Ice, and the more Northerly, the shoulder water and small shew of any tide. At six a clocke this afternoone, we sounded, & had ground in one hundred and thirty fathoms, soft Osey, hauing had at noone one hundred & fiftie fathoms. *Cape Comfort.*

This was the fartheft of our Voyage, being in the latitude of 65. degrees 26. minutes, and longitude West from *London* 86. degrees 10. minutes: for seeing the land North-east by East, from vs about nine or ten leagues off, and the Ice so thicke: our Master was fully perswaded, that this was nought else but a Bay, and so tacked and turned the Shippes head homewards, without any farther search.

The fourteenth day, the winde was for the most part at South-east, that we could make but small way backe againe: and the next morning very foule weather, we comming to an Anchor in a small Inlet, neere the *Cape Comfort*, on the North-west side thereof; here wee found, as on the other side, a South by East Moone, to make a full Sea; but from whence the floud came, we could not well see, it being so foule weather at Sea: in the afternoone the winde came to North by West: then we waied, and stood along to the Southwards by the shoare, with a stiffe gale of winde, and very hasey. By the sixteenth day at noone we met with a great quantitie of Ice, lying some few leagues within the point of the Land: among this Ice we saw a great number of Sea Morse, not seeing any more in all the Straits but here, and these very fearefull, not suffering a Ship or Boat to come neere them: by eight a clock we were come to this Southern point, which I called *Sea Horse point*, where we came to anchor open in the Sea, the better to try the tide: here most apparently we found to all our companies sight, that in this place the tide of floud doth come from the South-east, and the ebbe from the Northwest. We weighed, and stood ouer with a stiffe gale of winde, which continued all this day, and toward night very foule weather & a sore storme: by tenne a clocke we were come to Anchor on the North-west side of *Nottinghams* Ile, where are two or three smal Iles, lyeth off from the greater, which make very good Sounds & Harbors: about this Ile we had store of Ice, but nothing as we had heretofore in other places. We staied about this Iland til the seuen and twentieth day, hauing much foule weather, many stormes, often fogs, and vncertaine windes, many times we weighed anchor to goe to that side of the Ile, where this Ship road when Captaine *Button* was in her: finding in other places of this Ile the tyde of *Sea Horse point.*

floud

floud to come from the South-east ward, and the time of high water on the change day, to be at halfe an houre past ten, and not at halfe an houre past seuen, as they supposed. In these ten dayes we staied about this Ile, we fitted our Ship with ballast, and other necessaries, as we had neede of.

Salisburie Ile. Then proceeded as followeth the sixe and twentieth day, being indifferent faire weather, we passed betweene *Salisburies* Ile and *Nottinghams* Ile at the South Point thereof, I meane of *Nottinghams* Ile, where are many small low Iles, without the which had beene a fit place for vs to haue anchored, to haue found out the true set of the Tyde. But our Master being desirous to come to the same place where they had rode before, stood along by this Ile to the Westward, and came to an anchor in the eddy of these broken grounds, where the ship rode at no certaintie of Tyde.

The seuen and twentieth, the next morning the weather proued very foule with much raine and winde, so that our Reger anchor would not hold the ship at eightie fathoms scope, but was driuen into deepe water, that wee were forced to set saile, the winde being at East, and then come to the East North-east and about noone at North-east, still foule weather, being vnder saile, we stood away towards *Sea horse* Point: our Master (as I suppose) was perswaded that there might bee some passage betweene that Point of Land and that Land which they called

Swan Iland. *Swan Iland:* so this afternoone we saw both *Sea horse* Point and *Nottinghams* Iland, the distance betweene them is not past fifteene or sixteen leagues, bearing the one from the other North-west and South-east.

The eight and twentieth day in the morning, wee were neere to *Sea horse* Point, the Land trending away West South-west so farre as wee saw, and very much pestred with Ice. At seuen a clocke our Master caused vs to tacke about, and stood away South-east and by South.

Digges Ile. The nine and twentieth the next day at eleuen a clocke, we came to anchor at *Digges* Ile, hauing very foule weather. At this place where we rode it lyeth open to the West, hauing two of the greatest Iles, breake off the force of the Flood, till the Tyde be well bent; for after the water were risen an houre and a halfe by the shoare, then would the ship ride truly on the Tyde of Flood all the Tyde after. Now the time of high water on the change day, is halfe an houre past ten or neere thereabout.

The thirtieth day, being faire weather, wee weighed and stood along close by *Digges* Ile,

Saluages. where we presently perceiued the Saluages to bee close on the top of the Rocks: but when they saw we had espyed them, diuers of them came running downe to the water side, calling to vs to come to anchor, which we would haue done if conueniently we could. But in this place the water is so deepe, that it is hard to finde a place to ride in, which we seeing lay to and fro with our ship, while some of our men in the Boat killed about some seuentie fowles, for in this place is the

Willocks. greatest number of fowles (whom we call *Willocks*) that in few places else the like are not seene, for if neede were we might haue killed many thousands, almost incredible to those which haue not seene it. Here also as we lay to and fro with our ship, wee had sufficient proofe of the set of the Tyde: but when our men were come aboord againe, we set all our sailes for homewards, making the best expedition we could; but on the third of August, wee were forced to come to anchor about thirtie leagues within the *Resolution* Ile on the North shoare. The next day wee weighed anchor: And the fifth day in the forenoone, we past by the *Resolution* Iland, but saw it not: Thus continuing our courses (as in the briefe Iournall may be seene) with much contrarie windes and foule weather.

Wee had sight of Cape *Cleere* in *Ireland* the sixt of September: the next morning by day light, we were faire by *Seely*, and that night at two a clocke the next morne, we came to anchor in *Plymouth* Sound with all our men liuing, hauing onely three or foure sicke, which soone recouered.

The next yeere being againe employed in discouerie, amongst other instructions they receiued this. For your course you must make all possible haste to the Cape Desolation, *and from thence, you* William Baffin *as Pilot, keepe along the Coast of* Groenland *and vp* Fretum Dauis, *vntill you come toward the height of eightie degrees, if the Land will giue you leaue. Then for feare of inbaying, by keeping too Northerly a course, shape your course West and Southerly, so farre as you shall thinke it conuenient, till you come to the latitude of sixtie degrees: then direct your course to fall with the Land of* Yedzo *about that height, leauing your farther sayling Southward to your owne discretion, according as the time of the yeere and windes will giue you leaue, although our desires be, if your voyage proue so prosperous that you may haue the yeere before you, that you goe so farre Southerly as that you may touch the North part of* Iapan, *from whence or from* Yedzo, *if you can so compasse it without danger, we would haue you to bring home one of the men of the Countrey, and so God blessing you with all expedition to make your returne home againe.*

CHAP.

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CHAP. XIX.

To the Right Worſhipfull Maſter IOHN WOSTENHOLME Eſquire, one of the chiefe Aduenturers for the diſcouerie of a paſſage to the North-weſt.

WOrthy Sir; there neede no filling a Iournall or ſhort Diſcourſe with preamble, complement, or circumſtance, and therefore I will onely tell you, I am proud of any Remembrance, when I expoſe your Worth to my Conceit, and glad of any good fortune, when I can auoid the imputation of ingratitude, by acknowledging your many fauours: and ſeeing it is not vnknowne (ſo your Worſhip) in what eſtate the buſineſſe concerning the North-weſt hath beene heretofore, and how the onely hope was in ſearching of Fretum Dauis, *which if your ſelfe had not beene the more forward, the action had well nigh beene left off: Now it remayneth for your Worſhip to know, what hath beene performed this yeere: wherefore I entreat you to admit of my cuſtome, and pardon me if I take the plaine highway in relating the particulars, without vſing any reſtrained phraſes and eloquent ſpeeches.*

Therefore briefly, and as it were in the forefront, I intend to ſhew you the whole proceeding of the voyage in a word: as namely, there is no paſſage, nor hope of paſſage in the North of Dauis *Streights, wee hauing coaſted all or neere all the Circumference thereof, and finde it to be no other then a great Bay, as the Map here placed doth truly ſhew: wherefore I cannot but much admire the worke of the Almightie, when I conſider how vaine the beſt and chiefeſt hopes of man are in things vncertaine. And to ſpeake of no other matter, then of the hopefull paſſage to the North-weſt; How many of the beſt ſort of men haue ſet their whole indeuours to proue a paſſage that wayes, and not onely in Conference, but alſo in Writing and publiſhing to the World, yea what great ſummes of money hath beene ſpent about that action, as your Worſhip hath coſtly experience off. Neither would the vaine-glorious* Spaniard *haue ſcattered abroad ſo many falſe Maps and Iournals, if they had not beene confident of a paſſage this way, that if it had pleaſed God, a paſſage had beene found, they might haue eclipſed the worthy praiſe of the Aduenturers and true Diſcouerers; and for my owne part, I would hardly haue beleeued the contrarie, vntill mine eyes became witneſſe of that I deſired not to haue found, ſtill taking occaſion of hope on euery little likelihood, till ſuch time as we had almoſt coaſted the Circumference of this great Bay. Neither was Maſter* Dauis *to be blamed in his report and great hopes, if he had anchored about* Hope Sanderſon, *to haue taken notice of the Tydes: for to that place which is in 72. degrees 12. minutes the Sea is open, of an vnſearchable depth, and of a good colour, onely the Tydes keepe no certaine courſe, nor riſe but a ſmall height, as eight or nine foote, and the flood commeth from the Southward, and in all the Bay beyond that place the Tyde is ſo ſmall, and not much to be regarded, yet by reaſon of ſnow melting on the Land, the Ebbe is ſtronger then the Flood, by meanes whereof, and the windes holding Northerly the fore-part of the yeere, the great Iles of Ice are ſet to the Southward, ſome into* Fretum Hudſon, *and others towards* New found Land, *for in all the Channell where the Sea is open are great quantities of them driuing vp and downe, and till this yeere not well knowne where they were bred.*

Howſoeuer the paſſage this way was embayed; yet that former diſcouerie of Sir *Tho. Button* (then by him kept ſecret for ſome intent of his) is both more probable and to the moſt iudicious more then probable; and that by that Tyde argument from the Weſt, as in Maſter *Brigs* his Map and notes appeareth.

Now that the worſt is knowne (concerning the paſſage) it is neceſſarie and requiſite, your Worſhip ſhould vnderſtand what probabilitie or hope of profit might here be made hereafter, if the voyage bee attempted by fitting men. And firſt for the killing of Whales, certaine it is that in this Bay are great numbers of them, which the Biſcainers *call the* Grand Baye Whales, *of the ſame kinde which are killed at* Greenland, *and as it ſeemeth to me eaſie to be ſtrooke, becauſe they are not vſed to bee chaſed or beaten, for we being but one day in* Whale Sound *(ſo called for the number of Whales that wee ſaw there) ſleeping and lying aloft on the water, not fearing our ſhip or ought elſe; that if wee had beene fitted with men and things neceſſarie, it had beene no hard matter to haue ſtrooke more then would haue made three ſhips a ſauing voyage, and that it is of that ſort of Whale there is no feare. I being twiſe at* Greenland, *tooke ſufficient notice to know them againe; beſide a dead Whale wee found at Sea, hauing all her ſinnes (or rather all the rough of her mouth) of which with much labour, we got one hundred and ſixtie the ſame euening we found her; and if that foule weather, and a ſtorme the next day had not followed, wee had no doubt, but to haue had all or the moſt part of them, but the winde and Sea ariſing ſhee broke from vs, and we were forced to leaue her. Neither are they onely to be looked for in Whale Sound, but alſo in Sir* Tho. Smiths *Sound,* Woſtenholme *Sound, and diuers other places.*

Store of *Grand Bay* Whales.

Baffin twice at *Greenland.*

For the killing of Sea Morſe, I can giue no certaintie, but onely this, that our Boat being but once aſhoare in all the North part of this Bay, which was in the entrance of Alderman Iones *Sound, at the returne, our men told vs, they ſaw many Morſes along by the ſhoare on the Ice; but our ſhip being vnder ſaile, and the winde comming faire, they preſently came aboord without further ſearch, beſides the people inhabiting about 74. degrees, told vs by diuers ſignes, that toward the North were many of thoſe beaſts, hauing two long teeth, and ſhewed vs diuers pieces of the ſame.*

Morſes.

As for the Sea Vnicorne, it being a great fiſh, hauing a long horne or bone, growing forth of his forehead or noſtrill (ſuch as Sir Martin Frobiſher *in his ſecond voyage found one) in diuers places we ſaw of them, which if the horne be of any good value, no doubt but many of them may be killed.*

Sea Vnicorne. The horne is ſtill kept in the Robes at *Windſore* (where I haue ſeene it) neere ſeuen foot long and creſſed, &c.

And

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And concerning what the Shoare will yeeld, as Beach finnes, Morse teeth, and such like, I can little say, because we came not on shoare in any of the places where hope was of finding them.

But here some may obiect and aske, why we sought that Coast no better: to this I answere, that while we were thereabout, the weather was so exceeding foule wee could not, for first wee anchored in Wostenholme *Sound, where presently our ship drove with two anchors a head, then were we forced to stand forth with a low saile. The next day in* Whale *Sound, we lost an Anchor and Cable, and could fetch the place no more; then we came to anchor neere a small Iland, lying between Sir* Tho. Smiths *Sound, and* Whale *Sound, but the winde came more outward, that we were forced to weigh againe: neuertheless if wee had beene in a good harbour, hauing but our Ships Boat, we durst not send her farre from the ship, hauing so few men (as seuenteene in all) and some of them very weake; but the chiefe cause wee spent so little time to seeke a Harbour, was our great desire to performe the Discouerie, hauing the Sea open in all that part, and still likelihood of a passage: but when we had coasted the Land so farre to the Southward, that hope of passage was none, then the yeere was too farre spent, and many of our men very weake, and withall we hauing some beliefe that ships the next yeere would be sent for the killing of Whales, which might better doe it then wee.*

And seeing I haue briefly set downe, what hope there is of making a profitable voyage, it is not vnfit your Worship should know what let or hinderance might be to the same. The chiefest and greatest cause is, that some yeere it may happen by reason of the Ice, lying betweene 72. degrees and a halfe, and 76. degrees no minutes, that the ships cannot come into those places, till toward the middest of Iuly, so that want of time to stay in the Countrey may bee some let: yet they may well tarry till the last of August, in which space much businesse may be done, and good store of Oile made: neuertheless if store of Whales come in (as no feare to the contrarie) what cannot bee made in Oile may bee brought home in Blubber, and the Finnes will arise to good profit. Another hinderance may bee, because the bottome of the Sounds will not be so soone cleere as would be wished, by meanes thereof now and then a Whale may be lost (the same case sometime chanceth in Greenland) *yet I am perswaded those Sounds before named, will all be cleere before the twentieth of Iuly: for we this yeere were in* Whale *Sound the fourth day among many Whales, and might haue strooke them without let of Ice. Furthermore, there is little wood to bee expected, either for fire or other necessaries, therefore Coles and other such things must bee prouided at home, they will bee so much the readier there.*

Thus much I thought good to certifie your Worship, wherein I trust you will conceiue, that much time hath not beene spent in vaine, or the businesse ouer carelesly neglected, and although wee haue not performed what we desired (that is, to haue found the passage) yet what wee promised (as to bring certaintie and a true description) truth will make manifest, that I haue not much erred.

And I dare boldly say (without boasting) that more good discouerie hath not in shorter time (to my remembrance) beene done, since the action was attempted, considering how much Ice we haue passed, and the difficultie of sayling so neere the Pole (vpon a trauerse) and aboue all, the variation of the Compasse, whose wonderfull operation is such in this Bay, increasing and decreasing so suddenly and swift, being in some part (as in Wostenholme *Sound, and in Sir* Tho. Smiths *Sound) varied aboue fiue Points or 56. degrees, a thing almost incredible and matchlesse in all the world beside, so that without great care, and good obseruations, a true description could not haue beene had. In fine, whatsoeuer my labours are or shall be, I esteeme them too little, to expresse my thankefull minde for your many fauours, wherein I shall be euer studious, to supply my other wants by my best endeuours, and euer rest at*

Variation of the Compasse admirable.

Your Worships command,

WILLIAM BAFFIN.

A briefe and true Relation or Iournall, containing such accidents as happened in the fift voyage, for the discouerie of a passage to the North-west, set forth at the charges of the right Worshipfull Sir Tho. Smith *Knight, Sir* Dudly Digges *Knight, Master* Iohn Wostenholme *Esquire, Master Alderman* Iones, *with others, in the good ship called the* Discouerie *of* London; Robert Bileth *Master, and my selfe Pilot, performed in the yeere of our Lord* 1616.

March 26. IN the Name of God, *Amen.* The forenamed ship being in full readinesse vpon the twentie sixe of March, we set saile at *Graueseud*, being in number seuenteene persons, hauing very faire weather, which continued till the second of April: by that time we were off *Portland*, then the winde comming Westward with foule weather, we kept Sea till the fourth day, then being not able to fetch *Plimouth*, bore roome for *Dartmouth*, where wee stayed eleuen dayes, in which time was much foule weather and westerly windes.

The

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The fifteenth day of Aprill, being cleere of *Dartmouth*, we were forced the next day to put into *Plimouth*. The nineteenth day we set saile from thence, and the twentieth in the morning we past betweene the Lands end and *Silly* with a faire winde. Continuing our course, as in the briefe Table or Iournall is set downe, with euery particular from noone to noone, that here I need not make a tedious repetition, nothing worthy of note hapning, but that we had a good passage, and the first Land we saw was in *Fretum Dauis*, on the coast of *Groinland* in the latitude of 65. degrees 20. minutes. On the fourteenth of May in the forenoone, then sixe of the people being a fishing came to vs, to whom we gaue small pieces of Iron, they keeping vs companie being very ioyfull, supposing wee had intended to come to anchor: but when they saw vs stand off from shoare they followed vs a while, and then went away discontented, to our seeming. *Groinland.*

We prosecuting our Voyage, were loth to come to anchor as yet, although the winde was contrarie, but still plyed to the Northward, vntill we came into 70. degrees 20. minutes: then wee came to anchor in a faire Sound (neere the place Master *Dauis* called *London Coast.*) The twentieth of May at euening, the people espying vs fled away in their Boates, getting on Rocks wondring and gasing at vs, but after this night we saw them no more, leaving many Dogs running to and fro on the Iland. *Men and dogs.*

At this place we stayed two dayes, in which time wee tooke in fresh water and other necessaries: here we had some dislike of the passage, because the Tydes are so small as not arising aboue eight or nine foot, and keepe no certaine course, but the neerest time of high water on the change day is at a quarter of an houre past nine, and the Flood commeth from the South.

The two and twentieth day at a North Sunne, wee set saile and plyed still Northward, the winde being right against vs as we stood off and on. Vpon the sixe and twentieth day in the afternoone, we found a dead Whale, about sixe and twentie leagues from shoare, hauing all her finnes. Then making our ship fast, wee vsed the best meanes wee could to get them, and with much toile got a hundred and sixtie that euening. The next morning the Sea went very high and the winde arising, the Whale broke from vs, and we were forced to leaue her and set saile, and hauing not stood past three or foure leagues North-westward, came to the Ice, then wee tacked and stood to the shoare-ward, a sore storme ensued. *Dead Whale.*

By the thirtieth day in the afternoone, wee came faire by *Hope Sanderson*, the farthest Land Master *Dauis* was at, lying betweene 72. and 73. degrees; and that euening by a North Sunne we came to much Ice, which we put into, plying all the next day to get through it. *Hope Sanderson.*

The first of Iune, we were cleere of the Ice before named, and not farre from shoare, the winde blowing very hard at North North-east, then we put in among diuers Ilands, the people seeing vs fled away in all haste leauing their Tents behinde, and vpon a small Rocke they hid two young Maides or Women. Our ship riding not farre off, we espyed them, to whom our Master with some other of our companie went in the Boate, they making signes to be carried to the Iland where their Tents were close adioyning. When they came thither, they found two old women more, the one very old, to our esteemation little lesse then fourescore, the other not so old. The next time we went on shoare, there was another Woman with a child at her back, who had hid her selfe among the Rocks, till the other had told her how well wee had vsed them, in giuing them pieces of Iron and such like, which they highly esteeme, in change thereof they giue vs Seales skinnes, other riches they had none, saue dead Seales, and fat of Seales, some of which fat or blubber afterward we carried aboord, the poore women were very diligent to carry it to the water side to put into our caske, making shew that the men were ouer at the Mayne, and at an other small Iland something more Eastward. Then making signes to them that wee would shew them our ship and set them where the men were: the foure youngest came into our Boate; when they were aboord they much wondred to see our ship and furniture: we gaue them of our meat, which they tasting would not eate. Then two of them wee set on the Iland, where they supposed the men to be; the other two were carried to their Tents againe. Those that went to seeke the men could not finde them, but came as neere the ship as they could, and at euening wee set them ouer to the other. *Tents, Men and Women.*

This place wee called *Womens* Ilands; it lyeth in the latitude of 72. degrees 45. minutes: here the Flood commeth from the Southward, at nep Tydes the water ariseth but sixe or seuen foote, and a South South-east Moone maketh a full Sea. The Inhabitants very poore, liuing chiefly on the flesh of Seales, dryed, which they eate raw, with the skinnes they cloathe themselues, and also make couerings for their Tents and Boats which they dresse very well. The Women in their apparell are different from the men, and are marked in the face with diuers blacke strokes or lines, the skin being rased with some sharpe instrument when they are young, and blacke colour put therein, that by no meanes it will be gotten forth. *Womens Ilands.* *The people described.* *Women.*

Concerning their Religion, I can little say: onely they haue a kinde of worship or adoration to the Sunne, which continually they will point vnto and strike their hand on their breast, crying *Ilyont*; their dead they burie on the side of the Hils, where they liue (which is commonly on small Ilands) making a pile of stones ouer them, yet not so close but that wee might see the dead body, the aire being so piersing that it keepeth them from much stinking sauour. So likewise I haue seene their Dogs buried in the same manner. *Religion.* *Buriall of Men and Dogs.*

Vpon

Vpon the fourth day we ſet ſayle from thence, hauing very faire weather, although the winde were contrary, and plyed to and fro betweene the Ice and the Land, being as it were a channell of ſeuen or eight leagues broad: then on the ninth day, being in the latitude of 74. degree 4. minutes, and much peſtered with Ice, neere vnto three ſmall Ilands, lying eight miles from the ſhore, we came to anchor neere one of them.

Theſe Ilands are vſed to be frequented with people in the latter part of the yeare, as it ſeemed by the houſes and places where the tents had ſtood: but this yeare as yet they were not come: here the tides are very ſmall, eſpecially the floud, which ariſeth not aboue fiue or ſix foot, yet the ebbe runneth with an indifferent ſtreame, the cauſe thereof (in mine opinion) is the great abundance of Snow, melting on the Land all this part of the yeare.

The tenth day wee ſet ſayle from thence, and ſtood through much Ice to the Weſtward, to try if that further from the ſhoare, wee might proceede; but this attempt was ſoone quailed, for the more Ice we went through, the thicker it was, till wee could ſee no place to put in the Ships head.

Seeing, that as yet we could not proceede, we determined to ſtand in for the ſhoare, there to abide ſome few dayes, till ſuch time as the Ice were more waſted and gone (for we plainely ſaw that it conſumed very faſt) with this reſolution we ſtood in, and came to anchor among many Ilands, in the latitude of 73. degrees 45. minutes. On the twelfth day at night here wee continued two dayes without ſhew or ſigne of any people, till on the fifteenth day in the morning, about one a clocke, then came two and fortie of the Inhabitants in their Boates or Canoas, and gaue vs Seale skinnes, and many peeces of the bone or horne of the Sea Vnicorne, and ſhewed vs diuers peeces of Sea Mors teeth; making ſignes that to the Northward were many of them: in exchange thereof, we gaue them ſmall peeces of Iron, Glaſſe Beads, and ſuch like: at foure ſeuerall times the people came to vs, and at each time brought vs of the aforeſaid commodities, by reaſon thereof we called this place *Horne Sound.*

42. Inhabitants

Vnicornes hornes.

Horne Sound.

Here we ſtayed ſix dayes, and on the eighteenth day at night, we ſet ſayle, hauing very little winde; and being at Sea, made the beſt way we could to the Northward, although the winde had beene contrary for the moſt part this moneth, but it was ſtrange to ſee the Ice ſo much conſumed in ſo little ſpace, for now we might come to the three Ilands before named, and ſtand off to the Weſtward almoſt twenty leagues, without let of Ice, vntill we were more North (as to 74. degrees 30. minutes) then we put among much ſcattered Ice, and plyed to and fro all this month, ſtill in the ſight of ſhoare, and many times faſt in the Ice, yet euery day we got ſomething on our way, nothing worthy of note happening, but that at diuers times we ſaw of the fiſhes with long hornes, many and often, which we call the Sea Vnicornes: and here to write particularly of the weather, it would be ſuperfluous or needeleſſe, becauſe it was ſo variable, few dayes without Snow, and often freezing, in ſo much, that on Midſummer day, our ſhrowds roapes and ſailes were ſo frozen, that we could ſcarſe handle them; yet the cold is not ſo extreame, but it may well be endured.

They ſee many Sea Vnicornes.

Sharp froſt on Midſummer day.

The firſt of Iuly we were come into an open Sea, in the latitude of 75. degrees 40. minutes, which a new reuiued our hope of a paſſage, and becauſe the winde was contrary, wee ſtood off twenty leagues from the ſhoare, before we met the Ice: then ſtanding in againe, when we were neere the Land, we let fall an anchor to ſee what tyde went, but in that we found ſmall comfort. Shortly after the winde came to the South-eaſt, and blew very hard, with foule weather, thicke, and foggie: then we ſet ſayle, and ran along by the Land: this was on the ſecond day at night. The next morning we paſt by a faire Cape, or head land, which wee called Sir *Dudley Digges* Cape, it is in the latitude of 76. degrees 35. minutes, and hath a ſmall Iland cloſe adioyning to it, the winde ſtill increaſing, we paſt by a faire Sound twelue leagues diſtant from the former Cape, hauing an Iland in the midſt, which maketh two entrances. Vnder this Iland we came to anchor; and had not rid paſt two houres, but our Ship droue, although we had two anchors at the ground, then were we forced to ſet ſayle, and ſtand forth: this Sound wee called *Woſtenholme* Sound: it hath many Inlets or ſmaller Sounds in it, and is a fit place for the killing of Whales.

Sir *Dudly Digs* his Cape.

Woſtenholme Sound.

The fourth day at one a clocke in the morning, the ſtorme began againe at Weſt and by South, ſo vehement, that it blew away our forecourſe, and being not able to beare any ſayle, wee lay a drift till about eight a clocke, then it cleared vp a little, and we ſaw our ſelues imbayed in a great Sound: then we ſet ſayle and ſtood ouer to the South-eaſt ſide, where in a little Coue or Bay we let fall an anchor, which we loſt with cable and all, the winde blowing ſo extreamely from the tops of the hils, that we could get no place to anchor in, but were forced to ſtand to and fro in the Sound, the bottome being all frozen ouer; toward two a clocke it began to be leſſe winde, then we ſtood forth.

Whale Sound.

In this Sound we ſaw great numbers of Whales, therefore we called it *Whale Sound*, and doubtleſſe if we had beene prouided for killing of them, we might haue ſtrooke very many. It lyeth in the latitude of 77. degrees 30. minutes. All the fift day it was very faire weather, and wee kept along by the Land till eight a clock in the euening, by which time we were come to a great banke of Ice, it being backed with Land, which we ſeeing, determined to ſtand backe ſome eight leagues,

leagues, to an Iland we called *Hacklуits Ile*, it lyeth betweene two great Sounds, the one *Whale Sound*, and the other Sir *Thomas Smiths Sound*: this last runneth to the North of seuenty eight degrees, and is admirable in one respect, because in it is the greatest variation of the Compasse of any part of the World known: for by diuers good Obseruations I found it to be aboue fiue points or fifty six degrees varied to the Westward, so that a North-east and by East, is true North, and so of the rest. Also this Sound seemeth to bee good for the killing of Whales, it being the greatest and largest in all this Bay. The cause wherefore we minded to stand to this Iland, was to see if we could find any fishes or such like on the shore, and so indeed this night wee came to anchor, but with such foule weather, that our Boat could not land. The next day wee were forced to set sayle, the Sea was growne so high, and the wind came more outward. Two dayes wee spent and could get no good place to anchor in: then on the eight day it cleered vp, and wee seeing a company of Ilands lye off from the shoare twelue or thirteene Leagues, wee minded to goe to them, to see if there we could Anchor. When wee were something neere, the winde tooke vs short; and being loth to spend more time, we tooke opportunitie of the wind, and left the searching of these Ilands, which wee called *Careyes* Ilands, all which Sounds and Ilands the Map * doth truly describe.

So we stood to the Westward in an open Sea, with a stiffe gale of wind, all the next day and till the tenth day at one or two a clocke in the morning; at which time it fell calme and very foggie, and wee neere the Land in the entrance of a faire Sound, which wee called Alderman *Iones* Sound. This afternoone being faire and cleere, we sent our Boat to the shoare, the ship being vnder sayle, and assoone as they were on shoare, the wind began to blow; then they returned againe, declaring that they saw many Sea Morses by the shoare among the Ice, and as farre as they were, they saw no signe of people, nor any good place to anchor in along the shoare. Then hauing an easie gale of wind at East North-east, we ranne along by the shoare, which now trendeth much South, and beginneth to shew like a Bay.

On the twelfth day we were open of another great Sound, lying in the Latitude of 74. degrees 20. minutes, and we called it Sir *Iames Lankasters* Sound: here our hope of passage began to be lesse euery day then other, for from this Sound to the Southward, wee had a ledge of Ice betweene the shoare and vs, but cleare to the Sea ward, we kept close by this ledge of Ice till the foureteenth day in the afternoone, by which time wee were in the latitude of 71. degrees 16. minutes, and plainely perceiued the Land to the Southward of 70. degrees 30. minutes, then wee hauing so much Ice round about vs, were forced to stand more Eastward, supposing to haue beene soone cleare, and to haue kept on the off side of the Ice, vntill we had come into 70. degrees, then to haue stood in againe. But this proued quite contrary to our expectation: for wee were forced to runne aboue threescore leagues through very much Ice, and many times so fast, that wee could goe no wayes, although we kept our course due East; and when wee had gotten into the open Sea, wee kept so neere the Ice, that many times we had much adoe to get cleare, yet could not come neere the Land, till we came about 68. degrees, where indeede we saw the shoare, but could not come to it by eight or nine leagues, for the great abundance of Ice. This was on the foure and twentieth day of Iuly: then spent we three dayes more to see if conueniently wee could come to anchor, to make triall of the tides, but the Ice led vs into the latitude of 65. degrees 40. minutes. Then wee left off seeking to the West shoare, because wee were in the indraft of *Cumberlands* Iles, and should know no certaintie, and hope of passage could be none.

Now seeing that we had made an end of our discouery, and the yeare being too farre spent to goe for the bottome of the Bay, to search for drest Fishes; therefore wee determined to goe for the Coast of *Groineland*, to see if we could get some refreshing for our men: Master *Hubert* and two more, hauing kept their Cabins aboue eight dayes (besides our Cooke, *Richard Wayman*, which died the day before, being the twenty six of Iuly) and diuers more of our company so weake, that they could doe but little labour. So the winde fauouring vs, we came to anchor in the latitude of 65. degrees 45. minutes, at six a clocke in the euening, the eight and twentieth day, in a place called *Cunkin Sound*.

The next day going on shoare, on a little Iland we found great abundance of the herbe called Scuruie Grasse, which we boyled in Beere, and so dranke thereof, vsing it also in Sallets, with Sorrell and Orpen, which here groweth in abundance; by meanes hereof, and the blessing of God all our men within eight or nine dayes space were in perfect health, and so continued till our arriuall in *England*.

* Wee rode in this place three dayes before any of the people came to vs; then on the first of August, six of the Inhabitants in their *Canoas*, brought vs Salmon Peale, and such like, which was a great refreshment to our men: the next day following, the same six came againe, but after that we saw them no more vntill the sixt day, when we had wayed anchor, and were almost cleere of the harbour; then the same six and one more, brought vs of the like commodities, for which we gaue them Glasse Beads, Counters and small peeces of Iron, which they doe as much esteeme, as we Christians doe Gold and Siluer.

Sir *Thomas Smiths* Sound in 78. deg.

Variation of the compasse 56. degrees to the West. Which may make questionable D. *Gilberts* rule. *Tom. 1. l. 2. c. 1.* that where more earth is, more attraction of the compasse happeneth by variation toward it. Now the known continents of *Asia*, &c. must be vnspeakably more then here there can be, and yet here is more variation then about *Iapan* or *Brasil*, *Peru*, &c. *Caries Ilands*.

* This Map of the author for this and the former Voyage with the Tables of his iournall and sayling, were somewhat troublesome and too costly to insert.

Alderman *Iones* Sound.

Sir *Iames Lancasters* Sound.

They see Land and find themselues embaied *Cumberlands* Iles.

Cockin Sound.

Scuruy Grasse.

Six men.

Plenty of Salmon.

In this Sound we saw such great Scales of Salmon swimming to and fro, that it is much to be admired: here it floweth about eighteene foote water, and is at the highest on the change day at seuen a clocke: it is a very good harbour, and easie to be knowne, hauing three high round hils like Piramides close adioyning to the mouth of it, and that in the middest is lowest, and along all this coast are many good harbours to be found, by reason that so many Ilands lye off from the maine.

The sixt of August, by three a clocke in the afternoone, wee were cleere of this place, hauing a North North North-west winde, and faire weather, and the Lord sent vs a speedy and good passage homeward as could be wished: for in nineteene dayes after, wee saw Land on the coast of *Ireland*, it being on the fiue and twentieth day: the seuen and twentieth at noone we were two leagues from *Silly*, and the thirtieth day, in the morning wee anchored at *Douer* in the roade, for the which and all other his blessings the Lord make vs thankfull.

CHAP. XX.

A briefe Discourse of the probabilitie of a passage to the Westerne or South Sea, illustrated with testimonies: and a briefe Treatise and Mappe by Master BRIGGES.

I Thought good to adde somewhat to this Relation of Master *Baffin*, that learned-vnlearned Mariner and Mathematician; who wanting art of words, so really employed himselfe to those industries, whereof here you see so euident fruits. His Mappes and Tables would haue much illustrated his Voyages, if trouble, and cost, and his owne despaire of passage that way, had not made vs willing to content our selues with that Mappe following of that thrice learned (and in this argument three times thrice industrious) Mathematician, Master *Brigges*, famous for his readings in both Vniuersities, and this honourable Citie, that I make no further Voyage of Discouery to finde and follow the remote Passage and extent of his name. Master *Baffin* told mee, that they supposed the tyde from the North-west, about *Digges* Iland was misreported, by mistaking the houre, eight for eleuen: and that hee would, if hee might get employment, search the passage from *Iapan*, by the coast of *Asia*, or (*qua data porta*) any way hee could. But in the *Indies* he dyed, in the late Ormus businesse, slaine in fight with a shot, as hee was trying his Mathematicall proiects and conclusions.

Baffins death.

Now for that discouery of Sir *Thomas Button*, I haue solicited him for his Noates, and receiued of him gentle entertainment and kinde promises: but being then forced to stay in the Citie vpon necessary and vrgent affaires, he would at his returne home, seeke and impart them. Since I heare that weightie occasions haue detained him out of *England*, and I cannot communicate that which I could not receiue: which if I doe receiue, I purpose rather to giue thee out of due place, then not at all. Once he was very confident in conference with me of a passage that way, and said that he had therein satisfied his Maiestie, who from his discourse in priuate, inferred the necessitie thereof. And the maine argument was the course of the tyde: for wintering in *Port Nelson* (see the following Mappe) hee found the tyde rising euery twelue houres fifteene foote (whereas in the bottome of *Hudsons* Bay it was but two foote, and in the bottome of *Fretum Dauis* discouered by *Baffin*, but one) yea and a West winde equalled the nep tydes to the spring tydes; plainely arguing the neighbourhood of the Sea, which is on the West side of *America*. The Summer following he found about the latitude of 60. degrees a strong race of a tide, running sometimes Eastward, sometimes Westward; whereupon *Iosias Hubbard* in his plat, called that place *Hubbarts Hope*, as in the Map appeareth. Now if any make scruple, because this discouery was not pursued by Sir *Thomas Button*, let him consider, that being Prince *Henries* Seruant, and partly by him employed (whence I thinke he named the Country *New Wales*) the vntimely death of that Prince put all out of ioint; nor was hee so open, that others should haue the glory of his discouerie.

The King satisfied touching the passage.

Hubbarts hope.

And if any man thinke that the passage is so farre, as the Maps vse to expresse *America*, running out into the West: it is easily answered, that either of negligence, or ouer-busie diligence, Maps by *Portugals* in the East, and *Spaniards* in the West, haue beene falsely proiected. Hence that fabulous strait of *Anian*, as before by *Francis Gaules* testimonie and nauigation is euident: And hence the *Portugals* to bring in the *Moluccas*, to that moity of the world agreed vpon betwixt the *Spaniards* and them, are thought to haue much curtalled *Asia*, and the longitude of those Ilands, giuing fewer degrees to them then in iust longitude is requisite. So the older Maps

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of *America* make the Land from the *Magelane* Straits to the South Sea, runne much West, when as they rather are contracted somewhat Easterly from the North. The like is iustly supposed of their false placing, *Quiuira*, and I know not (nor they neither) what Countries they make in *America*, to run so farre North-westward, which Sir *Francis Drakes* Voyage in that Sea (his *Noua* Albion*, being little further Westward then *Aquatulco*) plainely euince to be otherwise. Yea the late Map of *California* found to be an Iland, the Sauages discourses in all the Countries Northwards and Westwards from *Virginia*: fame whereof filled my friend Master *Dermer* with so much confidence, that hearing of strange Ships which came thither for a kinde of Vre or earth, the men vsing forkes in their diet, with Caldrons to dresse their meate, &c. things nothing suitable to any parts of *America*, hee supposed them to come from the East, neere to *China* or *Iapan*, and therefore he made a Voyage purposely to discouer: but crossed with diuers disasters, hee returned to *Virginia*, frustrate of accomplishment that yeare, but fuller of confidence, as in a Letter from *Virginia* he signified to me, where death ended that his designe soone after. But how often are the vsuall Charts reiected by experience in these Nauigations, in this worke recorded? Painters and Poets are not alwayes the best Oracles.

* This easily appeareth in obseruing his Voiage, & comparing that before of *Fr. Gaul* therewith.

For further proofes of a passage about those parts into the West Sea (or South, as it is called from the first discouery thereof to the South, from the parts of *New Spaine*, whence it was first descried by the *Spaniards*) there is mention of a *Portugall* (and taken in a Carricke in Queene *Elizabeths* dayes, of glorious memory) confirming this opinion; Sir *Martin Frobisher* also from a *Portugall* in *Guinie*, receiued intelligence of such a passage, he saying he had past it. The Pilots of *Lisbone* are said generally to acknowledge such a thing; and the Admirall of D. *Garcia Geoffroy Loaisa* of *Cite-Real*, in the time of *Charles* the fifth, is reported by the Coast of *Baccalaos* and *Labrador*, to haue gone to the *Molucas*. *Vasco de Coronado* writ to the Emperour, that at *Cibola* he was one hundred and fiftie leagues from the South Sea, and a little more from the North. *Antonio de Herera*, the Kings *Coronista Maior* (part of whose worke followeth) maketh with vs also, in the distances of places by him described. But to produce some authority more full, I haue here presented *Thomas Cowles* a Marriner, and Master *Michael Locke* Merchant, and after them, a little Treatise ascribed to Master *Brigges*, together with his Map. And if any thinke that the *Spaniard* or *Portugall* would soone haue discouered such a passage: these will answere, that it was not for their profit to expose their East or West *Indies* to *English*, *Dutch*, or others, whom they would not haue sharers in those remote treasures by so neere a passage. First, *Thomas Cowles* auerreth thus much.

Some of our Merchants are said not to be so willing for like causes with this discouerie.

I Thomas Cowles *of* Bedmester, *in the Countie of* Somerset, *Marriner, doe acknowledge, that six yeares past, at my being at* Lisbon, *in the Kingdome of* Portugall, *I did heare one* Martin Chacke, *a* Portugall *of* Lisbon, *reade a Booke of his owne making, which he had set out six yeares before that time, in Print, in the* Portugale *tongue, declaring that the said* Martin Chacke *had found, twelue yeares now past, a way from the* Portugall Indies, *through a gulfe of the* New found Land, *which he thought to be in 59. degrees of the eleuation of the North Pole. By meanes that hee being in the said* Indies, *with foure other Shippes of great burden, and he himselfe in a small Shippe of fourescore tunnes, was driuen from the company of the other foure Shippes, with a Westerly winde: after which, hee past alongst by a great number of Ilands which were in the gulfe of the said* New found Land. *And after hee ouershot the gulfe, he set no more sight of any other Land, vntill he fell with the Northwest part of* Ireland; *and from thence he tooke his course homewards, and by that meanes hee came to* Lisbone *foure or fiue weekes before the other foure Ships of his company that he was separated from, as before said. And since the same time, I could neuer see any of those Books, because the King commanded them to be called in, and no more of them to be printed, lest in time it would be to their hindrance. In witnesse whereof I set to my hand and marke, the ninth of April.* Anno 1579.

A Note made by me MICHAEL LOK *the elder, touching the Strait of Sea, commonly called* Fretum Anian, *in the South Sea, through the North-west passage of* Meta incognita.

WHen I was at *Venice*, in Aprill 1596. happily arriued there an old man, about threescore yeares of age, called commonly *Iuan de Fuca* but named properly *Apostolos Valerianos*, of Nation a *Greeke*, borne in the Hand *Cefalonia*, of profession a Mariner, and an ancient Pilot of Shippes. This man being come lately out of *Spaine*, arriued first at *Ligorne*, and went thence to *Florence* in *Italie*, where he found one *Iohn Dowglas*, an *Englishman*, a famous Mariner, ready comming for *Venice*, to be Pilot of a *Venetian* Ship, named *Ragasona* for *England*, in whose company they came both together to *Venice*. And *Iohn Dowglas* being well acquainted with me before, he gaue me knowledge of this *Greeke* Pilot, and brought him to my speech: and in long talke

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talke and conference betweene vs, in presence of *Iohn Dowglas*: this *Greeke* Pilot declared in the *Italian* and *Spanish* languages, thus much in effect as followeth.

First he said, that he had bin in the West *Indies* of *Spaine* by the space of fortie yeeres; and had sailed to and from many places thereof, as Mariner and Pilot, in the seruice of the *Spaniards*.

Also he said, that he was in the *Spanish* Shippe, which in returning from the Ilands, *Philippinas* and *China*, towards *Noua Spania*, was robbed and taken at the Cape *California*, by Captaine *Candish Englishman*, whereby he lost sixtie thousand Duckets, of his owne goods.

Captaine *Candish.*

Also he said, that he was Pilot of three small Ships which the Vizeroy of *Mexico* sent from *Mexico*, armed with one hundred men, Souldiers, vnder a Captain, *Spaniards*, to discouer the Straits of *Anian*, along the coast of the South-Sea, and to fortifie in that Strait, to resist the passage and proceedings of the *English* Nation, which were feared to passe through those Straits into the South Sea. And that by reason of a mutinie which happened among the Souldiers, for the Sodomie of their Captaine, that Voyage was ouerthrowne, and the Ships returned backe from *California* coast to *Noua Spania*, without any effect of thing done in that Voyage. And that after their returne, the Captaine was at *Mexico* punished by iustice.

Also he said, that shortly after the said Voyage was so ill ended, the said Viceroy of *Mexico*, sent him out againe *Anno* 1592. with a small *Caruela*, and a Pinnace, armed with Mariners onely, to follow the said Voyage, for discouery of the same Straits of *Anian*, and the passage thereof, into the Sea which they call the North Sea, which is our North-west Sea. And that he followed his course in that Voyage West and North-west in the South Sea, all alongst the coast of *Noua Spania*, and *California*, and the *Indies*, now called North *America* (all which Voyage hee signified to me in a great Map, and a Sea-card of mine owne, which I laied before him) vntill hee came to the Latitude of fortie seuen degrees, and that there finding that the Land trended North and North-east, with a broad Inlet of Sea, betweene 47. and 48. degrees of Latitude: hee entred thereinto, sayling therein more then twentie dayes, and found that Land trending still sometime North-west and North-east, and North, and also East and South-eastward, and very much broader Sea then was at the said entrance, and that hee passed by diuers Ilands in that sayling. And that at the entrance of this said Strait, there is on the North-west coast thereof, a great Hedland or Iland, with an exceeding high Pinacle, or spired Rocke, like a piller thereupon.

Land trending in 47. degrees.

Also he said, that he went on Land in diuers places, and that he saw some people on Land, clad in Beasts skins: and that the Land is very fruitfull, and rich of gold, Siluer, Pearle, and other things, like *Noua Spania*.

And also he said, that he being entred thus farre into the said Strait, and being come into the North Sea already, and finding the Sea wide enough euery where, and to be about thirtie or fortie leagues wide in the mouth of the Straits, where hee entred; hee thought he had now well discharged his office, and done the thing which he was sent to doe: and that hee not being armed to resist the force of the Saluage people that might happen, hee therefore set sayle and returned homewards againe towards *Noua Spania*, where hee arriued at *Acapulco*, *Anno* 1592. hoping to be rewarded greatly of the Viceroy, for this seruice done in this said Voyage.

The mouth of the Straight where he entred 30. or 40. leagues broad.

Also he said, that after his comming to *Mexico*, hee was greatly welcommed by the Viceroy, and had great promises of great reward, but that hauing sued there two yeares time, and obtained nothing to his content, the Viceroy told him, that he should be rewarded in *Spaine* of the King himselfe very greatly, and willed him therefore to goe into *Spaine*, which Voyage hee did performe.

Also he said, that when he was come into *Spaine*, he was greatly welcommed there at the Kings Court, in wordes after the *Spanish* manner, but after long time of suite there also, hee could not get any reward there neither to his content. And that therefore at the length he stole away out of *Spaine*, and came into *Italie*, to goe home againe and liue among his owne Kindred and Countrimen, he being very old.

Also he said, that hee thought the cause of his ill reward had of the *Spaniards*, to bee for that they did vnderstand very well, that the *English* Nation had now giuen ouer all their voyages for discouerie of the North-west passage, wherefore they need not feare them any more to come that way into the South Sea, and therefore they needed not his seruice therein any more.

Also he said, that in regard of this ill reward had of the *Spaniards*, and vnderstanding of the noble minde of the Queene of *England*, and of her warres maintayned so valiantly against the *Spaniards*, and hoping that her Maiestie would doe him iustice for his goods lost by Captaine *Candish*, he would bee content to goe into *England*, and serue her Maiestie in that voyage for the discouerie perfectly of the North-west passage into the South Sea, and would put his life into her Maiesties hands to performe the same, if shee would furnish him with onely one ship of fortie tunnes burden and a Pinnasse, and that he would performe it in thirtie dayes time, from one end to the other of the Streights. And he willed me so to write into *England*.

The straight to be discouered in 30. dayes.

And

And vpon this conference had twise with the said *Greeke* Pilot, I did write thereof accordingly into *England* vnto the right honourable the old Lord Treasurer *Cecill*, and to Sir *Walter Raleigh*, and to Master *Richard Hakluyt* that famous Cosmographer, certifying them hereof by my Letters. And in the behalfe of the said *Greeke* Pilot, I prayed them to disburse one hundred pounds of money, to bring him into *England* with my selfe, for that my owne purse would not stretch so wide at that time. And I had answere hereof by Letters of friends, that this action was very well liked, and greatly desired in *England* to bee effected; but the money was not readie, and therefore this action dyed at that time, though the said *Greeke* Pilot perchance liueth still this day at home in his owne Countrie in *Cefalonia*, towards the which place he went from me within a fortnight after this conference had at *Venice*.

And in the meane time, while I followed my owne businesse in *Venice*, being in Law suit against the Companie of Merchants of *Turkie*, and Sir *Iohn Spencer* their Gouernour in *London*, to recouer my pension due for my office of being their Consull at *Aleppo* in *Turkie*, which they held from me wrongfully. And when I was (as I thought) in a readinesse to returne home into *England*, for that it pleased the Lords of her Maiesties honourable Priuie Counsell in *England*, to looke into this Cause of my Law suit for my reliefe: I thought that I should be able of my owne purse to take with me into *England* the said *Greeke* Pilot. And therefore I wrote vnto him from *Venice* a Letter, dated in Iuly 1596. which is copied here-vnder.

Al Mag^co. Sig^or. Capitan IVAN DE FVCA Piloto de *Indias*, amigo mio char^mo. en *Zefalonia*.

MVy honrado Sennor, siendo yo para bueluerme en Inglatierra dentre de pocas mezes, y accuerdandome de lo trattado entre my y V. M. en Venesia, sobre el viagio de las Indias, me ha paresçido bien de scrinir esta carta à V. M. paraque si tengais animo de andar con migo, puedais escribirme presto, en que maniera quereis consertuos. Y puedais embiarme vuestra carta, con esta nao Ingles que sta al Zante (sino hallais otra coientura meier) con el sobrescritto que diga, en casa del Sennor Eleazar Hycman *Mercader Ingles, al tragetto de San* Thomas *en Venisia. Y Dios guarde la persona de V. M. Fecha en Venesia al primer dia de Iulio, 1596. annos.*

Amigo de V. M. *Michael Lok* Ingles.

And I sent the said Letter from *Venice* to *Zante*, in the ship *Cherubin*. And shortly after I sent a copie thereof in the ship *Mynyon*. And also a third copie thereof by *Manea Orlando Patron de Naue Venetian*. And vnto my said Letters he wrote mee answere to *Venice* by one Letter which came not to my hands. And also by another Letter which came to my hands, which is copied here-vnder.

Al Illmo. Sig^or. MICHAEL LOCH *Ingles*, in casa del Sig^or. LASARO Mercader *Ingles*, al tragetto de San THOMAS en *Venesia*.

MVy Illustre Seg^or. la carta de V. M. receui à 20. dias del Mese di Settembre, por loqual veo Loche *V. M. me manda, io tengho animo de complir* Loche *tengo promettido à V. M. y no solo yo, mas tengo vinte hombres para lieuar con migo, porche son hombres vaglientes; y assi estoi esperando, por otra carta che auise à V. M. parache me embiais los dinieros che tengo escritto à V. M. Porche bien saue V. M. como io vine poner, porche me glieuo Capitan* Candis *mas de sessanta mille ducados, come V. M. bien saue: embiandome lo dicho, ire à seruir à V. M. con todos mis compagneros. I no spero otra cossa mas de la voluntad è carta de V. M. I con tanto nostro Sig^or. Dios guarda la Illustre persona de V. M. muchos annos. De Ceffalonia à 24. de Settembre del* 1596.

Amigo & seruitor de V. M.
Iuan Fuca.

And the said Letter came to my hands in *Venice*, the 16. day of Nouember, 1596. but my Law suite with the Companie of *Turkie* was not yet ended, by reason of Sir *Iohn Spencers* suite made in *England* at the Queenes Court to the contrarie, seeking onely to haue his money discharged which I had attached in *Venice* for my said pension, and thereby my owne purse was not yet readie for the *Greeke* Pilot.

And neuertheless, hoping that my said suite would haue shortly a good end; I wrote another Letter to this *Greeke* Pilot from *Venice*, dated the 20. of Nouember, 1596. which came not to his hands. And also another Letter, dated the 24. of Ianuarie, 1596. which came to his hands. And thereof he wrote me answere, dated the 28. of May, 1597. which I receiued the first of August

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1597. by *Thomas Nordey* an *English* Merchant yet liuing in *London*, wherein he promised still to goe with me into *England*, to performe the said voyage for discouerie of the North-west passage into the South Sea, if I would send him money for his charges according to his former writing, without the which money, he said he could not goe, for that he said he was vndone vtterly, when he was in the ship *Santa Anna*, which came from *China*, and was robbed at *California*. And yet againe afterward I wrote him another Letter from *Venice*, whereunto he wrote me answere, by a Letter written in his *Greeke* language, dated the 20. of October, 1598. the which I haue still by me, wherein he promiseth still to goe with me into *England*, and performe the said voyage of discouerie of the North-west passage into the South Sea by the said streights, which he calleth the *Streight* of *Noua Spania*, which he saith is but thirtie daies voyage in the streights, if I will send him the money formerly written for his charges. The which money I could not yet send him, for that I had not yet recouered my pension owing mee by the Companie of *Turkie* aforesaid. And so of long time I stayed from any furder proceeding with him in this matter.

The Ship *Santa Anna*.

The Streight of *Noua Spania* thirtie dayes iourney in the Streight.

And yet lastly, when I my selfe was at *Zante*, in the moneth of Iune 1602. minding to passe from thence for *England* by Sea, for that I had then recouered a little money from the Companie of *Turkie*, by an order of the Lords of the Priuie Counsell of *England*, I wrote another Letter to this *Greeke* Pilot to *Cefalonia*, and required him to come to me to *Zante*, and goe with mee into *England*, but I had none answere thereof from him, for that as I heard afterward at *Zante*, he was then dead, or very likely to die of great sickenesse. Whereupon I returned my selfe by Sea from *Zante* to *Venice*, and from thence I went by land through *France* into *England*, where I arriued at Christmas, *An.* 1602. safely, I thanke God, after my absence from thence ten yeeres time; with great troubles had for the Company of *Turkies* businesse, which hath cost me a great summe of money, for the which I am not yet satisfied of them.

A Treatise of the North-west passage to the South Sea, through the Continent of Virginia, *and by* Fretum Hudson.

THe noble plantation of *Virginia* hath some very excellent prerogatiues aboue many other famous Kingdomes, namely, the temperature of the aire, the fruitfulnesse of the soile, and the commodiousnesse of situation.

The aire is healthfull and free both from immoderate heate, and from extreme cold; so that both the Inhabitants and their Cattell doe prosper exceedingly in stature and strength, and all Plants brought from any other remote climate, doe there grow and ffuctifie in as good or better manner, then in the soile from whence they came. Which though it doe manifestly proque the fruitfulnesse of the soile, yeelding all kindes of Graine or Plants committed vnto it, with a rich and plentifull increase; yet cannot the fatnesse of the earth alone produce such excellent effects, vnlesse the temperature of the aire be likewise so fauourable, that those tender sprouts which the earth doth abundantly bring forth, may bee cherished with moderate heate and seasonable moisture, and freed both from scorching drought, and nipping frost.

These blessings are so much the more to be esteemed, because they are bestowed vpon a place situated so conueniently, and at so good a distance both from *Europe*, and the *West Indies*, that for the mutuall commerce betwixt these great and most rich parts of the habitable world, there cannot bee deuised any place more conuenient for the succour and refreshing of those that trade from hence thither: whether they be of our owne Nation, or of our Neighbours and Friends; the multitude of great and nauigable Riuers, and of safe and spacious Harbours, as it were inuiting all Nations to entertaine mutuall friendship, and to participate of those blessings which God out of the abundance of his rich Treasures, hath so graciously bestowed some vpon these parts of *Europe*, and others no lesse desired vpon those poore people: which might still haue remayned in their old barbarous ignorance, without knowledge of their owne miserie, or of Gods infinite goodnesse and mercy; if it had not pleased God thus graciously both to draw vs thither with desire of such wealth as those fruitfull Countries afford, and also to grant vs so easie, certaine, and safe a meanes to goe vnto them: which passage is in mine opinion made much more secure and easie by the commodious Harbours and refreshing which *Virginia* doth reach out vnto vs. The coasts of *Florida* to the West, being not so harberous; and of *New England* to the East, somewhat more out of the way, amongst so many Flats and small Ilands not so safe. Neither is the commodiousnesse of *Virginia's* situation onely in respect of this West *Atlanticke* Ocean, but also in respect of the *Indian* Ocean, which we commonly call the *South Sea*, which lyeth on the West and North-west side of *Virginia*, on the other side of the Mountaines beyond our Falls, and openeth a free and faire passage, not onely to *China*, *Iapan*, and the *Molucaes*; but also to *New Spaine*, *Peru*, *Chili*, and those rich Countries of *Terra Australis*, not as yet fully discouered. For the Sea wherein Master *Hudson* did winter, which was first discouered by him, and is therefore now called *Fretum Hudson*, doth stretch so farre towards the West, that it lyeth as farre West-

ward

ward as the Cape of *Florida:* So that from the Falls aboue *Henrico* Citie, if we shape our iourney towards the North-west, following the Riuers towards the head, wee shall vndoubtedly come to the Mountaines, which as they send diuers great Riuers Southward into our Bay of *Chesepiock*, so likewise doe they send others from their further side North-westward into that Bay where *Hudson* did winter. For so wee see in our owne Countrie, from the ridge of Mountaines continued from *Derbishire* into *Scotland*, doe issue many great Riuers on both sides into the East *Germane* Ocean, and into the Westerne *Irish* Seas: in like sort from the Alpes of *Switzerland* and the *Grizons*, doe runne the *Danubie* Eastward into *Pontus Euxinus*, the *Rhene* into the North *Germane* Ocean, the *Rhosne* West into the *Mediterrane* Sea, and the *Po* South into the *Adriatike* Sea. This Bay where *Hudson* did winter, stretcheth it selfe Southward into 49. degrees, and cannot be in probabilitie so farre distant from the Falls as two hundred leagues; part of the way lying by the Riuers side towards the Mountaines from whence it springeth: and the other part on the other side cannot want Riuers likewise, which will conduct vs all the way, and I hope carry vs and our prouisions a good part of it. Besides that Bay, it is not vnlikely that the Westerne Sea in some other Creeke or Riuer commeth much neerer then that place: For the place where Sir *Thomas Button* did winter, lying more Westerly then Master *Hudsons* Bay by one hundred and ninetie leagues in the same Sea, doth extend it selfe very neere as farre towards the west as the Cape of *California*, which is now found to bee an Iland stretching it selfe from 22. degrees to 42. and lying almost directly North and South; as may appeare in a Map of that Iland which I haue seene here in *London*, brought out of *Holland*; where the Sea vpon the North-west part may very probably come much neerer then some doe imagine: who giuing too much credit to our vsuall Globes and Maps, doe dreame of a large Continent extending it selfe farre Westward to the imagined Streight of *Anian*, where are seated (as they fable) the large Kingdomes of *Cebola* and *Quiuira*, hauing great and populous Cities of ciuill people; whose houses are said to bee fiue stories high, and to haue some pillars of *Turquesses*. Which relations are cunningly set downe by some vpon set purpose to put vs out of the right way, and to discourage such as otherwise might be desirous to search a passage by the way aforesaid into those Seas.

Gerardus Mercator, a very industrious and excellent Geographer, was abused by a Map sent vnto him, of foure *Euripi* meeting about the North Pole; which now are found to bee all turned into a mayne Icie Sea. One demonstration of the craftie falshood of these vsuall Maps is this, that Cape *Mendocino* is set in them West North-west, distant from the South Cape of *California*, about seuenteene hundred leagues, whereas *Francis Gaule* that was imployed in those discoueries by the Vice-roy of *New Spaine*, doth in *Hugo Linschotten* his booke set downe their distance to be onely fiue hundred leagues.

Besides this, in the place where Sir *Thomas Button* did winter in 57. degrees of latitude, the constant great Tydes euery twelue houres, and the increase of those Tydes whensoeuer any strong Westerne winde did blow, doe strongly perswade vs that the mayne Westerne Ocean is not farre from thence; which was much confirmed vnto them the Summer following; when saying directly North from that place where they wintered, about the latitude of 60. degrees, they were crossed by a strong Current running sometimes Eastward, sometimes Westward: So that if we finde either *Hudsons* Bay, or any Sea more neere vnto the West, wee may assure our selues that from thence we may with great ease passe to any part of the East *Indies:* And that as the World is very much beholding to that famous *Columbus* for that hee first discouered vnto vs the West *Indies*; and so to the *Portugal* for the finding out the ordinarie and as yet the best way that is knowne to the East *Indies*, by Cape *Bona Speranza:* So may they and all the world be in this beholding to vs in opening a new and large passage, both much neerer, safer, and farre more wholesome and temperate through the Continent of *Virginia*, and by *Fretum Hudson*, to all those rich Countries bordering vpon the South Sea, in the East and West *Indies*. And this hope that the South Sea may easily from *Virginia* be discouered ouer Land, is much confirmed by the constant report of the Sauages, not onely of *Virginia*, but also of *Florida* and *Canada*; which dwelling so remote one from another, and all agreeing in the report of a large Sea to the Westwards, where they describe great ships not vnlike to ours, with other circumstances, doe giue vs very great probabilitie (if not full assurance) that our endeuours this way shall by Gods blessing haue a prosperous and happy successe, to the encrease of his Kingdome and Glorie amongst these poore ignorant *Heathen* people, the publique good of all the *Christian* world, the neuer-dying honour of our most gracious Soueraigne, the inestimable benefit of our Nation, and the admirable and speedie increase and aduancement of that most noble and hopefull Plantation of *Virginia*; for the good successe whereof all good men with mee, I doubt not, will powre out their prayers to Almightie God.

H. B.

VOYAGES,

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VOYAGES, AND TRAVELS TO AND IN THE NEW WORLD, CALLED *AMERICA*: RELATIONS OF THEIR PAGAN ANTIQVITIES AND OF THE REGIONS AND PLANTATIONS IN THE NORTH AND SOVTH parts thereof, and of the Seas and Ilands adiacent.

THE FIFTH BOOKE.

CHAP. I.

A Description of the West Indies, by ANTONIO DE HERRERA * *his Maiesties Chiefe Chronicler of the Indies, and his Chronicler of* Castile.

To the Licentiate PAVL of *Laguna*, President of the Royall and Supreme Councell of the *Indies*.

THe Licentiate Iohn *of* Obando, *Predeceſſor of your Lordſhip' (in whoſe time the Office of chiefe Chronicler of the Indies was inſtituted, for writing with greater authoritie, foundation, and truth, the Acts of the* Castilians *in the New World, and to ſee and examine that which the other Chroniclers ſhould write (for I finde that almoſt to all that is written no credit could be giuen, for ouer-much licence, wherewith vntill then it was done) hee vſed great diligence in gathering the moſt certaine Relations that were found as well in the* Indies, *as in* Spaine, *of that which happened in the Diſcoueries of thoſe Regions, the foundations of thoſe Townes and Cuſtomes of the people. And many yeers being paſt after his death, without making any beginning of this Hiſtory, your Lordſhip being prouided for Preſident of the Royall and Supreme Councell of the* Indies, *knowing how much it behoued, that deeds ſo worthy*

* I found this Worke translated in M. *Hakluyts* Papers; but I can ſcarſly call it *Engliſh*, it had ſo much of the *Spaniſh* garbe, in litterall and verball affectation and obſcuritie. I haue examined it with the *Spaniſh* Orginall, and compared it alſo with the *Latine* Translation, with great paines for thy greater pleaſure & profit, correcting and illuſtrating the phraſe and ſence; being before very rude, obſcure and in very many places vtterly ſenceleſſe. But hauing none to write for mee but my owne hands, I rather choſe to amend this as I could, then to tranſlate it anew. I haue ſeene it alſo in *French*. The *Latine* is exceeding falſe in ſome numbers, as 2000. for 20000. diuers times, &c. which I note for their ſakes which reade that and haue not the *Spaniſh*. I haue not contracted this (as I haue done diuers other Relations) becauſe it is a briefe contraction of the *Spaniſh-Indian* Contractation, preſenting the *Spaniſh* Proceedings, Colonies, Townes, Officers and Gouernment Spiritual and Temporall in the *Indies*. This Author hath written eight Decades of the *Spaniſh* Acts in the Weſt *Indies*, which giue great light to thoſe parts, but would be too long for this Worke.

of

of memorie should no longer be buried, and that they should be written by a Royall Chronicler *(seeing so much fruit is gotten of Historie, that it exceedeth so much the Picture, as the soule, the bodie, against the opinion of a moderne Writer.) Prouiding all the meanes necessarie with liberalitie and diligence, haue beene the meere and onely Instrument; following the opinion of S.* Augustine, *that this Historie, and the Description that followeth hath come to the present estate. And because it hath not beene of least importance to honour the Author, animating him to goe forward with so great a labour, conforming your selfe with the vniuersall opinion of the much that is due to the watchings, and labours of the Writers; placing this Office of Chiefe Chronicler in that point and reputation that so noble an Exercise deserueth, (as the most famous men of the World haue iudged it, and it is esteemed and talked of among all Nations be they neuer so barbarous) your Lordship shall be praysed eternally, and thanked of all that are interessed in it; by which is procured the making mention of their Fathers, and Predecessors with their Names and Countrey, all that hath beene possible, against the barbarous and most vniust opinion of* Iohn Baptista Ramusio, *in his Proeme in the third Volume of the Nauigations, where hee saith to bee a vaine thing, and ridiculous, that the* Spanish *Authors should take paines in writing the names and Countrey of those which serued in the matters of the* Indies. *Wherein he sheweth the venime of the enuie conceiued of the glorious deeds of these Catholike Kings, and of the* Castillian *Nation, seeing the Chronicles doe serue to honour the good, and to reproch the euill, for an example of those to come; which could not be obtayned with the opinion of this* Ramusius, *whom the saying of* Cato *against the* Grecians *doth fit. But the opinion of your Lordship hath beene according to your prudence and valour, of the which as it is inst, there will be a perpetuall memorie, and for that which this Nation is indebted vnto you for the same, you shall bee reknowledged of it eternally. God keepe your Lordship, from* Vallyadolyeede *the fifteenth of October* 1601.

Ramusio vncharitably taxed: for he doth but blame the folly of *Spanish* Authors which are more curious to set downe the names, &c. of those which haue there done any thing though but rebellions, then the description of the beasts, fishes, fowles, plants, Earth, Heauen, &c. in the *Indies*: for which hee there commends *Oniedo*.

Chap. 1. Of the bounds and diuision of the West *Indies*.

THe compasse of the Earth is 360. degrees, which being reduced to leagues of *Castile* are 6300. and by the compasse of the Earth is vnderstood the Sea together with it, which two Elements make the Globe; whose vpper face in part is Earth, and in part is Sea: The Ancients diuided the Earth in three parts, and gaue to euery one his name. The first they called *Europe*, more celebrated then any of the other. The second *Asia*, which is greater then the rest, and contayneth the great Kingdome of *China*. The third. *Africa* And men being in a supposition that the World contayned no more then was rehearsed, not contenting themselues with it, entred in the Art of Nauigating, and in the inuention of ships of high building, fitting them in such order that they might abide the force of the waues of the Sea, & in this Art [1] the *Spaniards* haue surpassed all the Nations of the World. For whiles there reigned *Ferdinand* in *Castile* and in *Lyon*, the famous Kings Catholike *Ferdinando* the Fift, and *Isabella* a most wise, prudent, and most puissant Queene; and *Don Iohn* the Second, called the *Pellican*, raigned in *Portugall*, (hee that euer will be worthy of memory) *Don Christopher Colon*, first Admirall of the *Indies*, hauing liued many yeeres married in *Spaine*; with the counsell of *Martin* of *Bohemia*, a *Portugall* borne in the Iland of *Fayall*, a famous Astrologian; and especially a Iudiciarie, and of others with whom he communicated it, gaue a beginning to the Discouery of that which at this day is counted the fourth part of the World, and the greatest of them all, and taking his course toward the Sunne setting, going from *Pallos* a Village of the Earle of *Miranda*, in the Coast of *Andaluzia*, he sayled so much by the Ocean, that hee found this great Land, which the Equinoctiall Line cutteth in the middest, and it goeth so farre toward the South, that it reacheth to fiftie two degrees and an halfe, and goeth so high to the North, that it hides it selfe vnder the Pole Articke, without [m] knowing any end.

1 The *Spaniards* haue surpassed all Nations of the World, in Nauigation of high built ships. *Remember that a* Spaniard *speakes it.)*

Pallos, is to say staues, or sticks.

The greatnesse of this fourth part hath set the people in great admiration, whose description shall here be handled, vnder the name of *Ilands*; and firme Land of the Ocean Sea, because they are compassed with this Sea, and placed to the West, and are commonly called, the *West Indies*, and the *New World*, and comprehended within the limits of the Kings of *Castile* and of *Lyon*. Which is an Hemisphere, and halfe of the World, of 180. degrees, beginning to reckon from a Meridian Circle, which passeth by thirtie nine, or by fortie degrees of longitude, Occidentall from the Meridian of *Toledo*, through the mouth of the Riuer *Maragnon*, and to the Orientall, through the Citie of *Mallaca*, in sort, that at twentie leagues sayling for a degree, these bounds haue from the one part to the other 3900. *Castillan* leagues, euery one of 3000. paces, of fiue foot of a *Castillan* yard, which men say are sixtie *Italian* miles, from the Orient to the Occident, which the Sea-men doe call East and West. And this account of twentie leagues to a degree, is according to *Ptolomie*, and to the opinion of many curious men. It hath seemed to others that the miles of euery degree are seuentie, and that they make no more then seuenteene leagues and an halfe of *Castile*, which is held for the truest account.

m The *Spaniards* did not, or would not know any Passage.

The degrees of longitude, which are those that are reckoned by the [n] Equinoctiall, which goeth from East to West, through the middest of the Orbe, and Globe of the Earth, haue not beene able to bee taken well, because there is no fixed signe in the Heauen. Degrees of altitude are those which are taken, and reckoned from the Pole which fall out certayne, because it is a fixed

n How the degrees of longitude are reckoned.

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the coast of *Terra firme*, where the Brises are almost perpetuall, and contrarie to the returne, and the Southerne windes continuall in Summer, and the Northerne in Winter, which are crosse windes. They doe reknowledge by the way the Cape *de Vella*, between *Santa Martha* and [a] *Venezuela*, and the Cape [b] *del Aguja* neere *Cartagena*, where they vnlade the merchandise that are to goe to *New Kingdome*; and those which are to passe to *Peru*, are carried to *Porte bello*, whitherto from *Cartagena* are ninetie leagues, foure or sixe dayes sayling, reknowledging the Point of *Captina*, and from the *Canaries* to *Cartagena* is fiue and thirtie dayes sayling.

a Or little *Venice.*
b Or of the Needle.

Those that goe to *Honduras* and *Guatemala*, goe in companie with them of *Nona Espanna*, vnto Cape *Tiburon*, the vtmost Westerne part of *Espannola*, from whence running along by the Iland of *Iamayca* on the North side, vnto the Point of the [c] *Negrillo*, the vttermost of it, they put to Sea in demand of the Cape of the *Camaron*, the beginning of the Gulfe and Prouince of *Honduras*, from whence they goe to anker to *Truxillo* fifteene leagues to the West from the Cape, where the merchandize are vnladen that are to remaine there, and the rest doe passe to the Port of *Canallos*, and to *Golfo Dulce*, along the coast by the Gulfe of *Honduras*, to transport them to *Guatemala*.

The voyage of *Honduras* and *Guatemala.*
c Or little black Moore.

Chap. 3.

THe returne from the *Indies* to *Spaine*, cannot be made by the course which they take in going thither; and therefore they must come to a greater height, going out of the Tropicks to seeke fresh windes which doe blow from towards the North; all the Fleetes doe meete in the Port of *Hauana*, about the moneth of Iune, to come to *Spaine* before Winter; for the East winde is against them, and is trauerse in the Channell, and the South also is trauerse in the Coast from the Cape Saint *Vincent* to Saint *Lucar*. The fleet of *Terra firme*, departeth from May forward from *Porte bello*, when the North windes doe alreadie cease; and returneth to *Cartagena* to take the freight of Siluer and Gold from the new Kingdom of *Granada*: and also for to auoid the Coast of *Veragua*, and the streame of *Nicaragua*, whence they can hardly get out if they ingulfe themselues by reason of the Brises, and contrarie and dangerous Currents that are in the way. From *Cartagena* they goe for Cape Saint *Antonie*, the furthest West of *Cuba* about two hundred leagues, voyage of ten dayes, with care of the shoales that are in the way of *Serrana* and *Serranilla*, and [d] *Quitasueno*, and from the Cape of Saint *Antonie* to the *Auana*, are neere fiftie leagues: and the ships that come from *Honduras*, doe come also to reknowledge the Cape of Saint *Antonie*.

Wherein hee prosecuteth the Nauigations of the *Indies.*
The Fleets doe returne to *Castile* by another way.
When the fleets ought to depart to come for *Castile*
Whither the Fleets doe goe from *Cartagena.*
d Or take away sleepe.
The ships of *Honduras* reknowledge the Cape of Saint *Antonie.*

The fleetes of *Nona Espanna* doe depart in the beginning of May, while the North windes doe last, which doe serue for the returne to the *Auana*, ascending a little in altitude vnto the Sound, which they call *las Tortugas*, vnto which place they saile about three hundred leagues in fifteene dayes.

The ships of *Santa Martha* and *Venezuela*, to come to *Castile*, came out betweene *Cuba* and *Hispaniola*, to reknowledge the Cape of Saint *Nicholas* in the Western part of it, from whence through the middest of the Iles of the *Lucayos*, they goe take the course of the fleets, and when they come in sight of the Cape of Saint *Antonie*, they goe to the *Auana* for feare of Pirates.

When the Fleets of *Nona Espanna* doe depart thence.

From the *Auana* to *Castile*, hauing past the Channell of *Bahama* (which the Pilot *Antonie* of *Alaminos* sayled first of all, the yeere 1519.) they doe saile through the Gulfe which is called of the *North*, or of the *Sagarzo*, about nine hundred or a thousand leagues or more (a sayling of fiue and twentie or thirtie dayes with ordinarie windes) by two wayes, one for Summer, in a greater height, till they come to thirtie eight or thirtie nine degrees, in the which stand the Ilands of *Azores*; and another for Winter, by a lesser height, because of the stormes and showres which doe come alwayes neere vnto it, whereby they goe vnto thirtie nine degrees no more, wherein standeth the Iland of *Santa Maria*, one of the Iles of *Azores*, and they ascend one degree more for to touch in the *Tercera*, where the fleets doe alwayes come to take refreshing, without permitting any one to goe ashoare. And from the Ilands of *Azores* vnto Saint *Lucar* of *Barrameda*, the Mariners make three hundred leagues of Nauigation in fifteene dayes, others in thirtie for the many Brises that doe reigne in this Gulfe of the *Azores*, whereby they saile till they come vpon the Coast of *Portugal*, and the doubling of the Cape Saint *Vincent*; and after in sight of the Coast vnto the Port of Saint *Lucar*.

The voyage of them of *Santa Martha* and *Venezuela.*
Nauigation from the *Auana* to *Castile.*
Nauigation from the Ilands of *Azores* vnto Saint *Lucar.*

The Nauigation from *Castile* to the Riuer of *Plata* (whitherto there is one thousand and sixe hundred leagues, and to the Streight of *Magelanes* neere two thousand) hath beene much longer in the time then in the distance of the way, because being necessarie to come to those Prouinces in their Summer, which is from September forward, they cannot depart from *Castile* at such time as not to passe the Equinoctiall by Iune or August, when in it the Calmes are many and very great, and therefore they stay fiue moneths in the Voyage, which might bee made in two or three, if from *Siuil* they did depart by August or before: and touching in the *Canaries* they goe North and South, to eight or nine degrees on the other side of the Equinoctiall, from whence some doe saile East and West, to reknowledge the Cape of Saint *Augustine* in *Brasile*, and afterward in sight of the Land vnto the Riuer of *Plate* and the Streight. Others from the eight degrees haue gone straight through the South Sea to the Streight, although few haue come to passe

Nauigation to the Riuer of *Plata.*

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it, before the Summer bee ended, which is very short and full of stormes, because it stands in so great a height, whereby this Nauigation is very difficult.

Nauigation of the South Sea.

The Nauigation of the South Sea hath alwayes beene along the Coast, and because the South windes are very continuall, and the Current of the Streight ordinarie to the North; The Nauigation of *Panama* to the Citie of *The Kings*, is wont to continue two moneths, and the returne lesse then thirtie dayes, and the same from the *Kings* to *Chile*, from whence to *Panama* are sayled nine hundred leagues in lesse then two moneths, eight being needfull for the going, which is alreadie shorter then it was: for putting to the Sea they finde better windes to performe it.

Nauigation of *Panama* to the Citie *de los Reyes.*

Nauigation of the West *Indies.*

The Nauigation to the Westerne Ilands, *Maluccas* and *Philippinas*, from *Castile* to the Streight of *Magellane* passeth foure thousand leagues, and so for being so long as for the difficultie of passing the Streight of *Magellanes*, it is held for difficult to vse it, and from *Noua Espanna* through the Westerne Gulfe, which is in the South Sea. This Nauigation was made from the Port of the *Nativitie* in the Coast of *Noua Espanna*; at this time it is made from the Port of *Acapulco*, from whence to the *Maluccas* and *Philippinas*, they doe make a voyage of one thousand sixe hundred, or a thousand and seuen hundred leagues, which is sayled in two moneths, or two and a halfe, departing in November which is the time most free from calmes. And the returne to *Noua Espanna* is longer, because not being able to returne the way they went, it is necessarie to ascend to 39. degrees, and depart in May and Iune, when the Brises bee lesse, and they stay foure moneths in sayling two thousand leagues that may bee in the iourney.

Chap. 4. Of the *Indies* of the North. Here was inserted a Map of the North parts of *America*. But Master *Briggs* hath in the former booke giuen you a farre farre better, to which I referre you.

NAture hauing diuided these western *Indies* in two parts, by the Isthmos or narrownesse from *Porte bello* to *Panama*, placed the one to the North, and the other to the South; wherefore wee will call them the *Indies* of the North, and of the South. The Kings of *Castile* and *Lion*, with the aduice of the supreme Councell of the *Indies*, haue ordayned, that in each place there bee a Vice-roy, Courts, and Gouernments, and Bishopricks, as hereafter shall bee shewed. And first shall be entreated of the Northerne *Indies*, which commonly they call *Noua Hispania*, because the first discouerers (which were *Iohn Grijalua* and his Companions) hauing not seene in the Ilands houses of stone, nor other things as in *Spaine*, which here they found with people apparelled, and more ciuill; They named it *New Spaine:* which exceedeth the other part of the *Indies* in pastures, and therefore they haue innumerable Cattle of all sorts: and it exceedeth also in husbandrie and fruits: it hath no wine, because generally the grapes doe not ripen with perfection, the raines of Iuly and August not suffering them to ripen. The * vpper Ilands haue also great Pastures, and a pleasant prospect: for all the yeere they are greene and flourishing, with great pleasantnesse, and great *Arcabucos*, which are very thick Groues and Inclosures, and in the Playnes are great Lakes and Quagmires. Neither Bread nor Wine grow in them; for the great rankenesse of the ground doth not suffer it to ripen nor eare: the Riuers for the most part haue gold. *Florida*, *Nicaragua*, and *Guatimala* are almost in this manner, as of all more particularly wee will rehearse in their place, and in the Table following shall the bounds of these Northern *Indies* bee seene.

Here was inserted a Map of the North parts of *America*. But Master *Briggs* hath in be former booke giuen you a farre farre better, to which I referre you.

Which bee the *Indies* of the North and which of the South.

Wherefore it was called *New Spaine.*

Great pastures in *New Spaine.*

* The weathermost or vpper Ilands.

Chap. 5. Of the bounds of the iurisdiction of Saint *Dominicke.*

THe Court of the Iland *Hispaniola*, which in time and place is the first, being neerest vnto *Castile*, it hath of bounds East and West fiue hundred and fiftie leagues, and North and South more then three hundred, wherein are included the Ilands and Gouernments of *Hispaniola*, *Cuba*, Saint *Iohn*, *Iamayca*, *Margarita*, and the fishing of the Pearle: the Prouince and Gouernment of *Venezuella*, and for neerenesse the Prouinces of new *Andaluzia*, *Guayana*, and *Florida*, with all the Ilands of the North Sea, which doe passe a hundred which are named, and are aboue sixe hundred great and small: and those which doe leane toward the Coast of *Terra firme*, the Mariners doe call *of the Leeward*, and the other to the *Weatherward*. The temperature of them all is commonly moist and exceeding hot, and although they be plentifull in Pastures and Trees, they are not so of the Seedes of *Castile*, nor of Wheat, Barly, Vines, nor Oliues: but there is great store of great Cattell and small, as Kine, Mares, Swine, and Sheepe, and therefore their principall trafficke is Hides and Sugar, for there is great store; and although in the most of them there is gold; it is not sought for.

Chap. 6. Of the Iland *Hispaniola* and of *Cuba.*

THe Countrie-men called the Iland of *Hispaniola*, *Ayti* and *Quisqueya*, which signifieth *Roughnesse*, and *a great Countrie*. The figure of it is like a Chesnut leafe: it stands in nineteene degrees and a halfe of elevation of the Pole, it compasseth about foure hundred leagues and somewhat more, and hath in length East and West an hundreth and fiftie, and North and South from thirtie to sixtie where it is broadest, it is very plentifull of Sugar, and Cattell, and of *Yuca*, the roote whereof maketh the *Cazabi*, the bread of the Countrimen. They haue no Millet nor Wheat, although they begin to reape some in the inward parts and coldest. It is rich of Copper mynes and other metals, and some veine of Gold though but little is gotten, for want of workemen: it hath ten *Spanish* Townes.

Cazabi bread.

Ten *Spanish* Townes.

HON-

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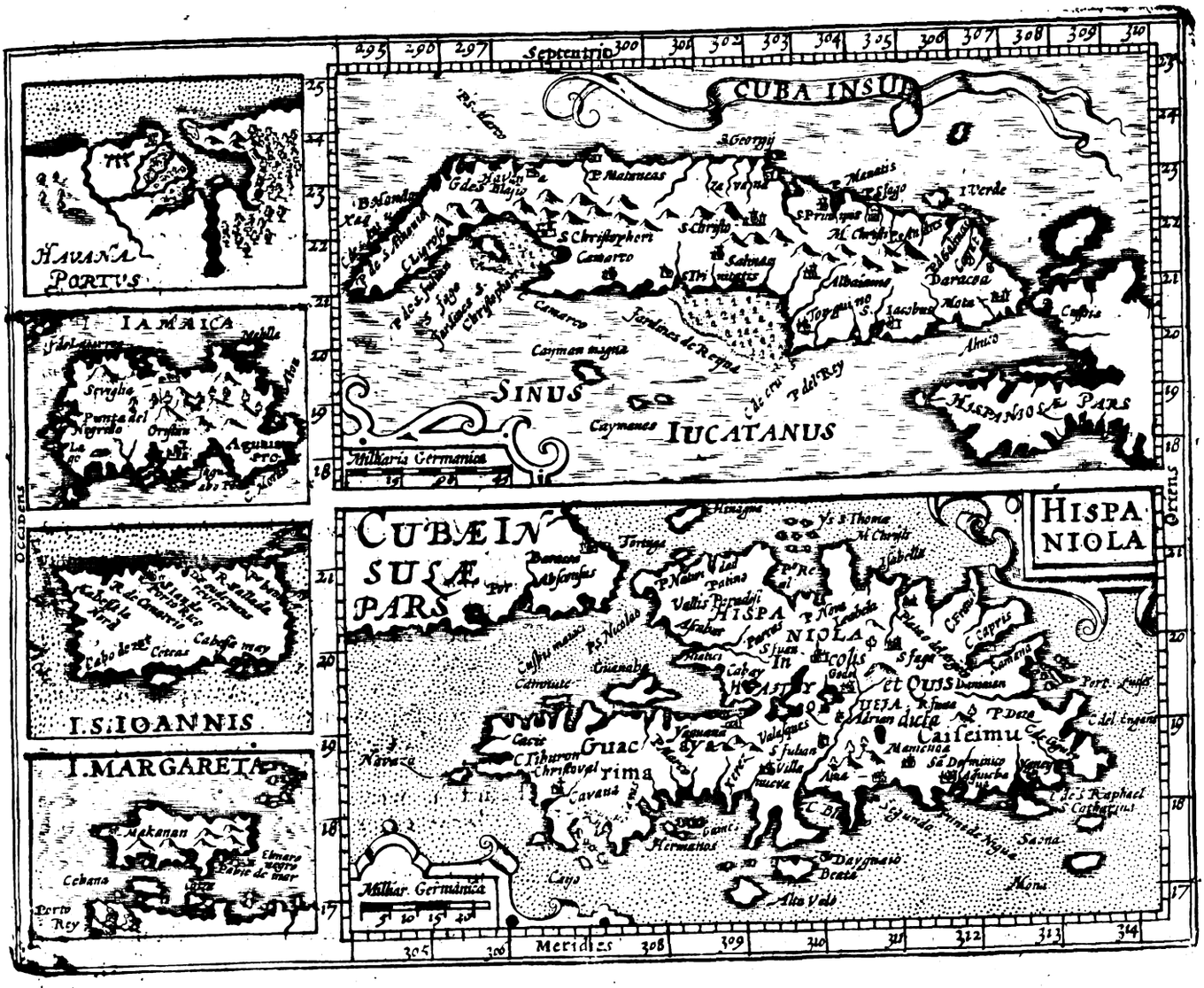
HONDIVS *his Map of* Hiſpaniola, Cuba, *&c.*



40 The Citie of Saint *Dominicke* or *Domingo* neere the Coaſt of the South, on the Riuer of *Ozama*, ſtands in the ſaid 19. degrees and a halfe, and 60. of Occidentall longitude from the Meridian of *Toledo*, from whence vnto it there may bee by direct line one thouſand two hundred fortie ſeuen leagues, it hath aboue ſixe hundred houſholds. There is reſident in it the Audience or Counſell, the Officers of the Goods and Royall Treaſure; a Mint houſe, and the Cathedrall Church. And the Archbiſhoprick hath for Suffraganes the Biſhopricks of the *Conception de la Vega* (which is vnited with that of Saint *Dominicke*) thoſe of Saint *Iohn*, *Cuba*, *Venezuela*, and the Abbotſhip of *Iamayca*; and in the Citie are Monaſteries of *Dominicans*, *Franciſcans*, *Mercenaries*, and other two of Nunnes, a Grammar Schoole, with foure thouſand * *Peſos* of Rent, and an Hoſpitall with twentie thouſand. The Hauen which is great, and capable of many ſhips, is in the mouth of the
50 Riuer *Ozama*, and hath the Citie on the Weſt, which the Deputie *Don Bartholomew Collon* did build the yeere 1494. on the Eaſt ſide, better and wholſomer in ſituation, and the chiefe Knight of *Alcantara*, *Nicholas* of *Ouando* being Gouernour of *Hiſpaniola*, *An.* 1502. remoued it where now it is, from the other ſide the Riuer to the Eaſt, vpon occaſion that the Citie had fallen by a great Earthquake. The Village of *Saluaſyon* of *Yguey*, eight and twentie leagues from Saint *Dominicke* to the Eaſt, of the Archbiſhoprick; the Captaine, *Iohn* of *Eſquiuel*, did people it. The Village of the *Zeybo*, twentie leagues from Saint *Dominicke* to the Eaſt, toward the Iland of *Saona*; the Captaine alſo planted it in the time of *Nicholas* of *Ouando*. The Village of *Cotuy*, ſixteene leagues from Saint *Dominicke* to the North, and very cloſe in his circuit, *Roderick Mexia* of *Trillo*, founded it. The Village of *Azua* in *Compoſtella*, in the coaſt of the South, foure and
60 twentie leagues from Saint *Dominicke* to the Weſt, in his borders are many ſugar Mills; it was peopled by the Preſident *Iames Vellazques*, it was called *Compoſtella* by a *Gallizian* Knight, which held an Heritage in that ſituation, and *Azua* is the name of the place which the *Indians* had there. The firſt that carried ſugar Canes to the *Indies*, and began to make triall of them there, was one *Atiença*, and the Bachellor *Veloſa*. The Village of *Yaguana*, which they call

The Citie of Saint *Domingo*.

* *Peſo* is foure ſhillings *Engliſh*.

Saluaſyon of *Yguey*.

The Village of *Zeybo*.

El Cotuy.

Azua.

Who carried to the *Indies* the ſugar Canes.

La Yaguana.

Santa

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Santa Marie of the Port, ſeated on the Weſterne coaſt of the Iland, is fiftie or ſixtie leagues from Saint *Dominicke*, as betweene the North and the Weſt; the chiefe Knight *Nicholas* of *Ouando* did people it.

Concecion de la Vega. The Citie of the *Conception of the Valley*, is in the Kingdome of *Guarinoex*, which the firſt Admirall *Don Chriſtopher Collon* built, neere to the which he obtayned the victorie in the great battaile of the *Valley Royall:* it is twentie leagues from Saint *Dominicke* to the North-eaſt, where is a Cathedrall Church (although there is no Prelate, for it is vnited to the Church of Saint *Dominicke*) it hath one Monaſterie of religious *Franciſcans*, where is the wood of the Croſſe which the *Indians* could not burne, cut, nor ouerthrow, which hath done many miracles.

The wood of the Croſſe of the Valley.

Saint Iago de los Caualleros. Saint *Iago de los Caualleros* is ten leagues from the Citie *de la Vega* directly to the North-eaſt; it was firſt a Fortreſſe which the firſt Admirall made in the Countries of the *Cacique Guanacouel*, for the ſecuritie of the Valley, and the Fort *Magdalene* which was foure leagues off.

Puerto de Plata. The chiefe Knight of *Alcantara*, *Nicholas* of *Ouando*, *An.* 1502. did people the Port of *Plate* in the North coaſts, fiue and thirtie or about fortie leagues from Saint *Dominicke*, becauſe the ſhips of *Caſtile* might more commodiouſly trafficke, and becauſe it was no more then ten leagues from the great *Valley*, where in other ten leagues ſtood the Village of Saint *Iames*, and the *Conception* within ſixteen, and within twelue the Mynes of *Cibao*, and it was of the Biſhoprick of the *Valley*, the Port of *Plate* ſtands in little more then twentie degrees. The Village of *Monte-Chriſte*, is in the coaſt of the North fourteene leagues, to the Weſt of Port of *Plate*, and fortie from Saint *Dominicke*, is of the Biſhoprick of the *Valley*; it hath a good Hauen, and certaine ſalt Pits in it; *Nicholas* of *Ouando* did build it.

Monte Chriſte.

La Iſabella. There was in old times in this Iland the Citie of *Iſabella*, now diſinhabited, which the firſt Admirall built the yeere 1493. the Village of *Verapaz* in *Xaragua*, which *Iames Velazques* built in the yeere 1503. and the ſame yeere peopled alſo *Saluatierra* of the *Zabana*, which ſignifieth *Playnes* and *Paſtures*, in the *Indian* language: and that Prouince is plaine and faire. Hee alſo peopled (betweene the two mightie Riuers *Neyba* and *Yaqui*) the Village of Saint *Iohn* of the *Maguana*, in the middeſt of the Iland, where the Church continueth yet; and heere reigned *Coanabo*, who tooke *Alfonſo de Oieda*. Hee alſo planted *Villanneua de Yaquimo* vpon the Hauen, where *Oieda* caſt himſelfe to ſwim, being priſoner in a ſhip, with two paire of fetters; and it ſtands in the South coaſt, which the Admirall did call the *Coaſt and Hauen of Braſile*. The Village of *Bonao* is neere vnto *Cotuy*, which the firſt Admirall alſo built, where hee made a Fort for the ſecuritie of the Mynes, which were the firſt that were found in this Iland. The Village of *Bonauenture* is eight leagues from Saint *Dominicke* to the North, and *Lares de Guahaba*, which *Nicholas* of *Ouando* peopled, being *Comendador Lares*.

La Verapaz.
Saluatierra.
The Maguana.
Villanneua.
El Bonao.
La Buenauentura.

14000. *Spaniards* there were in the *Hiſpaniola* at her beginning.

This Iland flouriſhed ſo much, that there were in it fourteene thouſand *Caſtillanes*, many of them Noble people, and the Plantations of other parts which happened afterward, cauſed it to be diſinhabited; for from it, and from the Iland of *Cuba*, went all the ſubſtance for the new Countreyes that were found.

Ports & Points moſt notable.

The Ports, Roades, Capes, and Points moſt famous, and the Ilands pertayning to the Coaſt of this Iland, are in the South Coaſt, the Point of *Nizao*, ten leagues from Saint *Dominicke* to the Weſt. The Port of *Ocoa*, eighteene, which is a Bay where the Fleets which goe for *Nona Eſpania* doe anchor and take refreſhing, when they doe not anchor in the nooke of *Zepezepin*, which is neere vnto it, or in another which they call the *Faire Hauen*, two leagues before they come to *Ocoa*. *Azua* a Port and Towne twentie-foure leagues beyond *Ocoa la Calongia*, a large Point thirtie leagues, right againſt the Ilands of *Boata* and *Altobelo*, fiue leagues from the Coaſt, and the *Beatados*. *Yaquimo* about thirtie foure more to the Weſt, and *Abaque*, an Iland neere the Cape of *Tiburon*, the furtheſt Weſt of *Hiſpaniola*: *la Nabaza* ten leagues to the Sea Eaſt and Weſt from the Cape, and Cape *Rojo* twelue leagues from it to the North: the *Rookes*, or *Hermanos Trees*, *Iſle Oucillos* neere the Coaſt that turneth to the Eaſt: *Caymito* another little Iland betweene theſe, and *Guanabo* another Iland of eight leagues in length, in the nooke of *Yaguana*. The Port and Cape of Saint *Nicholas*, the furtheſt Weſt on the North ſide of the Iland. A little further the Port of * *Moſquitos*, in the North Coaſt, and twentie leagues forward the Port of *Valparayſo*, or of the Conception, North and South, with the *Tortuga* an Iland neere the Coaſt of fiue leagues in length: Port *Royall* twelue leagues to the Weſt from *Monte-Chriſte*, which is as much, or a little more before *Iſabela*, and this from the Port of *Plate*, other twelue leagues: *Cabo Frances*, and *Cabo del Cabron*, in the turning, which the Coaſt maketh to the Eaſt, before the Gulfe of *Samana*, which entreth fiue or ſixe leagues the Land inward, vnto the place where the Towne of *Santta Cruz* ſtood. And in the Riuer of *Samana*, was the firſt time that Armes were taken againſt the men of the *Indies*; becauſe they would haue done violence to the firſt Admirall. The Cape of *Deceit*, (*Cabo del Enganno*) is the furtheſt Weſt of the Iland where the Coaſt returneth by the South to the Weſt, at the beginning of the which ſtands the *Saona*, an Iland which the fleets doe reknowledge, when they goe, and ſomewhat more towards Saint *Dominicke* is another little Iland, which is called Saint *Katherine*; and all the names rehearſed were giuen by the firſt Admirall.

* Or Gnats.

Where they tooke armes the firſt time againſt Indians.

The

Cuba.

The Iland of *Cuba* which first was called *Iuana*, or *Ioane*, by the Father *Don Iuan*, and after it was commanded to be called *Fernandina* by his Father. The Captaine *Sebastian* of *Ocampo*, made an end of compassing the yeere of our Lord 1508. by order of *Nicholas* of *Ouando*: for vntill then it was not wholly beleiued that it was Land, and the yeere 1511. the President *Iames Velazques* went ouer with three hundred *Spaniards*, by order of the second Admirall to pacifie it. It hath two hundred and thirty leagues from the Cape of Saint *Antonie*, vnto the Point of *Mayzi*, going by Land, although by the Sunne, and by water there are not so many. It hath in breadth from the Cape of *Crosses*, to the Port of *Manati*, fortie fiue leagues, and then it beginneth to streighten, and goeth to the last Cape, or Occidentall Point, where it is narrow, of twelue leagues, little more or lesse, from *Matamano* to the *Auana*. Her situation is within the Tropicke of Cancer, from twentie to twentie one degrees, the Countrey is almost all plaine, with many Forrests, and thicke Woods: from the Easterne Point of *Mayci*, for thirtie leagues it hath most high Mountaynes, and likewise in the middest it hath some, and there runne from them to the North, and to the South, very pleasant Riuers, with great store of fish. On the South side it hath the little Ilands, which the first Admirall called the *Queenes Garden*, and the other on the North side, which *Iames Velazquez* called the *Kings Garden*, the trees are of many differences, and wild Vines as bigge as a man: they gather no Wheate nor other Seedes of *Spaine*, but great abundance of Cattle: it hath great Copper Mynes, and of Gold, and is it found in the Riuers, though it be base in the touch.

S. Iago.

Iames Velazquez peopled first the Citie of Saint *Iames* in the South Coast, fortie leagues from the Cape of *Tiburon*, which is in *Hispaniola*, and two leagues from the Sea, neere to a Port, one of the best in the World, for securitie and greatnesse. The Citie came to haue two thousand Inhabitants; now it hath few with a Gouernours Deputie: the Cathedrall Suffragane to Saint *Domingo*, is resident in it, and a Monastery of *Franciscan* Friers. The Village of *Baracoa*, is a Towne furthest East of the Iland of *Cuba*, at the beginning of the North Coast 60. leagues from the Citie of S. *Iames* toward the East North-east, which was also an inhabiting of the President *Iames Velazquez*. The Village of *Bayamo*, which *Iames Velazquez* also built, is 20. leagues from S. *Iames* to the North-west, it is the foundest Town of the Iland, of a more open soyle, and of a good disposition. The Village and Port of the Prince, in the Coast of the North, is about fortie leagues from Saint *Iames* to the North-west. The Village of *Sancti Spiritus*, is a Port on the South side, betweene the *Trinidad*, and the *Cayo de Basco Porcallo*, of *Figueroa*, about fiftie leagues from Saint *Iames*, a Colonie of *Iames Velazquez*.

Baracoa.

Bayamo.

Puerto del Principe.

Sancti Spiritus.

The Village and Port of Saint *Christopher* of the *Abana*, is in the North Coast, almost opposite to *Florida*, in twentie two degrees and an halfe in height, of more then sixe hundred Houholds; where the Gouernour resides and the Officers Royall. The Port is maruellous in greatnesse and securitie, especially since that King *Philip* the Second, the prudent, sent the Campe-master *Iohn* of *Texeda*, and *Baptista Antonelli*, to fortifie it: in it all the Fleetes of the *Indies* doe meete for to come for *Spaine* in company. It was first called the Port of *Carennas*: and *Iames Velazquez* built this Village, and all the rest of the Iland, with the assistance of the Father *Bartolome de las Casas*, which afterward became a *Dominicke* Frier, and Bishop of *Chiapa*.

El Albana, or the *Hauana.*

Puerto de Carennas.

The Ports and Capes, and point of the Coast of *Cuba*, and the Ilands belonging to it besides those which are rehearsed are in the South Coast, the Port of the Citie of Saint *Iames* in twentie degrees, and twentie fiue leagues to the West: the Port of *Sancti Spiritus*, *Cape of the Crosse* twelue leagues forward, and the *Queenes Gardens*, which is a great shelfe of Ilands and shoales: the Port of *Trinitie* in twentie one degrees, about thirtie leagues from the *Cape of the Crosse*, and ten more to the West, the Gulfe of *Xagua*, a great defence with some Ilands, in the middest, and forward the *Two Sisters*, two Ilands at the beginning of the great shelfe, and Ilands, and shoales, which they call *Camarco*, betweene the Coast and the Ilands, which is of ten leagues in length, and seuen in breadth twelue leagues from the *Cape of Correntes*, which is as many from the *Cape of Saint Antonie*, the furthest West of this Iland. In the North Coast standeth the Port of *Abana*, and thirtie leagues to the East is the Port of *Slaughters* where was a Towne, and was called *de Matanças*, *of the Slaughters*, because the *Indians* killed certaine *Spaniards*, which they carried in their *Canoose* vnder securitie to the other side, only one escaping, and two women whom they kept sometime with them. From the * *Matanças* to the Port of *Yucanaca*, are fiftie leagues to the *Kings Garden*, which is a great shelte of little Illets and shoales, and at the end of the Iland *Obahana*, eight leagues before the Port of the Prince, foure or six from the Port of *Fernando Alanso*, and six to the East of this, *Cubana* which is a point. The Port of *Varocoa* is about twentie leagues before the point of *Mauzi*, the farthest West of *Cuba*, and the hidden Port and Gulfe neere to Cape † *Roio*, in the South-coast, about twentie leagues from the Port of *Pidgeons*, which is about ten leagues from the Port of Saint *Iames*.

Wherefore it was called the Slaughters.

* Or *Slaughters.*

† Or *Red.*

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Chap. 7. Of the Ilands of *Iamayca*, S. *Iohn*, the *Lucayos*, & the *Caniballs.*

THe Iland of *Iamayca* was so abundant of victuals, and breedings, that it gaue great prouision of Cotton, Horses, Swine, and *Cozabi*, for the new Discoueries, and the first Admirall called it Saint *Iames*, when hee discouered it: and the first that passed to inhabit it, was the Captayne *Iohn Esquiuell*, the yeere 1509. by order of the second Admirall *Don Diego Colon.* It stands in seuenteene degrees and an halfe of altitude in the middest of it, and twentie leagues from *Cuba* to the South, and as many from *Hispaniola*, direct to the West. It hath in compasse one hundred and fiftie leagues, it hath East and West fiftie, and twentie in breadth. There are in it three Villages, *Siuill* in which is the Seat of the Colledge, toward the North Coast somewhat Westerly; *Iohn Squiuell* a Gentleman of *Siuill* peopled it: *Melilla*, which stands in the North Coast, fourteene leagues from *Siuill* to the East: *Oristan* in the South Coast towards the West fourteene leagues from *Siuill*, and are Plantations of the President *Francisco de Garay*, which gouerned in it. But of the Towne *de la Vega*, whence the Admirals Lords of this Iland tooke the Title of Dukes, nor of other two Plantations painted in some Maps, there is no notice.

Siuill, Melilla, & Oriston, inhabitings of *Iamayca.*

Cape of *Morauta.*

There is in the Coast of this Iland, the Point of *Morauta* the vttermost West of it, by the North Coast ten leagues to the West, the Port of *Iauta*, and tenne leagues forward the Port of *Melilla*, where they say the first Admirall arriued, and called it *Santa Gloria*, when hee returned lost from *Veragua*; and heere happened to him the mutiny of the *Porras* of *Siuill*: and it was the first Ciuill Warre of the *Indies.* Other ten leagues thence standeth the Port of *Siuill*, before the Point *Negrillo*, from whence the Coast windeth, vnto the *Cabo de Falcon*, neere to *Oristan*, and goeth by the South to the Port of *Guayano.* And fiue leagues from this Coast, are the *Harmingas*, a dangerous shoale, and seuen leagues further *las Viuoras*, small Ilands compassed with shoales, and to the South of them the *Serrana*, and a little Iland compassed with shoales, with other foure or fiue neere vnto it, and to the North-west of it, the *Serranilla*, and to the West of it the *Roncador*, another Rocke, and to the South-west of it, Saint *Andrewes*, an Iland compassed with shoales North and South, with *Nombre de Dios*, about fortie leagues from it, and neere from thence another called *Santa Catilina*; the [n] *Caymanes* directly West from *Iamayca*, twentie fiue leagues from the *little* [•] *Blackmoore*, which are two little Ilands sixe leagues the one from the other, and the great *Cayman* another Iland of seuen leagues in length, fifteene leagues from the *Caymanes* to the West, and to the North Coast, betweene *Cuba* and *Hispaniola*, another shoale which is called [p] *Abre-oio.*

The first ciuill warre among the *Spaniards*, was in *Iamayca.*

n Or *Lizards.*
• Or *Negrillo.*
p Or open the eye.

S. *Iuan de puerto Rico.*

The Iland of Saint *Iohn of Port Rico*, which the *Indians* called *Barriquen*, lyeth betwixt twelue and fifteene leagues from *Hispaniola*, to the East, of fortie fiue leagues in length, East and West, and from North to South, betwixt twentie and thirtie, very plentifull of all that *Hispaniola* hath, and of Millet, Yuca, and of Mynes of Gold. The temperature is good, and almost one all the yeere, except in December and Ianuary. There is in it three *Spanish* Townes with a Gouernment, and a Bishoppricke: the President *Iohn Ponce* of *Lion* passed to discouer this Iland the yeere 1508. being Gouernour in the Prouince of *Tguey*, for *Nicholas* of *Ouando* in *Hispaniola*, and returned the yeere 1510. by order of the King to people it. The Citie of Saint *Iohn*, is in the beginning of the North Coast, on the East side in eighteene degrees of height, and they call it of *Port Rico*, for the excellencie of the Hauen. The Bishop and the Gouernour are resident in it, and the Officers of the Kings Reuenues: and it is Suffragane to Saint *Domingo.* *Arrecibo* stands thirtie leagues to the West from Port *Rico*: the Towne of *Guadianilla*, or Saint *German the New*, in the Westerne Coast three and thirtie leagues from Port *Rico* to the South-west.

S. *Iohn.*

The *Arrecibo.*
Guadianilla.
S. *German.*

There was in old time in this Iland another Towne which was called *Guanica*, in the South Coast, at the end of it where now is the Port of *Mosquitos*, which is very good, from whence it was remoued to another situation of the Westerne Coast, which they call *Aguada*, or the *Watering*, with name of *Soto-Mayor*: there is in this Iland a row of Mountaynes, that diuide it in the middest East and West vnto the Sea, and Borders of Saint *German*, and heere is found the Tree called *Tabernaculo*, which yeeldeth white Rozen, like Gumme-*Anime*, and it serueth for Pitch for the ships, and for fire or light, and it is medicinable to take out the colde or numnesse, and to cure wounds.

The tree Tabernacle.

There are few Ports in this Iland, for all the Coast of the North is very foule with shoales, and Rockes: those that are, are to the East from the Port of Saint *Iohn.* The Riuer of *Luysa*, and that which they call *Canoba*, and *la Cabeça*; the farthest East point of the Iland, neere to the Hill of the *Loquillos*, and in it a Port which they call Saint *Iames*; three leagues further is another called *Yabucoa*, and three leagues from the Coast, on this side of the passage, is a little Illet, and at the beginning of the South passage, another which they call *Boyqui*, and forward the Iland of Saint *Anne*, *Guayama* a Port, and afterward the Riuers *Neabon*, and *Xania*, six leagues before the Port of *Guadianilla*, two leagues to the East of the Riuer of *Mosquitos*, in whose mouth is the Riuer called *Guanica*, and six leagues from it, the Cape *Roio*, the furthest West of the South Coast: and to the West of it, toward *Hispaniola* is the Iland of *Mona*, and to the North of it the

The hauens of this Iland.

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the *Manico*, and *Zecheo*, other two little Ilands: the Port of *Pines*, and the Port of *Mayaguez*, and the Bay of Saint *German* the old, and the mouth of the Riuer *Guanabo*, or the *Watering*, and that of *Guahataca* more forward, and afterward in the North Coast, that of *Camay*, and of *Cibuco*, and *Toa*, neere to Port *Rico*, and in the middest of the Coast of the South Sea, leaning vnto it the *Haberianas*, foure or fiue little Ilands. There is also much Ginger gathered in this Iland, which is a Root like vnto Madder, or Saffron, which the *Portugals* brought from the East, to this Iland of *Barlouento*. Who carried the Ginger to the Ilands of *Barlouento*.

The Ilands which are to the North of Saint *Iohn*, *Hispaniola*, and *Cuba*, of which none is inhabited with *Spaniards*, are called the *Lucayos*. One the most Septentrionall, is aboue twentie seuen degrees of altitude, which is called *Lucayoneque*, or *Tucayoneque*, which hath almost to the West *Bahama* another Iland in twentie sixe degrees and an halfe, of thirteene leagues in length, and eight in breadth, from whence the Channell of *Bahama* betweene *Florida* and the shoales *Delos Mimbres* taketh the name, whereby the Currents of the Sea doe goe so swift to the North, that although the wind be prosperous the ships cannot enter it, and although they be contrary they goe with the Currents. The Ilands of the *Lucayos*. Where the Channell of *Bahama* is. Admirable Current.

The shelues of *Bemini*, are so called of an Iland in the middest of them, of fiue leagues in length, which the first Admirall gaue the name the first time he came to *Cuba*, and it is that which *Iohn Paul* of *Lyon* did agree to inhabit. *Abacoa*, is another in the middest of the said shelfe of twelue leagues in length: *Cigateo* of twentie fiue. *Curateo*, another small Iland in twentie sixe degrees: and *Guanima* fifteene leagues of length, and ten in breadth, and neere vnto it *Guanahani*, the first Land of the *Indies*, which the first Admirall discouered, which he called Saint *Sauiour*; *Yuma* of twentie leagues, and eight in breadth, in twentie foure degrees and an halfe, which the Admirall named *Isabella*, in honour of the famous Queene *Donna Isabella* his particular Protectresse, and that gaue him this Discouerie. *Inmeto* in twentie three degrees and an halfe, fifteene leagues in length, to the North of *Hispaniola*. *Samana* seuen leagues ouer, betweene *Inmeto* and *Guanima*, three square of eight leagues in length, in twentie foure degrees, *Yabaque* of ten leagues, in twentie two degrees and an halfe. *Mira-par-vos*, are three little Ilands in triangle, compassed with shelues, to the South of *Inmeto*. *Mayaguana*, twentie leagues in length and ten in breadth, in twentie three degrees. *Yuagua* of ten leagues, in twentie degrees and an halfe. The *Caycos*, an Iland of fiue leagues, in twentie one degrees, and to the North of it is another, called *Hamaua*, and another *Conéina*. *Maçarey* stands in twentie degrees compassed with shelues. *Abreoio* is a great shelfe of fifteene leagues, the middest of it in twentie degrees, and among these Ilands are many little ones without name. Bahos de Bimini. *Guanahani* the first Land that was discouered in the *Indies*.

The Ilands that are from the Iland of Saint *Iohn* of *Porte-Rico*, to the East of it, toward the coast of *Terra firme*, were called the *Canibals*, by the many * *Caribes*, eaters of humaine flesh that were in them: and in their language, *Canibal*, is to say *Valiant man*; for they were held for such of the other *Indians*. All these Ilands are dangerous for shelues, and the neerest to Saint *Iohn*, are *Sancta Cruz*, to the South-west from it, in 16. degrees, and a halfe of sixteene leagues, and *Saba las Virgines*, two little illets compassed with shelues, and other eight or ten Ilands, the greatest of ten leagues: *Virgen gorda*, and the *Blancos* or *White Ilands*, Westward from *Virgen gorda*, *La Anegada*, of seuen leagues in length, in 18. degrees and a halfe compassed with shelues, as *Sambrero* is, a little Iland neere vnto it: and these Ilands which are called the *Weather Ilands* or *Barlouento*, the first Admirall discouered: and in particular, the men of *Sancta Cruz*, and others, had a custome to goe and hunt for men to the Iland of Saint *Iohn*, for to eate, and at this day they of *Dominica* doe it. They did eate no women, but kept them for slaues. Now they say, that within this little while, they of *Dominica* did eate a Fryer, and that all they which did eate his flesh, had such a fluxe, that some dyed, and that therefore they haue left eating humane flesh: and it may be, because instead of men, with lesse danger, they steale Kine and Mares, for the great quantitie there is of them, and with this they satisfie their raging appetite. The *Canibals*. * Or *Indian Canibals*. What a *Canibal* signifieth. Men hunters. Frier vnwholsome food.

Anguilla hath ten leagues of length, it standeth in 18. degrees. Saint *Martin* in 17. degrees and a halfe, it is of sixteene leagues, compassed with little Illets: and neere vnto it Saint *Eustace*, Saint *Bartholomew*, and Saint *Christopher*, euery one of tenne leagues. The *Barbada* in 17. degrees and a halfe, compassed with shelues, neere to the *Redonda* and the *Snower* or *Nieues* and of *Mouserrate*, of fiue leagues euery one, in 15 degrees and a halfe. The *Antigua*, *Guadalupe*, and *Todos Santos*, from 14. to 15. degrees. The *Desseada* to the East of *Guadalupe*, about sixe leagues, the first which the Admirall *Don Christopher* discouered, in the second Voyage that he made to the *Indies*, in 14. degrees and a halfe, for which the fleete goe alwayes from the *Canaries*. *Marigalante*, the name of the Shippe the Admirall had, fiue leagues to the South-west from the *Desired*, and from the *Dominica*, in 13. degrees, twelue leagues in length, where the Fleetes take in water and wood, for it hath good roades, although with danger of the *Canibals*. Neere vnto *Dominica* to the South, stands *Matinino*, *Sancta Lucie*, and the *Barbudos*, the which because they fall on the left hand of the Fleetes, when they goe, they call them already of the Ilands of the *Leeward* (*de Sotauento*) which appertaine to the coast of *Terra firme*: and of them the greatest, the first, and the most Orientall is the *Trinidad*, neere two hundred leagues from

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Hiſpaniola, North and South with the *Dominica*, about ſixtie leagues from it. It hath fiftie leagues in leangth East and Weſt, and almoſt thirty in breadth. The Admirall diſcouered it the yeare 1498. the third Voyage that he made to the *Indies*, and called it the *Trinitie*, becauſe hauing great trouble in the Voyage, he had promiſed to God to giue ſuch a name to the firſt Land that he ſhould finde, and preſently the Mariner that was in the top, ſaw three points of Land, whereby the name fitted euery way to his vowe: then hee diſcouered alſo the mouthes of the *Dragon*, and of the *Serpent*, the gulfe of *Paria*, and all the firme Land vnto *Cumana*, which iniuſtly *Americus Veſputio* claimes to himſelfe, whoſe name vnworthily is giuen to the port which they call *Peninſula Auſtralis* or *Indies* of the South. This Iland of *Trinidad* is knowne that it is no good Countrie, though it hath many *Indians*; it hath thirtie fiue leagues of longitude, and others ſay more, and twentie fiue of latitude, it ſtands in 8. degrees: the moſt orientall part of it, is a point on the North ſide, which is called *de la Galera*: and to the North of it a ſmall Iland, compaſſed with little Iles, which they call *Tabago*: and in the South coaſt a Cape which they call the *Round Point*: at the East, the point of *Anguilla*, at the Weſt in the gulfe of *Paria*, which is that that is from the Iland to *Terra firme*, which may be eight leagues of diſtance, becauſe the firme Land maketh an oblique ſemicircle, as a Diadem; and in the entrance of the East is the diſtance recited; in the entrance of the Weſt, the ſtraightnes is much, and with great depth, and two little Ilands at the end of the North coaſt; by the Weſt, which is called the *Dragons mouth*: and to the North S. *Vincent*, and *Granada*, other two little Ilands.

The diſcouery of the Iland of the Trinitie, the yeare 1498

Arrogancie of *Americus Veſpucius.*

The Iland of *Margarita*, ſo named by *Chriſtopher Colon*, the firſt Admirall (as alſo all the reſt, a moſt ſufficient proofe of the Finder, to the confuſion of thoſe which depriued him of the glory of the diſcouerie of the firme Land, attributing it to themſelues, although changing the times) it is twentie leagues from *Trinidad* Weſtward, and one hundred and ſeuenty from *Hiſpaniola*: it hath ſixteen leagues in length East and Weſt, and yet ſome ſay twenty, and the halfe in breadth; it hath no ſtore of water, although it is very plentifull of Paſtures for Cattle. There is in it two Townes, one neare the Sea, which reacheth to a fortreſſe where the Gouernour is reſident, and another two leagues within the Land, which is called the Valley of *Santta Lucie*: there is in his coaſt a good port, and a nooke, and many beds of Pearles, whither the fiſhing of them is remoued, which before was in *Cubagua*, and they ſay it went away from thence, for the rumour of the ordnance of the many Shippes that reſorted to this Iland, to the trafficke of the Pearles, which was very great. *Cubagua* ſtands one league from *Margarita* to the East, there is no water in it, and yet the new *Cadiz* was built there, and they carried their water ſeuen leagues, from the Riuer of *Cumana*. To the East of *Cubagua*, are foure little Illets, cloſe by the ſhoare, which the firſt Admirall called *Los * Frayles*: and to the East, betweene them and *Granada*, other foure or fiue, which he called (*Los Teſtigos*) the *Witneſſes*, and to the Weſt after *Cubagua*, another little Iland which he named (*Tortuga*) the *Tortoyſe*, neere to the point of *Araya*: and from hence the diſcouery being made from below *Paria*, he went to *Hiſpaniola*, with a purpoſe to finiſh the diſcouery of *Terra firme*: and as here after ſhall be ſeene, hee went after to diſcouer, and found the Ilands of the *Guanaios*, and from before *Veragua*, vntill he paſſed *Nombre de Dios*. The Officers and Royall treaſure are in *Margarita*: and it, and the Iland of *Cubagua*, are in eleuen degrees, a little more.

Wherfore men do ſay that the fiſhing of the Pearles paſſed from the Iland of *Cubagua* to the *Margarita*. Iland of *Cubagua*.

* Or the Friers

Chap. 8.

Of *Venezuela*, riuer of *Hacha*, new *Florida*, and Gulfe of *Noua Hiſpania*, which is the reſt that remaineth of the limits of this Counſell.

THe Gouernment of *Venezuela* parteth the bounds in the coaſt of *Terra firme*, to the East, with the new *Andaluzia*, from whence to the Riuer of *Hacha*, and Gouernment of *Santta Martha*, with which it ioyneth by the Weſt, is an hundred and thirty leagues, and within the Land about eightie, vnto the bounds of the new Kingdome of *Granada*. In this Countrie are vaines of Gold of more then two and twentie carracts and a halfe: it is plentifull of Wheate, becauſe there is two haruells in the yeare, and moſt abundance of all kinde of Cattle, great and ſmall. There goeth from this Prouince great ſtore of Meale, Bisket, Cheeſe, Bacon, and much Cotten-linnen: and in the port of *Guayra*, in the Prouince of *Caracas*, are laden many Cowe-Hides, and *Sarſaparilla*. There is in it eight *Spaniſh* Townes: and the name *Venezuela* was giuen it, becauſe when the *Belzares*, *Almaines*, went to gouerne in this Prouince the yeare 1528. by a couenant which they made with the Emperour, they thought to inhabit in a Rocke and hils that are in the mouth of the Lake of *Maracaybo*, where it falleth in the Sea, a Towne which they named *Venezuela*. It ſtands in 8. degrees, a little more, and from hence the Couernment tooke the name. His firſt Towne is the Citie of *Coro*, which the *Indians* call *Coriana*, which commonly they call now *Venezuela*, it ſtands in 11. degrees of altitude, and 79. degrees one third part from the Meridian of *Toledo*, one thouſand and fiue hundred leagues from it: here the Gouernor is wont to be reſident, and there is the Cathedrall Church ſuffragane to the Archbiſhop of S. Dominicke: *Iohn* of *Ampues* built firſt this Citie, and then thoſe that went for the *Belzares* made their abode in it, the firſt was *Ambroſe Alfinger*: it is ſo healthfull, and of ſo good an ayre, that there is no neede of Phyſitians.

Wherefore it was called *Venezuela*, or little *Venice*.

The Citie of *Coro*.

The ſecond place is our Lady of *Carualleda*, in the Prouince of *Caracas*, neere to the Sea, East from *Coro* eightie leagues, and with a bad Hauen: *Don Franciſco Faiardo* built it the yeare 1560. which

Out Lady of *Carualleda*.

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which went for that purpoſe from the *Margarita*. *S. Iames* of *Lyon* in the ſame Prouince, ſeuen leagues within the Land, and three from *Carualleda* to the South, and ſixtie from *Coro*, where at this time the Gouernour is moſt reſident. The new *Valencia* ſixtie leagues from *Coro*, and twentie fiue from *S. Iames* of *Lyon*, ſeuen from the port of *Burburata*. The Captaine *Villacinda* peopled it. The new *Xerez* about fifteene leagues, almoſt South from the new *Valencia*, and twentie from the new *Segouia*, and ſixtie from *Coro* to the South-eaſt, a new Towne. The new *Segouias*, in the Prouince of *Bariquizimito*, twentie leagues from *Xerez* to the South, and tenne from *Tucuyo*, and eightie from *Coro* to the South-eaſt, where the Officers royall, the Gouernour, and the Lieuetenant are reſident at times: *Iohn* of *Villegas* peopled it in the yeare 1552. The Citie of *Tucuyo* is famous, becauſe in it they ſlew the tyrant *Lope* of *Aguirre*, it ſtands tenne leagues from *Segouia*, to the South-weſt, eightie fiue from *Coro*; it is the habitation of the Captaine *Caruajal*. *Truxillo*, or our *Ladie of Peace*, in the Prouince of *Cuycas*, about eightie leagues almoſt to the South, direct from *Coro*, ſomewhat to the Eaſt, and twentie fiue from *Tucuyo*, directly to the Weſt.

S. Iago de Leon. *Xerez.* *Segouia.* *Tucuyo.* *Trucillo.*

The Auditor *Vallejo* diſcouered this the yeare 1549, the Bacheller *Tolloſa* being Gouernour in it: and the yeare 1559. the Captaine *Iames Garcia* of *Paredes* inhabited *Truxillo*: and there may be in this Gouernment more then 100000. *Indies* tributaries, and in them are not comprehended from eightéene vnder, nor aboue fiftie yeares, becauſe the ſupreme Counſell of the *Indies* hath prouided, that in no place of this Orbe, theſe doe pay tribute: and becauſe daily they increaſe and diminiſh in number, it cannot be ſaid preciſely and perfectly how many there are.

The Lake of *Maracaybo*, which the *Caſtilanes* call of our *Lady*, is of freſh water, it entreth fortie leagues within the Land, from the Sea, and hath more then tenne in breadth, and eighty in compaſſe, with many Townes vpon his Borders: in the end of it entreth a Riuer that deſcendeth from the new Kingdome of *Granada*, by the which, and the Lake, Marchandiſe are tranſported which came to the new Kingdome of *Caſtile*, and to other places; ſome of the men of this Lake doe liue in Boates, their houſes being made in the Trees within the water, and at the Border, whence it tooke alſo at the firſt, the name of *Venezuela*; ſayling by ſome parts of this Lake, ye can ſee no Land: there enter into it other great Riuers, it runneth to the Sea, it hath about halfe a league of mouth, and in it the ſhoale and rocks aboueſaid.

The Lake *Maracaybo.*

The Ports, Capes, and Points of the coaſt of this Gouernment, and thoſe annexed vnto it, are to the Weſt, *Marcapana*, the *Vrchila*, an Iland againſt the Riuer *Oynare*, neere to another called *Rocke of the Ilets*, and afterward the Cape of the *Codera*, and *Puerto Flechardo*, and the hauen of *Sardinas* or *Pilchers*: and oppoſite the Ile of *Aues* or *Birds*, before *Burburata*, a maruellous hauen, which the Bachiler *Toloſa* peopled, and is a Scale or Port for the new Kingdome (*Nueuo Reyna*) & Prouinces of *Peru*, and after that is *Gulfo triſte*, and to the North of the *Bonayre*, an Iland of ten leagues in length, and eight in breadth, and afterward *Punta ſeca*, and right againſt it *Curacao*, and a little forward *Curacaute*, foureteene leagues in length, right againſt the Cape of *S. Roman* to the South of the Iland of *Aruba*. *S. Roman* entreth twentie leagues into the Sea, it ſtandeth twelue from *Coro*, the *Indians* doe call it *Paraguana*, it lacketh a little to be an Iland: it may haue in compaſſe twenty fiue leagues and more of plaine ground, with a Mountaine almoſt in the middeſt: it is diſcouered a great way into the Sea. There is at the beginning of the Gulfe of *Venezuela*, the entrance and channell of the Lake of *Maracaybo*, and at the entrance of it the Riuer *Mitare*, and to the Weſt the *Monkes*, three little Ilets cloſe by the Point and Cape of *Coquibocoa*, where onely in all the *Indies* was found waight and touch for the Gold, and afterwards the deepe *Baye* (*Balna Honda*) and the *Portete*, the Cape *de Vela*, which the Captaine *Alfonſus* of *Ojeda* named, when *Americo Veſpucio* went with him the firſt time, much after that the Admirall diſcouered this coaſt, which ſtands in 12. degrees, ſomewhat more. And there is from the Cape *de Vela*, to the Riuer of *Hache* eighteene leagues, without any ſtone in them, nor water, but raine water. This Gouernment remained deſtroyed, ſince the time of the *Almaines*, becauſe they would not inhabit, onely ſeeke to make ſlaues, and to waſte the Countrie.

The ports and points of the Gouernment of *Venezuela.*

They called firſt the Riuer of *Hache*, *our Ladie of the Snowes*, and after of the *Remedies*, neere vnto the Sea, betweene *Venezuela*, and *Sancta Marta*, to the Eaſt, thirtie leagues from it, and ſixtie from *Coro* to the Weſt, North and South with the Cape *de Vela*, with eight leagues of bounds betweene *Venezuela* and *Sancta Marta*, without ſhowes of Gold. It is gouerned by *Alcaldes* immediate to the Counſell of *Hiſpaniola*, and the Spiritualtie is of the Biſhopricke of *Sancta Marta*. The Towne is 1000. paces from the Sea, on a little hill: the Hauen hath the North for trauers, it is a moſt fertile Countrie, and yeeldeth whatſoeuer is in *Caſtile*: there are many Tigers, Beares, Ants, and Lizards in the Riuers, much Gold, and Stones of diuers vertues, for the Spleene, the Kidneys, for the Milt, and Flix, and they haue good Salt-pits. *Nicolas Federman* for the *Belzares*, was he that began to inhabit this Towne. The gouernment of *Serpa*, which they call the new *Andaluzia*, and in the *Indian* Language *Guayana*, extends the limits. From the Iland of *Margarita* vnto the riuer *Marauyon*, three hundred leagues to the Eaſt, and as many North and South within the Land, wherein the *Indians Omagues* are included, and the *Omygas*, with

with the Prouinces of *Dorodo*, to the ſouth of this Gouernment, wherein falleth by the Coaſt the Prouince of *Maracapana*, in the bounds of *Venecuela*, where the mouths of *Santta Fe* were inhabited, in whoſe Borders is the knob of *Unare*, and neere vnto it a great Lake with great ſtore of fiſh and ſalt, and the *Indians* which are called of *Perſio*, twentie leagues within the Land, and the *Indians Paleuques*, ſo called for the Poles where with they fortified themſelues, and the Prouince of *Cumana*, North and ſouth with the *Margarita*, where is a Towne of *Spaniards*, which is called new *Cordoua*, which the Captayne *Gonçalo* of *Ocampo* built, when he went to chaſtiſe the *Indians* of *Cumana*, for the deſtruction of the Monaſtery of the Religious *Franciſcans*. And to the Eaſt or the Iland of *Trinidad*, and the Riuer of Saint *Iohn* of the *Amazones*, is the Prouince of the *Indians Aruacas*, part of the *Caniballs*, and all Warlike, that neuer are quiet or peaceable.

After the point of *Paria*, which ſtands in ſeuen degrees, and the *Dragons Mouth* neere vnto *Trinidad* ſtands the point *Del Gallo*, or *Anegada*, to the South of the *Trinitie*, and the Riuer of *Paria*, or *Oriuico*, which ſome call *Yuyapari*; and others will haue that theſe two, and the Riuer of Saint *Iohn*, and of *Orellana* be all one thing, and alſo the *Marauyon*; but in this they are deceiued. There be other Riuers in the Prouince of the *Aruacas* that are well knowne, the Riuer of Saint *Iohn*, or of *Orellana* ſpringeth in the *Andes* of *Peru*, right againſt *Cuzco*, from whence it runneth fifteene hundred leagues, or more, winding vnder the Equinoctiall, by Countreyes well inhabited, though not well diſcouered, till it came to run into the North Sea, whoſe mouth hath in breadth fiftie leagues; and in the firſt fiue hundred from the mouth vpward, many Ilands inhabited; and eightie or a hundred leagues more to the Weſt, ſtands the Riuer of *Morauyon*, almoſt in the bounds whereby paſſeth the Line of the Diuiſion betweene *Caſtile* and *Portugall*, and is great and terrible, hauing fifteene leagues of mouth, and the ſtreame commeth from the parts of the South, and the Prouinces of *Braſill*, and they ſay that the ſpring is vnder *Popayan*, and the bounds of the new Kingdome of *Granada*.

Riuer *Morauion*

The Iland of *Cubagua*.

Seuen leagues from *Cumana* ſtands the Iland of *Cubagua*, where ſtood as was ſaid, the new *Cadiz*, which was diſinhabited becauſe the fiſhing for Pearles fayled: this Iland had no water that could be drunke, nor trees, nor beaſts; for all is brackiſh, except thoſe Hogges that haue the Nauell in their backe-bone, and ſome ſmall Conies, and hauing ſo great inhabiting, they went ſeuen leagues to the riuer of *Cumana* for water, although there was an opinion that it bred webbes in the eyes. In this Riuer and coaſt, hapned in the yeare 1530. the firſt of September, the hauen being cleare, the Sea did riſe foure fadomes from his ordinary courſe, and entring into the earth it began to ſhake, and the fortreſſe which the Captaine *Iacome* of *Caſtellon* had built by order of the Counſell of *Hiſpaniola*, fell, and the earth did open in many places, whereout ſprang much ſalt water as blacke as inke, and did ſtinke of brimſtone, and the mountaine of the gulfe of *Cariaco* remained open with a great rift: many houſes fell, many people died drowned, and with feare, and taken with the earth quake. *Margarita* one league from *Cubagua* a more pleaſant Iland, the Bachiller *Marcelo* of *Villalobos* did people it.

Strange Hogs.

An earthquake in the coaſt of *Terra firme*, the yeare 1530. very admirable.

Margarit.

Florida.

The Prouince and Gouernment of *Florida*, bordering on the Counſell of *Hiſpaniola*, according to the Gouernment of *Peter Melendez*, is all that which lyeth from the Riuer of *Palmes*, which doth confine with the Gouernment of *Panuco* in new *Spaine*, limits of the Counſell of *Mexico*, which is neere the tropicke in 22. degrees, vnto the point of *Bacallaos*, which falleth in 48. degrees, and a halfe, in the which are 1258. leagues of Coaſt, and from thence to 73. degrees of altitude to the North by the Coaſt, and within the Land all that which hee diſcouereth. Of this hath beene coaſted and diſcouered, from the Riuer of *Palmes* vnto the Point of *Santta Helena*, and the Riuer *Iordan*, which are about 600. leagues, it is a firme Land of a good climate, plentifull, and well inhabited in many places, as thoſe that went through it with *Hernando* of *Soto* did know it, the yeare 1536. and 1537. *Iohn Pardo* borne in *Cuenca*, went by Land from *Florida* to new *Spaine*, in leſſe then two yeares, and it is the neereſt Europe of any part of the *Indies*, & from the Bay of S. *Ioſeph*, which is eightie leagues from *Panuco*. There is alſo diſcouered vnto *New found Land*, but that which is particularly taken for *Florida*, is the point that goeth into the Sea North and South, with the Iland of *Cuba*, of a hundred leagues in length, and twentie fiue in breadth Eaſt and Weſt, and (when it is moſt) thirtie. *Iohn Ponce* of *Lyon* diſcouered it *Anno* 1512. on Eaſter day, and for this cauſe he called it *Florida*: and afterward returned the yeere 1521. and retired wounded to *Cuba*, where he dyed, leauing a report that he ſought the Fountaine or Riuer which the *Indians* ſaid that old men waſhing themſelues therin, became yong. This Prouince is according to the temperature of *Caſtile*, and many fruits were found there like the fruits of *Spain*, and it ſeemeth fit for Cattle and Corne. There is no Gould, neither ſeemeth that the *Indians* did know it, nor Siluer; for it hath beene ſeene that they haue found the Cheſts with bars of it and money in their coaſts, and made no account of it: yet *Hernando de Soto*, within the inward parts of the great Riuer, found great abundance of Pearles.

The ſpring which *Iohn Ponce* did ſeeke that renued the old men.

They of *Florida* knew neither Gold, Siluer, nor Monie.

There are but two Fortreſſes in this Prouince with men in Gariſon, both in the Coaſt that looketh to the Eaſt: the one is called Saint *Marke*, in the point of Saint *Helena*, about one hundred leagues from the *Hauana*, and another of Saint *Auguſtin*, which is the principall, becauſe the

HONDIVS *his Map of* Florida.

the hauen is good, and is neere the channell of *Baliama*. It ſtands about fiftie leagues from *los Martyres*, which are many little Ilands inhabited, which are neare the point of *Florida*, whereby it ioyneth moſt with the Iland of *Cuba*, a league and a halfe, and leſſe, the one from the other, with a ranke of ſhelues with mouthes, in twentie three or twentie foure leagues, which theſe *Martyres* haue in length; whoſe beginning on the Weſt ſide, is called the *Point of the Martyres*, and to the Eaſt, the *Head of the Martyres*; and there is an Iland of foureteene leagues in length, and very narrow, the Point of it is the firſt of *Terra firme* to the Eaſt, in 24. degrees and a halfe, where a Towne of *Spaniards* was built, which continued not, and to the North, almoſt direct the Riuer *Ays*, and more Northward in 28. degrees, the Point of the *Canes*, and forward the Riuer of * *Gnats*, before the Riuer of *Matanca*, which is ſo called by that which *Peter Melendez* did to the Captaine *Ribao*, and his *Frenchmen*: and the Point of S. *Auguſtin* in 29. degrees three quarters, and ten leagues from thence the Riuer of S. *Mathew*, from whence the Coaſt turneth to the North North-eaſt, all with the Ilands and Bays leaning vnto it vnto the Cape, or Point of Saint *Hellen*, which ſtands in 32. degrees and a halfe, which was diſcouered by chance the yeare 1520.

Ports, Capes, and Points of *Florida*.

* Or *Moſquites*. Slaughter of the *French* in *Florida*. See *Hak.* 103.

In all the reſt of the Coaſt that is betweene the point of *Sancta Helena*, by *New found Land* and the *Bacallaos*, vnto the Land of *Labrador*, which reacheth and paſſeth the height of *England*, there is no Towne nor Gouernment of *Spaniards*, although by diuers times and Nations, it hath beene diſcouered and Nauigated, and it is knowne there is aboue one thouſand leagues iourney of Land without gold, and the more in height the worſe, and leſſe habitable. There be many Riuers, and Ports, that becauſe they are not well knowne nor frequented, there is no mention made but of the Riuer of the * *Stages*, by another name of *Sancta Marie*, which is a very great and maine Riuer, almoſt in the midſt of the Coaſt betweene the *Bacallaos*, from whence the great Riuer *Ochelago* entreth within the Land toward the Weſt, which diuers times the ſtrangers haue nauigated, beleeuing to haue found that way paſſage to new *Spaine*. And in the Coaſt of *Florida*, which looketh to the Weſt, are the * *Tortoyſes*, ſeuen or eight Ilands together: and to the

The Coaſt of the North vnto the *Bacallaos*.

*Or *Los Gamos*. The great Riuer of S. *Marie*.

* *Las Tortugas*.

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the North of the point of *los Mariyes*, the *Musſa in terra firme*. And thirteene leagues to the
Bahia de Carlos. North, the *Bay of Charles*, by another name of *Iohn Ponce of Lyon*, and as much more forward, the *Bay of Tampa*, thirtie three leagues from the *Bay of Tocobaga*, by another name, *of the Holy Ghoſt*, or *de Merueio*, in twentie nine degrees and an halfe of height; where beginneth that which properly is called *Florida*. Many haue thought, that by this ſide of *Florida*, toward the land of *Labrador*, there might a ſtreit be found to communicate the North & the South Seas together, ſaying that as it had beene found to the South, there ſhould be one to the North: but experience doth ſhew, that the South paſſage is no ſtreight, at the leaſt it is already in doubt, and by the North vntill now, though it hath beene much ſought for it hath not beene found, and hee that went neereſt to it was the Preſident *Peter Melendez*, by ſome conjectures. 61

The Gulfe of nova Eſpania. All the Coaſt on the Weſt ſide, vnto the Gouernment of *Panuco*, which is aboue 300. leagues, is called *The Gulfe of New Spaine*, wherein is no Towne of *Spaniards*, though it was giuen for a gouernment to *Pamphilo* of *Narnaez*, and to *Hernando* of *Soto*, and firſt to *Franciſco de Garay*, and of his people in particular. The Country is very poore of victuals, and the people miſerable, and although in it are many Riuers and Ports, no mention is made of them, becauſe they are not well knowne. This Gulfe hath two entrances: by the one the currents doe enter furiouſly, be-
The Channell of Bahama. tweene *Yucatan* and *Cuba*, and goe out with a greater force betweene the ſame Iland of *Cuba*, and the point of *Florida*, and running doe make the channell of *Bahama*, which taketh his name of the Iland rehearſed.

20

Chap. 9. THe ſecond Audience which was ſetled in the *Indies*, is that of *New Spaine*, and *Nunyo de Guzman Cauallero de Guadalaiara* was the firſt Preſident, till a Gouernour were prouided, and becauſe he gaue no ſatisfaction, there was another new Councell quickly ſent, and for Preſident of it *Don Sebaſtian Ramirez* of *Fuenleal*, which of a Iudge of the Chancerie of *Granada*, went for Preſident of the Councell of Saint *Dominicke*, and Biſhop of the Citie of the *Conception of the Valley*, a perſon of great Learning, Vertue, and Valour. Hee had the charge of the Gouernment, Iuſtice, and diſpoſition of the goods Royall, the Warre remayning at the charge of the Marqueſſe of the *Valley*, with order to communicate with the Preſident, that which appertayned thereto; and betweene them was alwayes great conformitie. The bounds of this Councell, on the one ſide doth not comprehend that which commonly is called *New Spaine*, and on the other it comprehendeth more, becauſe the new *Gallicia*, which is a Councell by it ſelfe, is part of *New Spaine*.

Of the limits of the Councell of *Mexico*.
Don Sebaſtian Ramirez Iudge of *Granada* goeth for Preſident of S. *Dominicke*.
Great conformity betweene *Don Sebaſtian Ramirez* and *Don Hernando Cortes*.

30

The Prouince of *Yucatan*, falleth within the bounds of it, which as now it is, may haue in length about foure hundred leagues, from the furtheſt East of *Yucatan*, vnto where it parteth bounds with the Councell of new *Gallozia*, and North and South, about two hundred from the end of the Gouernment of *Panuco* vnto the South Sea, his bounds remayning open on the North ſide, whoſe principall Prouinces are the Archbiſhopricke of *Mexico*, the Biſhoprickes of *Mechoacan*, and that of *los Angelos*, or *Tlaſcala*, and of *Guaxaca*, and of *Chiapa*, and the Gouernments of *Panuco* and *Yucatan*, with that of *Toboſco*, and for circuit or commerce, the Ilands *Philipinas*, and the diſpatch of the Nauigation of *China*.

40

New Spaine. *New Spaine* is one of the beſt Prouinces of the new World, and the moſt habitable in a good temper, hauing abundance and plentie of Corne, Millet, and Cattle, and all other neceſſaries for humane life, except Oyle and Wine, and although in many places of it there is Gold, Siluer is moſt generall, whereof there are many good Mynes.

The Archbiſhopricke of *Mexico*, falleth betweene the Biſhopricke of *los Angelos*, and that of *Mechoacan*, it hath in length North and South, one hundred and thirtie leagues, and in breadth eighteene, which it hath by the Coaſt of the South Sea, vnto ſixtie within the Land, wherein are included the Prouinces of *Mexico*, and to the North-eaſt of it *Lateotlalpa*, *Mezxtitlan*, *Xilotepeque*, and *Panuco* the moſt diſtant: and to the Weſt, *Matalzingo* neere to *Mexico*, and *Cultepeque* the furtheſt off: and to the Eaſt, *Tezcuco* neere to *Mexico*: and to the South-eaſt, *Chalco*, neere to that of *Mexico*: and to the South of it *Suchimilco*, the firſt, and after *Tlaluc*, and betweene South and South-weſt *Coyxca*, and *Acapulco*, the furtheſt to the South. There are no more in all but foure Townes of *Spaniards*, although in the Prouince of *Mexico* are many *Spaniards* dwelling in the Townes of the *Indians*. They called *Mexico* in old time, *Tenoxtitlan*; it ſtands in nineteene degrees and an halfe of altitude, and one hundred and three degrees of longitude from the Meridian of *Toledo*, from whence it may be diſtant by a direct Line, one thouſand ſeuen hundred and fortie leagues, which are eight houres of * Sunne: it ſtands in the middeſt of two great Lakes that doe compaſſe it, the one of ſalt water, becauſe his bottome is Salt-petriſh; the other freſh hauing fiſh, and voydeth into the Salt one; each is of fiue leagues in breadth, and eight in length, and both doe compaſſe thirtie three leagues. They goe into the Citie by three cauſies of halfe a league in length, and there are in it foure thouſand *Spaniards*, and thirtie thouſand Houſes of *Indians* or more. In the foure ancient ſtreets wherein the Citie was diuided, in the time of their Paganiſme, which at this day is called of Saint *Iohn*, Saint *Mary* the Round, Saint *Paul*, and Saint *Sebaſtian*; and the *Tlatelulco* is the principall ſtreet which they call Saint *Iames*.

50

60

Tenoxtitlan. *Mexico* deſcribed, it is from *Toledo* 1740. leagues.
* That is, the Sunne riſeth eight houres ſooner at *Toledo*, then at *Mexico*: which ſeemes not iuſtly calculated.

HON-

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HONDIVS *his Map of* New Spaine.

40 The Councell is Resident in *Mexico*, and the Vice-roy gouerneth in it, and three Iudges, the Officers of the Reuenue and Royall Treasure, a Founding House, and a Mint House, and the Archiepiscopall Metropolitane, that hath for Suffraganes the Bishoprickes of *Tlascala*, *Guaxaca*, *Mechoacan*, new *Gallicia*, *Chiapa*, *Yucatan*, *Guatemala*, *Verapaz*, and the *Phillipinas*. And *Don Fernando Cortes* was he that built this great Church, and set for Bases of the Pillars certayne Idols of stone which are seene to this day, and the Bishop, President and Gouernour of *New Spaine*, *Don Sebastian Ramirez* of *Fuenleal*, continued the building with great speed. The first Bishop of *Mexico* was Frier *Iohn de Zumarraga* of the Order of Saint *Francis*, of great vertue and example, borne in *Durango*, in the Lordship of *Biskeye*, which also was the first Archbishop.

Suffraganes of the Archbishopricke of *Mexico*.

50 There are in *Mexico* Monasteries of *Dominican*, *Franciscan*, and *Austine* Friers, the company of *Iesus*, *El Carmen*, *la Merced*, the Bare-foot, and Trinitarie Friers; ten Monasteries of Nunnes, one Colledge of *Indian* children, and another of *Arrepentidas*, the *Repentantes* [m] and [n] *Recogidas*, or *Retyred*, and the Vniuersitie, where curious and learnedly the Sciences are read with other Colledges and Hospitals. And the *Spaniards* which inhabit the bordering Townes of the *Indians*, and Granges, are about three thousand, and there are reckoned about two hundred and fiftie Townes of *Indians*, in which the chiefe places of Doctrine are one hundred and fiue: and in them and thereabouts are six thousand Granges, more then fiue hundred thousand tributarie *Indians*, and more then one hundred and fiftie Monasteries of *Franciscan*, *Dominican*, and *Austine* Friers. And the *Doctrines* (or Schooles) of Priests and Friers, to teach the Faith Catholike to the *Indians*, are 60 without number, besides the Fathers of the Company, and *Mercenarie Friers*: there is also Resident in *Mexico*, the holy Office of the Inquisition, whereof we will intreat hereafter.

m *Sc.* of the life they led in the Stewes.

n From the World.

In the Coast bounding on this Archbishopricke towards the South Sea, and the Prouince of *Acapulco*, is the good Port of *Acapulco*, in seuenteene degrees height, sixe leagues from the Riuer *Topes*, whereby the Archbishopricke is joyned with the Bishopricke of *Tlascala*. And other

* *Los ciento y cinco cabeceras de doctrina.* I thinke he meaneth some Parishionall diuision, in each of which the *Indians* had their peculiar Priests and Schooles of priests to teach them religion. After in *cap.* 28 he cals them *beneficios curados*, Benefices, with Cure, as Personages.

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eight more to the West, the Riuer of *Citala*, and other foure, the Riuer of *Mula*. In the Coast of the North, it hath that which falleth in the Gouernment of *Tanuco*. In the limits of this Councell are the Mynes of *Puchuca*, fourteene leagues from *Mexico*, and the Mynes of *Tasco* twentie two, those of *Ysmiquilpo*, which are of Lead, twentie two, the Mynes of *Talpuiua* twentie foure, the Mynes of *Temazcaltepeque* eighteene, those of *Cultepeque* 22. those of *Zacualpa* twentie, those of *Zupanguo* 40. those of *Guanaxato* sixtie, those of *Commaia*, seuen. From *Guanaxuato*: those of *Achichica*, eighteene from the Citie of *los Angelos*, and those of *Gantla*, or *Zumatlan*, and Saint *Lewes of the Peace*, and in them all there may bee aboue foure thousand *Spaniards*, which with industrie and labour doe attend these Mynes, all of Siluer except one, which as hath beene said, is of Lead, and procuring that the *Indians* taking example of them, may liue politickly: and the first that with marueilous cunning and wisdome, brought in the breedings of cattell and tillages, which haue beene the mightiest meanes for the preseruation of the Mynes, was the aboue said President *Don Sebastian Ramirez* of *Fuenleal*, originall and the foundation of all the good of those Realmes.

Don Sebastian Ramirez brought in the breeding and ploughing.

The Prouince of *Panuco* to the North of *Mexico*, *Nunno* of *Guzman* had in gouernment: it hath fiftie leagues in breadth, and in length, and after it was incorporate with the limits of the Councell or Audience of *Mexico*. The Countrey that looketh toward *New Spaine* is the best, plentifull of victuals, and hath some Gold. That which runneth toward *Florida* is miserable, from whence till yee come to his bounds, are more then fiue hundred leagues. This gouernment hath three *Spanish* Townes, *Panuco*, in somewhat more then twentie three degrees, and by another name the Village of Saint *Stephen* of the Hauen, which *Gonçalo* of *Sandouall* built, by order of the Marquesse *Don Fernando Cortes*, when they went to resist *Francisco Garay*, and to pacifie the *Indians* of *Chila*, the yeere 1520. and it standeth sixtie fiue leagues from *Mexico* to the North North-east, eight leagues from the Sea, neere to a Riuer whose entry is a Hauen: it is a chiefe *Alcaldia*, or Iusticeship, prouided by the Vice-roy of *New Spaine*. The Village of Saint *Iames of the Valleyes*, twentie fiue leagues from *Panuco* to the West. The Village of Saint *Luys de Tampico*, eight leagues from *Panuco* to the North-east, neere to the Sea: and although in the Coast of this gouernment are many Riuers, & some rode vnto the Riuer of *Palmas*, they are not knowne in the Gulfe of *New Spain*, but the Riuer of *Panuco*, & his hauen, which is not very good.

Gouernment of Panuco.

S. Iago de los Valles.

Los Angelos.

The Bishopricke of *Tlascala*, which by another name is called *de los Angelos*, betweene the Archbishopricke of *Mexico*, and the Bishopricke of *Guaxaca*, is of 100. leagues, and more in length, from the Coast of the South to that of the North, and betwixt the confines of the Archbishopricke, and of *Guaxaca* 80. and as many in breadth, by the Coast of the North Sea, and no more then 18. or 20. by that of the South. There is not in it all more then three *Spanish* Towns, which is the City or Towne of the *Angels* 22. leagues from *Mexico* to the East, somewhat inclining to the South, of 1500. houshelds in foure streets: it is a Chiefe Iustice-ship where the Cathedral Suffragane to the Archbishoprick of *Mexico* is Resident, with Monasteries of *Dominicks*, *Franciscan*, and *Austine* Friers, one of Nuns, & one Colledge of more then 500. *Indian* children, to be instructed, with 10000. Pezos rent, which the Bishop *Don Sebastian Ramirez* built, which sent the Batchelor *Salmeron* Auditor of the Councell to build this City, and although he had determined to haue made it in *Tlascala*, he left it because he would not endamage the *Indians*, nor touch their Lands; for he had a great regard in generall to the good of the *Indians*, and in particular for those of *Tlascala*, being so well deseruing of the Crowne Royall.

The Bishop *Don Sebastian Ramirez* built the Citie of the *Angels*.

The Citie was built in the bounds of *Cholula*, from whence went 25000. men to warre, and it was seated in a Plaine called *Cuetlaxcoapa*, neere to a Valley called *Atlisco*, on the border of a small Riuer that commeth out of the *Vulcan*, where they gather Wheate, Wine, and all the Fruits of *Castile*, Sugar and Flaxe, and all manner of Herbs. For it is a temperate Countrey, more hot then cold, although the Corne of the grounds neerest the Citie, are somewhat blasted: and a little space from *Tlascala*, spring Fountaynes whence groweth a Riuer that when it commeth betweene the Citie of the *Angels* and *Cholula*, it goeth very great and without fish, it passeth through the Prouinces of *Mechoacan*, and entreth into the South Sea by *Zacatula*, and there bee in it so many *Caymanes*, or Crocodiles, that they haue dispeopled some places.

Vulcan or *Bolcan*, is a place whence fire issueth, as *Etna*, *Hecla*, &c

Tlascala.

In *Tlascala* to the North of *the Angels*, which stands in more then twenty degrees in height, where the Cathedrall Church was till the yeere 1550. when it was remooued to the Citie: the first Bishop was Frier *Iulian Garces*, the Valley of *Atlisco*, which may haue in breadth about one league and an halfe, where the Corne is neuer blasted, and there is gathered in it aboue 100000. *Haueges*, and there are more then 1000. *Spaniards* that do traffick in it, and 7. leagues from the Citie to the East, is the Valley of *Ocumba*: and in the Prouince of *Tepeaca*, the Marquesse of the Valley built a *Spanish* Towne, which he called *Segura*: and in the Valley of *S. Paul*, may be other 1300. houshelds of *Spaniards*, in Farmes and Grangeries of cattle, that multiply so much, that there were men that with two shag-haird sheepe came to haue aboue 40000.

The Valley of *Atlisco* famous.

La Veracruz, San iuan de Vlua.

The Citie of *Veracruz*, one way stands sixtie leagues from *Mexico*, and by another sixtie fiue, it stands one quarter of a league from the Sea, it is of more then two hundred *Spanish* houshelds. There is in it Treasurie Royall, and House of Contractation. The Port is called Saint *Iohn of Vlua*,

na, a name which the Captayne *Iohn Gryalua*, which discouered it the yeere 1518. and the frame of the Key that it hath, the Vice-roy *Don Antonie of Mendoça* began. It is fiue leagues from the mouth of the Riuer of *Veracruz*, between the Coast and the little Iland, which is about one league in compasse, compassed with shelues, and so low that the tydes doe couer it right against the mouth of the Riuer of Saint *Iohn of Vlua*. They goe into this Hauen by two Channels: the most frequented is that of the Flat, the other is called the *Gallisian* Channell, which is very deepe, and there the ships doe fasten themselues to a great wall of more then foure hundred foot with Rings of Iron and Brasse, and when the North winds are very strong, they are not very sure. The *Veracruz* stands in eighteene degrees, somewhat more, and there was wont to be the vnloading of the Fleets, and they stayed foure or fiue monethes in vnloading, because it stands fiue leagues from Saint *Iuan of Vlua*, therefore it is now made in the Port of *Buytron*, which is from the Port of Saint *Iohn of Vlua* about eight hunded paces, and it is finished in one moneth and an halfe, and it is called *Buytron*, by a House that was there of one called *Buytron*; and they begin to make a Towne there in that situation.

There are in this Bishopricke two hundred chiefe Townes of the *Indians*, and one thousand subiect, although there may be two hundred fiftie fiue thousand Tributarie *Indians*, in thirtie six charges of * Doctrine of Priests, and thirtie Monasteries of *Dominicke*, *Franciscan*, and *Austine* Friers: and in the Coast of this Bishopricke on the North Sea, is the Riuer of *Aluarado*, where the bounds of the Bishopricke of *Guaxaca*, and the Riuer of *Almeria* doe ioyne neere to the Riuer of Saint *Iohn of Vlua*, where the Towne of *Medellin* was built by *Andrew of Tapia*, the yeere 1522. when the Marquesse *Don Fernando Cortes* sent the said *Andrew of Tapia*, and *Gonçalo of Sandouall*, to conferre with *Christopher of Tapia*, which had Warrants to take away the Gouernment of *New Spaine* from the Marquesse, and the Factor *Salazar*, and the Ouer-seer *Peralmindez* dispeopled. The Riuer of *Almeria* springeth in the long *Rowe*, in the Prouinces of *Totonaques*, and *Micantle*, and betweene Mountaynes it goeth into the North Sea, and against this Riuer is the *Iland of Sacrifices*, which the Captayne *Gryalua* gaue the name vnto, and the Riuer of *Zempoala* to the North from *Veracruz*, and vpward the Riuer of Saint *Peter* and Saint *Paul*, which springeth in the same *Rowe*, and the Riuer of the *Cazones*, *Tuspa*, and *Tamiagua*, neere the Gouernment of *Panuco*.

* A kinde of Parish or Schoole diuision, *Spa. partidos de doctrina.*

Chap. 10. Of the Bishopprickes of *Guaxaca*, *Mechoacan* and *Yucatan*: & of the Prouince of *Tabasco*, which is the rest of the bounds described.

THe Bishopricke of *Guaxaca* (so called by the Prouince wherein it is, and *Antequera* by the Citie where the Cathedrall is resident betweene the Bishopricke of the *Angels*, and the Bishoprickes of the Councell of *Guatemala*) is of one hundred and twentie leagues, from the one Sea to the other, by the Confines of the Bishopricke of *Tlascala*, and sixtie by the Confines of *Chiapa*, and one hundred in breadth by the Coast of the South Sea, and fiftie by the North Sea, wherein are included the Prouinces of *la Misteca*, high and low; the high fortie leagues from *Antequera* to the West, & the low more to the South Sea. *Iohn Nunnez Sedenno*, and *Fernandez de Badaioz* inhabited first the Citie of *Antequera*: and after the first Councell of *Mexico* inhabited it againe; the only Iudges therein were Batchelour *Iohn Ortiz of Matienzo*, and *Delgadillo*, which was the first, that as a man of *Granada*, began to breed Silke in *Mexico*. The President and Gouernour, the Bishop *Don Sebastian Ramirez*, began the Cathedrall Church, the beginning of the good of those Kingdomes: the Church hath all the Pillers of Marble of one piece, very great and bigge, and the Citie hath about foure hundred *Spanish* Households.

This Valley of *Guaxaca*, from whence the Marquesse of the *Valley* taketh his Title, beginneth from the Mountayne of *Cocola*, in the bound of *Guaxoloticlan*. In it is gathered much Silke, Corne, and Millet; it hath the *Zapoteca* Tongue. There hath beene in it good Mynes of Gold. The situation of the Citie of *Antequera* (which as hath beene said) they call *Guaxaca*, was inhabited with people of *Mexico*, which lay in Garrison by order of the second *Motezuma*, and the many Garrisons that the Kings of *Mexico* had through their Empire made general in it the *Mexican* Tongue. The Riuer of this Citie doth sinke vnder the ground, against *Cimatlan*, and riseth two leagues off, at the Mountaynes of *Coatlan*, other two from *Guaxaca*; and at a halfe a league from the Citie right against a Hill that stands to the North, is a point of a little Hill, and there goeth a glade of a Valley all plaine, for the space of eight leagues, which is the abouesaid faire Valley of *Guaxaca*, pleasant, and temperate, and of a most healthfull Ayre, where plentifully are gathered all kind of things, and especially fruits of *Castile*, most pleasant. To the South-west stands the Prouince of *Tutepeque*, which hath many Townes by the Sea-coast, and is of more then sixtie leagues: and that of the Riuer of *Aluarado*, betweene the North and North-east: and that of the *Zapotecas* to the North-east from *Antequera*, and *Guazacoaloco* in the Confines of *Tabasco*, all rough Countrey, & notwithstanding the rich Mynes of Gold, little is gotten because of the roughnesse. There are foure *Spanish* Townes. The said Citie of *Antequera* is eightie leagues from *Mexico*, to the South-east in the high way of *Chiapa*, and *Guatemala*: and the first that entred to pacifie this Prouince, was *Iohn Nunnez of Mercado*, the yeere 1522. by Commission of *Don Fernando Cortes*, and from thence were men of War sent to serue the King *Quantimoc*, in the defence of *Mexico*, when *Don Fernando Cortes* subdued it.

Guaxaca Title of the Marquesse of the Valley.

Stinking Riuer

Tutepeque.

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S. *Alifonſo* of the *Zapotecas.*

The Treaſurer *Alfonſo* of *Eſtrada*, when he did gouerne in *Mexico*, inhabited the Village of Saint *Alifonſo de los Sapotecas*, twentie leagues from *Antequera*, toward the North-eaſt. They liue in it by Gold, Cotton-wooll, and Millet, there are aboue thirtie thouſand *Indians* tributaries. It ſtands betweene moſt high Hils. Saint *Iago de Nexapa* is in the Valley of *Nexapa*, twentie leagues from *Antequera* to the Eaſt, in the way of *Chiapa*, and *Guatemala*. The Village of the *Holy Ghoſt* in the Prouince of *Guazacoalco*, at the Coaſt of the North Sea, in the Confines of *Tabaſco*, is ninetie leagues from *Antequera*. *Gonçalo* of *Sandoual* inhabited it in the yeere 1522. It hath about fiftie Townes of *Indians*, it ſtands on the border of the Riuer, on the ſide of *Chiapa*: this Riuer ſpringeth in the Mountaynes of the *Mixes*, and *Choutales*, neere to *Tecoantepeque*, and with the waters of the Neighbour Prouinces of *Chiapa*, and the *Chontales*, it goeth into the North Sea, there enter into it ſhips of one hundred tun.

S. *Iames* of *Nexapa.*

El Eſpirito Santo.

Golden Riuers

In all this Biſhopricke there is no Riuer that doth not yeeld Gold, and the *Indians* doe liue without want if they will worke, for they lacke nothing for backe nor belly: and they haue the *Cacao*, a Fruit like Almonds, which ſerueth for Money, and they make Wine of it, and it is eaten toſted, and is held for a great ſuſtenance. They are wholſome Countreyes, and pleaſant. The Silke was before nouriſhed by the *Caſtilians*, with the Mulberie Trees of the Countrey, wherewith the *Indians* ſerued themſelues, for to make Paper of the ſecond barke: and the *Spaniards* haue planted ſo many of *Caſtile*, that they grow infinitely: and if the *Indians* did pay tithe of it, and of other things, fiue Biſhoprickes might be made; but none doe pay tithe but the *Caſtilians* onely.

Cacao-money and Wine.

The *Indians* ſhould pay no Tithes.

This Biſhopricke hath three hundred and fiftie Head-townes of *Indians*, and in them, and in three hundred Granges of more then an hundred & fifty thouſand tributary *Indians*, & one hundred and twentie Monaſteries of *Dominicke* Friers, and the reſt Schooles of Prieſts for Doctrine.

Riuer of *Aluarado.*

The Coaſt of the North Sea of this Biſhopricke, beginneth in the Riuer of *Aluarado*, that commeth from the Mountaynes of the *Zapotecas*, and betweene many other it goeth to the Prouince of *Chinautla*, and croſſing ouerthwart the Mountaynes whence it ſprung, goeth out into the North Sea, betweene the Riuer of *Guazacoalco*, and Saint *Iohn of Vlua*, and there is alſo the Riuer called *Agualulco*, whoſe mouth may ſerue for a Hauen; and the diuided Rocke, a point of the Land that commeth from the Mountaynes of Saint *Martine*, named by ſhips that haue bin loſt vpon a ſhoale full of Rockes vnder water, which lye along the Coaſt right againſt them in the Coaſt of the South Sea. This Biſhoprick hath the Hauen of *Guatulco* in fifteene degrees and an halfe, great, good, and frequented. The Preſident *Don Peter* of *Aluarado* ſet this Prouince of *Guatulco* in obedience, and the Port of *Tecoantepeque* is neere, which alſo is reaſonable; and the Towne is great, and there is in it a great fiſhing for Shrimps, and other fiſh which they carrie to *Guaxaca*, and in the high way of *Cuyztata* is a Myne of Chriſtall-borill. *Tecoantepeque* is fortie fiue leagues from *Antequera*, they paſſe by the Mountaynes of the *Chontales*, *Nixapa*, and *Mexalpeque*, whitherto this Biſhopricke extendeth, and hath many Townes ſubiect by the Coaſt of the Sea.

Guatulco.

The Biſhopricke of *Mechoacan* (which is a Prouince betweene the Archbiſhopricke of *Mexico*, and the new *Galicia*) hath in breadth by the Coaſt of the South Sea, about eightie leagues, and ſixtie within the Land, with open bounds, by the Septentrionall parts: in it are included the Prouinces of *Zacatula*, and of *Colima*, both in the Coaſt of the South Sea. The Citie of *Mechoacan*, or *Pazcuaro*, in little more then nineteene degrees, and fortie ſeuen leagues from *Mexico*, of plaine way. In *Guayangareo* called *Vallodolid*, is Reſident the Cathedrall Suffragane to *Mexico*, with two Monaſteries of *Franciſcans*, and *Auſtine* Friers. The Maſter of the field *Chriſtopher* of *Olid* built *Mechoacan*, the Cathedrall was firſt Reſident in *Zinzonza*, vnto the yeere 1544. that he remoued it to *Pazcuaro*. The Biſhop was *Don Baſco de Quiroga*, and it hath one Monaſterie of *Franciſcan*, another of *Auſtine* Friers, and it ſtands ſeuen leagues from *Mechoacan*, to the Eaſt.

The Biſhopricke of *Mechoacan.*

Pazcuaro.

Zinzonza.

The Mynes of *Guanaxuato*, are twentie eight leagues from *Mechoacan*, to the North, toward the *Zacatecas*, wherein there are about ſixe hundred *Caſtilians*, in two Campes * which they haue with their chiefe *Alcade* or Commiſſioner, and the ſeate and dwelling of thoſe that follow the Mynes is a *Reall* or Campe. The Village of Saint *Michaell*, in the Prouince of *Mechoacan*, is thirtie fiue leagues from *Pazcuaro*, to the North-eaſt, in a rough Countrey. And the Village of the Conception of *Salaya*, which was built by commandement of the Vice-roy, *Don Martin Enriquez*, the yeere 1570. for to aſſure the way of the *Chichimecas*. The Village of Saint *Philip* fiftie leagues off *Mechoacan*, toward the North, and ſixtie two from *Mexico* to the North-weſt, with one Monaſterie of *Auſtine* Friers, in a barren ſoyle and cold; it was built for the ſecuritie of the way of the *Zacatecas*.

Guanaxuato.

* *Reales.*

Village of S. *Michaell.*

The Conception of *Salaya.*

The Village of S. *Phillip.*

The Prouince and Village of *Zacatula*, in the Coaſt of the South Sea, ſtands in more then 18. degrees, and fortie leagues from *Mechoacan*, to the South-weſt, neere the Sea; *Iohn Rodriguez* of *Villanorte*, and *Sinon* of *Cuenca*, built it the yeare 1523. it ſtands ninetie leagues from *Mexico*, and the Prouince and Village of *Colima*, in little more then 18. degrees, in the Coaſt of the South Sea, and in the confines of new *Galicia*, fiftie leagues from *Mechoacan*, to the South-weſt, with a chiefe

Zacatula.

Colima.

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chiefe Commissioner, in a hot soyle, and plentifull of *Cacao*, and *Cassia Fistola*, with Gould, and well conditioned people. *Gonçalo* of *Sandoval* built it in the yeare 1522. All the Countrie of *Mechoacan* is most plentifull of Wheate, Millet, and all kinde of *Spanish* Fruites, and Cattle, stored of Fish: it hath Graine, Cochinilla, and Cotten wooll, and the people is industrious, and giuen to labour.

There are in this Bishopricke one hundred and thirtie Townes, the nintie foure head Townes with Schooles of Doctrine: this Bishopricke reacheth no Coast of the Sea of the North, in the South Sea are many Riuers, and in the furthest West of the Prouince, almost in the border of the new *Galicia*, is the port of *Nauidad*, in the height of 19. degrees, good and frequented, from whence the Nauigation is made to the *Phillipinas*; and more to the East, neere the Port of Saint *Iames*: there are very good Copper Mines in these bounds, of the which the *Indians* make very curious Vessels, for it is pleasant, and other so hard that they digge the ground with it instead of Iron, which they could neuer doe till the *Spaniards* taught it.

The Prouince and Gouernment of *Yucatan* (which tooke this name when the Captaine *Franciscus Fernandez* discouered it, and our *Ladie of the Remedies*, when *Iohn* of *Grijalua* discouered *Cozumel*) was at the first held for an Iland, because it was almost compassed with Sea, in sort that it may be called *Peninsula*, and it compasseth more then two hundred and fiftie leagues: it is in length where it extends it selfe East and West, about one hundred leagues, and as many North and South, from the Coast that looketh to the North, vnto the part that doth confine with the Prouinces of *Guatemala*, whereby it hath ouerthwart about fiue and twentie leagues. The temperature is hot, and very moist, and though there be no Riuer, nor running water in it all, the water is so neare for Wels, and they finde so many shels of Sea-fish vnder the stones, that this, and the Coast being so low, hath giuen occasion to suspect that it hath beene Sea in other times: it is much compassed with Wood: they gather no Corne, nor seedes of *Castile*, there is no Gould, nor any other kinde of Mettall, whence is knowne the inuention (or deceit) of those which said that there were found in this Prouince, when the *Spaniard* entred in it, Crosses of Latten, which was neuer found in any Prouince of the *Indies*: it is very plentifull of game, especially wilde Boares and Deere, they breede vp in it great store of Poultrie: they gather much Cotten wooll, and Azure, the people multiplieth and liueth long; a man there was which attained to three hundred yeares: it hath all the kinde of Cattle of *Spaine*, and good Horses.

Yucatan.

It was a deuise of those which said the Crosses were found of Latten in *Yucatan*, whereas there neuer was Crosse in the *Indies* before the *Spaniards*.

A Man of 300. yeare old.

There are in this Gouernment without that of *Tabasco*, which goeth ioyntly with it, foure *Spanish* Townes, and one Bishopricke: and the Townes are buildings of the first Gouernour, the President *Don Francisco* of *Monteio*. The Citie of *Merida* is in twentie degrees height, almost in the middest of the Prouince, neerer to the coast of the North Sea, twelue leagues within the Land. In it are resident the Gouernour, the Officers of Reuenues, and treasure Royall, and the Cathedrall suffragane to *Mexico*, with a Monasterie of *Franciscane Fryers*, they called it *Merida*, for the great and auncient buildings that it hath like *Merida* in *Castile*, and it causeth admiration, that hauing no kinde of Mettall in this Prouince, so great Stones could be wrought, in the which were found engrauen naked men, with eare-rings, whereof is inferred that they were Temples, and that it was a very famous Countrie. The Village of *Valladolid* is thirtie one leagues from *Merida*, toward the South-east with a most sumptuous Monasterie of *Franciscan* Fryers, and 15000. tributarie *Indians* in the limits. The Village and port of Saint *Franciscus* of *Campeche*, in 20. degrees, in the Coast that looketh to new *Spaine*, about fiftie leagues from *Merida* to the West, declining to the South, it hath a reasonable Hauen, though little depth for being a Bay. *Don Franciscus* of *Monteio* gaue it the name. The Village of *Salamanca* the President called so by his owne Countrie. In the Prouinces of *Bacalar*, and *Chetemal*, seuentie leagues from *Merida*, North and South, leaning to the West, and other seuentie from *Valladolid*, neere to the Coast of the gulfe of *Honduras*: there are in this Prouince Monasteries of *Franciscanes*, and six Schooles of Priests for Doctrine.

Merida.

Valladolid.

Campeche.

Salamanca.

The Coast of all this Prouince is so shallow, that in few parts ye can ride at anker at lesse then foure or fiue leagues from the Land, and so there is no Port but for small Shippes, and it floweth and ebbeth more in this Coast then in any other place of these Prouinces of new *Spaine*. The Ports that are, be these: *Ciclo*, and *Telichaque*, *Cical* and *Canquil*: the Riuer with two mouthes, *Campeche* in the Coast that looketh to new *Spaine*, and in it the small Cape from whence the Coast beginneth to winde to the East, and neere to the Point a little Iland which is called *la Desconocida* or *the Vnthankefull*, compassed with shelues: and to the West from this, about eighteene leagues, another which they call the *Zarza*, and the *Triangle*, which are three small Ilands, close by another little Iland compassed with shelues, other sixteene leagues from [a] *Cabo Delgado*, Ilands *de Arenas* (of *Sandes*) and the *Redde* (*la Bermeia*) and another Iland thirtie leagues from the said Cape to the North, and *los Negrillos*, three little Ilets compassed with shelues, to the East from the [b] *Redde*, about thirtie fiue leagues, and the [c] *Scorpiones* twentie leagues of the coast North and South, with *Merida*, and the Cape of *Cotoche*, the Point most to the East of *Yucatan*, from whence goe foure little Ilands, which are called *de Mugeres* of *Women*, leaning to the Coast in the which is the Iland of *Cozumel*, named by the famous Idoll Place in it, whither

Shallow Coasting. Tides.

The Ports and points of this Gouernment.

a Or Sharpe.

b Or *Bermeia*.

c Or *Alacranes*.

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A famous worshipping place of the *Gentiles* in *Cozumel.*

all the people of the Prouince went in Pilgrimage; it stands foure leagues to the Sea, at the beginning of the Gulfe of *Honduras*, almost North and South with *Valladolid*, more inward to the Gulfe, other three little Ilets with shelues, almost ouer against the Lake of *Bacalal*, which is within the Land thirtie leagues from the Lake of *Chetemall*, in the Coast that goeth painted with Ilands vnto *Salamanca*, which is the first *Pantoia*, neere one shelfe called *Quitasneuno*, and another *Zaratan*, and another *Lamanay*, and the last *Ylbob*.

* Or take away sleepe.

Tabasco.

The Prouince of *Tabasco*, which goeth with the Gouernment of *Yucatan*, and falleth vpon the Coast of the North Sea in the gulfe of new *Spaine*, hath in length East and West, about fortie leagues, from the confines of *Yucatan*, vnto the confines of *Goazacoalco*, wherewith it ioyneth on the East, and as much North and South from the North Sea, vnto the confines of *Chiapa*. It is all plaine ground of Marshes, Lakes and Quagmires, and so they goe ouer it in Boates, and Canoes; it is very moist, and hot, and therefore very plentifull of Pastures for Kine, and of Millet and Cacao, which is the greatest stocke or substance of this Prouince, wherein is onely one Town, which is *Tabasco*, and by another name, the Village of our *Lady of the Victorie*, so called for the Victory that *Don Hernando Cortez* had there of the *Indians*, when hee went to new *Spaine*, the yeare 1519. The tribute which the *Indians* doe pay in this Prouince, is two thousand Xiquipiles of *Cacao*, and euery Xiquipill are eight thousand Almonds, and one load maketh three Xiquipiles or Terces. In the Coast of this Prouince besides other Riuers and Marishes, is found the Lake of *Xicalango*, or *Port Royall*, great and capable, with two little Ilands at the mouth, and it was the Captaine *Lewis Martin*, that by order of *Don Fernando Cortes*, made an end of pacifying this Prouince.

Riuers of this Prouince.

Lake of *Xicalango.*

Chap. II. Of the bounds of the Counsel of *Guadalaiara.*

THe bounds of the Counsell of new *Gallicia* or of *Xalisco* (which *Nunno* of *Guzman* said hee had discouered, and *Don Fernando Cortes*, that the Captaine *Goncalo* of *Sandouall*, did it in his name, when hee sent him to pacifie the *Colimas*) it parteth bounds with the Counsell of new *Spaine*, neere by the Port of the Natiuitie, and the Lake of *Chiapala*, going toward the North-east, whereby (and by the North, and somewhat of the West, for it is not all discouered) it hath the bounds open, for the rest to the West is all Sea: that which is inhabited on the one side, and the other, may come to one hundred leagues, wherein are comprehended the Prouinces of *Guadalaiara*, *Xalisco*, the *Zacatecas*, *Chiametla*, *Culiacan*, the new *Bizkey*, and *Cinoloa*; and for Circuit the discouerie of the Prouinces of *Cibola*, and of *Quibira*.

Guadalaiara.

The temperature of the Prouince, and borders of *Guadalaiara*, is good, and the Countrie plentifull of Corne, and Millet, and other Seedes of *Spaine*, and many Vaines of Siluer: there are in it *Spanish* Townes. *Nunno* of *Guzman* peopled the Citie of *Guadalaiara*, the head of this Kingdome, the yeare 1531. and gaue it the name of his Countrie: it stands in 106. degrees and a halfe of longitude from the Meridian of *Toledo*, 1780. leagues by a direct Voyage, & in 20. degrees one third part in height, eightie seuen leagues from *Mexico*, betweene the North and the West, more toward the West: in it is resident the Counsell, the Officers of the reuenues, & Royall treasurie, and the Cathedrall suffragan to *Mexico*, since the yeare 1570. for before it was commanded to be built in *Compostella*: it hath one Monasterie of *Franciscan*, another of *Austins* Friers. *Nunno* of *Guzman* built also the Village of the *Holy Ghost* in *Tepique*: and the Village of *Santta Marie* of the Lakes, stands thirtie leagues from *Guadalaiara* to the South-east, with the chiefe Commissioner. It was built for to be sure of the *Chichimecan Indies*, that are in Countries between the North and the East, a barbarous people, which liue scattered in the field, without any taste of humanitie or policie, liuing in Canes, & in the Groues like sauage beasts; they liue vpon wilde chase and fruits, they know no riches, nor pleasure; they goe naked, and some couered with Beasts skins: their weapons are Bowes and Arrowes, they are well bodied, great eaters, they make wine of certaine rootes wherewith they drinke themselues drunke.

The *Holy Ghost.* *Santta Marie* of the Lakes.

The *Chichimecas* Sauages.

Xalisco.

In the Prouince of *Xalisco*, which is plentifull of Millet, more then of Sheepe, or Horses, there is onely the Citie of *Compostella* neere the Sea, three and thirtie leagues from *Guadalaxara*, to the West, where the Counsell was at the first, and commanded to build the Cathedrall, vntill the yeare 1560. that they remoued to *Guadalaiara* to be more in the borders: there is in it a Monasterie of *Franciscan* Friers; and it was also inhabited by *Nunno Guzman*, the yeare 1531. which trauelled two yeares in these Countries, which they called the *greater Spaine*, in emulation of *Don Fernando Cortes*, in all that time nothing being knowne of him in *Mexico*. The Village of the *Purification*, to the South-west, from *Guadalaiara*, and thirtie leagues from it, neere the port of the *Natiuitie*, in the confines of the bounds of this Counsell, and of that of *Mexico*, in a very hot and sickly Countrie: and vnto the end of the yeare 1531. *Nunno* of *Guzman* discouered one hundred and fiftie leagues of Land by the Coast of *Xalisco*, which stand in somewhat more then 22. degrees.

The Zacatecas.

In the Prouince of the *Zacatecas*, are rich mines of Siluer, and want of Water, Corne and Millet: there are three Townes of *Spaniards*, and foure Camps appointed of mines: those which they call of the *Zacatecas* are the principall, fortie leagues from *Guadalaxara* to the North, and eightie

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eightie from *Mexico*, wherein are ordinarie more then fiue hundred *Spaniards*, fiue hundred Slaues, one thousand Horses and Mules, and one Monasterie of *Franciscane* Fryers; and there is resident alwayes one of the Officers Royall of *Guadalaiara*. In this Prouince also are the Mines of *Auino*, in the confines of the *Zacatecas*, and those of Saint *Martin* seuen and twentie leagues from the *Zacatecas*, to the North-west, wherein are wont to be about foure hundred *Spaniards*, and *Xerez* of the Frontier, thirtie leagues from *Guadalaxara*, to the North, and tenne from the mines of the *Zacatecas*, in the way to them. There are besides these other Reales or Campes, whereof no mention is made, because they are so famous. The Village of the *Erena*, & the Mines called *of the little* * *Hat*, are fiue and twenty leagues from *Zacatecas* to the North-west, neere to those of Saint *Martin*, and others that are in the limits. The Village of * *Nombre de Dios*, is sixtie eight leagues from the Citie of *Guadalaiara*, and tenne from the Mines of Saint *Martin* to the North, with a Monasterie of *Franciscan* Friers, aboundant in Corne, and Millet, and good Mines in his Borders. The Village of *Durango*, in the Borders of the Mines of Saint *Martin*, and the Valley of Saint *Saluador*, eight leagues from *Nombre de Dios*, a wholesome Countrie, & many Riuers, with whose watering they gathered great store of Corne, and Millet, and of other Prouisions, and in the Borders are the Mines of Saint *Luke*, and a very good Salt-pit. And the *Indians* of this Kingdome in many places were in armes, and the *Chichimecas*, and *Guachachiles* did great hurt in the way of *Guadalaiara* to the *Zacatecas*, and this warre was very costly, and tedious, and was ended, the Marquesse of *Villamanrique* being Viceroy. The *Indians* are diuided in this precinct in one hundred and foure partitions or tribes.

The Erena.
*Or Sombrerete
*The Name of God.

The Prouince of new *Bizkie*, is North-west ward from the *Zacatecas* fiftie leagues from them; a Countrie of Prouisions, and much Cattell, and of good Siluer Mines, the Mines of *Hindehe* are in it, of *Sancta Barbola*, and of Saint *Iohn*, and in it is the Prouince of *Topia*; and in this discouery, and inhabiting, *Franciscus Tbarra* did many seruices. The Prouince of *Chiametla*, twenty leagues broad and long, in the Coast of the South Sea, about fortie leagues from *Xalisco*, hath Mines of Siluer, and in it stands Saint *Sebastian*, a Village of *Spaniards*, which was first of the Counsell of *Mexico*, and it stands in more then 22. degrees. *Culiacan* is a gouernment in the South Sea, more to the East, and West from *Chiametla*; it is a plentifull Countrie of Victuals, and showes of Siluer Mines, whereof there is a Campe peopled, which they call of the *Virgins*. The Village of Saint *Michael*, eightie leagues from *Compostella*, and one hundred and three from *Guadalaiara*, *Nunno* of *Guzman* inhabited it the yeare 1531.

Nueua Vizcaya.
Chiametla.
S. Michael.

The Prouince of *Ciualoa*, the last, and most Septentrionall of the new Kingdome of *Galicia*, two and fortie leagues from *Culiacan*, one hundred and fiftie from *Guadalaiara*, to the North, was a Towne built in it that was called Saint *Iohn* of *Cinaloa*, of *Spaniards*, and could not be kept. This Prouince was discouered, *Don Antonie* of *Mendoca* being Viceroy in new *Spaine*, and they said there was a Citie seene wrought with stone, which they called *Granada*, and that those *Indians* were warriers, and that in the Countrie was great store of Victuals. *Quibira*, stands in fortie degrees, of a temperate and fruitfull soyle. *Cibola*, stands thirtie leagues from *Culiacan*, toward the North, and *Quibira* two hundred from *Cibola* to the East; it is all of poore people; for that they haue no Cotten, they weare Deere skinnes, and of the Countrie Kine, which haue a lumpe on the ridge of the backe, and long haire in the fore parts, the hornes lesser then ours; and in them consisteth the greatest part of the sustenance of the people, for of the skinne they cloathe, and make Shooes, and Cords; they eate the flesh, and make tooles of the bones: they haue sundry languages in this Prouince, because they communicate little the one with the other.

Ciualoa.
Quibira.
Cibola.

California is a great point of the Land that putteth out to the Sea in the vttermost West of new *Spaine* in two and twentie degrees height, from whence it extendeth to the North-west, neere about two hundred leagues, although of it there is no certaine notice, nor of the Ports, and Ilands of the Gulfe *California*, which is made betweene the said point, and Gulfe of new *Spaine*, which goeth along that way, as to the North-west; in the which although there be many Riuers, Capes, and Points, and landing-places, there is no particular notice had of them, because they are not much frequented. At the beginning, and entrance of this Gulfe are very long and narrow Ilands along the Coast, and very close with it, which is called the *Guayanall*, that reacheth from the Riuer of our *Ladie*, or of *Sebastian* of *Bora*, vnto the Riuer of *Christmas* in *Culiacan*. The Riuer of the Village of Saint *Michael* is called *Cignatlan*; and neerer to new *Spaine* is the Riuer of *Pastla*, and against it the *Desart* Iland, and afterward the Riuer of the *Holy Ghost*, and the port of *Xalisco*, and to the South of the point of *California*, is *Annublada* or the *Cloudie* Iland, and the Iland of Saint *Thomas*, and the Iland of *Flores*, and another which is called *Las Monias*.

California.

Chap. 11. Of the Bounds of the Counsell of S. Iames of Guatemala.

IT was first called the Counsell of *Guatemala* of the confines, because it was commanded first to be built in the confines of the Prouinces of *Nicaragua*, and *Guatemala*, without assigning any certaine Towne. It hath in length East and West two hundred and fortie leagues, and from the Meridian from 84. to 98. of longitude, and North and South, in breadth one hundred and eighties,

tie, from 9. to 10. degrees of height, vnto eighteene or nineteene, in the which are comprehended the Prouinces of *Guatemala*, *Soconuſco*, *Chiapa*, *Suchitepeque*, the [a] *Verapaz*, *Honduras* and *Cacos*, Saint *Sauiour*, and Saint *Michael*, *Nicaragua*, *Chiuluteca*, *Taguzgalpa*, and [b] *Coſtarica*, and in euery one of theſe Prouinces they alter in ſpeech: and according to the opinion of Religious men, it was the worke of the Diuell, for to plant diſſentions and diſcord betweene theſe Nations which were bloody and reuengefull. The Gouernment and Prouince of *Guatemala* on the South Sea coaſt, in length of it may be about ſeuentie leagues, and in breadth North and South thirtie: it is a Countrie of a good temperature, plentifull of Millet, Cotten wooll, Corne and other fruits, though they preſerue not the Seede of one yeare for the other: the waters are few, but when it raineth they are very violent from Aprill to October, the windes are North and South, and the North laſteth but fifteene or twentie dayes, and it is very cold, and furious. There are in it fiue *Spaniſh* Townes, buildings of the Preſident *Don Pedro* of *Aluarado*, in the yeare 1524. and 25. The Citie of Saint *Iames* of *Guatemala*, whoſe ſituation was called *Cuchequil*, which ſignifieth an *Eagle*, becauſe the Generall of this Nation, when hee went to warre, did beare an Eagle for his Plume: it is the head of the Gouernment, where the Counſell is reſident, in 24. degrees and a halfe of height, and 93. degr. from the Meridian of *Toledo*, from whence it may bee diſtant by a greater circle of one thouſand ſixe hundred and ſixtie leagues, and it is twelue from the Sea, and a towne of ſixe hundred *Spaniſh* houſholds: the Officers of the goods and Royall Treaſure, are reſident there, the melting houſe, and the Cathedrall Suffragane to *Mexico*, with one Monaſterie of *Dominicans*, and another of *Mercenarie* Friars, and one Hoſpitall, and in the bounds fiue and twentie thouſand tributarie *Indians*. This Citie is ſeated in a very pleaſant Valley, with fruits of diuers ſorts, and all kinde of prouiſion and dainties.

a Or true Peace.
b Or Rich coaſt.
Guatemala.
Saint *Iames.*
Saint *Saluador.*

The Citie of Saint *Sauiour*, which in the *Indian* language is called *Cuzcatlan*, is fortie leagues from Saint *Iames* to the South-eaſt, with one Monaſterie of *Dominicans*. The Village of the *Trinitie*, which in the *Indian* tongue was called *Conzonate*, ſixe and twentie leagues from Saint *Iames* to the South-weſt, foure leagues from the Port of *Axacutla*. It is a chiefe Commiſſionerſhip with title of his Maieſtie, with one Monaſterie of *Dominicans*, in a plentifull ſoile of Cacao, and the *Indians* of it are of the iuriſdiction of Saint *Iames*, it is a place of great trafficke, and the Port a touch for the ſhips of *Peru*, and of *New Spaine*. The Village of Saint *Michael* ſixtie two leagues from Saint *Iames*, and two and twentie from Saint *Sauiour* to the South-weſt, two leagues from the Sea and Bay of *Fonſeca*, which ſerueth it for Hauen, and in the bounds are eightie Townes of *Indians*. The Village of *Xerez of the frontier*, in the *Indian* ſpeech called *Chiuluteca*, in the confines of *Guatemala* and *Nicaragua*, eightie leagues from Saint *Iames*, and twentie from Saint *Michael* to the South-eaſt, both plentifull of Cotton wooll and Millet. Neere the Citie of Saint *Iames* is that * *Volcan* ſo famous of *Guatemala*, and in all the *Indies* are many of theſe *Volcanes* (but the moſt famous are thoſe of *Guatemala*, which hath burſt out diuers times, caſting fire, ſtones, and aſhes, with great hurt of the Countrie.) That of *Arequipa*, of *Tlaſcala*, *Quito*, and others. In this Countrie are many ſprings of water, hot, and of ſundrie properties and colours; there is much and good Balme, which the *Spaniards* knew without learning it of the *Indians*, againſt the which ſome Author ſpeaketh, and alſo liquid Amber, Gumme-*anime*, Copall, and Suchicopall, and other Gummes, and Liquoris moſt perfect, and beaſts that breed the Bezar ſtone, they gather great ſtore of Cacao, which is great riches: it is a meane Tree, the leaues like a Cheſnut though bigger, it giueth flower and fruit euery Moone, and the ſame doe in that Countrie the Orange trees. The Cacao is a tree that loueth moiſture better then the Sunne, and therefore they plant neere him another tree to ſhadow him.

Saint *Michael.*
Xerez.
* Or fierie mouthes like *Ætna.*
Cacao deſcribed.

The Ports of this Gouernment in the South Sea, beſide the rehearſed, are the Bay of *Fonſeca* neere to Saint *Michael*, in twelue degrees and a halfe of height, *Gil Gonçales* of *Auila* gaue it the name in the yeere 1522. for the Biſhop *Iohn Rodrigues* of *Fonſeca*, Preſident of the Councell of the *Indies*. And within the Bay is an Iland which he named *Petronilla*, by a Neece of the Biſhop. The Port of *Acaxutla*, neere to the *Trinitie*, in twelue degrees height, is the beſt of this Gouernment for *New Spaine* and *Peru*, and the Bay of *Guatemala* twelue leagues from it, and the Riuer of *Xicalapa* ſeuen leagues from the Bay to the Weſt. On the North ſide this Prouince hath no coaſt, for it commeth not to the Sea by fortie leagues, vnto a landing place which they call the *Port of the freſh Gulfe*, from whence the merchandize that goe from *Spaine*, are conueighed by the Gulfe of *Honduras*, into the Land with carriages vnto *Guatemala*, Saint *Sauiour*, and the *Trinitie*, and twelue leagues before *Guatemala*, in the high way of *Mexico*, is the great Lake of *Atitlan*, of ten leagues in compaſſe, and foure in breadth, without bottom.

Ports of this Gouernment.
Bottomleſſe Lake.

The Prouince and Gouernment of *Soconuſco* is the furtheſt Weſt from *Guatemala* vpon the coaſt of the South Sea, of length and breadth about foure and thirtie leagues, plentifull of Cacao (the greateſt trafficke of it, and of all that in it is ſowne except Wheat) there is no more then one *Spaniſh* towne, which is called *Guenetlan*, founded by *Don Pedro de Aluarado*, where the Gouernour is reſident; her coaſt which is in the South Sea, beginneth ſeuen leagues from the Riuer of *Ayutla* to the Weſt, and preſently the Riuers *Coatlan*, *Capanercalte*, *Colatl*, *Hazatlan*, *Amitue*, and *Quizatatlan*.

Soconuſco.

The

Chiapa. * The Prouince and Bishoprick of *Chiapa* is Mediterranean, betweene *Soconusco* by the South, and the vttermost of *New Spaine* by the West, and by the North and the East, betweene *Tabasco* and * *Verapaz*, in length East and West about fortie leagues, and some lesse in breadth, some lesse fertile of Wheat and Millet, and other Seedes, and of Cattell, except Sheepe that are not many. It hath one Towne of *Castilians*, which is called *Citie Royall*, seuentie leagues from Saint *Iames* of *Guatemala* toward the North-east, which by a particular priuiledge is gouerned by ordinarie Iustices. The Cathedrall is resident here with one Monasterie of *Dominicke* Friars, and many *Indian* Townes in her limits: *Chiapa* is the principallest Towne of them, from whence the Prouince tooke the name. The Countrie-men haue skill in breeding of Horses, that those of this Countrie become the best that are in *New Spaine*: they are Musicians and Painters, and learne any Trade that doth consist in arte: they were in old time of *Nicaragua*, and the Captaine *Iames* of *Mazariegos*, the yeere 1531. built this Citie in a Valley where now it stands, round, of a marueilous situation in 18. degrees and a halfe, sixtie leagues from the North Sea, and as many from the South.

* Or true peace.

Verapaz. The Prouince of *Verapaz* (a name which the *Dominicke* Friars gaue it, because they pacified it with preaching) is also Mediterranean betweene the bounds of *Sotomusco*, *Chiapa*, *Yucatan*, *Honduras*, and *Guatemala*, of thirtie leagues ouer, and as many from Saint *Iames* of *Guatemala*; a moist Countrie, and therefore the better for the Millet that in it is gathered twice a yeere, and for Wheat. There is Cotton wooll, and some Cacao, and much Fowle of those that giue the coloured feathers for the pictures which the *Indians* doe make, which is a merchandize of this Prouince, and the Kings of *Mexico* carried them from this Prouince, which was the most esteemed thing they had, and it was iudged for a great sinne to kill these Fowles, but to plucke them and to let them flie. There is in this Countrie but one Monasterie of *Dominicke* Friars, with one *Indian* Towne of seuenteene *Indian* children that are there, by order of the religious men for to instruct them the better; for before they liued scattered and like sauages, and now they liue like Christians, and in temporall things politikely.

Picture feathers.

In this Prouince there is no Gouernour, but a chiefe Iustice, prouided by the Councell. The Riuer of *Zacatula* diuideth this Prouince from the Prouince of *Guatemala*, from the which it extendeth vnto the fresh Gulfe, whither all the Riuers of it doe runne, whereby and by the many falls of waters that descend from most high Hils, the Countrie was so moist, that the Millet rotted; but it is bettered in the temperature, since the cutting downe of the Woods: it hath many Lions, Tigres, and Buffes, whose flesh the *Indians* doe eate although it be luscious and soft; it is called the *Fresh Gulfe*, for the multitude of the Riuers which on that side doe enter into the Sea. The water is fresh, and there are exceeding great Fishes, and specially the *Manati*, which is the Sea calfe, which swimmeth so delicately, that being very great he maketh no noyse; when hee fleeth he goeth to the Deepe, and waxeth angrie and fierce against them that seeke him, and giueth great strokes; his flesh is very fat like vnto fat beefe.

Golfo dolce.

Manati a fish described.

Chap. 13. Of *Honduras*, *Nicaragua*, and *Costa Rica*, or the *Rich Coast*.

THe Prouince and Gouernment of *Honduras* hath in length East and West, by the coast of the North Sea, more then one hundred and fiftie leagues, and in bredth from the Sea vnto the bounds of *Costa Rica* and *Guatemala*, in parts eightie: it hath many Hills, and is plentifull of Millet, Wheat, and all sorts of Cattell, and some Mynes of gold and siluer: there is in it sixe *Spanish* Townes in one Bishopricke, and the first Bishop was Friar *Iohn* of *Talauera*, Prior of *Prado*, of the Order of Saint *Ierome* of *Spaine*.

Honduras.

The Citie of *Valladolid*, in the *Indian* language, is called *Comayagua*, in more then sixteene degrees, stands sixtie leagues from Saint *Iames* of *Guatemala* to the East, and about fortie from the North Sea: in it is the Gouernour resident, and the Cathedrall, since the yeere 1558. when it went from *Truxillo*, whereat first it was; and one Monasterie *de la Merced*. The Captaine *Alonso* of *Caceres* pacified this Countrie, by order of *Don Peter* of *Aluarado*: it stands in the midest of the two Seas, and from the one to the other are three and fiftie leagues, from the Port *de Canallos* or of *Horses* in the North Sea, vnto the Bay of *Fonseca* in the South Sea, and the Inginer *Baptista Antoneli* visited this way, by order from the King; because many thought that by it the trafficke of the North Sea was more easie to the South Sea, and hee found that it had many inconueniences.

* Or of our Lady of the Fauour.

Visitation of the Inginer *Baptista Antoneli* of the way of the Port of *Canallos* or *Horses*, to the Bay of *Fonseca*.

The Citie of * *Gracias à Dios*, is thirtie leagues from *Valladolid* almost to the West; the Captaine *Gabriel* of *Rojas* peopled it 1530. for the benefit of the Mynes of gold that were thereabouts, and had great encounters with the *Indians*, which assaulted him many times in a Fort that he had. But the Gouernours of *Honduras* and *Nicaragua*, not succouring him by reason of grudges betweene them, hee was forced to forsake it. And in the yeere 1536. Captaine *Gonçalo* of *Aluarado*, inhabited this Citie againe. The Village of Saint *Petro* is thirtie leagues from *Comayagua* to the North, somewhat aside to the West, and eleuen from the Port of *Canallos*, where the Officers Royall are resident, because the Port of *Canallos* is sickly, whither the dispatches of the ships doe come. The President *Don Peter Aluarado* built it 1536.

* Thankes bee to God.

Saint Peter.

The Village of Saint *Iohn* of the Port *de Canallos* is in 15. degrees of altitude, eleuen leagues from

Saint *Iohn*.

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from Saint *Peter*, foure from *Comayagua*, it is inhabited with Factors of the Merchants, and with Black-moores, becauſe it is an vnwholſome Port; for although it be a Bay, it is a good one, it was called the Port of *The Horſes*, becauſe ſome were caſt in the Sea by a ſtorme. The Citie of *Truxillo*. *Truxillo* is ſixtie leagues from *Comayagua* to the North-eaſt, and fortie from the Port of *Horſes* to the Eaſt, and one from the North Sea: the Cathedrall was here, the Hauen is called Saint *Gil*, it is good, though it be a Bay dead and ſheltered, where the ſhips that goe for *Guatemala* doe touch firſt. *Franciſco de las Caſas*, began to inhabit this Citie 1524. and becauſe they were all people of *Eſtremadura*, he called it *Truxillo*, and *Don Hernando Cortes* ended the inhabiting of it when he went to the *Ybueras*. Saint *George*. The Village of Saint *George* of *Olancho*, is fortie leagues from *Comayagua* to the Eaſt, of fortie houſholds, and in her borders ſixteene thouſand tributarie *Indians*, and much gold, chiefly in the Riuer of *Guayape*, ten leagues from this Towne. Valley of *Olancho*. This Valley of *Olancho* is very pleaſant and profitable, and in it was much gold gotten, and the Gouernours of *Honduras* and *Nicaragua*, had in other times great differences: for euery one would haue it in his iuriſdiction, and therefore here it was where *Gil Gonçales Dauila* tooke one hundredand twentie thouſand *Peſos* of gold of *Hernando* of *Soto*, and diſmiſſed the people which *Pedrarias Dauila* had for his defence; and here *Gabriel* of *Rojas* defended the entrance of *Gonçalo* of *Sandoual*, for *Don Hernando Cortes* did ſend him from *Truxillo*, and here the *Indians* killed *Iohn Grijalua*, a very famous Captaine, and others.

Points and Ports of this Gouernment. The coaſt of this Prouince is all in the North Sea, in the Gulfe which they call *de Honduras*, which is all the Sea coaſt betweene this Prouince and *Yucatan*, to the place where it ioyneth with it by *Verapaz*, where it was called the Gulfe of *Guanajos*, the firſt Point is of the *Ybueras*, ſo called, becauſe they firſt found many pompions on the Sea, which they call *Ybueras* in the language of *Hiſpaniola*; it ſtands in ſixteene degrees of height. Neere to the *Freſh Gulfe* a Port for *Guatemala*, where Saint *Gil* of *Bonauiſta* was built, neere to the Cape of *Three Points* to the Eaſt from the *Freſh Gulfe*, and *Gil Gonçales Dauila* peopled it 1524. And more to the Eaſt is the Riuer *Piche*, and *Rio Baxo*, and the Riuer of *Vlua*, by another name *Balahama* before the Port of *Horſes*, which ſtands in fifteene degrees. And afterward the Riuer and Point *de la Sal*, and *Triumpho de la Cruz*, a Cape of three points, where the yeere 1524. the Maſter of the field *Chriſtopher* of *Olid* planted; and the Riuer *Hulma* or of *Xagua*, and to the North of his mouth the Iland of *Vtila*; and to the North-eaſt, *Guayana*, *Helen*, and *Guanaja*, and Saint *Franciſe* North and South with the Point of *Truxillo*, which are the Ilands of the *Guanajos*. The ſaid Point is called by another name, *Cabo Delgado*, the *Small Cape*, or of *Honduras*, from whence to the Cape of * *Camaron*, in ſearch whereof they goe from *Iamayca*, are thirteene Riuers, and at the Point of the Cape a plazell or great ſhelfe of more then twentie leagues into the Sea, and in the middeſt of it neere to the Coaſt a great Iland, which is called the Iland *de los Baxos* (of the ſhelues) and another to the North, neere the ſhelfe called Saint *Millan*, and hauing paſſed the ſhelfe, the Bay of *Cartago*, and the *Deepe Bay*, before the *Cape of thanks be to God*, which ſtands in fourteen degrees one third part, and to the North of it three Ilands, which they call the *Vicioſas*, and *Quita ſueno* or *Take away ſleepe*, and *Roncador*, the *Suerter*, two dangerous ſhelues, and hauing paſſed the Cape, the Gulfe of *Nicueſa*, where hee was loſt in the yeere 1510. and the Riuer of *Yare* in thirteene degrees, where the Gouernments of *Honduras* and *Nicaragua* are ioyned.

* Or *Shrimpe*.

Babia honda. *Cabo de Gracias a Dios*.

The Ilands of the *Guanajos*, which are the rehearſed, the firſt Admirall *Don Chriſtopher Colon* diſcouered 1502. in the laſt voyage he made to the *Indies*, when he diſcouered *Terra firme* in the coaſt of *Veragua*, where his ill lucke appeared; for if as he went to *Veragua*, hee had gone to the other ſide, he had diſcouered *New Spaine*.

Nicaragua. The Prouince and Gouernment of *Nicaragua*, which the Gouernour *Iames Lopez* of *Salzedo*, called the *New Kingdome of Lion*, on the Weſt ioyneth with *Guatemala*, and on the North with *Honduras*, and on the South with * *Coſta Rica*. It is of one hundred and fiftie leagues Eaſt and Weſt, and eightie North and South, a plentifull Countrie of Millet, Cacao, Cotton wooll, ſtore of Cattell, without Corne or Sheepe, it hath fiue *Spaniſh* Townes. *Lion* of *Nicaragua* is one hundred and foure leagues from Saint *Iames* of *Guatemala* about the South-eaſt, and twelue from the South Sea, neere to the great Lake of *Nicaragua*, where the Gouernour is reſident, the Royall Officers, and the Cathedrall, and *Iames Aluarez Oſſorio* was the firſt Biſhop. It hath fiue Monaſteries of Mercenaries, and in her bounds one hundred and twentie thouſand tributarie *Indians*.

* Or rich Coaſt.

Granada. The Citie of *Granada* is ſixteene leagues from *Lion*, which and *Lion* were built by the Captaine *Franciſcus Hernandez* 1523. and *Granada* ſtands by the border of the great Lake, and foure and twentie leagues from the Port of *Realeio*, beſides the great Lake, ſtands the Lake of *Lindiri*, and the famous *Vulcan* or *Fierie mouth* of *Maſſayatan*. The great Lake ebbeth and floweth, it hath many Ilands, it runneth into the North Sea, by the Riuer which is called *El Deſaguadero*, or *The Voyding*, it hath great ſtore of Fiſh and many Lizards. At two leagues from it, and ſeuen from *Granada* is the great fierie mouth of *Mombacho*, very high with many Groues of diuers fruits, of which much refreſh the Countrie. A Friar perſwading himſelfe that that maſſe of fire that in ſo many yeeres burned without conſuming within the mouth of *Maſſaya* was gold, hauing made by a certaine arte certaine Cauldrons with their chaines to draw it, they ſcarcely came at the fire, when the Cauldron and the Chaine were melted like Lead.

Lake of *Nicaragua*. *Volcan* of *Maſſayatan* and *Mombacho*.

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The new *Segouia* which was the beginning of *Peter Arias* his plantation, is thirtie leagues from *Lion* to the North, and as many from *Granada*, somewhat Northward also, in which limits much gold is gotten. And *Iaen* a Citie is thirtie leagues from the North Sea, in the end of the great Lake, whereby the Riuer which they call the *Voyding*, and the merchandize which are carried from *Nombre de Dios*, and now from *Porte bello*, are conuayed in it. The Village of *Realejo* one league from the Port of the *Possession*, which commonly is called of the *Realejo*, stands in eleuen degrees and a halfe, and is one of the best Ports and surest in all that Coast, wherein are made good ships by reason of the good prouision of Timber there. *Segouia.* *Iaen.* *Realeio.*

There are in this Gouernment many Townes of *Indians*, and in them store of tributaries, and in the Confines of this Gouernment, and of *Costa Rica*, and of *Nicoya* eight and fortie leagues from *Granada*, in the South coast, is a Corregidorship; in which, and in the Iland of *Chyra*, which is of the iurisdiction thereof eight leagues to the Sea, are many tributarie *Indians* of the Crowne Royall, subiect in other times to the Councell of *Panama*, vnto the yeere 1573. at which time it was incorporated in *Costa Rica*; whose Gouernour placeth a Deputie, and the Bishop of *Nicaragua* a Vicar. There is in it a reasonable Port, in the coast of this Prouince on the North Sea. After this is the Riuer *Tare* that diuideth it from that of *Honduras*, the Riuer of *Tairepa*, before the Riuer and Port of Saint *Iohn*, which is called the *Voyding* or *Desaguadero*, with a great Iland at the mouth, and after, some other Riuers common to *Costa Rica*. In the South Sea, it hath besides the *Realeio*, the Port of Saint *Iames*, before the *Chira*, and the Port of *Paro* right against *Nicoya*, in the Gulfe called of the *Salt-pits*, before the Point of Saint *Lazarus*, and the Cape of *Borrica*, at the East side whereof are the Ilands of Saint *Marie*, Saint *Martha*, *Cobaya*, and *Sebaco*, neere to the bounds of *Veragua*, common to *Costa Rica*. Ports and Riuers of this coast. *De Salinas.*

In the Coast of *Nicaragua*, on the South side, the Village of *Bruxelles* was peopled 1529. and *Iames Loges* of *Salcedo* disinhabited it, because they had receiued in it *Pedro de los Rios*, Gouernour of *Castilla del Oro*, which went to take the Gouernment of *Nicaragua*, where *Salcedo* had thrust himselfe, and had gone from *Honduras* his owne Gouernment vnto it. Captaine *Francisco Hernandez* planted it 1524. in the doubtfull Streight, in the seate of *Vritina*, and on the one side it had the Sea, on the other the Playnes, and on the third side the Mountaine of the Mynes, and in all this Orbe there are no *Indians* more expert in the *Castillan* tongue then those of *Nicaragua*. *Bruxelles.*

The Prouince and Gouernment of *Costa Rica*, the furthest East of the Northerne *Indies*, and Councell of *Guatemala*, hath in length East and West ninetie leagues from the Confines of *Veragua* vnto those of *Nicaragua*, with which it ioyneth by the North, and by the West. In it are two Townes, it is a good Countrie, with many showes of Gold, and some of Siluer. The one Towne is the Village of *Aranjues* fiue leagues from *Chomes Indianes*, a Towne of the iurisdiction of *Nicoya*. The Citie of *Cartago*, fortie leagues from *Nicoya*, and twentie from the Sea almost in the middest of the Prouince, hath a Port and landing place in the Coast of the South Sea, and the North Sea, wherein there is some Riuers betweene *Nicaragua* and *Veragua*, common to this Gouernment, and the Bayes of Saint *Ieromo* and of *Caribaco*, neere the limits of *Veragua*. *Costa Rica.* *Aranjuez.* *Cartago.*

Chap. 14.

THe part of the *Indies* of the South is vniustly called *America*, it is all that is discouered from *Nombre de Dios* and *Panama* to the South, wherein is included *Terra firme*, the Kingdomes of *Piru*, the *Piru Chile*, which the *Indians* call *Chille*; The Prouinces of the Streight, the Riuer of *Plate* and *Brasile*, where are fiue Councels of *Panama*, new Kingdome of *Granada*, Saint *Francise* of *Quito*, *Lima*, the *Charcas*, and the eleuen Gouernments: part of their Coast toucheth in the North Sea, and part in the South: in the which for the most part reigneth the South and the South-west, which contrarie to his nature is there pleasant, and doth mitigate the great heate, whereby that Countrie may bee inhabited, although it neuer rayneth nor hayleth in it, but in a very little distance. And the two rowes of Mountaines that runne equally through all these *Indies*, haue a great difference, though they are in one altitude of the Pole: for the one is well repleniſhed with Trees and it alwayes rayneth in it, and it is hot: the other is all bare, and cold in Summer and Winter. These rowes are called *Andes*, and *Sierra* or the *Mountayne*; they haue most high Hils, and goe in sight the one of the other one thousand leagues, almost equally. In the Hill are bred sundrie beasts, and in the parts where they open they make Valleys, which is excellent dwelling, as that of *Xauxa*, and *Guaylas*, and *Yucay*. In the *Andes* also are bred sundrie beasts, and past the Citie of *Cuzco*, these rowes doe diuide themselues, leauing in the middest a great champaine Countrie, which is the Prouince of *Collao*, where are infinite Riuers, Lakes, and Pastures, without Trees or Wood, for the distemperature of the Countrie, though wholesome and much inhabited. There followeth after it the Prouince of the *Charcas*, hot and of great plentie, with very rough Hills of great riches of Mynes: and the figure of these *Indies* is seene in the Table before going. *Chap.* 14. Of the *Indies* of the South. A great difference of temperature in the two rowes of *Piru*. The two rowes doe runne almost 1000. leagues equall. Qualities of the Prouince of *Collao*.

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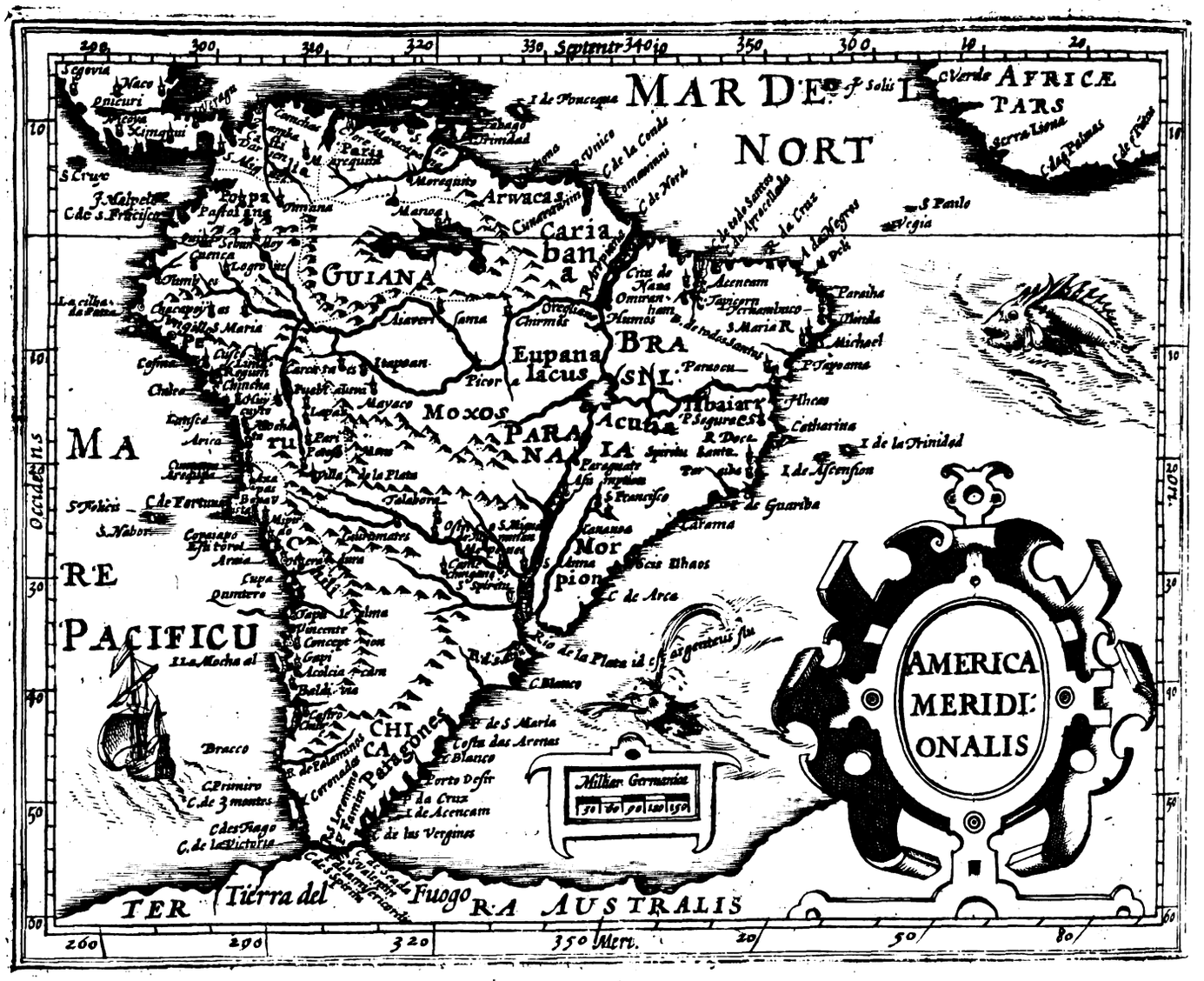
HONDIVS *his Map of* America Meridionalis.



THe limits of the Counsell of *Panama*, which was first called *Castilla del Oro*, and afterwards *Terra Firme*, are very small, for the Counsell is principally resident there, for the dispatch of the Fleetes, and Merchants, which goe and come to *Piru*: it hath in length East and West, about nintie leagues, from the confines of the gouernment of *Cartagena*, and *Popayan*, vnto the Castle of *Veragua*, and in breadth from the South Sea to the North sixtie leagues, and thence downeward vnto eighteene by *Nombre de Dios*, or *Porto bello* to *Panama*: it is a ground generally very rough with Mountaines, full of quagmires, the ayre close with vapours, moist, hot, and for this cause very sickly from May vnto Nouember, a barren soyle, and destitute of many things: for there groweth nothing but Millet, and very little, though there be good Pastures for Kine, and breeding of Cattle. The gouernment of *Veragua* stands in the bounds of this Counsell, and in it, and in that of *Panama* these Townes following.

Quantities of the Countrie of *Panama*, and her bounds.

Panama.

The Citie of *Panama* is in the coast of the South Sea, neere vnto it, in 9. degrees of latitude, and 82. of longitude from the Meridian of *Toledo*, from whence it is distant by direct way one thousand fiue hundred and sixtie leagues. It is a Towne of six hundred households, the most are Merchants and dealers. And with the Counsell are resident the Kings Officers, and Royall treasurie, which doe goe already to *Portobello*, when there is any Fleete to the dispatching of it, and likewise the Cathedrall suffragan to the Archbishopricke *of the Kings (delos res)* is here resident with three Monasteries, of *Dominicke*, *Franciscans* and *Merced* Friers. The Port of this Citie is reasonable, although at low water the Ships remaine dry, and therefore in Summer they ride in the strand, and in winter in the hauen of *Perico*, two leagues from the citie. *Pedrarias Dauila* peopled it, being Gouernour of *Castillo, del Oro, or of the Gold*, against the will of the dwellers of *Sancta Marie*, the auncient of *Darien*, the yeare 1519. and a little after the Cathedrall Church was remoued thither; and it might haue had a better seate, and more wholesome, and to the purpose

purpose for the trafficke of the South Sea, not going very farre from whence the Citie now stands.

The Citie of *Nombre de Dios*, was by *Iames* of *Nicuesa* first planted 1510. and afterward by *Iames* of *Albitez*, by order of *Pedrarias*, and he was the first Admirall that discouered her port. It is remoued to *Portobelo*, for the first Admirall discouered it, and gaue the name, becausse it was more wholesomer, and fitter for the loading and vnloading of the Fleetes, and for their securitie, and of the new Citie of Saint *Phillip*, which is built there: the Inginer *Baptista Antonelli*, hath made a Castle, and appointed another on the other side the hauen, for to keepe the entrie. The Merchandize are carried from *Portobelo* to *Panama* by two wayes, one by Land with carriage, which is eighteene leagues of lesse difficultie then by the way of *Nombre de Dios*: the other by Sea, and the Riuer of *Chagre*, whose mouth is eighteene leagues from *Portobelo*, to the West, whereby the Merchandize goe vp when the water reacheth to the vent of the Crosses, and from thence they go in carriages fiue leagues to *Panama*. *Portobello.*

The Village of *Nata* stands thirtie leagues from *Panama* to the West, in the Coast of the South Sea, Captaine *Franciscus* Companion peopled it, by order of *Peter Arias*, for the warre with the *Casique Urraca*. The inhabiting of *Acla*, and Captaine *Gabriel* of *Roias* finished by commandement of *Peter Arias*, in the Coast of the North Sea, and entrance of the Gulfe of *Vraba*, right against the Iland of *Pinos*, whereof at this present there is no more memory then that there was the death of that famous Captaine, whose memory will last eternally, the President *Basco Nunnez* of *Balnoa*, and of his company. In the breach of *Almagro*, and in the head of the Riuer *Chiepo*, there is Gold, and in times past was much gotten. In all these Riuers are many Lizards or Crockadiles, and very great, which put the first discouerers and pacifiers to great trouble, and did deuoure some men. It happened that a man being in a Boate neere to the Kings House in *Panama*, a Lizard came and snatched him from the Stearne of the Boate, and carried him away to eate him on certaine Rockes, and hauing begunne to teare him in pieces, they shot at him with a Caliuer and killed the Lizard, so that he before his death receiued the Sacraments of the Church. Saint *Iames* of *Nata.* *Acla.* A strange case of a Lizard.

The Prouince of *Veragua*, which stands in somewhat more then tenne degrees, doth confine with *Costarica*, on the West side: it hath in length East and West fiftie leagues, and in breadth fiue and twentie: a Mountainous Countrie, full of bushes, without Pastures or Cattle, Wheate, Barley, little Millet or little Pulse; but full of Gold with many vaines of it, and rich Mines in the Riuers, and breaches, and those *Indians* that are, are in warre: it hath the Citie of the *Conception* fortie leagues from *Nombre de Dios*, to the West, where the Gouernour and the Officers (which they of *Panama* at this present doe prouide) are resident. The Village of *Trinitie* stands six leagues to the East of the *Conception* by Sea (for yee cannot goe by Land) neere to the Riuer of *Bethleem*, at three leagues from the Sea. The Citie of *Sancta Fe* stands twelue leagues from the *Conception* to the South, with melting houses, and Deputie Officers. The Citie of *Charles*, in the coast of the South Sea, neere to the Sea, fiftie leagues from the Citie of *Sancta Fe*, to the East: all the *Indians* of this gouernment are in warre. *Veragua.* The *Conception.* The *Trinitie.* **Holy Faith.* *Charles.*

There is no Port of name in the two Coasts South, and North, of this gouernment, and in all the bounds of the Counsell, are the Riuers, Ports, and points following. The Bay of *Carabaco*, or of Saint *Hierome*, in the coast of the North Sea, and the confines of *Veragua*, and to the East of it, and of the Riuer of the *Trinitie*, of the *Conception*, and of *Bethlehem* (where was the first inhabiting that the first Admirall made in *Terra firme*, of all that Orbe, in the yeare 1503. which continued not: and right against the *Shield*, an Iland, and the Riuer of *Chagre*, and more to the East a league the *Portete*, to the place where the Admirall came discouering the same yeere, and the Ports of [a] *Langostas* twelue leagues from *Nombre de Dios*, to the West, and the Port *de Gallinas* or of *Hennes* nine degrees, and the Port of *Bonauenture* six, *Portobelo* fiue, and right against it the Ilands of the [b] *Lookings*, and those of the *Prouisions* or *Bastimentos*: and hauing *Nombre de Dios* two leagues, the Riuer of [c] *Sardinilla*, and the Iland of [d] *Sardina*, foure; and the Riuer of *Millet* or *Mayz*, and the Riuer of *Snakes*, or *Culebras*, eight; and at the entry of the Gulfe of *Vraba*, where in the yeare 1509. the Bachiller *Enciso* built the Citie of *Sancta Maria* of *Darien*. This Bachiller *Enciso* was he that published that in the Prouince which was called *Castilla del Oro*, there were places where the gold was fished with nets, which encouraged many people to goe to the *Indies*, which passed in the yeare 1514. with *Peter Arias Danila*: and the President *Basco Nunnez* of *Balboa*, went 1513. from the *Darien* in demand of the South Sea, and discouered it. The Point of the Iland of *Captina*, stands right against the Mountaines of Saint *Blas*, and the Iland of *Comagre*, and the Iland of *Pinos*, more within the Gulfe of *Vraba*, and in the inward Port of it, the Port of *Nilcos*, neere to the mouth of the Riuer of *Darien*, which diuideth the bounds of this Counsell, and those of the Gouernement of *Cartagena*, and there is *Culata de Vraba*, where in the yeare 1510. *Alonso* of *Oieda* inhabited Saint *Sebastian* of *Vraba*. This Gulfe stands in 8. degrees, it hath foureteene leagues of longitude into the Lands, and in the entrie it hath six in breadth, and a little forward fiftie, The Ports. a Or *Locusts.* b *Las Miras.* c Or *Little Pilcherd.* d Or *Pilchard.*

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and at the end foure, and fiue leagues within was the Citie of *Sancta Marie*, the auncient of *Darien*.

In the South Sea ſtands the Cape of *Sancta Marie*, and point (*de Guerra*) of Warre, and toward *Panama*, the Gulfe of *Parita*, or *Paris* where ſtands *Nata*, the point of *Chiame*, the Countrie of that *Cazique Chiapes*, the friend of *Baſco Nunnez* of *Balboa*, which holpe him in his diſcouery: and paſſed the Port of *Panama*, the Riuer of *Chepo*, and the *Balſa*, or of *Congos* in the inner part of the Gulfe of Saint *Michael*, North and South from the Iland of *Pearles*, and the Point or Port of *Pinyas*, at the entrie of the Gulfe on the South ſide, which is fiftie leagues from *Panama*, and twentie ouerthwart to the Gulfe of *Vraba*, and *Puerto Quemado*, or *Burnt Hauen*, neere to the Cape of *Corrientes*, in 5. degrees of altitude *Septentrionall*. 10

Chap. 16. The limits of the Counſell of *Sancta Fe* of *Bogota*: which is the new Kingdome of *Granada*.

THe bounds of the Counſel of the *New Kingdome* hath in length Eaſt and Weſt, three hundred leagues, and as many North and South, wherein are comprehended the Prouinces of the *New Kingdome*, the gouernments of *Sancta Martha*, and *Cartagena*, and part of that of *Popayan*; & for borders the Prouinces of the *Dorado*, or new *Stremadura*: the Prouince of *New Kingdome*, which is that which the Counſell gouerneth: it hath in length from Eaſt to Weſt foureteen leagues, and eightie in breadth North and South of plaine ground, for the moſt part with Valleys and hils, and good Paſtures for all ſort of Cattle, which are in abundance, and in many places, Wheate, Millet, and the fruits of *Caſtile*, and generally much Gold and very fine, and Mines of Copper & Steele: and the Countrie men for the moſt part are able men, great traffickers, and doe weare Cotten cloath. And the Townes that be in the Kingdome of *Spaniards*, are the Citie of **Sancta Fe* of *Bogota*, which was built at the foote of *Bogota*, ſo called by the *Cazique* which was called *Bogota*, which the Preſident *Gonçalo Ximenez* of *Queſada* built, and gaue the name to the Citie and to the Kingdome, becauſe he was of *Granada*, though in the diſcouery the Preſident *Belalcazar*, and *Nicholas Federman* had part: it ſtands 72. degrees and a halfe of longitude from the Meridian of *Toledo*, which by a greater circle may be one thouſand foure hundred and fortie leagues, and 4. degrees on this ſide of the Equinoctial, it hath more then ſix hundred houſholds, in it is reſident the Counſell, the Kings Officers and Royall treaſurie, and Melting houſe, the Cathedrall Metropolitane, whoſe ſuffragans are, *Popayan*, *Cartagena* and *Sancta Marta*, with a Monaſterie of *Dominicke* and another of *Franciſcane* Friers, and in her borders more then fiftie thouſand tributarie *Indians* and the Lake of *Guatauita*, which was a worſhipping place of the *Indians*, where it is reported that they did caſt great ſummes of Gold in offring to the Idols. 20 30

* *Holy Faith.*

Lake of *Guatauita.*

Saint *Michael.*

The Village of Saint *Michael* in the bounds of *Sancta Fe*, twelue leagues from it to the North, was built for trafficke with the *Pauche Indians*, becauſe being of a hot Countrie it did them hurt to goe to *Sancta Fe*, which is cold. The Citie of *Tocayma* fifteene leagues from *Sancta Fe*, to the Weſt, ſomewhat inclined to the North, with a Monaſterie of *Dominicke* Friers, was inhabited the yeare 1545. by the Captaine *Hernando Vanegas*, in the border of the maine Riuer *Pati*, which runneth into the Riuer *Magdalene*. It hath no gold, and is moſt hot, and by night there falleth no Deaw in it. In all the Kingdome there is no generall tongue, that which is moſt vnderſtood, is that of the *Pauches*. In the Prouince of the *Muſos*, and *Colimas*, which by another name are called *Canupeis*, fiue and twentie leagues in length, to the North-weſt of *Bogota*, a rough Countrie, found, plentifull of Paſtures, Gold, and Emeralds: there are two Townes; the Citie of the *Trinitie* twentie leagues from *Sancta Fe*, to the North-weſt, which the Captaine *Lanchero* inhabited the yeere 1582. when hee went to warre with the *Indians* * *Moſcas*, a quicke and fearefull Nation: and in theſe bounds ſtands the rich Mine of the Emeralds, with many *Indians* which yet are peaceable, and in the Prouince of *Chiagnachi*, which ſignifieth Snailes, for there be many. 40

Tocayma.

The *Trinitie.*

* Or *Flies.*

The *Palma.*

The Village of *Palma* in the *Colimas*, of a temper hotter then cold, fifteene leagues from *Sancta Fe* to the North-weſt, the Captaine *Don Gutierre* of *Oualle* built it 1572. in the Prouince of *Tunia*, which tooke the name of the *Cazique*, almoſt to the North, direct to that of *Bogota*, and in all like vnto it: The Citie of *Tunia* ſtands two and twentie leagues from *Sancta Fe*, to the North-eaſt, on a high hill, a ſtrong ſcituation, for the warre with the *Indians*. There goe out of this Citie aboue two hundred Horſe-men, and it is the moſt aboundant of Victuals of all the Borders, and there is the greateſt Market in all the Realme: it hath one Monaſterie of *Dominicke*, another of *Franciſcane* Friers. The Captaine *Gonçalo Xuarez Rondon* built it, for the Preſident *Gonzalo Ximenez* of *Pulſada*. The Citie of *Pamplona* ſeuenty leagues frum *Sancta Fe* to the North-eaſt, hath one Monaſterie of *Dominick* Friers; much Gold is gotten in it, it hath abundance of Cattle: the Bachiller *Michael Diaz* of *Armendariz* peopled it. The Village of Saint *Chriſtopher* is thirteene leagues from *Pamplona* to the North, the Captaine *Franciſco* of *Caceres* built it neere the Prouince of * *Grita*, ſo called becauſe the *Indians* came out of the high wayes to ſhoute and crie after the *Spaniards*, and to kill them: little Gold is gotten in it, and it hath commoditie, for to breede Cattle. 50 60

Tunia.

Pamplona.

* Or *Crying.*

Merida.

The Citie of *Merida*, in the bounds of the gouernment of *Venecuela*, and the *New Kingdome*, fortie leagues from *Pamplona* to the North-eaſt: it is a plentifull Countrie of Mines of Gold,

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Gould, and of Wheate. The Citie of *Belez* thirtie leagues from *Sancta Fe* to the North, and fifteene from *Tunia*, hath one Monasterie of *Franciscane* Fryers: the Captaine *Goncalo Ximenez Roudon* inhabited it. *Belez.*

It is a Countrie where many thunderboults fell, and there fall not so many since the holy Sacrament of the Altar is there abiding: it hath one *fierie mouth* that casteth many stones. Thunderbolts.

The Citie of *Mariquita* of *Thague*, by another name Saint *Sebastian of the Gould*, is fortie leagues from *Sancta Fe* to the North-west, the Captaine *Pedroso* peopled it 1551. in certaine Meadowes, leaning to the hill, the temper is very hot. *Mariquita.*

The Citie of *Thague* is three hundred leagues from *Sancta Fe*, almost to the West: it is the first Towne of the *New Realme*, that doth confine with *Popayan*, the Captaine *Andrew Lopez* of *Galarza* peopled it 1551. by commission of the Counsell, for to eschew the harmes these *Indians* did with those of *Tocayma*, and *Cartago*, and for to open the way to the gouernment of *Popayan*, it hath a Monasterie of *Dominicke* Friers. *Thague.*

The Citie of the *Victorie of the Remedies*, fiftie leagues from *Sancta Fe*, to the North-west, is very rich of Mines. The Citie of Saint *Iohn* of the *Plaines*, fiftie leagues from *Sancta Fe* to the South, is a Countrie of much Gould. The Citie of *Tudela* which the Captaine *Peter* of *Vrsua* built, by order of the Bachiller *Don Michael Diuz* of *Armendariz* was disinhabited, because the *Indians* * *Moxcas* receiued hurt by it. *Victorie de los Remedios.* Saint *Iohn of the Plaines.* * Or Flyes.

And there are of the limits of the Counsell of the new Realme, seuen Townes of the gouernment of *Popayan*, *Sancta Fe* of *Antiochia*, *Caramanta*, *Arma*, *Anzerma*, *Cartago*, Saint *Sebastian of the Siluer*, and Saint *Vincent de las Pazes.*

The Merchandize enters this Kingdome, by the great Riuer of *Magdalene*, from the * *Baranca* of *Malamba*, of the iurisdiction of *Cartagena*, and the first that sent to discouer this Riuer, was *Garcia* of *Lerma*, Gouernour of *Sancta Martha* 1531. It entreth into the Sea so broad and strong, that at the passing, the Ships are wont to be in danger, if they goe not somewhat distant, for the combat of the current, and working of the Sea. It hath an Iland in the mouth, it is nauigated more then one hundred and fiftie leagues, and in more then three hundred it is not waded: it commeth from aboue *Popayan* from two Fountaines that are fortie leagues distant, by which ioyning the Riuer is made: it was called of *Magdalene*, because on that day was the mouth discouered, in 12. degrees of height, and six and twenty leagues from *Cartagena.* * Or Watercourse. *Rio Grande* or *Magdalen* Riuer.

The Prouince and Gouernment of *Sancta Martha* in the coast of *Terra firme* is seuentie leagues in breadth and length, betweene *Carthagena* and the Riuer of *Hache*: it is a plentifull Countrie of Millet, and Potatoes, much Gould, and Copper, and some Emeralds, and other Stones: in it are fiue *Spanish* Townes; and though there be many of the Countrie-men, the most are in warre. The President *Bastidas* peopled the Citie of *Sancta Martha* 1525. neere to the Sea, in 10. degrees of latitude, and 74. of longitude, one thousand foure hundred and twentie leagues from *Toledo*, where is resident the Gouernour, and Officers Royall, and the Cathedrall suffragan to the *New Kingdome*. The Port is reasonable. This Gouernment hath foure Prouinces, *Pozignay*, *Betona*, *Chimica*, and *Tayrona*, which signifieth *a Forge*, and with great reason, because in that Countrie are an infinite quantitie of diuersitie of Mettals, and Stones of great esteeme and value. *Sancta Martha.*

Tenerife stands by the border of *Rio Grande* or the great Riuer (which is that of *Magdelene*) fortie leagues from *Sancta Martha* to the South-west, part by the Sea, and part by Land: *Franciscus Enriques* did people it, by order of *Gonçalo Perez* which gouerned in *Sancta Martha*, by Commission of the President *Lugo*. *Tamalameque*, or Village of the *Palmes* is sixtie fiue leagues from *Sancta Martha* to the South, and twentie from *Tenerife*, two leagues from the *Great Riuer*: the Captaine *Bartholomew Dalua* peopled it 1561. The Citie of *los Reyes* in the Valley of *Vpari*, is plentifull of Millet, Prouision, and Cattle, and of much Copper, to the South-east of *Sancta Martha*, fiftie leagues from it, and thirtie from the Riuer of *Hache*: the Captaine *Sanct Anne* peopled it, by commandement of the Bachellor *Michael Diuz*, * *La Ramada* was built before, called first new *Salamanca*, fortie leagues from *Sancta Martha* to the East, and eight from the Riuer of *Plate*, at the ouerflowings of the Snowie Mountaine. It stands in the Valley of *Vpani*, where there is as much Copper as Stone. The Merchandize of this Gouernment goeth vp to the *New Kingdome* by the marsh of this Citie, which is eight leagues from it by the Sea, and afterward twelue vnto the *Barranca* of *Malambo*, in the great Riuer. *Ocanna* is also in this Gouernment, which the Captaine *Franciscus Hernandez* inhabited 1572. and was first called *Sancta Anne*. There is in the Coast of this Gouernment the Riuer of *Buhia*, neere *Ramada*, and the Riuer of *Piras*, and that of b *Palomino*, where a Captaine of this name was drowned, and the Riuer of *Don Iames*, the c *Ancones* of *Buritaca*, and the Cape of d *Aguia* neere *Sancta Martha*, right against the hill of *Bonda*, and the Riuer of *Gayra*, to the West. *Tenerife.* *Tamalameque.* The Kings. * *Sancta Ramada.* *Ocanna.* b Or *Long Pigeon.* c Or *Nookes.* d Or the *Needle.*

The Prouince and Gouernment of *Cartagena*, in the Coast of *Terra firme*, and the North Sea, hath in length East and West, from the Riuer of the *Magdalene*, vnto the Riuer of *Darien*, eightie leagues North and South, and as many vnto the confines of the *New Kingdome*, though men say it is more in Voyage. The Countrie is Mountainous of Hils and Valleys, of high Trees, rainie and moist: the seedes of *Castile* beare no seede, there is no Wheate, nor Gould, but in some places. *Cartagena.*

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There is much rozen made in ſome Mountaines of this Gouernment, and Gums arromaticke, and other liquors which they get out of the Trees, and great quantitie of *Sanguis Draconis*, and a very fragrant balme of great vertues.

Citie of *Cartagena.*

The Citie of *Carthagena* ſtands neare the Sea, two leagues from the Point of *Canoa*, to the Weſt, in tenne degrees of latitude, and ſeuentie ſix of longitude, one thouſand foure hundred and ſixtie leagues from *Toledo*, of more then fiue hundred houſholds, among them aboue two thouſand women. In it is reſident the Gouernour, the Kings Officers, & treaſurie Royall, and the Cathedrall ſuffragan to the *New Realme*, with Monaſteries of *Dominick* and *Franciſcan* Friers. The ſcituation is plain, and almoſt like an Iland, the Sea compaſſeth it on the North ſide, & it is a rough coaſt, and very ſhallow; and on the land ſide it hath an arme of the Sea which reacheth to a Mariſh, which is the Lake of *Canapote*, which ebbeth & floweth after the order of the Sea, & at the ſame houre, and they paſſe from the Citie to *Terra firme*, by a Bridge and a manner of a Cauſie, which hath aboue two hundred and fiftie paces. The Citie is built on Sand, & within two fathoms they finde freſh water, though ſometimes it is vnwholeſome, not ſo much as the coaſt of *Nombre de Dios*; for the ayres in reſpect of the Mariſh are wont to cauſe diſeaſes, but for the moſt part it is wholſome. The Hauen is one of the leaſt of the *Indies*, though the great Ships doe ride farre from the Citie. It hath at the entrie an Iland like that of *Eſcombrera* in *Cartagena* of *Caſtile*, whereby they called it *Cartagena*, and the Iland was called *Codego*, now they call it *Caxes*, it hath two leagues in length, & little more then halfe a league in bredth: it was wont to be inhabited with *Indian* Fiſhers, & it hath no water. The firſt that ſaw *Carthagena*, in the year 1502. was *Roderick Baſtidas*, & the year 1504. *Iuan de la Coſa* or *Iohn of the Thing* went a ſhore, and found *Lewes Guerra*, and they were the firſt that began the warre with the *Indians*, which were proud and bould, and both men and women fought, with venomed arrows. Afterward returned *Alonſo* of *Oieda*, with *Iohn of the Thing* for Pilot Maior, & *Americo Veſpucio* for Mariner, & ſome years after *Gregorio* of *Obiedo* took vpon him to inhabit *Cartagena*, & performed it not. The year 1532. went *Don Pedro* of *Eredia* born in *Madrid*, and inhabited it, and pacified a great part of the Countrie, though with labour and cunning, becauſe the people were very warlike, and there was a woman that before they could take her, being about eighteene yeeres old, ſlew with her Bow eight *Spaniards*.

Amazonian women.

Valiant *Virago.*

Saint *Iames* of *Tolu.*

The Village of *Marie.*

The Village of Saint *Iames* of *Tolu*, is ſix leagues from the Sea to the South-weſt of *Cartagena* two leagues from it, part by Sea (for by Land it cannot be gone) and part by the Mariſhes and Mountaines. It is a ſound Countrie, of great breedings, and tillage, and fruits of *Caſtile*: the Preſident *Don Peter* of *Heredia* peopled it. The Village of *Marie* thirtie two leagues from *Cartagena*, to the South, is alſo the inhabiting of *Don Peter* of *Heredia*, in the yeare 1534. The Village of * *Sancta Cruz* of *Mopox* is ſeuentie leagues from *Cartagena* by the Sea and Riuer of *Magdalene*, neere whoſe border it ſtands, & whereby they goe about more then halfe the way; it is not ſound being among Quagmires. A Captaine of *Don Peter* of *Heredia* peopled it 1535. The yeare of 1509. the Bachiller *Euſico* (as hath been ſaid) inhabited *Sancta Marie*, the auncient of the *Darien*, which is in this Gouernment, forſaking the Village of Saint *Sebaſtian* of *Bona viſta*, which the ſame Captaine *Alonſo de Oieda* had inhabited, in the furtheſt place of *Vraba*: & afterward the Captain *Alonſo* of *Heredia* inhabited Saint *Sebaſtian* againe, for the Preſident his Brother, in certaine little hils, almoſt halfe a league from the Sea. And in the yeare 1537. the Bachiller *Iohn* of *Vadillo* went out of Saint *Sebaſtian* with a good number of Souldiours, and paſſing many troubles, & moſt rough Mountains, & thick woods, came to the Citie of *Antioquia*, of the gouernment of *Popayan*, & there was a Souldior that from thẽce came to the Citie of the *Plate*, in the *Charcas*, which is 1200. leag.

* Holy Croſſe.

Saint *Sebaſtian.*

The *Barranca.*

* Or *Water-courſe.*

The * *Barranca* of *Malambo*, which is a Cuſtome houſe of the iuriſdiction of *Cartagena*, thirtie leagues from it, on the border of the great Riuer, and twenty from *Sancta Martha*, & ſix from the Sea, where the Merchandize that are carried by Land to the *New Realme* are vnloaden, & from the *Barranca* are carried vp by the Riuer in *Canooes*. Lower then *Nopox* entreth the Riuer of *Cauca* into the Riuer of *Magdalene*, which alſo ſpringeth about *Popayan*: & more toward *Cartagena* and to the Weſt, ſtandeth the *Knobbe*, and the point of *Zamba*, and *Butria del gato* or *Arbolera*, and the ſeuen cottages, and the point of the *Canowe*, two leagues from *Cartagena*, and the point of *Tacaes* at the entrie of the port, right againſt the Iland of *Carex*, and the point of the Ship in *Terra firme*; at the other leſſer entrie of the port, and almoſt to the North, is a little Iland which is called *Sardina*, and in the coaſt of *Tolu* the Ilands of *Baru*, which are ſix, and at the entrie of the Gulfe of *Vraba* the ſix, which are called of Saint *Bernard*, right againſt the Riuer *Zenu*: and more within the Gulfe, the ſtrong Iland, and the *Tortoyſe*. The port of *Zenu* ſtands fiue and twenty leagues from *Cartagena*, it is a great Bay that hath his entrance by the Eaſt, it is ſecure: here they make ſtore of Salt, and it tooke the name of the Towne *Zenu*, which ſtandeth on the Riuer.

El Dorado. Guiana.

In the Prouinces of the *Dorade*, or new *Eſtremadura* (which circuit pertaines to the bounds of the Counſell of the *New Realme*) many Captains haue entred by Sea, and by ſundry parts of the Land, and haue neuer found the riches which the ſame promiſeth. They fall on the other ſide of the Riuer of Saint *Iohn* of *Amazones*, by another name *Orellana* (which ſome erroniouſly wil haue to be the *Meranyon*) and here is the *Orinico*, and other great Riuers, and the Gulfe of *Paria* which maketh the firme land, with the Land of the *Trinitie*, & the mouthes of the *Serpent*, & the *Dragon*,

which

which the first Admirall named, where he saw himselfe in great danger, for the conflict which the fresh waters make there with the salt, whereof he had yet no notice, and here beginneth the flowing of the Sea to be very great, vnto the streight of *Magellan*, and goeth continuing through all the coast of *Piru*, and *New Spaine*. Great Tydes.

The Prouinces of *Piru* (whose name hath extended it selfe more then it was at the beginning) include all the Empire of the *Ingas*, or more; for when it was won it was diuided in two gouernments, that of *Don Franciscus Picarro*, called the *New Castile*, from the *Quito* vnto the *Cuzco*, sixtie leagues below the *Chincha*: and that of *Don Iames* of *Almagro*, called the *New Toledo*, two hundred leagues toward the Streight from *Chincha*; which gouernments were distinct vntil the Councell *de los Reyes* was established, and a Vice-roy prouided for the Kingdomes of *Piru*, in whose gouernment are included, the Councell of Saint *Francis* of the *Quito*, that of *Lima* (or *de los Reyes* of *the Kings*) that of the *Charcas*, the gouernment of *Chile*, & countries of the *Streights*, the Ilands of *Salomon* to the West, and for borders the Prouinces of the Riuer of *Plate*, and that which determinately is comprehended vnder the gouernment of the Vice-roy. It hath in length North and South from two thousand leagues vpward, and East and West, that which is discouered from the South Sea to the North Sea. The two *Rowes* that haue beene spoken of, doe passe through all the Prouinces of *Piru* North and South, that of the *Andes* from *Popayan*, and yet many will haue, that from *Terra firme* and *New Spaine*, till it ends in the * *Streight*, and the other lesse, from the *Quito* vnto *Chile*, along the coast, twelue leagues distant, little more or lesse. *Piru*, or *Peru*. The two *Rowes* of the *Indies* of the South. * Of *Magellan*.

The two wayes passed betweene these two Mountaines, the one which they called of the *Ingas*, by the *Andes* from *Pasto* vnto *Chile*, which hath nine hundred leagues in length; and fiue and twentie foote of Cawsie, and euery foure leagues very sumptuous houses, which they call *Tambos*, where was prouision of victuals and apparell, and euery halfe league men that were in postes for to carry messages, and orders from hand to hand. The other way went through the middest of the Playnes, along the coast of fiue and twentie foote broad, betweene two walls of a mans height, from *Piura* vnto *Chile*, where both the wayes met. And it is to be noted, that all the *Indies* of the South are not to be vnderstood by *Piru*, for as hath beene said, it is not but that which beginneth from Saint *Francis* of *Quito*, which is vnder the Equinoctiall Line, and runneth along vnto *Chile*, going out of the Tropicks, which may bee sixe hundred leagues, and fiftie in breadth, though toward the *Chachapoyas* there is more, and it is diuided in three parts: *The Playnes*, which haue ten leagues in breadth, and in parts lesse, they are the coast of the Sea: *The Hills*, which haue about twentie, and is all Hills and some Valleys: and the *Andes* other twentie, which are most thicke Groues and Woods, and in so little space as fiftie leagues equally distant from the Line and Pole: there is so great diuersitie, that in the one place almost it rayneth alwayes, and in the other almost neuer, which is the Coast, and in the third which is the Mountaines that fall in the middest of these extreames, sometime it rayneth, and sometime not, for it hath his Summer and Winter as in *Castile*: and the causes of not rayning in the Coast, and rayne in the *Andes*, are spoken of in the beginning of the Historie. The two great wayes of *Piru*. Postes. *Piru* is not all the *Indies* of the South. *Los Llanos*. *Las Sierras*. Diuersitie of nature.

Chap. 17. Of the Councell of Saint *Francis* of the *Quito*.

THe bounds of the Councell resident in *Quito*, and confining Northward with that of *Panama*, in the Port of *Bonauentura*, and on the North-east with the *New Realme*, and on the South with that of *Lima*; hath in length by the South coast, which is the place where it lengthens most, about two hundred leagues from the Port of *Bonauenture*, which is in the Gulfe of *Panama*, or of Saint *Michael*, the Port of *Payta* in the coast of *Piru*, and from thence crosse to the vttermost of *Popayan*, more then other two hundred and fiftie, the limits remayning open on the East side: in it is included three Gouernments, besides those of the Councell, which are *Popayan*, *Quixos*, *la Canela*, and that of *Iuan de Salinas*, of the *Pacamoros*, and *Gualsango*, diuided in two Bishopricks. * Or Cynamon.

The Prouince and Gouernment of *Quito*, which the Councell gouerneth, hath in length eightie leagues, from neere the Equinoctiall to the other side, and in it these Townes of *Spaniards* following. The heauen and earth thereof, although it stands vnder the Equinoctiall, is like to that of *Castile*, cleere and faire, rather cold then hot, and in parts where the snow continueth all the yeere, it rayneth from October to March, which they call the winter; and in the other moneths they cut their Grasse, which though it be not long it is fit for the Cattell of *Castile*, whereof there is great store; and of Wheat and Barley, and gold in some places: and in this Region they liue pleasantly, for there is nothing more pleasant for humane life, then to enioy a wholesome and cleere skie, for they haue no Winter to trouble them with cold, nor Summer to molest with heat. The Townes are, the Citie of Saint *Franciscus* of *Quito*, where *Athaualpa* Emperour of *Piru* was borne, it stands in halfe a degree of height from the Equinoctiall, and eightie two from the Meridian of *Toledo*, by a greater circle one thousand sixe hundred eightie sixe leagues from it, and sixtie from the South Sea; it is of fiue hundred housholds: In it is resident the Councell for matters of Iustice, for those of the Gouernment are at the Vice-roy his charge. There are also in this Citie the Officers of the Kings Rents and treasurie Royall, and the Cathedrall of this Bi- *El Quito*. Aire and seasons. *Athaualpa* or *Atabalipa*.

shopricke, Suffragane to the Archbishop of *The Kings (los Reyes)* there are three Monasteries of *Dominicke*, *Franciscan*, and *Mercenarie* * Friars: and in her iurisdiction eightie seuen Townes, or parcialities of *Indians*. In the situation where this Citie was built, were certaine great lodgings which the King *Topaynga* built, and his sonne *Guaynacapa* beautified, and were called *Quito*, from whence the Citie tooke the name; the President *Sebastian* of *Belalcaçar*, a souldier of *Don Franciscus Piçarro* built it, a loyall man to the King, by order of the President *Don Iames* of *Almagro*, which left him for Gouernour of the Prouince when hee went vnto it, hauing ended the agreement with the President *Don Peter* of *Aluarado*.

* Friars *de la Merced*, or *our Lady of Grace*.

Riuer *Bamba*.

The Riuer *Bamba* in the Prouince of the *Peruues*, is a Countrie to *Castile* in the temperature, of herbes, flowres, and other things: it is a towne of shepheards, it stands fiue and twentie leagues to the South-west of Saint *Francisce* of *Quito*, the way to the *Kings*, wherein are fortie thousand head of cattell, the greatest part sheepe. Here the *Yugas* had certaine Royall houses, and here the President *Belalcazar* had a tedious battaile with the *Indians*, and ouercame them, and in this place was the agreement rehearsed of *Don Iames* of *Almagro* and *Don Peter* of *Aluarado*, and in it was the Citie of *Quito* first built.

Cuenca.

The citie of *Cuenca* (which the Marques of *Canyete* commanded to be built, being Vice-roy of *Piru*, which by another name is called *Bamba*, one and fiftie leagues from *Quito* to the South) is a Corregidorship prouided of the Vice-roy, with one Monasterie of *Dominicke*, another of *Franciscan* Friars. In her iurisdiction are rich mynes of gold, some of siluer, and rich mynes of quicksiluer, copper, Iron, and Brimstone. The citie of *Loxa*, otherwise called *la Zarça*, eightie leagues from the citie of *Quito* toward the South, and thirtie from *Cuenca*, is a Gouernourship prouided by the Vice-roy; it hath Monasteries of Saint *Dominicke* and of Saint *Francis*, it stands in the way from *Cuzco* to *Quito*, from whence it is eightie leagues, in the faire Valley of *Cuxibamba*, betweene two Riuers. Captaine *Antonie* of *Mercadillo* built it in the yeere 1546. for to pacifie the countrimen which were somewhat disordered. The citie of *Zamora*, which is called of the *Alcaydes*, is ninetie leagues from *Quito* South-eastward, hauing passed the *Rowe* of the *Andes*: it is a Gouernment prouided by the Vice-roy: it hath a Monasterie of *Franciscans*; they reape no Wheat becausse the countrie is very raynie: it hath rich Mynes of gold, wherin they find graines of foure pound waight and more: the Captaine *Mercadillo* peopled it the yeere 1549. by a couenant with Captaine *Benauente*; It stands twentie leagues from *Loxa*, hauing past the *Rowe* which diuideth the bankes of the South Sea from the North, the *Indians* did call it *Zamara*: that part of the countrie is called *Poroauca*, which signifieth *Indians of warre*: much gold is gotten there, and there hath beene graines brought to his Maiestie of twelue pound waight, and there are Salt-pits of salt-water.

Loxa.

* Or Briar.

Zamora.

Iaen.

The citie of *Iaen* is fiue and fiftie leagues from *Loxa*, and thirtie from the *Chachapoyas*; Captaine *Iames Palomino* built it 1549. in the Prouince of *Chiquimayo*, in that of *Chacaynga*. The citie of Saint *Michael* of *Piura* is in the Prouince of *Chila*, one hundred and twentie leagues from *Quito* South-eastward, and fiue and twentie from the Port of *Payta*, where the bounds of this Councell doth end. It is a Gouernment at the prouiding of the Vice-roy: it hath one Monasterie of *Mercenaries*. Though in this countrie rayne is holden for a wonder, there are good watered grounds, that beare good Wheat and Millet, and the seedes and fruits of *Castile*. The port of *Payta* stands in the iurisdiction of this Citie, in fiue Southerne degrees, which is good, great, and secure, where the ships that goe from *Guatemala* to *Piru* doe touch. The Marques *Don Franciscus Piçarro* built it in the yeere 1531. the first of these Kingdomes, and where the first Temple was erected in the honour of God, and the holy Mother Church of *Rome*. All the Prouince and borders of the Valleys of *Tumbez* are drie, and the high-way of the *Ingas* passeth through these Valleys of *Piura*, betweene trees and pleasant shadowes, and betweene the principall Valley are ioyned two or three Riuers: the Citie was built at the first in *Tangazala*, from whence it was remooued becausse it was a sickly situation, and now it stands betweene two Valleys, and yet is somewhat sickly, especially for the eyes, for the great windes and dusts of the Summer, and great moistures of the Winter.

Saint *Michael* of *Piura*.

Raine a wonder.

Payta.

High-way admirable.

The Citie of Saint *Iames* of *Guayaquil*, by another name *las Culata*, sixtie leagues from *Quito*, and fifteene from the Sea to the South-west, it is a Gouernment prouided by the Vice-roy: the President *Belalcazar* peopled it, and many of the *Indians* hauing rebelled, and slaine many *Spaniards*, the Captaine *Franciscus* of *Orellana* peopled it againe 1537. it is a most plentifull and pleasant Countrie, and hath great store of hony in the hollow places of trees: The waters of this Riuer which runne almost vnder the Equinoctiall, are thought healthfull for the *French* disease, and other such like. Many people went to the Riuer to recouer health, for the multitude of the rootes of *Zarçaparrilla* that are in the Riuer: it is not very great, nor those that run to the South Sea are so bigge as those that runne into the North Sea, becausse they runne but a little way; but notwithstanding they are strong and with sudden flouds, becausse they fall from the Mountaine. The *Indians* doe vse many shifts for to passe them; they haue in some places a rope ouer it, and a basket on it, and the passenger being put into it, they pull him from the other side. In other Riuers the *Indian* goeth riding on a trusse of straw, and carrieth the passenger behinde him: in other

San Iago de Guayaquil.

The Riuers that goe to the North Sea are greater then those that goe to the South Sea.

How the riuers are passed in *Peru*.

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ther places they haue a great Net of gourds, vpon the which they lay the cloathes and the persons, and the *Indians* fastened with certaine coardes goe swimming and pulling as coach-horses; and a thousand other artes they vse for to passe the Riuers. The Port of this Citie stands neere vnto it, for the Riuer is very broad, whereby they bring vp the merchandise from the Sea, and they goe by land to *Quito*. The yeere 1568. Captaine *Contero* planted the citie of *Castro*, in the Valley of *Vili*, the Licentiate *Lope Garcia* of *Castro* being Gouernour. *Vili* is in the Prouinces of *Bunigando*, *Imdiuono*, and *Gualapa*, which they call the *Prouince of the Emeralds*, and he went about it from *Guayaquil*, and discouered all these Prouinces from *Passao* vnto the Riuer of Saint *Iohn*, which entreth into the South Sea. *Castro.* *Vili.*

10 The Citie of *Puerto Viejo* is about eightie leagues from Saint *Francis* of *Quito* to the West, though not of open way, and other fiftie from Saint *Iames* of *Guayaquil*, whereby yee goe from *Quito*: in her borders stands the *Passao*, which is the first Port of the countrie of *Piru*, and from it, and from the Riuer of Saint *Iames*, began the gouernment of the Marques *Don Francisco Picarro*: and because this countrie is so neighbour to the Equinoctiall line, that it stands in one degree; some beleeue it is vnwholsome, but in other parts as neere the Line men liue with much health, plentie and abundance of all things for the sustenance of man, against the opinion of the ancient: and so it is that the *Indians* of this countrie doe not liue long, and in many of them there breede certaine red warts in the foreheads and noses, and other parts, which beside the disease being grieuous, it disfigureth them very much, and it is beleeued that it proceedeth of eating some filth. * Or old Port.

20 In these bounds stands the towne of *Manta*, whither great riches haue beene brought from within the Land; and it is held for certaine, that here is a Myne of Emeralds, which are the best of the *Indies*, and they grow in a stone like Cristall, and they making like a veine, and by little and little congealing and refining themselues, and of halfe white and halfe greene, they goe ripening and recouering their perfection. The Captaine *Franciscus Pacheco* peopled this citie 1535. by order of *Don Iames de Almagro*: it hath many *Indians* in warre: there is in it a Monasterie of *Mercenarie* Friars, they gather no Wheat, for it rayneth the eight moneths in the yeere from October forward, and there are many good showes of gold. *Manta.* How the Emeralds do grow.

In the coast of this Gouernment are the Ports, Ilands, and Points following. The [c] *Ancon* of [d] *Sardinas*, before the Bay of Saint *Iames*, which is fifteene leagues from the Point of *Manglares* to the South, and then the Bay of Saint *Matthew*, and after the Cape of Saint *Francis*; and past it *Quixmies*, foure Riuers before *Portete*, where the blacke *Moores* that saued themselues of a ship that was cast away, ioyned with the *Indians*, and haue made a towne; the *Passao*, a Point or Port of *Indians*, where they say the Equinoctiall line passeth, neere the Mountaine of *Quenque*, and the Bay of *Carta* which is before old Port, one degree from the Equinoctiall to the South, and fiue leagues from thence the Cape of Saint *Laurence*; and neere from thence the Iland of *Plate*, and forward the Ports of *Calle*, and *Calango*, before the Point of Saint *Helen*, in two degrees hight; the Riuer of *Tumbez* in foure degrees, and the Iland of the *Puna* neere vnto it, and the Iland of *Sancta Clara* somewhat more to the Sea, and *Cabo blanco* fifteene leagues from *Tumbez* to the South, and then the Point of *Parina*, and to the South the Iland of [e] *Lobos*, foure leagues from the Port of *Puyta* abouesaid, and *la Silla*, before the Point *del Aguia*, and the Port of *Tangora*. Ports & Points of the coast of this gouernment. c Or Nooke. d Or Pilchers. e Or white Cape. f Or woolues.

The men of this countrie say, that in old time there came by Sea in Balsas (which are many pieces of timber fastened one vpon another) men so bigge that had as much from the knee downward, as an ordinarie man in all his body, and that they made certaine Wells most deepe in a quicke Rocke, which at this day are seene very fresh and cold in the Point of Saint *Helen*, and that because that they vsed most abominable sinnes, fire fell from heauen and consumed them all, and now are found in that situation exceeding great bones of men, and pieces of teeth of fourteene ounces weight, and in *New Spaine* in the bounds of *Tlascala*, are bones found of the like bignesse. There are in this Point of Saint *Helen*, eyes and veine of Tarre, so perfect that they might calke with it, and it commeth out very hot. The Giants of the Point of *Santa Helena*.

Chap. 18.

Of *Popayan*, *Quixos*, *Caneid*, *Pacamoros*, and *Gualsongo*, which are the rest of the bounds of the Councell of *Quito*.

THe gouernment of *Popayan* one hundred and twentie leagues North and South, from the confines of the Prouince of *Quito*, vnder the Equinoctiall vnto the confines of *Cartagena* by the North, and another one hundred from the confines of new *Realme* by the East vnto the South Sea, wherein are some *Spanish* townes, part of the Councell of *Quito*, and part of the new *Realme*. The countrie is commonly rough and very raynie, and therefore they haue little Millet, and lesse Wheat, and no store of Cattell, but it is rich of Mynes of gold, and the Townes are these following.

The Citie of *Popayan*

The citie of *Popayan* stands in two degrees and a halfe to the Septentrionall part of the Equinoctiall, and 78. and a halfe of longitude, one thousand fiue hundred and eightie leagues from *Toledo*: in it is resident a Lieftenant Gouernour, the Cathedrall, and one Monasterie of *Mercenarie* Friars. The President *Sebastian* of *Belalcazar* peopled this citie 1537. the people of these Prouinces are farre different from that of *Piru*, for these are of greater vnderstanding, and liued in more policie: the men of this gouernment liued as in liberties. It was called *Popayan*, of the name of

the

the *Cazique* Lord of it: it hath part in the coast of the South Sea, and high Mountaines that goe Eastward: and on another side the *Row* of the *Andes*, and on both sides spring many Riuers, and the Riuer of the *Magdalene* is one, which runneth into the North Sea: in this gouernment are many coole and wholesome townes, and others hot and sickly.

Cali. The Citie of *Cali* stands in foure degrees, and two and twentie leagues from *Popayan*, and eight and twentie from the South Sea, it was inhabited 1537. by the Captaine *Michael Munioz*; and *Sebastian* of *Belalcazar* made it first in the townes which are called the * *Gorrones*; it hath the seate in a plaine Valley, leaning to the foot of a Hill, the temper is hot, the Gouernour, the Officers, and the Kings treasure are resident in it; a melting house, a Monasterie of *Mercenaries*, another of *Augustine* Friars. The Port of *Bonauenture* falleth in his iurisdiction in three degrees and a halfe of altitude: in it are some households resident for to receiue the merchandize. The *Indians* of *Cali* are of a good condition, and good Christians, their old Lord was called *Lisupete*.

* Or great Cappes.

Antiochia The village of Saint *Fe* of *Antiochia*, is more then an hundred leagues from *Popayan* to the north-east, in the borders of the Riuer *Cauca*, of the bounds of the Councell of the *New Realme*, and Bishopricke of *Popayan*, rich in Mynes of gold, neere to the Hill of *Buritaca* famous for the much gold that was in it; it is seated in certaine Plaines. The countrie people are good folkes, well made and white, and the temperature is such that they goe to sleepe on the houses, without any offence of the deaw: they breede much Cattell, many fruits, and fish in the Riuers and Plashes: the Captaine *Gaspar* of *Rhodes* inhabited it by commission of the President *Belalcazar*, the yeere 1541.

Caramanta. The Village of *Caramanta* is sixtie or seuentie leagues from *Popayan* to the North-east, neere to the great Riuer *Cauca*, of the bounds of the *New Realme*, gouernment and Bishopricke of *Popayan*, plentifull of Millet and other seedes, without Wheat, and with little Cattell, though they haue many Swine, they goe by the Riuer in fiue or sixe houres to *Antiochia*, though it bee fiftie leagues; for it runneth very swift: it is the plantation of the President *Belalcazar*.

Arma. The village of Saint *Iames* of *Arma*, which hath many Mynes of gold, is fiftie leagues from *Popayan* to the North-east, declining to the East, it is of the *Councell of the new Realme*, the gouernment and Dioceese of *Popayan*; without Wheat or seedes of *Castile*, but plentifull of the countrie seedes. The President *Belalcazar* inhabited this village, and here hee beheaded the Marshall *George Robledo*.

Canibals. Inhumanitie of the *Indians* of the borders of *Arma.* It stands sixteene leagues from *Ancerma*: the people of the countrie are so butcherly that the quicke are the sepulchre of the dead, for it hath beene seene the husband to eate the wife, the brother the brother or sister, the sonne the father, and hauing fatned any captiue, the day that they are to eate him, they bring him forth with many songs, and the Lord commandeth that an *Indian* doe goe cutting off euery member, and so aliue they goe eating him, and after the inhabiting of *Arma* they haue eaten more then eight thousand *Indians*, and some *Spaniards* haue also suffered this martyrdome.

Ancerma. The village of Saint *Anne* of *Ancerma* is fiftie leagues from *Popayan* to the North-east, in the border of *Cauca*, of the *Councell of the new Kingdome*, gouernment and Bishopricke of *Popayan*, without Cattell or Wheat, very much annoyed with thunder-bolts: the Captaine *George Robledo* built it by order of *Laurence* of *Aldana*. Likewise the men of this countrie are eaters of humane flesh; they goe naked, they haue no Idols, nor any thing to worship: there are in this iurisdiction good Mynes of gold; the climate is hot, and many thunder-bolts doe fall.

Cartago. The citie of *Cartago*, fiue and twentie leagues from *Popayan* about the North-east, is of the Councell of the *New Realme*, Gouernment and Bishoprick of *Popayan*, without Wheat or any seedes of *Castile*: it is a temperate and wholesome countrie, of little gold, it rayneth much, they breede no other cattell but Kine, and Mares: they haue many Mountaines, in the which breede many Lions, Tigres, Beares, and * Dantas, and wilde Boares: they haue a Monasterie of *Franciscan* Friars: the Captaine *George Robledo* inhabited it, and it was called *Cartaga*, becaus all the inhabiters were of *Cartagena*.

* Or Buffes.

Timana. The village of *Timana* is fortie leagues from *Popayan* to the South-east, and sixtie from *Santa Fè* of *Bogota*, and thirtie from the Prouinces of *Dorado*; here is a Lieftenant of the Gouernour, which also hath at his charge Saint *Sebastian de la Plata*: the *Indians* of their borders doe decay, for they are so inhumane that in many places they haue publike shambles of men which they take captiue. They haue their seate in the beginning of the Valley of *Neyua*, the temper is most hot: in their bounds is a Mountaine where they digge the Load-stone, and the *Indian Paezes* are neere, and the *Pixaos*, which also are * *Caribes*.

Inhumanitie of these *Indians.*

Where the Load-stone is found.

The Citie of *Guadalaiara* of *Buga*, is fifteene leagues from *Popayan* to the North-east, is of the bounds of the Councell of *Quito*, and Dioceese of *Popayan*. The Citie of Saint *Sebastian* of the *Plate*, in the confines of this Gouernment is thirtie fiue leagues from *Popayan*, and thirtie to the South-west from *Santa Fe*, Dioceese of *Popayan*, where are many Mynes of siluer, and in her borders twentie foure repartitions: it is three leagues from the Port of *Onda*, in the great Riuer of *Magdalen*, where those that come vp from *Cartagena* doe land: it is built in a Plaine, neere to the Riuer *Guala*: there are many Earthquakes, and in Winter it is more hot then cold. The Country-men goe to decay, because the ° *Caribes* which they call *del Rincon* do eate them and haue publike shambles of them, without any remedie for it: and the President *Belalcazar* built this Citie.

* Or eaters of humane flesh.

Buga.

Saint *Sebastian* of the *Plate.*

° Or *Canibals.*

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The Citie of *Almaguer* is twentie leagues from *Popayan* to the South-east; it is plentifull of Wheate and Millet, and other ſeeds, and cattle, and it hath Gold: the Captaine *Alonſo* of *Fuenmayor*, by order of the Licentiate *Briceuyo* Gouernour, and [d] *Iudge of Accounts*, of *Popayan* peopled it, being ſeated in a Hill of *Zabana*, and the climate is freſh, and the people doe weare Cotton-cloth. *Almaguer.* [d] *Hiſp.* Iudge of *Reſidencia.*

S. *Iohn of Truxillo*, and by another name *Yſcauce* is thirtie leagues from *Popayan* to the South-east. The Citie of *Madrigall*, or *Chapanchica*, thirtie fiue from *Popayan* about the South, a rough Countrey, where they neither reape Wheate, nor breed cattell, though they gather Millet twice a yeere in their iuriſdiction: and for the roughneſſe of the Countrey, the men are euill to pacifie, and in this Citie, and in the Citie of *Agreda*, and *Almaguer*, are Mynes of Gold. *Agreda*, and by another name *Malga*, ſtands fortie fiue leagues from *Popayan* to the South-weſt. The Citie of Saint *Iohn of the Paſture*, ſo called becauſe it is a Countrey of many Paſtures, it ſtands fiftie leagues from *Popayan*, about the South-weſt, and as many from *Quito* about the North-east, and in one degree from the Equinoctiall Dioceſſe of *Quito*, in a good ſoyle, of a good climate, and plentifull of Millet, and other prouiſions, with Mynes of Gold; In her borders are 24000. *Indians* of fee, which are not *Caniballs*, but of euill viſages, filthy, and ſimple: they had no Idols in the time of their Paganiſme, they beleeued that after death they ſhould goe to liue in more ioyfull places. The Riuer which they call Whoate, is betweene *Paſto*, and *Popayan*, it is of a very delicate water, and paſſed this Riuer is the Mountayne whither *Gonçalo Piçarro* did follow the Vice-roy *Blaſco Nunyez Vela*, and vnto the Riuer *Augaſmayo*, which is in this Prouince came the King *Guaynacapa*. *Truxillo.* Agreda. Saint *Iohn de Paſtor.* Religion.

Beyond the Riuer *Caliente* or hot Riuer in a Mountayne, is a *firie mouth*, that caſteth ſtore of ſmoake, and it brake forth in ancient times, as the Countreymen doe ſay. The Philoſophers being willing to declare what theſe firie mouthes or *Ætnaes* are, doe ſay, that as in the Earth are places, that haue vertue to attract a vaporie ſubſtance, and to conuert it into water, whereof the continuall ſprings are made: there are alſo places that doe attract to themſelues dry and hote exhalations, which are conuerted into fire and ſmoake, and with the force of them they caſt alſo another groſſe ſubſtance, which is diſſolued into aſhes, or into ſtones, and theſe are the fierie mouthes. Saint *Iohn de Paſto* hath Monaſteries of *Dominicke*, *Franciſcan*, and *Mercenarie* Friers: it is a cold Countrey, with abundance of victuals, it hath Sugar Mils, and many Fruites of the Countrey and of *Caſtile*: when the Captaine *Lawrence of Aldona* built it, hee called it [e] *Villa vicioſa de Paſto*, it ſtands fortie leagues from the South Sea, towards the Iland *Gorgona*. What the *Ætnaes* are, and whereof they proceede. [e] Or the ranke Village of Paſture.

There hath beene diſinhabited, or diminiſhed in this Prouince, the Citie of *Antiochia*, the Village of *Neyua* in the Valley of *Neyua*, twentie leagues from *Tumaina*, and it was through the rigour of the *Indian Paezes*, and *Pixaos*, and for the *Manipos*, in the Valley of *Saldanya*, and the Citie of Saint *Vincent* of the *Paezes*, ſixtie leagues from Saint *Iohn of the Plaines*, in the confines of *Popayan*, which *Domingos Lozano* built, and the Citie of *los Angelos*, twentie two leagues from *Tocayma*, and nine from *Neyua*. There is in the Coaſt which this gouernment extendeth on the South Sea, from the *Cape of Corrientes*, that ſtands in fiue degrees Septentrionall from the Line, the Riuer of *Solimas*, betweene the *Cape of Corrientes* and the Iland *of the Palmes* in foure degrees one third part, and in the Coaſt that lyeth vnto *Gorgona*, the Riuer of Saint *Iohn* among many other which make the Countrey boggie, and right againſt the mouth, the Iland of *Gorgona*, two leagues compaſſe, where *Don Franciſcus Piçarro* was forſaken of all his men, with his thirteene companions. The Riuer of Saint *Lucar*, and the Riuer of *Nicardo*, before the Riuer of [f] *Zedros*, in two degrees from the Line, in which ſtands the Ile *del Gallo*, and after the Port *of the Croſſe*, and the point of *Manglares*, where beginneth the Coaſt of *Quito*. Neyua. Saint *Vincent.* The Angels. Riuers, Capes, and Points of the Coaſt of this gouernment. [f] Or Cedars.

Of the gouernment of the *Quixos*, and *Canela*, there is no more notice, but that it falls to the Eaſt of the Prouince of *Quito*, and part of the South, toward the gouernment of *Iohn of Salinas*; there are in it three *Spaniſh* Townes, with a Gouernour which the Vice-roy of *Piru* prouideth, and in ſpirituall reſpect it is of the Biſhopricke of *Quito*: the Countrey is rough and Mountaynous, without Wheate, and little Miller, with certayne Trees which ſeeme of Cinnamon. The firſt Towne is *Baeça*, eighteene leagues from Saint *Francis of Iuito*, toward the South-eaſt, where the Gouernour is Reſident: the Citie of *Archidona* is twentie leagues beyond *Baeça*: the Citie of *Auila* ſtands to the North of *Archidona*.

The gouernment and Prouince of *Pacamoros* and *Gualſango*, or of *Iohn* of *Salinas* whoſe bounds and limits are one hundred leagues, which were aſſigned him to the Eaſt, from twentie leagues before the Citie of *Zamora*, in the *Rowe* of the *Andes*, and as many more North and South. It is a good Countrey in temper and diſpoſition for Wheate, ſeeds, and cattle, of rich Mynes of Gold where they haue pieces of great bigneſſe: there are in it foure Townes of the Biſhopricke of *Quito*, for the Captaine *Iohn of Salinas* did build them. The Citie of *Valladolid* is in ſeuen degrees height, twentie leagues from *Loxa* to the South-eaſt, hauing paſt the *Rowe* of *Piru*, the Citie of *Loyola*, or *Cumbinamia* is ſixteene leagues to the Eaſt from *Valladolid*: the Citie of Saint *Iames* of the Mountaynes, fiftie leagues from *Loyola*, toward the Eaſt, and in her borders much gold, and very high in touch, and as touching the gold we need not intreat of his excellencies, being *Pacamoros* and *Gualſango.*

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In how many sorts the gold is gotten out in *Piru*, and other places.

being holden for the Supreame power in the World. It is gotten in these Mynes in three manners: The first is in *Pippens*, which are whole pieces without mixture of any other Metall, that need not to be purified by fire, and these graines commonly are like a Pompeon Seed, and sometimes bigger: of this gold is found but litle, in respect of the rest. The second sort is in *stone*, which is a vaine that groweth in the stone it selfe, and these stones are found in the gouernment of *Iohn* of *Salinas* very great, all passed through with gold, and some which are halfe Gold, the which is found in Pits and Mynes, and it is hard to worke. The third, is gotten in *powder*, and is the greatest quantitie, and this is found in Riuers, or in places where some streame of water hath passed, and the Riuers of these *Indies* haue many, especially in the Kingdoms of *Chile*, *Quito*, *New Realme of Granada*, and in the beginning of the Discoueries, there were many in the *Weather Ilands*. The highest in touch is that of *Carabaya* in the *Piru*, and that of *Valdiuia* in *Chile*; for it reacheth to twentie three Charracts and an halfe, and yet it passeth.

Barleuento.

Chap. 19. Of the bounds of the Councel or Audience of *The Kings*, or *los Reyes.*

THat which is called *Piru*, is proper and particularly the bounds of the Councell of *los Reyes*, and is comprehended North and South, from sixe vnto seuen Southerne degrees of altitude, which are two hundred and twentie leagues, though in Voyage they put three hundred from the point *del Aguia*, beyond *Payta*, whereby it ioyneth with the Councell of *Quito*, till passing the Citie and Port of *Arequipa*, where beginneth the Councell of the *Charcas*, East and West. The inhabited part of this Councell hath about one hundred leagues from the Coast of the South Sea toward the East, whereby her bounds remayne open vnto the Prouinces of the Riuer of *Plate*, and of *Brasil*, that which is from the *Rowe*, where, as hath beene said, it rayneth continually, vnto the Sea, they call the *Plaines of Piru*, in the which it neither rayneth nor thundreth, because the great height of the Mountain doth shelter the Plaines in such sort, that it permitteth no wind from the Earth to blow, whereby the Sea wind reigneth, which hauing no contrary doth not represse the vapours that doe arise to make raine, in sort that the shelter of the Hill hindereth the thickning of the vapours: and this want of matter causeth that in that Coast the vapours are so thinne, that they make no more then a moyst or dankish mist, which is profitable for their sowings, which haue not without the [h] mist so much vertue, be they neuer so much watered. The Countrey is all sandie grounds, except the Valleyes which are made by courses of the Riuers, that descend from the Mountayne, where much Corne is gathered by the waterings, Wine, Oyle, Sugar, and the other Seeds, and Fruits, of *Castile*, and of the Countrey. In the skirts and hils sides of the Mountayne, are great Pastures and breedings of cattell, and the temper variable, and as would be desired; for the height is cold, and the low hot, and the middlemost partakers of the extreames, as they are more or lesse neere them. The gouernment of this Councell, and of *Quito*, and of the *Charcas*, is in the charge of the Vice-roy, and there are the Townes following in the circuit of this Councell.

Mountaines cause that it rayneth not in the *Playnes* of *Piru*.

h Some are of opinion that all plants and trees are nourished by vapours: yea that the vapours of the bloud nourish liuing Creatures. So *Gen.* 2. a mist in Paradise, &c. The Sunne as Head of the World, the Hart as Sunne in the Body, causeth nourishment by vapours.

The Citie of the Kings (or of *Lima*, because the Valley is so called, which was the name of the *Cazique*, and it is the greatest and broadest Valley, of all those that are from *Tumbez* vnto it) stands neere the South Sea, in twelue degrees of Southerne altitude, and eightie two from the Meridian of *Toledo*, distant from it about one thousand eight hundred and twentie leagues by a greater circle: it hath aboue three thousand households: the Marques *Don Franciscus Picarro* built it, in the beginning of the yeere 1533. because suspecting that the President *Don Peter* of *Aluarado* would come downe to the Sea coast, when hee went with an Host from *Guatemala* meanewhile that *Don Iames* of *Aluarado* went to resist him to the Prouinces of *Quito*, hee went to intercept him the passages of the Sea. Neere this citie, on the East side, passeth a Riuer from whence all the houses doe take water, and their gardens, wherein are excellent fruits of *Castile* and of the Countrie, and it is one of the best Climates of the World, seeing there is neither famine nor pestilence; nor doth it rayne or thunder, nor fall there any thunder-bolts or lightnings, but the Heauen is alwayes cleere and very faire.

The Citie of *The Kings*, or *los Reyes.*

In this Citie is resident the Vice-roy, the Royall Councell, an assembly of chiefe Iustices, the Officers of the Kings Rents, and treasurie Royall, the Tribunall of the holy and generall Inquisition, which was founded when the Inquisition of *New Spaine* was. The Inquisitor generall in these Kingdomes was then the Cardinall *Don Iames* of *Espinosa* Bishop of *Siguença*, it hauing proceeded with mature deliberation, for the augmenting of our holy Catholike Faith, and Christian Religion. There is also in this Citie an Vniuersitie, where very learnedly the Sciences are read, and Schooles of diuers languages of the *Indians*, in the which the Fathers of the Companie of Iesus are very diligent, to reape fruit in the preaching of the Gospell. In this Citie is the Archepiscopall resident, whose Suffraganes are the Bishops of *Chile*, *Charcas*, *Cuzco*, *Quito*, *Panama*, *Nicaragua*, and the *Riuer of Plate*. There are three Parishes, and fiue Monasteries of the foure Orders, and of the Companie of Iesus, and two of Nunnes. *Callao* which is her Port, is two leagues from it, great, capable, and very good, where are store of houses, one of Iustice, a custome House, one Church, and one Monasterie of *Dominicke Friars*: here hath beene seeene the Wine and the Water set to coole in the Sea in flaggons, whence it is inferred that the Ocean hath the vertue to temper and refresh the ouer-much heate. Many doe affirme that in this Citie are twelue

Such holinesse of faith, such meanes to establish it, forcegluing lips and Lettice together, as *Acosta* complayneth. Vniuersitie and Iesuites. Sea cooleth.

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twelue thousand Women of all Nations, and twentie thousand blacke-*Moores*. Women and Negros.

The Village of *Arnedo* in the Valley of *Chancai*, is ten leagues from *The Kings*, and halfe a league from the Sea, with a Monasterie of *Dominicke* Friars, rich of Vines: the Earle of *Nieua* built it. The Village of the * *Parrilla*, or *Santa*, is by the Valley where it stands, fiftie fiue leagues from *The Kings*, and fifteene from *Truxillo* neere the Sea, neere to a great and faire Riuer, with a good Hauen, in nine degrees, where the ships that saile by the coast of *Piru* doe touch. The Citie of *Truxillo* is in the Valley of *Chimo*, which *Don Iames* of *Almagro* plotted first, and afterward the Marques *Don Franciscus Piçarro* built it in the yeere 1533. It hath many Vines and fruits of *Castile*, and Wheat: it is all watered ground, and a wholesome Countrie, and there bee great Orchards of Oranges, and breeding of Poultrie. It stands in seuen degrees and a halfe, eightie leagues from *Lima* neere the Sea, with Monasteries of Saint *Dominicke*, Saint *Francis*, and Saint *Augustine*, and another of the *Mercenaries*, and Officers Royall, prouided by the Vice-roy: and in her bounds about fiftie thousand tributarie *Indians*, in two and fortie repartitions. The Port is two leagues off in an open Bay, euill, and of little securitie. The Village of *Miraflores* is in the Valley of *Zana*, ninetie fiue leagues from the Citie of *The Kings* to the North side, and neere to the Sea. The Citie of *Chachapoyas*, or Saint *Iohn* of the Frontier, is aboue one hundred and twentie leagues from the Citie of *The Kings* to the North-east, it hath one Monasterie of the *Mercenaries*, and another of the *Franciscans*: in her bounds are Wheat, Millet, and Flaxe, many Mynes of gold, and more then twentie thousand tributarie *Indians*, which held out valorously a long time against the *Ingas*, but in the end they were ouer-come, and for greater quietnesse of the Countrie they carried many of them vnto *Cuzco*, and they inhabited in a Hill which is called *Carmenga*. These are the whitest and best fauoured *Indians* of all the *Indies*, and the Women very faire. The Marshall *Alfonsus* of *Aluarado*, entred in this Prouince the yeere 1536. by order of the Marques *Don Francisco Piçarro*, and pacified it, and built the said Citie in a strong situation called *Leuanto*, and afterward he passed to the Prouince of the *Guancas*.

* Or *Gridiron*.

Truxillo.

Miraflores.

Chachapoyas.

Faire *Indians.*

The Citie of Saint *Iames* of the Valleys, or *Moyobamba*, more then one hundred leagues from *The Kings* North-eastward, and fiue and twentie from Saint *Iohn* of the Frontier, stands in a very rayne soile, and plentifull of Cattell: The Citie of *Lion* of the *Guanuco*, fiftie leagues from the Citie of *The Kings* to the North, neere the high-way of the *Ingas*, somwhat distant towards the East, hath Monasteries of *Dominicans*, *Franciscans*, and *Mercenaries*, and in her bounds thirtie thousand tributarie *Indians*, *Anno* 1539. for the warre that the Tyrant *Ylotopa* made to this Prouince, the Marques *Don Franciscus Piçarro* sent Captaine *Gomez* of *Aluarado* which built it, and afterward it was disinhabited, and *Peter Barroso* reedified it, and after the battell of *Chupas* the Licentiate *Vaca de Castro*, sent Captaine *Pedro de Puelles* to make an end of the plantation. It stands in a good and wholesome situation; abundant of victuals and Cattell: it hath Mynes of siluer, and the people is of good capacitie. They reape much Wheat, for the *Indians* haue learned to be good husbandmen: for as before in these *Indies* there was no Wheat, nor Barley, nor Millet, nor Panick, nor any seede of the bread of *Castile* of *Europe*, and they knew other kindes of Graine and Rootes, only of the which Mayz or Millet was the principall, being found in all the *Indies*; the Countrimen haue since delighted much in it, and haue receiued it well in those places where it is gathered, because the Mayz is not so strong nor of so much substance as the Wheat: it is fatter, and hot, and engendreth bloud, it groweth in Canes, and beareth one or two bunches, and some *Spaniards* doe eate it where they haue no other shift.

Saint *Iames* of the Valleys.

Lion of *Guanuco.*

Qualities of the Millet.

The Citie of *Guamanga*, or Saint *Iuan* of the Victorie, sixtie leagues from *Lima* to the South-east, in the way of the *Ingas*, Bishoprick of *Cuzco*, hath Monasteries of *Dominicans*, *Franciscans*, and *Mercenaries*, and one of Nunnes, and in her bounds more then thirtie thousand tributarie *Indians*: it is plentifull of Wheate and Wine, and rich of siluer Mynes. The Marques *Don Franciscus Piçarro* built this Citie 1539. and placed it the first time in a towne of *Indians* called *Guamanga*, neere to the great *Row* of the *Andes*, and left for his Lieftenant the Captaine *Francisco de Cardenyas*. Afterward it was remoued to the Playne where now it is, neere to certaine small Hills on the South side, and nigh to a Brooke of good water. In this Citie are the best houses in *Piru*, of stone and bricke; the seate is healthfull, without offence of the Sunne, the Aire, the Deaw, or the Moisture, or the Heate. There are found in her borders certaine great buildings (which the *Indians* say certaine white men with beards, which came thither before the *Ingas*, did build) much differing from the building of the *Ingas*: the most of the Countrimen of this Countrie are *Mitmaes*, which is to say, *Transplanted*; for the *Ingas* did vse for the greater securitie of the Empire, to take from one Prouince the people they did not trust, and send them to liue in another.

Guamanga.

Great buildings.

Transplanting as of *Egyptians* *Gen.* 43. 24. the *Israelites*, 2. *Reg.* 17. *Iewes* to *Bab.* &c.

Guamanga is sixtie leagues from *Cuzco*, and in the way are the Hills and Playne of *Chupas*, where *Vaca de Castro*, and *Don Iames de Almagro* the yonger did fight; and forward are the buildings of *Vilcas*, in the high way in *Andahaylas*, eleuen leagues from *Guamanga*, which was the centre of the *Ingas*; and here was the great Temple of the Sunne. The Prouince of the *Andahaylas* is long and hath much tame Cattell, and victuals; from thence they come to the Riuer of *Abancay*, nine leagues neerer *Cuzco*, where the President *Don Iames* of *Almagro* the elder ouer-

Temple of the Sunne.

threw

threw and apprehended *Alfonso* of *Aluarado*, Generall of the Marques *Don Francisco Picarro*. There followeth the Riuer of *Apurima*, eight leagues from *Passado*, or the *Passage*, which is very great; and then the Hill of *Vilcaconga*, where the said Presidente *Almagro* ouer-came a great battell of the *Indians*, before he won *Cuzco*, and the Valley of *Xaquixaguana* is neere betweene two rowes of Hills, not broad nor long, where the Presidente *Pedro la Gasca*, by the vertue of those valiant and faithfull Captaines *Tuojosa*, *Peter* of *Valdibia*, *Gabriel* of *Rojas*, *Alfonsus* of *Aluarado*, and others (of the which in their place shall be made mention particularly) did ouer-throw *Gonçalo Picarro*, and tooke him: and from this Valley to the Citie of *Cuzco* are fiue leagues: and in this Valley they gather great store of Wheat, and haue great store of Cattell.

Chap. 20. Of that which remayneth of the Councell of the Kings.

EIght or ten leagues from the Citie of *Guamanga*, some what North-westward, are the Mynes of *Guancabelica*, which they call *El Assiento de Gropesa*, where ordinarily are resident more then three hundred *Spaniards*. The *Indians* did worke in them to take out the red Oaker, to paint themselues when in the time of their Paganisme they went to warre, which is the Vermillion: and the Licenciate *Lope Garcia* of *Castro*, gouerning in *Piru* in the yeere 1566. a *Portugall* called *Henrie Garces*, considering that of the Vermillion the quick-siluer is gotten, went to make a triall, and found it to be so. This metall the *Romanes* carried from *Castile* in stone, and out of it they got quick-siluer, and held it for great riches. The *Indians* knew it not, nor minded any more then the vermilion. The greatest profit it yeeldeth, is to purifie the siluer from the earth,

Profit of quick siluer.

Lead, and Copper, wherewith it groweth: it eateth all the other metals, and pierceth them as the Tin, Iron, and Lead, and therefore they carry it in leather, or vessels of earth. Quick-siluer serueth also for other effects, and medicinall matters.

Spring turning into stone, and killing.

In this seat of *Guania Velica* is a spring, that as it springeth it congealeth in a soft stone; of the which they make their houses, and the Men or Beasts that doe drinke it, die: for within the body it conuerteth into a stone. In the Bathes that are called of *Inga* neere the *Cuzco*, are

Hot and cold Bathes.

two spouts of water the one neere the other, the first is hot, and the second cold, that it seemeth God did place them there for to temper themselues. In the same bounds is a Spring, that

Salt spring.

as it springeth it becomes good and white salt: in this place the two great *Rowes* doe begin to

Cordilleras or rowes diuided.

separate themselues, and make in the middest a great Champaine ground, which is called the

Collao.

Prouince of *Collao*, where are very many Riuers, and there is the great Lake of *Titicaca*, and great pasture grounds. Though it be a plaine Countrie, it hath the same height and distemperature of the Hills; it hath no Trees, nor Wood; the bread that is eaten are rootes that are called *Papas*, which grow also in all *Piru*; it is a healthfull Countrie, and much inhabited, and multiplieth euery day; it hath store of Cattell of all sorts.

The Lake *Titicaca.*

The Lake of *Titicaca* compasseth eightie leagues, and in some places it hath eightie fathom deepe, and in this, and in the waues are raysed when there is any winde, so that it seemeth as a Bay of the Sea, from which it stands about sixtie leagues, twelue or thirteene Riuers enter into it, and many Brookes, and from it goeth a Riuer into another Lake, which they call the *Aulagas*, which hath no voyding place, though because some *Eyes* of water haue beene seene that vnder ground goe into the Sea, it is iudged that it might bee the water of these Lakes did goe, opening a way through the entrailes of the Earth vnto the Sea. Round about the great Lake are many Townes, and in it great Ilands, with great Tillage in them, and there were the *Indians* wont to keepe their most precious things for greater securitie.

Cuzco.

The great Citie of *Cuzco*, Seate Royall of the *Ingas*, and Head of their Empire (and now of the Kingdomes of *Piru*, by a Title which it hath of it from the Kings of *Castile* and *Lion*) stands in thirteene degrees and a halfe height, seuentie eight of longitude, one hundred and fiue and twentie leagues from the Citie of *The Kings* to the South-east, of more then one thousand *Spanish* housholds; the Marques *Don Francisco Picarro* founded it. It hath eight Parishes, and foure Monasteries of the foure Orders, of Saint *Dominicke*, Saint *Francis*, Saint *Augustine*, the *Mercenaries*, and the Companie of Iesus, and one of Nunnes. Heere is resident the Cathedrall, Suffragane to the Archbishoprick of *The Kings*. There goe from this Citie since the

Foure high wayes most admired.

time of the *Ingas* from the Market place foure high wayes towards the foure parts of the world; one called *Chinchasuyo* to the North, toward the Playnes and Prouince of *Quito*: another *Condesuyo*, to the West toward the Sea: the third called *Collaosuyo*, to the South and *Chile*: and the fourth to the East, which they call *Andesuyo*, which goeth to the *Andes* and skirts of the Mountaine. It stands in a soile of a good temper, moderately fresh and healthfull, free

No venemous wormes.

from all venemous wormes, and plentifull of all things, with a thousand kindes of fruits of *Castile*, and smelling herbes and flowres at all times which are of great delight. In her iurisdiction is the Valley of *Toyma*: there is great trafficke of Coca, and showes of Gold, Siluer, and Quick-siluer; and there may bee in her borders about an hundred thousand tributarie *Indians*. In all the parts of these *Indies* the *Indians* haue a great delight in carrying ordinarily in the mouth Rootes, Boughes, or Herbes, and that which they most vse in all *Piru*, is the

Coca a tree.

Coca, for as they say, they feele little hunger, and finde themselues with great vigour

chewing

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chewing it alwaies, though it rather seemeth a custome inherited, or a vice. This is planted, and groweth to small trees, which are cultivated and cherished, and yeeld a leafe like myrtle, and dried they carry it in baskets to sell, and much mony is gotten by it.

In the Valley of *Vilcabamba*, stands Saint *Francis of the victorie* in *Andesuyo*, between the *Row* of the *Andes*, about twentie leagues from *Cuzco* to the East side, with a Gouernour prouided by the Vice-roy: it is of the Bishopricke of *Cuzco*, in a rough ground, and of great Mountaines. Saint *Francis* of the victorie.

The village of Saint *Iohn del Oro*, is in the Prouince of *Carabaya* eightie leagues from *Cuzco* to the East South-east, and thirtie to the East from the Lake of *Collao*, and it is called *del Oro, of the Gold*, for the great store that is in her borders. The Citie of *Arequipa* is in sixteen degrees somewhat more, one hundred and thirtie leagues from the Citie of *The Kings*, almost to the South-east as the Coast runneth, and sixtie from the Citie of *Cuzco*, of the Bishopricke of *Cuzco*: it hath Monasteries of *Dominicks*, *Franciscans*, and *Mercenaries*; it hath fiftie thousand tributarie *Indians*, and is of most pleasant temperature to liue in of all places in *Piru*. They gather in her borders great store of Wine, and Wheat. The Port is at the entrie of the Riuer *Chile*, which passeth neere the Citie where the merchandize is vnladen. Saint *Iohn* of the Gold. *Arequipa*.

Arequipa stands in the Valley of *Quilca*, fourteene leagues from the Sea. In her iurisdiction is the Prouince of *Condesuyo*, the Townes of the *Hubinas*, *Gollaguas*, *Chiquiguanita*, and *Quimsfaca*; the Marques *Don Francisco Picarro* built it 1534. it is very subiect to earth-quakes as all these *Indies*, especially the Sea coasts. In the yeere 1582. there was an earth-quake that almost ruinated this Citie, and since there hath beene another, and a breaking out of a *fierie mouth*, whereof they tell strange things, in the yeere 1586. There was another in the Citie of *the Kings* the ninth of Iuly, which ran one hundred and seuentie leagues in length by the Sea side, and fiftie within the Land; it spoyled the Citie, indangered few people, because they went out into the fields, and a little after the earth-quake was past, the Sea went out of her bounds, and entred a great way within the Land fourteene fathom deepe. Such another earth-quake was in *Quito* the next yeere, in the Citie of *la Paz* in the yeere 1581. a great high Rocke fell which tooke vnder it a great many *Indian* witch trees, and the earth which fell did run one league and a halfe. In *Chile* was another great earth-quake that ouer-threw Mountaines and Valleys, stopped the Current of the Riuers, brought the Sea out of her limits the space of some leagues, cast downe whole Townes, and slue many men. The Philosophers say that the earth-quake proceedeth from the heate of the Sunne, and of other celestiall Bodies, which not onely doe draw the exhalation to themselues, and the vapour of the superficies of the earth, but that also which is in the bowels of it, which comming out engendreth windes and rayne; and if it happen that the earth is so close that the exhalation cannot come out any way, then it mooueth from one part to another through the pores of the earth, with great violence breaking forth, as the powder in a Myne, tearing with such a furious rage, that it quaketh the earth where it is, and openeth it selfe a way with great furie, and so much more furious it is, how much more the exhalation inclosed is greater. Earth-quakes in the *Indies* very terrible and strange. From whence the earth-quakes doe proceede.

The Village of Saint *Michael de la Ribera* is sixe leagues from the Sea, in the Valley of *Camana*, one hundred and thirteene leagues from *The Kings*, two and twentie from *Arequipa* to the part of the Equinoctiall, of the Bishopricke of *Cuzco*. The Village of *Valuerde* in the Valley of *Yca*, fiue and thirtie leagues from the Citie of *The Kings*, ten from the Port of *Saugalla*, is of the iurisdiction of *The Kings*, and of the Archbishopricke; her borders are plentifull of Wheat, Millet, and Fruits, and of much Wine. Saint *Michael* of the *Riber*. *Valuerde*.

The Village of *Caueta*, or of *Guarco*, by the Valley where it stands, is distant from *The Kings* fiue and twentie leagues to the South, one league and a halfe from the Sea: her bounds are plentifull of bread the best of this Kingdome, whence is carried great quantitie of meale to *Terra firme*. Before the comming to this Valley, are the Valleys of *Chilca*, and *Mala*; in the first it neuer rayneth, neither passeth any Fountaine nor Brooke through it, and they drinke of the Wells, and it is full of arable grounds, and fruits, which grow onely by the deaw of the Heauen. They catch many Pilchards in the Sea, and with euery graine of Millet they put into the hole where it is sowen one or two of the heads, and with that moysture it groweth well. In the Valley of *Mala*, *Don Iames* of *Almagro*, and *Don Francisco Picarro* being in quarrell, the father *Bonadilla* of the *Merced* or *Mercenarie* Order, as an Arbitrator resolued their differences; through this Valley passeth a great Riuer, which doth them great pleasure. Fiue leagues forward is the Riuer of *Guarco* in a Valley most plentifull in all things, where the Countrimen maintayned the warre foure yeeres against the *Ingas*, and to preserue it they caused to build a Citie, and called it *Cuzco*, and erected for the triumph of the victorie a great Fortresse on a Hill, that the waues of the Sea doe beate vpon the stayres. Sixe leagues from *Guarco* is the Valley of *Chincha*, famous, pleasant, and very plentifull, where a Monasterie of *Dominicke* Friars was built in stead of the Temple of the Sunne which the *Indians* had, with the Monasterie of the Virgins. Then followeth the Valley of *Yca*, which is no lesse, nor lesse plentifull, going out of the Valleys, and Riuers of the *Nasca*, and the principall is called *Caxamalca*, where excellent Wines are made. They goe from these Valleys to that of *Huaura*, where stands *Guaura*, *Camana*, and *Quilca*, which is the Port of the Citie of *Arequipa*, and forth are the Valleys of *Chule*, and *Tambo*. Fertilitie without raine. Pilchards. *Guaura*.

Tambopalla, and the *Deylo*, and them of *Tarapaca*, Riuers and plentifull, with good Mynes of siluer, and neere the Sea: the *Indians* of the Ilands of *The Seules* doe carry great store of Fowles dung for their grounds, wherewith of a barren, they make a plentifull ground.

Ports, Capes, and Points of these Bounds of the Counsel of *The Kings*.

There are in the coast of this Councel from the Point *del Agoia*, of *the Needle*, where it ioyneth with that of *Quito*, in sixe degrees of Southerne altitude, the Ilands and Ports following; two Ilands which they call *de Lobos* in seuen degrees, the one foure leagues from the Coast, and the other more to the Sea; and forward another called of Saint *Rocke* to the South-east, neere to *Pazcamayo*, and forward *Puerto de Mal Abrigo*, ten leagues before the Port of *Truxillo*, in seuen degrees and a halfe, and seuen leagues from the Port of *Guanape*; and of *Santa* in nine degrees, and fiue leagues from this to the South, *Porte Ferrol*; and sixe from it that of *Casma*; and afterward eight leagues the Port of *Guarmey* at the mouth of a Riuer; and the *Barrancas* twentie leagues to the South; and the Port of *Gaura* where is a very great Salt-pit; and after this the Iland of *Lima*, at the entrie of the Port of *Callao*; and twentie leagues to the South the Point of *Guarco*, and one Iland *de Lobos Marinos*, or *Seale fishes* neere to it, and the Point of *Chica* in fifteene degrees, and neere to the *Nasca*; and forward the Point of Saint *Laurence*, in the Valley of *Quilca*, and neere the Riuer of *Arequipa*, and the Creeke of *Chuliou*; and afterward the Riuer of *Nombre de Dios*, where the limits doe ioyne by the Coast of the Counsels of *The Kings*, and of *Charcas*.

Chap. 21. Of the Bounds of the Counsel or Audience of the *Plate*, or of *Charcas*.

THe bounds of the Counsell of *Charcas* (which passeth limits with that of *The Kings*, stands in twentie degrees and a halfe of Southerne altitude, by the Riuer of *Nombre de Dios*, and the beginning of the Lake of *Collao*) hath in length three hundred leagues vnto the Valley of *Copiapo*, beginning of the Prouince of *Chile* in eight and twentie degrees of height, though in voyage they are reckoned neere foure hundred leagues East and West, that which is betweene of the South Sea vnto the North Sea, or South which answereth to the Prouinces of the Riuer of *Plate*, which though it is not altogether discouered, it is vnderstood that by placing all the Countrie of this Counsell in such altitude, it is more cold then hot.

The Gouernment of this Counsell, is at the charge of the Vice-roy of *Piru*, as that of the Counsell of *Quito*, and of *The Kings*: there are two Gouernours, and two Bishopricks, that of *Charcas* and *Tucuman*. The Prouince of the *Charcas* (which commonly is named that which is from the bounds of the Counsell of *The Kings*, till they passe *Potosi*) hath in length North and South about one hundred and fiftie leagues, and as many East and West; a Countrie not very plentifull, though abundant of Cattell, especially in *Collao*, that is from the Lake of *Titicaca* vnto *Charcas*, where the Winter and Summer are contrarie to *Europe*: it is a plentifull Countrie of all Cattell, especially of sheepe, which are many, and of a very fine wooll.

In this Prouince are foure Townes of *Spaniards* of one Bishopricke, which are the Citie of the *Plate*, which the Captaine *Peranzures* inhabited, in the yeere 1583. by order of the Marques *Don Francisco Picarro*. It stands in seuentie two degrees of longitude from the Meridian of *Toledo*, from whence it may be distant by a greater circle one thousand seuen hundred and eightie leagues, and in nineteene degrees of latitude, one hundred seuentie fiue leagues from *Cuzco* to the South, or Antartick Pole within the Tropicks, in the vttermost of the Torrid Zone. There are in the borders of this Citie in *Chacaras* (which are manured grounds) eight hundred *Spanish* housholds. It is a Countrie extreme cold, whereas it should be temperate or hot, according to the height of the Pole ie stands in: the Counsell and the Cathedrall is resident in this Citie, and there are Monasteries of *Dominicks*, *Franciscans*, *Augustines*, and *Merciemarie* Friars, and in her iurisdiction sixtie thousand tributarie *Indians*, diuided in nine and twentie repartitions, and the feedes of *Castile* doe grow well, and there are many rich mynes of siluer.

Heredades de grangerias.

Our Lady of the Peace.

The Citie of our *Lady of the Peace*, by another name the *New Towne*, and *Chuquiabo*, in the middest of the *Collao*, one hundred leagues from *Cuzco*, and eightie from the *Plate*, hath Monasteries of *Franciscans*, *Augustines*, and *Merciemaries*, with store of Wines and Cattell. Captaine *Alfonsus* of *Mendoça* built it 1548. when was President the Gouernour of *Piru*, the Licenciate *Pedro de la Gasca*, afterward Bishop of *Siguença*. The Prouince of *Chicuito* in *Collao*, somewhat North-east from the Prouince of *Plata*, more then an hundred leagues from it, inhabited by *Indians*, with a *Spanish* Gouernour, of the Bishopricke of *Charcas*, and one Monasterie of *Dominicks*, hath much Cattell, and it stands at the border of *Titicaca*.

Chicuito.

Oropesa.

Oropesa, is a plantation of the Vice-roy *Don Francisco de Toledo*, in the Valley of *Cochabamba*, twentie leagues from the Citie of *la Plata*; their husbandrie is crops of Wheat, Millet, and Cattell.

Potosi.

The Imperiall Towne of *Potosi* is in nineteene degrees of altitude, eighteene leagues from the Citie of the *Plate*, and about eight from the Lake of the *Aulagas* to the East, in the skirt of the Hill of *Potosi*, that looketh to the North-east; it hath fiue hundred housholds of *Spaniards* which doe attend the mynes, and of Merchants, and about 50000. *Indians* of ordinarie goers and commers to the traffique of the siluer. And though it be a Towne of it selfe, it hath no Rolle, but that of the citie *de la Plata*. There reside the Officers, and Royall treasurie of this Prouince, for the mynes of the Hill of *Potosi*, which a *Castillano* discouered 1545. called *Villarel*, by meanes of certaine

taine *Indians*; and it is called *Potosi*, because the *Indians* doe so call Hills and high places; and the siluer was so much that they got at the beginning in the yeere 1549. euery Saturday, that when they cast it, there came to the Kings fifts from fiue and twentie to thirtie thousand Pesos. The Hill is flat and bare, their habitation drie and cold, vnpleasant, and altogether barren. It bringeth forth no fruit, graine or herbe, and because of the siluer it is the greatest inhabiting of the *Indies*, which hath about two leagues in circuit, and where all kinde of dainties are found, and plentie, though brought thither by carriages. The colour of the ground of the Hill draweth towards red, darke. The forme is like a Sugar loafe, that ouer-peareth all the other Hills that are neere it: the going vp is rough, and yet they goe vp on horse-backe; it extendeth a league, and from his top to the foote is about a quarter of a league. It hath on all sides rich veines of siluer, from the top to the foote, and the Port of *Arica* whereby the merchandize come, and the siluer of this Hill is carried, is from it about ninetie leagues, almost West. *Arica.*

Sixe leagues from the aforesaid Hill in the way of the Port of *Arica*, is the Hill of *Porco*, an ancient seate of Mynes of siluer: whence it is affirmed the *Ingas* got the greatest part of the siluer that was in the Temple of the Sunne of *Curiancho*, whence yet is and will much siluer be gotten. *Porco.*

Santa Cruz de la Sierra stands one hundred leagues from the *Charcas* to the East, in the way whereby they goe from the *Charcas* to the *Assumption*, in the Prouinces of the Riuer of *Plate*, whitherto they make three hundred leagues iourney, with a Gouernour prouided by the Viceroy, of the Diocesse of the *Charcas*, and one Monasterie of *Mercenaries*, in a Countrie scarce of water, though plentifull of Wheat, Wine, and Millet. This Prouince hath neighbourhood with many Nations of Infidell *Indians*, and many of them are alreadie baptized, and the first that strooke a deuotion in the Countrimen, was a *Spanish* Souldier, * that was among them, fled for faults; which for a great anguish they were in for water made them a great Crosse, and perswaded them to worship with great deuotion that same Crosse, and to aske water; and God for his mercy heard them, and sent them much raine in the yeere 1560. The Captaine *Nuflo* of *Chaues* went out of the Citie of the *Ascention* in the Riuer of *Plate*, to discouer, and comming to *Sancta Cruz* of the Hill, hauing made great discoueries, the people came vnto him, and seeming to him that hee was neere to *Piru*, went to the Citie of *The Kings*, where the Marques of *Canyete* was Vice-roy, and with his order, and for Lieftenant of his sonne *Don Garcia* of *Mendoça*, the Captaine *Nuflo* of *Chaues* went againe to inhabit this Citie, though he came out of the Riuer of *Plate*, with purpose to discouer the Prouinces of the *Dorado*. The holy crosse of the Hill. * This Apostle after his miracles, many was for wickednes hanged at *Potozi*. See *Acd.* 7. *c.* 27.

In the Coast of this Councell, which beginneth in seuenteene degrees and a halfe in the Riuer of *Nombre de Dios*, or *Tambopalla*, is the Port of *Hilo* neere to a Riuer, in eighteene degrees and a halfe, and more to the South, *El Morro de los Diablos*, and the Port of *Arica* in nineteene degrees one third part, and that of *Tacama* in one and twentie, and the Point of *Tarapaca* to the South, and more forward the Riuer of *Pica*, and that *de la Hoia*, or *of the Leafe*, and of *Montelo*, the Port of *Mexillones*, and more to the South the Point of the *Beacones*, or *Morto Moreno*, before the Bay and Riuer of *Sancta Clara*, and more to the South the *Breach*, and the *White point*, and the *Deepe breach*, and the Riuer of *Sancta Clara*, about thirtie leagues from the Riuer of *Copiapo*, where the Coast of *Chile* beginneth, and the Coast of the *Charcas* endeth. The Prouince and Gouernment of *Tucaman*, is all Mediterrane; her bound begins from the Countrie of the *Chichas*, which are of the iurisdiction of the Imperiall village of *Potosi*: it stands in the same Line of the Citie of the *Assumption* of the Riuer of *Plate*, about an hundred leagues from the South Sea coast; it doth confine with the Prouince of *Chile*, it is a Countrie of a good temper, reasonably plentifull, and vntill now without Mynes of siluer, or gold. There is in it some *Spanish* Townes in one Bishopricke, which are of the Citie of Saint *Iago del Estero*, which at the beginning they named *del Varco*, or *of the Boate*, in eight and twentie degrees of altitude, one hundred eightie fiue leagues from *Potosi* to the South, declining somewhat to the East: the Gouernour and the Officers of the goods, and treasurie Royall, and the Bishop, and the Cathedrall are resident here. Ports & Points of this Counsell. *Las Farallones.* *Punta Blanca.* *Quebrada Honda.* Prouince of *Tucaman.* Saint *Iames* of the Marsh.

The Citie of Saint *Marie* of *Talauera*, is fiue and fortie leagues from Saint *Iames* to the North, and fortie from *Potosi* in sixe and twentie degrees. The Citie of Saint *Michael* of *Tucuman* eight and twentie leagues from Saint *Iames* to the West, in the way of the *Charcas* in seuen and twentie degrees. There were inhabited in this Gouernment in the time of *Don Garcia* of *Mendoça*, his father the Marques of *Canyete* being Vice-roy, the *New London*, and *Calchaque*, which they called h *New wisedome*, in the Prouince of the *Iuries*, and *Diaguita*, which afterward were dishabited within a few yeeres. The people of this Countrie goeth clothed in woollen, and in wrought leather, made by arte like the guilt or wrought leather of *Spaine*: they breed much Cattell of the Countrie, by reason of the profit of their wooll: they haue the Townes very neere the one to the other, and the Townes are small, because there is but one kindred in euery one, they are compassed round about with l *Cardones*, and thornie trees for the warres that they had among themselues. They are great husbandmen, and it is a people that is not drunke, for they are not giuen to drinke, as other Nations of the *Indies*. There are in the Prouince seuen mayne Riuers, and more then eightie Brookes of good waters, and great pastures: the Winter and *Talauera.* Saint *Michael.* *New London.* h *Hist. Nueua Cordura.* l A kinde of Thistle that groweth euery stemme foure inches square, and as high as a man on horse backe, and taketh much ground, for there grow many out of one roote.

and the Summer are at ſuch times as in *Spaine*: it is a healthfull Countrie and of a good temper, and the firſt that entred in it, were the Captaines *Diego de Rojas*, *Philip Gutierres*, and *Nicolas de Heredia*; they diſcouered on this ſide the Riuer of *Plate* vnto the Fortreſſe of *Gabota*.

Chap. 22. Of the bounds of the Kingdome of *Chile*.

DOn *Diego de Almagro* was prouided the yeere 1534. in *Toledo* for Gouernour of two hundred leagues of ground beyond the Gouernment of the Marques *Don Franciſco Piçarro*, toward the Streight of *Magellan*, intituling this part, *The new gouernment of Toledo*. Hee went to pacifie this Countrie, and becauſe he forlooke it, it was giuen in charge to the Marques *Don Franciſco Piçarro* 1537. and he commended it 1540. to the Captaine *Peter* of *Valdinia*; who went thither with one hundred and fiftie *Spaniards*. All the Countries of this Kingdome lye to the South of the Equinoctiall, in a more Southerne altitude then the Kingdome of *Piru*, and her Prouinces within the Torride, from the Equinoctiall vnto the Tropicke of *Capricorne*, which paſſeth a Deſart, which they call of *Atacama*, which is from twentie three to twentie ſixe degrees, and then beginneth the Kingdome of *Chile*, which the *Indians* call *Chille*; and before the inhabited Countrie is the Riuer of *The Salt*, in three and twentie degrees and three quarters, which from the Eaſt ſide of the *Row* of Mountaines, runneth to the Weſt into the Sea, through a very deepe Valley, and though it hath the water very cleere; all that the Horſes are wet with it when they drinke, is congealed with the heate of the Sunne; and it is ſo meere ſalt that it cannot bee drunke, and in the borders it is congealed: the Riuer is before the entring in the firſt Prouince of *Chile* two and twentie leagues where the *Xagueyes* are, which are Wells of water, for there is no other in the two and twentie leagues, and all the Kingdome ſtands within the Zone, which the ancient men called *Deſerte*, which is inhabited with white *Indians*, and it is ſituated on the borders of the South Sea, which is *Mare Magnum*, which is included betweene her Coaſt and the Coaſt of *China*.

Rio de la Sal.

This Gouernment taken largely vnto the Streight, hath in length North and South, from the Valley of *Copiapo* where it beginneth in ſeuen and twentie degrees, fiue hundred leagues, and in breadth Eaſt and Weſt, from the South Sea to the North Sea, from foure hundred to fiue hundred of ground to be pacified, which doth ſtraighten it ſelfe, till it remayneth by the Streight in ninetie or in an hundred leagues. That which is inhabited of this Gouernment, may bee three hundred along the North Sea coaſt, and the breadth of it twentie leagues and leſſe, vnto the *Rowe* of the *Andes*, which doe end neere the Streight, and it paſſeth through this Kingdome very high, and almoſt couered at all times with ſnow. All the Countrie is plaine, at the leaſt there is no great roughneſſe, except where the *Rowe* of *Piru* doth reach, and doth end within two or three leagues of the Coaſt.

The temper and qualitie of it (though it bee not without ſome difference for the varieties of the heights it ſtandeth in altogether) is of the beſt, and moſt inhabitable that is in the *Indies*, in temperature like vnto *Caſtile*, in whoſe oppoſite altitude it falleth almoſt all, and in abundance and goodneſſe of victuals, and plentie of all things, riches of Mynes and Metals, and force and vigour of the Countrimen, which for being ſo great warriors haue alwayes beene euill to pacifie, and there bee many out in the Mountaines, and Breaches of the end of the *Rowe*, the Prouinces of *Arauco*, *Tucapel*, and the Valley of *Puren*, the bounds and borders betweene the Citie of the *Conception*, and *los Confines*, and *la Imperial*.

In this Gouernment are eleuen *Spaniſh* Townes, with a Gouernour placed in the matters of the Gouernment to the Vice-roy, and Councell of *Piru*, after the Councell that was in the Countrie was taken away; and there is in it two Biſhopricks Suffragans to the Archbiſhoprick of *the Kings*. In the Biſhopricke of Saint *Iames* are foure Townes. The Citie of Saint *Iames* in the time of the firſt inhabiting of *Chile*, founded by Captaine *Peter* of *Valdinia*, it ſtands in thirtie foure degrees and a quarter of altitude, ſeuentie ſeuen of longitude, one thouſand nine hundred and eightie leagues from *Toledo* by a direct Line, fifteene from the Sea, and ten beyond the Valley of *Chile*, which they named at the firſt *New Extreame*. In it is the Cathedrall reſident with Monaſteries of *Dominicke*, *Franciſcan*, and *Mercenarie* Friars, in a plentifull ſoile of wheat, Wine, and other things, and of very rich Mynes of gold, and in her iuriſdiction more then eightie thouſand *Indians* in ſixe and twentie repartitions. This Citie is ſerued of the Port of *Valparayſo* at the mouth of the Riuer *Topocalma*, which paſſeth neere vnto it.

Saint *Iames*.

Captaine *Valdinia* peopled alſo *la Serena* in the yeere 1544. neere to a good Hauen; it is the firſt Towne of *Spaniards*, at the entrie of *Chile* ſixtie leagues from the Citie of Saint *Iames*, ſomewhat North-weſt neere to the Sea in the Valley of *Coquimbo*, with Monaſteries of *Franciſcan*, and *Mercenarie* Friars. It rayneth in it but three or foure times a yeere, and in the Countries before it, it neuer rayneth. The Port which they call of *Coquimbo*, ſtands in two and thirtie degrees, it is a good Nooke where the ſhips of *Piru* doe make a ſtay. In the Prouince of *Chucuito*, which is on the other ſide of the *Rowe* of the *Andes*, in a cold and barren Countrie, doe ſtand the Citie of *Mendoça*, and of Saint *Iohn* of the Frontier; for *Don Garcia* of *Mendoça* peopled them both. The Citie of *Mendoça* is of the ſame height with Saint *Iames*, about fortie leagues from it, of a difficult way, for the ſnow that is in the *Andes*. The Citie of Saint *Iohn* of the Frontier ſtands to the South of the Citie of *Mendoça*.

The *Serena*.

Raines ſeldom and neuer. *Coquimbo*.

Mendoça.

Saint *Iohn* of the Frontier.

In

In the Biſhopricke of the Imperiall are ſeuen *Spaniſh* Townes, which are the Citie of the *Conception* in ſeuen and thirtie degrees of height, ſeuentie leagues to the South of the Citie of Saint *Iames*, neere to the Sea, *Peter Valdinia* inhabited it in the yeere 1550. The Gouernours are reſident in it, ſince the Councell (that was there from the yeere 1567. vnto 1574.) was taken away. There are Monaſteries of *Dominicans*, *Franciſcans*, and *Mercenarie* Friars. The Port of this Citie ſtands in a nooke at the ſhelter of an Iland. The Citie of the new village of *los Infantes*, or *los Confines*; *Don Garcia* of *Mendoça* peopled it, and the Gouernour *Villagran* commanded it to be called *de los Confines*. It ſtands ſixteene leagues from the *Conception* to the ſide of the Streight, eight leagues from the *Row* of the *Andes*, and foure from that which goeth along the Coaſt. It hath one Monaſterie of *Dominicans*, another of *Franciſcan* Friars. The warlike *Indian* come to the bounds of this Citie, and the mayne Riuer *Biobio* by them, and others which doe enter into it, and the Riuer *Ninequeten*.

Now village of the *Infants*.

Peter of *Valdinia* peopled the Citie of the *Imperiall* 1551. which is in nine and thirtie degrees of height, nine and thirtie leagues from the *Conception* toward the Streights ſide, three leagues from the Sea, where the Cathedrall is reſident with one Monaſterie of *Franciſcans*, another of *Mercenarie* Friars; and in her bounds are more then eightie thouſand *Indians*, with many other that in her bounds are in armes. The Riuer *Cauten* paſſeth neere it, which is nauigable to the Sea, though the Hauen bee not good nor ſecure. Captaine *Valdinia* peopled alſo the * *Rich Village*, ſixteene leagues from *Imperiall*, about the South-eaſtward, and about foure and fortie from the *Conception*, neere to the *Snowy Row* d, with one Monaſterie of *Franciſcans*, another of *Mercenaries*, in a Countrey cold and barren of Bread and Wine.

The Imperiall.

* *Hiſt. Villarica.*

d *Cordillera Nevada.*

The Citie of *Valdinia* is two leagues off the Sea, and fiftie from the *Conception* to the Streight ward: peopled alſo by Captaine *Valdinia*, with Monaſteries of *Dominicans*, *Franciſcans*, and *Mercenaries*, in a plentifull Countrie of Wheat, and Seedes, and in places of good paſtures for Cattell, and without Vines. The merchandize comes vp by the Riuer of *Valdinia*, which paſſeth neere it, and the Port ſtands in the mouth of it in fortie degrees of height. The Citie of *Oſorno*, *Don Garcia* of *Mendoça* peopled, ſixtie leagues or more from the *Conception* to the port of the Streight, ſeuen leagues from the Sea. It hath one Monaſterie of *Dominicans*, another of *Franciſcans*, with another of Nunnes, in a cold Countrie, ſcarce of victuals, but of much gold, and in her bounds two hundred thouſand *Indians* of repartition. The Citie of *Caſtro*, which was inhabited by the Licenciate *Lope Garcia de Caſtro*, being Gouernour of the Kingdomes of *Piru*, the which is called in the *Indian* tongue *Chilue*, which is the laſt of the inhabited in *Chile*, in an Iland of thoſe that are in the Lake of *Aucud*, or *Chilue*, and the *Archipelagus* ſtands in three and fortie degrees of altitude, one and fortie leagues to the South of *Oſorno*, with a Monaſterie of *Franciſcans*, with twelue thouſand *Indians* of repartition in her bounds, for it is an Iland of fiftie leagues in length, and from two vntill nine in breadth, which the Sea made with other great ones, tearing the Land vnto the *Row* of the *Andes*. It is a mountaynous Countrey, and cloſe, plentifull of Wheate, and of Millet, and Mynes of flying g Gold, on the Strand a thing fewe times, or ſeldome ſeene.

Valdinia.

Oſorno.

Caſtro.

g *Oro boladar*.

The Gouernour *Villagran* tooke away the name of the Citie which was *Cauyete*, that *Don Garcia* of *Mendoça* inhabited, and commanded to call it *Tucapel*, and afterward diſinhabited it. There are in this Gouernment which beginneth in two and twentie degrees, the Port and Riuer of *Copeapo*, and to the South of it, the Port of *Guaſcoin* another Riuer, and the Riuer of *Coquimbo* in two and thirtie degrees: and paſt this the Port of the *Cigua* in the Riuer, and the Port of *Quintero* at the mouth of the Riuer of *Concagua*, before the Port of Saint *Iames*, or *Valparayſo*, and the Port of *Topocalma* in the Riuer of *Maypa*: and paſt the Riuer of *Maule* the Port of the • *Herradura*, at the mouth of the Riuer *Itata*, before the Port of the *Conception* in the great Riuer of *Biobio* to the North, the Iland of Saint *Marie* right againſt the State of *Aranco*, and the Port of *Cauyete*, and the Iland of *Mocha* more to the South, and the Port of *Cauten*, which is that of the *Imperiall*, and to the South the landing place and the Riuer of *Tolten* before the Port of *Valdinia*, and paſt this the Point of the Galley, and more to the South the great Bay or Port of *Oſorno* in the Riuer *de las Canoas*, and to the South of it about thirtie leagues to the Lake *de los Coronados* the broadeſt Riuer of this Realme, and at the end of this Realme the Lake of *Aucud*.

Ports and Riuers of this gouernment.

e Or Horſe-hooe.

MEn doe call the Streight of *Magellanes*, that which is paſt the Riuer of *Plate* by the South Sea; from the laſt of *Chile*, vnto the Streight two hundred leagues before it, from two and fortie or three and fortie degrees of altitude, vnto two and fiftie and more, for although men haue ſayled through both the Seas diuers times, and ſeene people in them vnto the Streight it ſelfe, it hath not beene pacified, nor made inhabiting, but that which the fleete that *Diego Flores de Valdes* carried to the Streight left in the mouth of the Streight on the North ſide, in the yeere 1582. which was called the Citie of Saint *Philip*, which for being in ſo much altitude could

Chap. 24. Of the Prouinces of the Streight.

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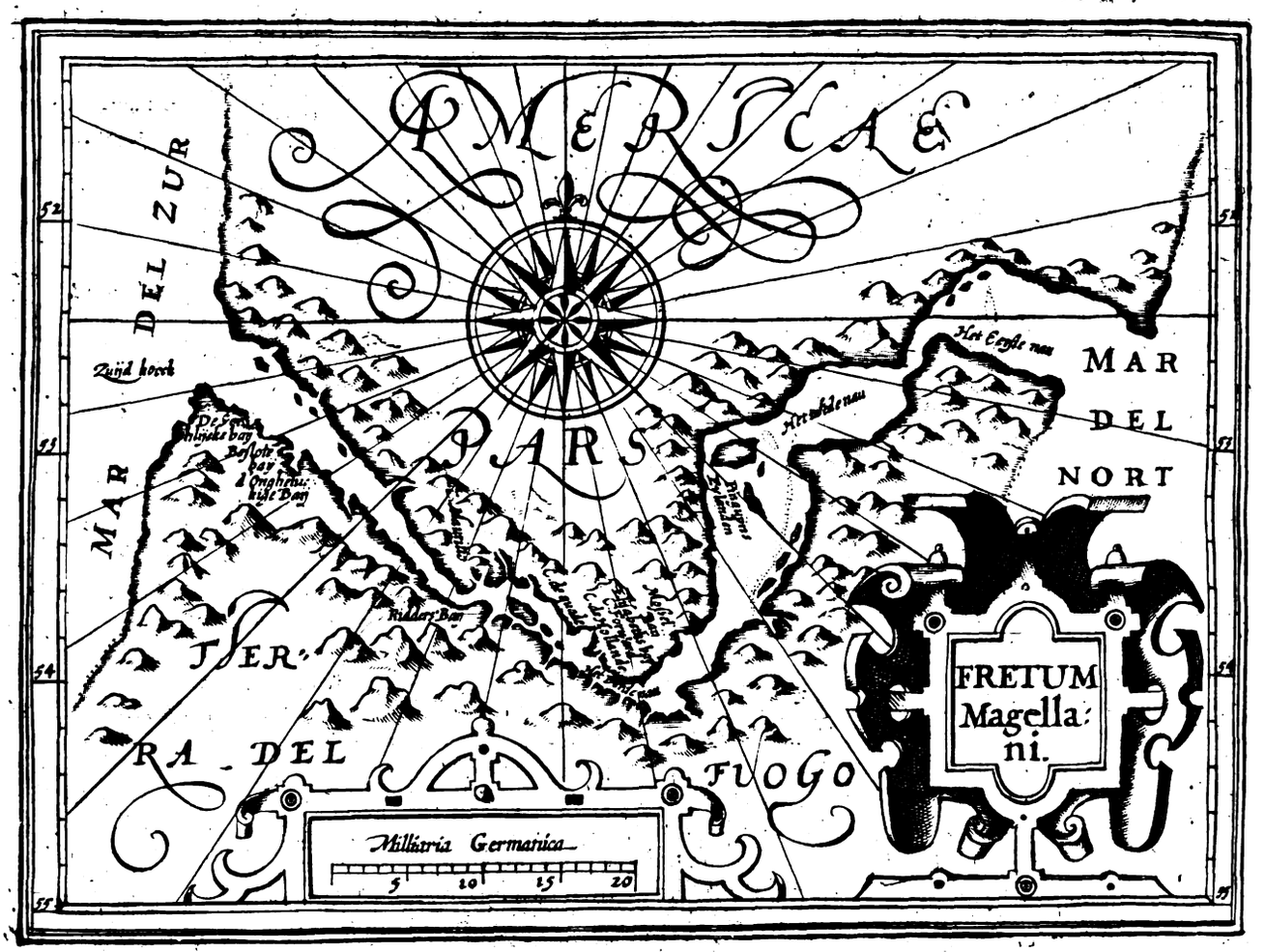
HONDIVS *his Map of the* MAGELLAN *Streight.*



not be preserued for the great cold, and therefore that nauigation is difficult and dangerous for the continuall tempests, and great stormes of windes that are at all times. 40

Ports, Capes, and Points of these two Coasts.

The Ports, Capes, and Points of the Coast of the one and the other Sea vnto the Streight, although they be many, and some are not pointed in the Cardes of Nauigation, it appeareth not wholly, neither is there any certaine relation of all. And the most knowne of the Coast from *Chile* vnto the Streight, which runneth from *Valdiuia* about an hundred leagues to the West South-west are, the Cape of Saint *Andrew* in seuen and fortie degrees, from whence the Coast turneth directly to the South vnto the Streight, by the Cape of Saint *Roman* in eight and fortie degrees, and neere vnto it the Iland of Saint *Catalina*, neere to the great Bay which they call

g *Hisp. Alcarchofado*, of the colour of an Artichoke. Or *Ferdinando* of *Gallicia*.

Hartichoked, and within it the Bay of our *Lady*, and the Iland of *Santa Barbara*, and more forward the Ports of *Hernan Gallego* in eight and fortie degrees two third parts, and the Bay of *The Kings* eighteene leagues from the Port of *Hernan Gallego*, and the Bay of Saint *Iohn* in fiftie degrees one third part, the Cape of Saint *Francisco* in one and fiftie, whereby some Channels doe enter into the Land, and the Iland *de la Campana*, or of the Bell, eleuen leagues from Saint *Francis*: also with some Channels which haue not beene nauigated within the Land, and the Bay of Saint *Lazarus* in two and fiftie degrees, with Channels on the sides, which enter very broad and long to the one and the other parts, which haue not beene nauigated, and a great Sea of Ilands which alwayes was said to bee at the South side neere to the mouth of the Streight, the which Sir *Richard Hawkins* denyeth; for hee saith, That at this mouth of the Streight on the South side, he found no more then foure small Ilands, and one in the middest like a Sugar loofe, and that at the least they are distant from the mouth of the Streight sixe leagues, and the great Sea is on the one side, and he holdeth for certaine it is that which they say is the firme Land of the South side of the Streight, and that there is no firme land. The Streight though they haue past it from the South to the North side, by order of the Vice-roy *Don Franciscus* of *Toledo*, *Peter Sarmiento*, and *Antonie Pablo Corso*, and it is knowne it stands from 52. to 53. degrees of altitude, where it draweth most to the South, and that in length it hath one hundred and ten

50

60

Sir *Richard Hawkins.*

Streight of *Magellan.*

leagues,

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leagues, or one hundred and fifteene, little more or lesse, and in breadth from one to tenne: it hath neuer beene nauigated to an end from the South Sea to the North Sea, nor the Pyrats that haue past it from the North to the South, are vnderstood to haue returned by it. The aboue said Sir *Richard Hawkins* saith, that he sailed many dayes by the Straight, and affirmeth that all the Countrie on the South side is no firme Land, but many Ilands which reach to 56. degrees; the which he might know, because he sayled to the same 56. degrees through the middest of those Ilands, and seeing he found nothing but Sea, hee followed his course againe through by the Straight, and that this cannot be so farre, the differences of Seas, which the many entrings doe cause that are among those Ilands, and that the habiting of them is of people on the North side, which doe passe to those Ilands to sustaine themselues of fishings, and in their seasons returne to their Countries; and that he comprehended this of many things especially of not hauing seene any seated inhabitating, but some Cabbins which the *Indians* doe make for a time. The same said Sir *Francis Drake*, that it hapned him when he passed the Straight, the yeare 1579. who after his comming out into the South Sea, he ran along with tempests compassing this Sea, vnto the mouth of the North Sea, and by the same way he had runne, he made sure his nauigation to the South Sea.

This is not true: for Captaine *Winter* & others haue done it; which howsoeuer he cals Pirats, yet they haue better descouered these Straights then the *Spaniards*.

The parts most famous of the Straight at the entring of the South are the Cape *Desseado*, or *Desired*, in 53. degrees, and the Channell of all *Saints*, two and twentie leagues from the mouth, very broad, and large, and past it the port of the *Treason*, and afterward another great large Channell which runneth to the North-west, and *Rowlands Bell*, a great Rocke in the middest at the beginning of a Channell. They gaue it this name of one of *Magellanes* fellowes called *Rowland*, who went to reacknowledge it, which was a Gunner: the point of possession which is foure leagues from the Cape of *Virgenes*, at the entring of the North Sea in 52. degrees and a halfe of altitude, when *Peter* * *Sarmiento*, and *Antonie Pablo Corso* by order which they had to reknowledge the Straight, for it had beene commanded long before for to see if it were a more easie nauigation to the South Sea, then that of *Panama*: they viewed the two narrow places, that at the entrie of the North, and it seemed to *Peter Sarmiento* that the one was so narrow, that with Artillerie it might be kept, and so much he perswaded it, that although the Duke of *Alua* affirmed it was impossible, the Armie which *Iames Flower* carried vnfruitfully was sent about it, and in the end was knowne that that nauigation is dangerous, and the flowing of two Seas which come to meete in the middest of the Straight, doe withdraw themselues with such furie, ebbing in some places more then sixtie fathoms, that when the Shippes did carry nothing but Cables to preserue themselues from loosing that which they had sayled, they would goe full froaghted.

* Or *Vine Twig*.

Or *Ordinance*.

In foure hundred leagues, there is of Coast from the mouth of the Straight, vnto the Riuer of *Plate*, which runneth altogether North-east and South-west, there is the Riuer of Saint *Ilefonsus* twelue leagues from the Cape of the *Virgenes*, the * *Gallizian* Riuor, and the Bay of Saint *Iames*, foureteene leagues from the Riuer of *Santta Cruz*, in 50. degrees, and at the mouth an Iland called of the *Lyons*, and the Port of Saint *Iulian* in 49. degrees, and the Riuer of *Iohn Serrana* to the South of the Ilands of *Duckes*, in 47. degrees, the Riuer of *Cananor* in 45. degrees, the Cape of Saint *Dominicke*, before the Cape of three Points, and the Land *de los Humos* or of the *Smoakes*, in 38. degrees, the Point of *Santta Hellene*, and of Saint *Apollonia*, in 37. degrees before the White Cape, at the entrie of the Riuer of *Plate* on the South side.

* *Hispalio Gallego*.

Chap. 24.

Of the Prouinces of the Riuer of *Plate*, & of *Brasile*. *Sebastian Gabote* remaineth in the Riuer of *Solis*, which is called of the *Plate*. He was an *English man* by breeding, borne a *Venetian*, but spending most part of his life in *England* and *English* imployments. See the former Booke.

Iohn Dias de Solis discouered the Riuer of *Plate* 1515. and *Sebastian Gaboe* an *English-man*, going with an Armie by order of the Emperour, in pursuit of the Fleete which Frier *Garcia de Loaysa* Commander, had carried to the Ilands of the *Maluces*, and conceiuing hee could not ouertake them, he thought good to busie himselfe in something that might be profitable; and entred the yeare 29. discouering the Riuer of *Plate*, where he was almost three yeares; and being not seconded, with relation of that which he had found, returned to *Castile*, hauing gone many leagues vp the Riuer, he found Plate or Siluer among the *Indians* of those Countries, for in the warres which these *Indians* had with those of the Kingdomes of *Piru* they tooke it, and from hence it is called the *Riuer of Plate*, for before it was called the Riuer of *Solis*. These Prouinces are ioyned with those of *Brasil*: by the line of the markes they haue no determined bounds, but by the Coast of the Sea that falleth to the North, and entrance of the Riuer of *Plate*, of the which the Countrie hath taken the name, and the mouth of this Riuer may stand sixteene hundred leagues from the Bay of Saint *Lucar* of *Barrameda*.

All these Prouinces are very plentifull of Wheate, Wine, and Sugar, and all other seedes and fruites of *Castile* doe grow well: they haue great Pastures for all sorts of Cattle, which haue multiplied infinitely, especially the Horses, and though they haue beene many yeares without thinking there were any Mines of Gold, or of Siluer, they haue already found a showe of them, and of Copper, and Iron, and one of very perfect Amathists. All these Prouinces are of one Gouernment, with title Royall, subordained for neareneſſe to the Vice-roy of *Piru*, with one Bishopricke wherein are three *Spanish* Townes, and a great multitude of the Countrie men, of big bodies,

Plentifulneſſe of the Prouinces of the Riuer of *Plate*.

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The Assumption.

bodies, and well conditioned. And the Townes are; the Citie of our *Lady of the Assumption*, the first inhabiting, and the head of this Prouince, it stands in 25. degrees and a halfe of altitude: the Captaine *Iohn* of *Salazar* built it by order of the Gouernour *Don Peter Mendoça*. The territory thereof was first called *Gurambare*: it hath *Brasil* at the right hand two hundred and eightie leagues, and in this compasse it hath the Citie Royall at eightie leagues, which the *Indians* call *Guayra*. And on the side of *Piru*, which is East and West, it hath at foure hundred and eightie leagues, the Citie of *la Plata*, and at two hundred and eightie, the Citie of *Sancta Cruz de la Sierra* or *of the Hill*, which *Nuflo* of *Chanes* built. To the South side which is toward the Straight of *Magelane*, it hath very great and rich Countries, and this Citie stands three hundred leagues from the mouth of the Riuer of *Plate*, built neere to the Riuer *Paraguaye*, on the East side, with foure hundred *Spanish* Housholds, and more then three thousand children of those that were borne to them in the Countrie (which they call *Mestizos*) in it are resident the Gouernour, and Officers Royall, and the Cathedrall which is called the *Bishopricke of the Plate*, suffragan to the Archbishoprick of the *Kings*, and in her iurisdiction more then 400000. *Indians*, which doe increase daily.

Note.

Citie Royall was called by another name *Ontioueros*, built by *Ruidias de Melgareio*; it stands eightie leagues from the *Assumption* North-east, toward the Land of *Brasil*, neere to the Riuer *Parana*; it stands in a good soyle of Victuals, and Vines, and much good Copper, and great number of *Indians*, which also doe much increase. In this Riuer *Parana*, neere the Citie Royall, there is a great fall, that no man dare come neere it by Land within two hundred paces, for the great noyse, and mist of the water, and by the Riuer no Canoe, nor Boate dare come neere by a league; for the furie of the water doth carry it to the fall, which is aboue two hundred fadomes off a steep Rock, and it is so narrow, and the water goeth so close, that it seemes ye may throw ouer it with a dart.

Ciudad real.

Fall or Cataract very terrible.

* Or *Good ayres*

* *Buenos ayrès* is a Towne which in old time was disinhabited neere the place where now it is built againe, in the Prouince of the *Morocotes*, in the borders of the Riuer of *Plate*, in a plentifull soyle, where all things of *Castile* doe grow very well; the Gouernor *Don Peter* of *Mendoça* built it 1535. which caused all that which *Gabote* forsooke to be discouered. All this Countrie is commonly plaine: for except the *Cordilleras* or *Rowes* (which are on the Sea coast, and may be twentie leagues toward *Brasil*, afterwards compassing all the Countrie toward the Riuer *Maranyon*) and the *Rowes* of the Kingdomes of *Peru*, all is plaine, except some small hils.

Ports and Points of this Coast.

There are knowne in the Coast of these Prouinces from the Land of *Brasil*, vnto the Riuer of *Plate* fiue or six reasonable Ports, the Port of Saint *Vincent*, in 33. degrees height, right against *Buenabrigo*, an Iland where the line of the repartition passeth; and six leagues to the South the Riuer *Vbay*, and the Port, and the Iland *de la Cananea* in 35. degrees; and forward the Riuer *de la Barca*, before the Port of *Babia* or Riuer of Saint *Francis*, and the Iland of *Sancta Catalina*, by another name the Port of *Vera*, or Port of the *Duckes* (*de Peros*) and the Port of *Don Roderigo*, twentie leagues to the South from *Sancta Catalina*, an Iland 29. degrees and more to the South, fiue leagues a *Close Hauen*, and fifteene the b *Inhabited Riuer*, and as much the *Deepe-Bay* from this, and the Riuer *Tiraqueri*, in 32. degrees and a halfe, before the Cape of Saint *Marie*, which is in 35. degrees at the entrie of the Riuer of *Plate*.

Hisp. Puerto cerrado. Riopoblado. Babia onda.

Riuer of *Plate.*

This Riuer is called in the *Indian* language *Paranaguazu*, and commonly *Parana*, hath his entrie and mouth in the South Sea, from thirtie fiue vnto thirtie six degrees of altitude, between the Capes of Saint *Marie*, and Cape *Blanke*, which is from the one to the other about thirtie leagues of mouth, and from thence inward other tenne leagues in breadth, with many Ilands in the middest, and many very great maine Riuers, which enter into it by the East and West side, vnto the Port of the *Kings*, which is a great Lake called of the *Xarayes*, little lesse then three hundred leagues from the Riuer of *Plate*, where enter many Riuers that come from the skirts of the *Andes* and they may be of those Riuers that proceede in the Prouinces of the *Charcas* and *Cuzco*, which runne toward the North, whereby entreth another maine arme into the said Lake, which hath giuen occasion to thinke that this Riuer doth communicate with the Riuer of Saint *Iohn* of the *Amazones*; others say that it commeth from the Lake of the *Dorado*, which is fifteene iournies from the Lake of the *Xarayes*, though there be opinions that there is no *Dorado*.

The chance of the Captaine *Salazar* with a Tigre.

The Captaine *Salazar* gouerning in these Prouinces by the death of *Don Peter Mendoça*, in the yeare 1545. a *Spaniard* being in his bed and his wife by him on the out side, in the night there came a Tigre and gaue the man a blow that he killed him, and carried him away, and betweene certaine Caues he did deuoure him: in the morning the Captaine *Salazar* went forth with fiftie Souldiours to seeke the Tigre, and going through a wood, hee went alone by a path, and as soone as hee discouered the Tigre, hee being fleshed set vpon him, and at the time hee lifted vp the pawe for to strike him, the Captaine let flee the Shaft out of his Crosse-bowe, and strooke him to the heart, and he fell downe dead: an exploit of great courage, heede and dexteritie.

Tigre killeth and is killed.

The

THe Prouinces and Countrie of *Brasil* in the Coast of the North Sea, and *Terra firme*, is called all that which falleth to the East from the line of the repartition, from twentie nine degrees of longitude from the Meridian of *Toledo*, vnto thirtie nine, which are two hundred leagues from East to West, and foure hundred and fiftie North and South, from two degrees of Southerne altitude, by the Cape *de Humos* or of *Smoakes*, vnto fiue and twenty, by the Iland of *Buenabrigo* or *Good-harbour*. And from the first inhabiting, vnto the last of *Brasil*, there are three hundred and fiftie leagues. *Vincent Yanes Pinzon* discouered first this Countrie by commandement of the Kings Catholike, and presently after him *Iames* of *Lepe*, in the yeare 1500. and six moneths after *Peralnarez Cabral*, going with a *Portugall* armie to *India*, which to auoide the Coast of *Guinea* did put so much to the Sea that he found this Countrie, and called it *Santta Cruz*, because on that day he discouered it. All of it is very hot in Winter and Summer, and very rainie, and compassed with Woods and Mists, vnhealthfull, and full of venemous Wormes, plentifull in Pastures for Cattle, and not for Wheate, nor Millet; there are in it great showes of Siluer and Gold, but as the *Portugals*, haue no stocke to make any profit of the Mines, they leaue them as they are.

Chap. 25. Of the Prouinces and Countrie of *Brasil*.

Vincent Yanes Pinzon, borne in the Village of *Palos* discouered the *Brasil*, and then *Diego de Lepe*.

The principall foode of this Countrie is the *Cazabi* which they make of the *Yuca*, and the greatest trafficke is Sugar, and Cotten Bumbast, and Brasil Wood, which was it that gaue it the name. There are in all the Prouince nine Gouernments, which are called Captainships, and in them seuenteene *Portugal* Townes: in it may be about three and thirtie hundred households, and great multitude of warlike *Indians*, which haue not suffered the *Portugals* to build but on the Coast, in which are many Riuers, Landings, and many Ports, and very safe, where any Ships may come in, be they neuer so bigge.

The Colonie of the first Captainship, and the most auncient is *Tamaraca*, the second *Pernambuco*, fiue leagues from *Tamaraca* to the South, in eight degrees of altitude, and there is a house of the Fathers of the Companie of *Iesus*: the other is, that of all *Saints*, one hundred leagues from *Pernambuco* in thirteene degrees, and there the Gouernour, the Bishop, and the Auditour generall of all the Coasts are resident, and it hath a Colledge of the Company: the fourth Captainship of the Ilands is thirtie leagues from the Bay of *All Saints*, in foureteen degrees & two third parts, it hath a House of the Fathers of the Companie. In this Captainship is found a Tree where out they take a precious Balme. The Captainship of the *Sure-haueu* is thirtie leagues from the Ilands in sixteene degrees and a halfe: it hath three Inhabitings, and a House of the Fathers of the Compania. The Captaineship of the *Holy-Ghost* fiftie leagues from *Puerto seguro*, in twentie degrees, where they gather much Brasil, and there is one house of the Company. The Captainship of the Riuer of *Genero* is sixtie leagues from the *Holy-Ghost*, in twentie three degrees and one third part, with a house of the Fathers of the Company, and they cut in their iurisdiction much *Brasil* Wood; the Riuer is very faire, with fine and profitable borders. The last Captaineship is Saint *Vincent*, sixtie leagues from the Riuer of *Genero*, in foure and twentie degrees, it hath a fortresse in an Iland for a defence against the *Indians* and Pirates, and a house of the said Fathers, which haue done great profit in the inhabiting of this Countrie, and conuersion of the *Indians*, and their libertie. The Cattle that are in these Prouinces are many, and great breeding of Swine, and Hens, they gather much Amber which the Sea casteth vp with stormes at the spring tides, and many persons haue inriched themselues with it. Their Summer is from September to February, and the Winter from March vnto August; the dayes are almost as long as the nights, they increase and diminish onely an houre, in the winter the winde is alwaies at South and South-east, in Summer North-east and East North-east.

Inhabitings of the Coast of *Brasil*.

Many *Iesuites* Colledges.

Puerto seguro.

Ambar.

There are in this Coast eight or tenne Ports more principall then the rest, which are the Riuer of Saint *Dominicke* and *de las Virtudes* to the North-east of *Pernambuco*, and *Tamaraca*, which is an Iland, and as it is said, the first Plantation, and before the Cape of Saint *Austine*, which stands in nine degrees, the Riuer of Saint *Francis* in ten degrees and a halfe, which is great and mightie: the Bay of *All Saints* three leagues broad, and thirteene into the Land vnto Saint *Saniour*, the Riuer and Port *Trenado*, where the Ships doe touch that goe this Voyage, and the Riuer of *Canamum* in thirteene degrees and a halfe, the Riuer of the *Beades* or of Saint *Austine* is fouteteen degrees and a halfe; and the Riuer of the *Virgenes* in sixteene. *Porte secure* in seuenteen degrees: the Riuer of *Parayua* in twentie degrees, neere to *Sancts spiritus*: the Riuer of *Genero* neere to Saint *Sebastian*, and *Cold Cape* in three and twentie degrees beyond Saint *Vincent*.

The principall Ports of this Coast.

Cabo Frio.

Chap. 26. Of those which men call the *Indies of the west*, which are the Ilands *Philippinas*, coast of *China*, *Iapan*, and the *Lequios*.

INdies of the West, are all the Ilands and firme Land comprehended within the markes of the Crowne of *Castile* and of *Lyon*, at the Occidentall end of the said bounds; whose line as is said passeth on the other side the world, through the Citie of *Malaca* from whence toward the East, and *New Spaine*, is a great Gulfe of infinite Ilands great and small, and many pieces of Coasts, and firme Land, which are diuided into the Ilands of the Spicerie, or of the *Malucos*, Ilands *Philipinas*, the Coast of *China*, Ilands of the *Lequios* and *Iapones*, Coast of the new *Guinea*,

Ilands

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Ilands of *Salomon*, and of *Ladrones* or the *Theeues*: the temper of all theſe Ilands and Lands in generall is moiſt, and temperately hot, plentifull of Victuals, and Beaſts, with ſome Gold, but baſe, no Siluer, ſtore of Wax, and the people of ſundry colours, and the ordinary colour like *Indians*, and ſome white among them, and ſome cole-blacke.

The Ilands of the Spicerie (which properly are called ſo, becauſe all the Pepper, Cloues, Sinamon, Ginger, Nutmegs, and Maſticke that is ſpent in *Europe*, is brought from them) are many, though the moſt famous of that Gulfe are fiue ſmall Ilands vnder the Equinoctiall in one hundred nintie foure degrees from the Meridian of *Toledo*, included in the morgage which the Emperor *Charles* the fift made of them to the King of *Portugall* for three hundred and fiftie thouſand Duckets, which are *Terrenate* of eight ornine leagues compaſſe, with a Port called *Talangame*, and in it raigned *Corala*, which yeelded himſelfe for ſubiect to the King of *Caſtile*, when the Shippes that remained of *Magelanes* fleete found theſe Ilands. The Iland of *Tidore* ſtands one league from *Terrenate* to the South, it hath tenne leagues compaſſe. The Iland of *Matil*, or *Mutier* is of foure leagues compaſſe, and is vnder the Equinoctiall; and *Maquin* three leagues to the South, of ſeuen in compaſſe, and tenne leagues to the South. *Batan* or *Baquian* is twentie leagues in compaſſe. In the Iland of *Tidore* raigned *Almanzor*, which alſo gaue himſelfe for ſubiect of the King of *Caſtile*, the which, and *Carala* did write and *Iohn Sebaſtian* of the *Cano*, borne in the Village of *Guitarca*, in the Prouince of *Guipuzcoa* brought their Letters; the which departing from *Tidore* in the yeare 1522. touched in the Iland of *Zamatia*, and going vp to almoſt fortie two degrees toward the Antarticke Pole, he arriued at the Iland of Saint *Iames* of the *Greene Cape* or *Cabo Verde*, and from thence to *Siuill* with the Shippe called the *Victoria*, hauing ſpent ſeuen moneths time little leſſe in comming from the Iland of *Tidore*. *Patian* is the fift Iland like the other; Moores inhabited in it, and Gentiles alſo, which knew not the immortalitie of the ſoule. And when the Shippe of the fleete of Fryer *Garcia* of *Loayſa* came, *Reiami* raigned in *Tidore* of thirteene yeares of age, and againe acknowledged the King of *Caſtile*, and alſo the King of *Gilolo* called *Sultan Abderta meniani*, and confirmed it with an oath. *Gilolo* is an Iland vnder the line foure leagues diſtant from thoſe rehearſed; it is of two hundred leagues compaſſe, without Spicerie: the Iland of *Ambon* in three degrees and a halfe to the South, from the Iland of *Gilolo* without Spicerie. The Ilands of *Bandan* are in foure degrees of Southerne altitude, where the Nutmegge is gathered, and Mace; and the *Burro*, which is to the Weſt of *Ambon*, and *Timor*, another Iland to the South-weſt from *Bandan*, almoſt one hundred leagues, without Spicery, but rich of *Sandalo*, *Zeinda*, fiftie leagues from *Timor*, to the North-weſt of forty leagues compaſſe, plentiful of Pepper, and the Iland of *Celebes*, which is very great, & *Borney* greater, neere the ſtraight of *Malaca*, which is made in the firme Land; & *Zamatia*, which in old time they called *Taprobana*. There be other manie great Ilands, and ſmall, which remaine to the South ſide, neere *Iaua Maior* & *Minor*, and to the North toward the coaſt of *Chyna*: the *Portugals* haue a fortreſſe in *Terrenate*, and other in the Citie of *Malaca* at the entrie of the *Archipelagus*.

Of theſe ſee *l. 4. c. 1.* and other *Engliſh* voiages in the firſt *Tome*.

See *Magelanes* Voyage. *Tom. 1. l. 2.*

Certaine Tree bearing a kind of Date.

The Ilands *Philippinas* are a Sea of thirtie or fortie great Ilands, beſides many other ſmall ones which are together in leſſe then two hundred leagues in length North and South, and one hundred in breadth betweene *New Spaine*, and the Gulfe of *Bengala*, and they are about ſeuenteene hundred leagues from the Port of the *Natiuitie* in *New Spaine*, from ſix to fifteene or ſixteene degrees of Septentrional altitude, of a reaſonable temperature, and plentifull of victuals, ſpecially of Rice, and ſome baſe Gold in ſome places, and in ſome Ilands are Cinamon trees, and long Pepper. The Countriemen are of a good ſhape, and in ſome Ilands they are blacke, and thoſe which liue in the center of the Countrie are whiter then thoſe that liue in the Sea coaſts. There are good Ports, and Timber for Shipping, the names of the principalleſt Ilands are *Mindano*, which is the greateſt, and moſt Southward, of a hundred leagues in length, and three hundred in compaſſe, a rough Countrie, but plentifull of Millet, Waxe, Rice, Ginger, and ſome Cinamon, and Mines of Gold, with good Hauens, and Rodes: the Iland of *Good-tokens*, and Saint *Iohn* leaning to *Mindanao*, on the Eaſt ſide, of twenty leagues in length North and South; *Behol*, ten leagues more to *Mindanao* on the North ſide, nineteene leagues in length.

Cinamon and long Pepper.

The Iland of *Buglas* or of *Negros*, by reaſon of thoſe that are in it, is in the middeſt of that Sea to the Weſt, of fortie leagues in length North and South, and foureteen in breadth, and in her coaſt are ſome Pearles: the Iland of *Zubu* in the middeſt of all, of thirtie leagues in length North and South, and in it a *Spaniſh* Towne, called the Village of *Ieſus*, on the Eaſt ſide, with one good Hauen, beſides other that are in the Iland, the Captaine *Ferdinando Magellanes* diſcouered this Iland, in the yeare 1520. the King yeelded then himſelfe for ſubiect to the Crowne of *Caſtile*, and before he diſcouered the Ilands, which he called *de las Velas Latinas*, becauſe they ſailed in their Shippes with ſayles of Mats made of Palme tree leaues after the *Latine* faſhion; and from *Zubu Magellanes* went with the King, to warre againſt the King of *Matan*, in a little Iland cloſe to that of *Zubu* on the South ſide, where being too valiant and confident he was ſlaine; and the *Spaniards* following their Voyage in demand of the Ilands of the Spicerie, they diſcouered *Quepindo*, *Puluan*, and *Burney*, which is a great, rich, and plentifull Iland of Rice, Sugar, Goates, Swine, Cammels: it wants Wheate, Aſſes, and Sheepe; it hath Ginger, Camphire, Mirabolans, and

In *Matan* it was where *Ferdinando Magelanes* was ſlaine.

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and other Drugges. *Aluaro* of *Saauedra* discouered also the *Philippines*, and tooke possession of them in the yeare 1527. for the Crowne of *Castile*, which by order of the Marquesse of the *Valley* went from the Port of *Guatlauco* in *New Spaine*, in demand of the Ilands of the *Spiceria*, and particularly he was in *Mindanao*: and this digression hath not bin out of purpose.

Aluaro of Saauedra tooke possession of the *Philippine* for the Crowne of *Castile*, in the yeare 1527.

Returning to the order of the *Philippines*, there followeth the aboue said *Abuyo*, or *Bubay* thirtie leagues in length North and South, and tenne in breadth, in which are good Mines, and Pearles, in her coast: *Tandayala* most famous of all, which for being first discouered, is called *Phulipine*, of which all take the name, in memory of the inuincible King *Don Philip* the second, the *Prudent*. It hath fortie leagues on the North side, and of the East North North-east, and South South-west, and twelue leagues in breadth where most, with good Hauens and Roades: *Masbat* a meane Iland to the West of *Tandaya*, of seuenteene leagues in length, and fifteene in breadth, with one Hauen: *Mindoro* of fiue and twentie leagues in length North and South, and halfe in Breadth; there is Pepper in it, and Mines of Gold: the Iland of *Luzon*, called the *New Castile*, as great or greater then *Mindanao*, the most Septentrionall of the *Philippines*, in the which is built *Manila*, a Citie of *Spaniards*, with title of *Famous*, where the Gouernour, Officers of the goods, and cheft Royall, and the Cathedrall are resident: it is a plentifull soyle of Victuals, with many Mines of Gold: the Hauen of this Citie is bad, and for all that there is great trafficke with the *Chynas*, which bring Porcelane Vessell, Tinsels, coloured silkes, and other Merchandize: *Luçon* hath in length two hundred leagues, and it is very narrow.

The Citie of *Manilla*.

In all these Ilands are many *Mahometanes*, wither they came by the East *Indes*, and could easily plant their falshood amongst those blinde *Gentiles*. Captaine *Magellanes* as aboue said discouered these Ilands, the yeare 1520. going with an Armie of the Crowne of *Castile*, in search of the Ilands of the *Malucoes*, and tooke possession of them, and afterward *Michael Lopez of Legaspi* made an end of discouering them, the yeare 1564. with an Armie which hee tooke from *New Spaine*, by order of the Vice-roy, *Don Lewis of Velasco*: it is iudged that those Ilands doe amount to eleauen thousand great and small. There are pacified about fortie of them, and conuerted more then a Million of men vnto the Catholike Faith, with so many expences of the Crowne Royall, not hauing had vntill now any profit from those Countries; for euery Religious man of those that are sent thither, doth cost to set there one thousand Duckets. Those which hitherto haue laboured in that Vineyard, with most great fruite of the soules, are the Religious *Dominicans*, *Franciscans*, *Barefooted*, and *Austins* Fryers, and the Company of *Iesus*; and from these Ilands hath beene begun to bridle the *Mahometans*, which from the Coast of *Affa* went by little and little extending through these, and other Ilands, and also to the *Chinas* and *Iapones*; and the *Portugals* had already lost the Ilands of the *Maluas*, if the *Spaniards* of the Prouinces of the *Philippines* had not holpen and succoured them diuers times and many wayes.

His voiage you haue before. 11000. Ilands.

Since, the *Hollanders* haue expelled the *Portugals*.

There is already a plainer notice had of the *Chynas*, by the commerce of the *Philippines*, and their riches and plenty is knowne: it is of the richest and mightiest Kingdomes of the World, and from *Manila* may be to the coast of *China* three hundred leagues, of eight dayes sayling, and the coast of that Countrie goeth running as to the North-east, more then seuen hundred leagues, from twentie one to twenty two degrees of Septentrional latitude, and vpward, and it is knowne that crosse ouer the Countrie inward is a *Voyage* of fiue or sixe moneths, to the confines of *Tartaria*; being a Countrie of great Cities, with many Townes, and the people politicke, and prepared for their defence; but not warlike, and the Coast much inhabited with maine Riuers, and good Hauens: it extends from seuenteene vnto fiftie degrees North and South, and East and West it occupieth two and twentie: the Citie of *Paquin*, where the King hath his Court, stands in fortie eight degrees of our Pole, it is diuided in fifteene Prouinces, saue *Maritime*, and nine *Mediterranes*, and the one are diuided from the other with certaine Mountaines, like the *Pirineis*, and there are but two passages whereby they doe communicate.

China: see our former Relation.

Tomas Perez Ambassadour of the King of *Portugall*, was from *Cantan* to *Nanquin* fortie Moneths, trauelling alwayes to the North: and to the largenesse of this Kingdome is ioyned the plentie of the Countrie, which is great, for the which the multitude of the nauigable Riuers that do water it, are a help, wherewith it seemes a pleasant Forrest or Garden, and the abundance is doubled by many wayes, for the Kings spare no cost to make the Countrie watered in euery place, cutting great hils, and making great Valleys plaine; and the peace not wanting in any place, for all the Countrie almost is contained in the bounds of the temperate *Zone*, nor the maisture by the clemencie of nature, and by the industrie of men it is incredibly all multiplied, and all being compelled to busie themselues in something, there is not one foote of ground left vnprofitable. In *Cantan* among other notable things they say there are a great number of blinde men that doe labour in something, euery one as he is able, and being forbidden the going out of the Kingdome without licence, the which is neuer granted, but for a limited time: it is necessary that the prouision increasing continually, the number of the people be without end, especially that they yeeld for a certaine, that for fiue persons that doe dye, there are seuen borne; and the pureneſse of the ayre is so much, that they doe not remember, there hath beene any vniuersall

The Prouinces and Kingdoms of *China*.

uerfall plague, and with all these good things they haue their troubles also, for there are earthquakes that destroy whole Cities, disinhabit the Countrie, and suppresse the auncient Riuers, and raise others, and doe make great Mountaines plaine, with a miserable misfortune of that people.

The yeare 1555. there burst out of the intrailes of the earth such abundance of water, that it ouer-flowed the space of sixtie leagues, and destroyed seuen Cities with their iurisdictions. And this as touching the continent of *China*. There is through all the Coast a multitude of Ilands, the greater part are vnto vs vnknowne. Not farre from *Nanqui*, is the Cape of *Lampo*, the Iland of *Auenga*, *Abarda*, *Sumbar*, *Lanqui*, and the Iland of *Horses*, of the which no particular notice is had. Passing the Citie of *Chinchee*, stands *Lamao*, and a great number of Ilands are seene about *Cantan*, and these are the most celebrated, *Lantao*, *Macao*, *Keuiaga*, where is the Port of *Tamo*, *Lampacao*, *Sancoan*, in all the which the King of *China* hath Garrisons on Sea and Land, except in *Lampacao* which is not inhabited.

Macao. In *Macao*, by another name *Macan*, the *Portugals* haue a Towne, and the *China* knowing the valour of the *Portugals*, and the fauour they haue of the *Castillans* of the *Philippines*, suffer it with an euill will, but the *Portugals* seeke to preserue themselues, for their profitable commerce in *China*. *Sancon* is thirtie leagues from *Cantan*, where sometimes the *Portugals* haue touched, and no Iland of *China* is of greater importance then *Anian* in the mouth of the Gulfe of *Cauchinchina*, fiue leagues from the *Firme Land, and one hundred and eightie from the *Philippines*, and it is so bigge, that they affirme it to haue thirtie Fortresses; in it is a fishing for small Pearles. It is abundant of Victuals, and of many Fruits: vnder the Gouernment of *Cantan*, the principall Port of *China*; and the Countrie men are grosse and rude people.

Anian.

*Or Terra firme

Iapon. *Iapon* is many Ilands diuided with small armes of the Sea, in three and thirtie Kingdomes whose head is the Citie of *Meaco*, distant variable from *China*, and they count from the Iland of *Goto* in *Iapon* to *Liampo* in *China* sixtie leagues, which is the neerest. The *Iapones* doe greatly molest the *Chinas*, more with piracies, and thefts, then with iust war, because *Iapon* being diuided in sundry Ilands, and diuers Princes, they can make no warre against the *Chinas*, but with weake forces. They are more warlike and valiant then the *Chinas*: it is a temperate Countrie, plentifull of Seedes, Cattle and Fowle of Europe, it hath Mines of Iron and Steele: the Countrie men are strong, valiant, and for much labour: those Ilands stand in thirtie fiue degrees of the Pole, little more or lesse, according to the distance of euery Iland. The *Iapones* doe not vnderstand the *Chinas* but by writing, because of the Characters, or Letters being one for them all, and though they signifie the same, they haue not the same name, for they are to declare things, and not words, as the figures of Arithmeticke, that if a 9. be set, the *French*, the *Castillan*, and the *English* man doe vnderstand it, that it signifieth 9. but euery one doe name it after their owne fashion.

Characters as Ciphers.

By another side the *Iapones* doe confine with the *Philippines*, from whence there is commerce with them, and a great incouragement is giuen to the Fathers of the Company for to labour in the conuersion of the people of those Kingdomes, where notable fruite hath beene gotten, for the which these Ilands are much celebrated in the world, and by the comming of the Ambassadours of the new Christendome to the Pope, and to the King *Philip* the second, the *Prudent*, and so as nature placed them in a situation separated from the rest of the Land, the men of that Region are differing in customes from other people. In the yeare 1592. *Nobunanga* which caused himselfe to be called Emperour of *Iapon*, interprised with eight Vessels, and 20000. men, certaine Prouinces tributarie vnto *China*, and wan it.

From the Iland of *Sino*, which is among them of *Iapon* the greatest, is extended a row of small Ilands, called the *Lequios*, and doe prolong themselues toward the Coast of *China*; the two greater, which is euery one of fifteene or twentie leagues, neere the Coast of *Iapon*, are called the greater *Lequio*, and other two also great, though not so much, which are at the end of the Rowe, they call *Lequio* the lesser: some are inhabited of well shapen people, white, politicke, well apparelled, warlike, and of good reason, they abound in Gold more then others of that Sea, and not lesse in Victuals, Fruits, and good Waters. Neere vnto the lesser *Lequio* stands *Hermosa*, *or the beautifull Iland*, which hath the same qualitie, and say it is as big as *Sicilia*.

Lequios.

Chap. 27.

Of the new Guinea, Ilands of Salomon, and the Theeues, wherewith endeth that which they cal West Indies. The Lequios. Sir R. Hawkins.

THe Coast of new *Guinea* beginneth one hundred leagues to the East of the Iland of *Gilolo*, a little more then one degree altitude, on the other side of the Equinoctiall, from whence it is prolonged toward the East three hundred leagues, till it come to fiue or six degrees. It hath beene doubted vntill now, whether it be an Iland or firme Land, because it doth enlarge in such great a Voyage from being able to ioyne with the Countries of the Ilands of *Salomon*, or Prouinces of the Straight of *Magellanes* by the South side; but this doubt is resolued with that which those doe affirme that sailed on the South side of the Straight of *Magalanes*, that there is not a continent, but Ilands, and that presently followeth a spacious Sea, and among those navigations is Sir *Richard Hawkins*, an *English* Knight, which was fiue and fortie dayes among the same Ilands.

From

From the Sea the Land of this coast of *Guinea* seemeth good, and the men that haue been seene are cole black, and in the coast are many Ilands with good roads, and ports whereof is no particular notice; for hauing sailed it few times, those which are found in some cards are *Aguada* or the watering to the East thirty fiue leagues from the first Land, is in one degree of Southern altitude; and eighteene forward the port of Saint *Iames*, and the Iland of the *Cresps* of sixteene leagues long neere the coast, right against the Port of Saint *Andrew*, and neere to it the Riuer of Saint *Peter*, and Saint *Paul*, before the Port of Saint *Ierom*, and a small Iland neere the [a]*thrust out Point*, 40. leagues from S. *Austin*, which they call of *Good-peace*, and more forward from it, the [b] *Shelter*, and *Euill people*, two little Ilands, and the Bay of Saint *Nicholas*, fiftie leagues from *Puntasalida*, and among other Ilands one of white men, and the *Mother of God* before *Good Baye*, and of the *Natiuitie of our Lady*, the last of that which is discouered, and as to the North from it the *Caymana*, an Iland without in the Sea among others which haue no name.

Ilands and Ports of the coast of *Guinea*.

a Or *Curled*.
b *Hisp. Puntasalida.*
Buena par.
c *Abrigo.*

The Meridionall coast is not yet known, the first that discouered the new *Guine* was *Aluaro* of *Saauedra*, being lost with many stormes from his course, returning to new *Spain*, when in the yeare 1527. the Marques of the *Valley* sent him that on that side he should seek the Ilands of the *Spicerie*.

The Ilands of *Salomon* are eight hundred leagues from *Piru*, & the opinion that is held of their riches, gaue them this name, the which properly are called *of the West*, because they fal to the West from the Prouinces of *Piru*, from the place that *Aluaro* of *Mendoça* made discouery of them by order of the Licentiate *Lope Garcia de Castro* his Vnckle, Gouernor of the Kingdomes of *Piru*, in the yeare 1567. the first that saw the Land of these Ilands was a yong man, called *Treto*, in the top of a Ship: they are from seuen degrees of altitude on the other side of the Equinoctiall about 1500. leagues from the Citie of the Kings, they are many in quantity & greatnes, and eighteen the most famous, some of 300. leagues in compasse, and two of 200. and of 100. and of 50. and thence downward, besides many which are not yet made an end of coasting, and they say that they might be a continent with the coast of the new *Guiney*, and the Countries to be discouered toward the West of the straight: the Countrie of these Ilands seemeth of a good temper, and habitable, plentifull of victuals, and Cattell: there were found in them some fruits like those of *Castile*, Swine & Hens in great number: the Countrie men some of a brown colour like *Indians*, others white & ruddie, and some cole blacke, which is an argument of continuance with the Countries of the new *Guinie*, whereby there may so many differences of people be mingled of those which resort to the Ilands of the *Spicery*.

Ilands of *Salomon*.

The greatest and most renowned are *Santa Ysabel*, from eight to nine degrees of altitude, of more then 150. leagues in length, and eighteene in breadth, and one good port called of the *Star*: Saint *George* or *Borbi* to the South of S. *Isabel* one league and a halfe, of thirty leagues compasse; Saint *Marcos*, or Saint *Nicholas* of one hundred leagues compasse to the South-east of Saint *Isabel*; the Iland of the [c] *Shelues* as great as the former to the South of Saint *Isabel*, and Saint *Ierome* to the West of 100. leagues compasse; and *Guadalcanall* to the South-west greater then all: and to the East of Saint *Isabel*, the Iland of [d] *Buenauista*, and Saint *Dimas*, and the Iland of *Florida* of twenty leagues circuit euery one; and to the East of it, the Iland of [e] *Ramos* of 200. leagues compasse, and neere to it *Malayta*, and [f] *Atregnada* of thirty, and the three *Maries*, certaine little Ilands, & the Iland of Saint *Iohn* of twelue leagues compasse betweene the *Atregnada* and the Iland of S. *Iames* to the South. *Malata* of 100. leagues circuit, and to the South-east of it, the Iland of Saint *Christopher* as bigge as it: and Saint *Anne*, and Saint *Catherine*, two small Ilands fast by it: the *Name of God*, a small Iland distant from the other fiftie leagues, in seuen degrees of altitude, and in the same *Rumbe* to the North of Saint *Isabel*, the *Shelues*, which they call of [g] *Candelaria*.

I. de Arrazistes.

d Or *Good sight.*
e Or *Boughes.*
f Or *Frantickes.*

Hisp. Nombre de Dios.

g Or *Candlemasse.*

There is in the voiage that is made from *Piru* to the Ilands of *Salomon*, an Iland called of S. *Paul*, in fifteen degrees of altitude, 700. leagues from *Piru*, nineteen degrees, 300. leagues of Land, others which may be those that they called of *Salomon*, and they say also that they might be others which this little while haue beene discouered in the same Rombe of *Chile*.

The Ilands of the *Theeues* are a row of 16. smal Ilands together which runne North and South, with the middest of the coast of *Guiney*, from twelue degrees of altitude vnto seuenteene Septentrionall or more, not farre from the *Philippinas* to the East. They are all barren ground, and miserable, without Cattle, or Mettals, scarce of Victuals, inhabited with poore people, well shapen, naked, and much inclined to steale, euen to the nayles of the Shippes that came there, whereby *Magelane* named them of the *Theeues*, in the yeare 1520. when he came to them going in demand of the *Spicerie*. Their names are, the *Englisb*, the most North, and after it *Ota Mao*, *Chemechoa Gregua*, *Agan*, or *Pagan*, *Oramagan*, *Gugnan*, *Charegnan*, *Natan*, *Saepan*, *Bota*, *Volia*. There are among these Ilands *Phillipines*, other eighteene or twenty, called of the *Kings*, *Archipelagus*, or Ilands of the *Corrall*, and the *Gardens*, another quantity of little Ilands, and *Pialogo*, Saint *Vilan*, another little Iland, the *Gardens*, and the Iland of the *Matalotes*, and that of the *Shelues*, and of Saint *Iohn*, or of *Palmes*, neere the *Malucos*, and on the North side of the *Theeues*, fiue or six little Ilands together, called the [h] *Volcanes*, where is store of Cochinilla; and [i] *Malpelo* another small Iland, where are [*] Cualoes very fine, and on the East side of the *Theeues*, the two Sisters, two little Ilands in ten degrees, and Saint *Bartholomew* in foureteene and more

La Ingleſa Ilands of the *Ladrones*.
La Ingleſa.
The Kings.
Ilands of *Corral*
The *Gardens.*
g Or *Æthnaes.*
h Or *Euill haire*
* A Tree so called.
Two sisters.
S. *Bartholomew.*

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toward *new Spaine*, the *Shelues*, *Look how thou goeſt*, *Take away ſleep*, or *See thou ſleep not*; & neere to them the Iland of *Martine*, and Saint *Paul*, another ſmall Iland with ſhelues, and the *inhabited* the moſt Eaſtward toward *new Spaine*, *Aluaro* of *Saauedra* was alſo in the Iland of the *Theeues*, in the yeare 1527. returning from the Iland of *Spicerie* to *new Spaine*.

Martin.
Saint *Peter*, and Saint *Paul.*

Chap.28. Of the uprem Counſel of the *Indies*, and of the ſpirituall gouernment, and Eccleſiaſticall Royall Patronage.

THe Catholike King of *Caſtile*, and of *Lyon* continuing in their auncient, and Chriſtian pietie, preſently after theſe new Countries were diſcouered, and ioyned with this faire Monarchie, procured to plant, and ſettle the Catholike Religion in them, and temporall pollicie, with ſo much care and aduice of the wiſeſt men of theſe Kingdomes. For as the diſcoueries did increaſe the buſineſſes, they formed a particular Counſell with Preſident and Councellours, that buſying themſelues in no other thing, with more diligence they might reſort to that which ſo much pertained to the ſeruice of our Lord God, and gouernment of that Orbe. And becauſe hereafter mention ſhall be made of the perſons which from the beginning haue laboured, and ſerued in the ſupreame Counſel of the *Indies*, which hath carried ſo great a waight vnto this preſent houre, firſt ſhall be ſpoken of the ſpirituall and temporall gouernment, and the reſt worth the knowing, that the order of that Monarchie may be vnderſtood, with all breuitie.

Counſell of the *Indies.*

The firſt thing that theſe godly Kings did charge and command the firſt Diſcouerer, and from man to man commanded the other Diſcouerers and Gouernours of that new World with very ſtraight orders, was, that they ſhould procure that the people which they carried, with the Chriſtian life, and with their good cuſtomes, ſhould giue ſuch example to the *Indians*, that they might be glad to imitate them, and ſhould binde them vnto it, entring firſt according to the Euangelicall Law, the religious men preaching it, that ſo rather with the ſweetneſſe of it, then with the force and noyſe of Armes it ſhould be admitted, and that iuſtice ſhould be adminiſtred with ſuch equalitie to all men, that it might be much reſpected & eſteemed. All went forward, the townes went augmenting in ſuch manner, that with the zeale of the ſeruice of God, and good of the men it hath come to ſuch a point, that at this day there are found built and eſtabliſhed in all that Orbe of this Crowne poſſeſſed, as before hath beene ſeene, *fiue Archbiſhopricks*, *twentie ſeuen Biſhopricks*, *two famous Vniuerſities*, where with great learning and doctrine al the Sciences are read, more then *foure hundred Monaſteries* of religious *Dominicks*, *Franciſcans*, *Auguſtines*, *Mercenaries*, and the Companie of Ieſus, with ſome *Monaſteries of Nunnes, and Colledges, infinite Hoſpitals, and Fraternities*, innumerable ſtore of *beneficed Cures*, which are called *Doctrines*, for to teach thoſe new Conuerts, and *Heremites*, and *Chappels in the high-way erected on pillars, hauing Crucifixes in them*, without number. All the which was begun at the charge of the Crowne, and at this day it goeth forward where there is no maintenance for it. In effect, this Catholike pietie by the clemency of God goeth from good to better, augmenting with ſo much reuerence and honour of God, that in no place of Chriſtendome it is done with more order or care, by the care of the ſupreme Councell of the *Indies*. Of the which is inferred, that the *Conceſſion* of the Apoſtolike *Roman* Sea made to the *Crowne of Caſtile*, and of *Lion*, of the Patronage Eccleſiaſticall of that new World was a very great remedie, in the which our Lord God (as Hee which onely is Hee that ſeeth, and preuenteth all things to come) did a thing worthy of His greatneſſe, ſeeing Hee hath ſhewed the experience that if this had beene gouerned otherwiſe, it had beene impoſſible to haue proceeded with the harmonie, and euen concent as it hath, of Religion, Iuſtice, and Gouernment, with ſo much obedience and quietneſſe.

How many Archbiſhopricks, Biſhopricks, Monaſteries, and Schooles of Doctrine are in the *Indies*.

So *Humilladeros* is ſaid to ſignifie the tranſlator had, *Shrines*: the latine hath *Pœnitentiarij*.

The Eccleſiaſticall Patronage is gouerned in the ſame manner that in the Kingdome of *Granada*, the Kings Catholike preſenting to the chiefe Biſhop onely the Archbiſhops, and Biſhops, that from his holy hand they may receiue theſe Prelacies, and may diſpatch their Bulls, procuring alway that they be perſons of a religious life, and great learning. All the other Dignities and Benefices are prouided by the King, and conſultation of the *ſupreme Councell of the Indies*, and they go not to *Rome* for Buls: and their rents conſiſt in tithes and firſt fruits which ariſe of the *Spaniſh* inhabiters. For in the moſt places of theſe *Indies* the Countrie men paie not, and where the tithes are wanting, it is ſupplied out of the goods royall: and touching the tithes and firſt fruits that are to be paied, many ordinances and rates are made according to the ſtile of theſe Kingdomes, that the men of each Colony, it is iuſt it ſhould follow her cuſtomes. And though the Kings of *Caſtile*, and of *Lyon*, are Lords of the tithes by Apoſtolike conceſſion, & might take them to himſelfe, ſupplying where it wanteth with that which in other places doth exceede, he leaueth them to the Prelates & Churches, prouiding of his own goods Royall with the liberality of ſo Catholik Princes, to all the neceſſities of the poore Churches, giuing to euery one that is built anew the greateſt part of that which is ſpent in the building, with a Chaliz, a Bell, and a painted * Table.

How the Eccleſiaſticall Patronage is gouerned.

* Of Images or Pictures.

That the diſtribution of that which proceedeth of the tithes, and of that which is beſtowed out of the goods Royall in maintenance of the Prelates, Dignities, and Canons of the Cathedrall Churches, and Benefices, Cures, and perſons that are occupied in the diuine Seruice, and inſtructing of the *Indians*, may be fruitfully imploied according to the holy intention of the Kings; the ſupreme Counſell hath made good ordinances. Firſt, that all the ſaid perſons be of an approued life and cuſtomes, & eſpecially thoſe that doe meddle in the *Doctrines*, being firſt examined touching

Las Leyes.

* learning,

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learning, and after in the language of the *Indians*; for it would little auaile, that the Diſciples ſhould not vnderſtand the Maiſter: and that theſe do continually reſide: and that no Curate, or Teacher may haue two Benefices; and that thoſe which ſhall from theſe parts paſſe to the *Indies* be more approued, it is commanded that no Prieſt doe paſſe without licence of his Prelate and of the King, and that if any be there found without it, preſently they ſhould ſend him to *Spaine*.

He continueth the gouernement of the Eccleſiaſticall Patronage.

And that the manner how the Royall Patronage is gouerned may better be vnderſtood, ſeeing it appertaineth to this Crowne, becauſe that it hath diſcouered and acquired that *New World*; and hath alſo built and endowed, out of the goods Royall, ſo many Churches, & Monaſteries, as by the Apoſtolike conceſſion, that for no cauſe the ſaid patronage, nor any part of it, either by cuſtome, or preſcription, or other title may be ſeparated from it: it is ordained what care the Vice-roies, Counſels, Gouernors, & Rulers, are to haue in it, and what penalties the tranſgreſſors ſhould incur. Firſt, that no Cathedrall or Pariſh Church, Monaſterie, Hoſpitall, nor votiue Church, ſhould be founded without conſent of the King. That when in the Cathedrall Churches there are not foure *Beneficed men reſident, prouided by royall preſentation, & canonicall prouiſion of the Prelate, becauſe the other Prebends be voide, or abſent for more then eight moneths (though for a lawfull cauſe.) The ſaid Prelate, till ſuch time as the King doth preſent, may chuſe to the accompliſhing of the foure Clarks (beſides thoſe that are prouided and reſident) of the moſt ſufficient of thoſe that ſhall offer themſelues, without that the ſaid prouiſion be in *Titulo* (to be remoueable at pleaſure) & that they haue no ſeate in the Quire, nor voice in Counſell. That no Prelate may make canonicall inſtitution, nor giue poſſeſſion of any Prebend, or Benefice, without preſentation Royall, & in ſuch a caſe that without delay they make the prouiſion, and command to reſort with the fruits. That in all the dignities, & Prebends, the learned be preferred before the vnlearned, and thoſe which haue ſerued in the Cathedral Churches of *Caſtile*, and haue more exerciſe of the ſeruice of the Quire, before them that haue not ſerued in them. That at the leaſt there be preſented for euery Cathedrall Church a graduate Lawyer, & a Diuine for the Pulpet, with the obligation that in theſe Kingdoms the doctoral Canons, & Magiſtrates haue; & another learned Diuine to read the ſacred Scriptures and another Lawyer or Diuine for the Cannonſhip of Pennance, according to the ſacred Counſell of *Trent*. That all the other Benefices, Cures, and ſimples, ſecular, and regulars, and the Eccleſiaſticall Offices that ſhall be voide, or prouided anew. That they may be made with leſſe delay, and the Royall patronage may be preſerued, it is commanded that they be made in the forme following. That any of the aboueſaid Benefices, or Offices being voide, the Prelate ſhall command to make edicts with a competent tearme, and of thoſe that ſhall offer themſelues hauing examined them, and being informed of their behauior, ſhall name of the beſt; and the Vice-roy or Gouernor of the Prouince, ſhal chuſe one and remit the election to the Prelate, that he make the prouiſion, Collation, and Cannonicall inſtitution by way of recommendation, and not in a perpetuall title, ſo that when the King doth make the preſentation, and in it ſhal be expreſſed that the collation be made in a perpetuall title, the Canonicall inſtitution ſhall be in title, and not in recommendation: and the preſented by the King be alwayes preferred before the preſented by his Miniſters.

* Or *Pentionary*.

Prouiſion of the Prebends, and Benefices.

That in the repartitions, and Towns of the *Indians*, and other places where they haue no benefice to elect, or means to place one to adminiſter the Sacraments, the Prelates ſhall procure there be one to *teach the Doctrine*, making an edict, and hauing informed himſelfe of his ſufficiency and goodnes, he ſhall ſend the nomination to the Miniſters Royal, that they do preſent him one of the two nominated, and if there be but one, that, and in the vertue of ſuch a preſentation the Prelate ſhall make the prouiſion, giuing him the inſtruction how he is to teach, and commanding him to giue notice of the fruits. That in the preſentations of all the dignities, offices, and benefices, the beſt deſeruing, and that moſt exerciſed in the conuerſion of the *Indians*, and the adminiſtration of the Sacraments ſhall be prouided; which, & thoſe that beſt ſpeak the language of the *Indians*, ſhall be preferred before the other. That he which ſhall come or ſend to requeſt his Maieſtie to preſent him to ſome dignitie, office, or benefice, ſhall appeare before the Miniſters of the Prouince, and declaring his petition, he ſhall giue information of his kindred, learning, cuſtomes & ſufficiency, and the Miniſter ſhall make another of his office, and with his opinion to ſend it, and that the pretendant do bring alſo an approbation from his Prelate; for without theſe diligences thoſe that come ſhall not be admitted. That none may obtaine two Benefices, or dignities in one, or in ſundry Churches. That the preſented not appearing before the time contained in the preſentation before the Prelate, it ſhall be voide, and they may not make him a Cannonicall inſtitution.

Chap. 29.
Of the Spirituall Gouernement, Goods of Men deceaſed: of the married: and of the holy office of the holy and general Inquiſition. Building of an Hoſpitall.

BEſides that which is rehearſed, it is prouided that they doe not permit any Prebendary in the Cathedrall Churches, to enioy the rents of it, except it be ſeruing & being reſident; and that the Benefices of the *Indians* be Cures, and not ſimples, and that in the new diſcoueries, and plantations that ſhall be made, there be preſently an Hoſpitall built for the poore, and ſicke perſons, of ſickneſſes that are not contagious, which ſhall be placed neere the Temple, and for a Cloyſter of the ſame; that for the ſicke of contagious diſeaſes, the Hoſpitall ſhall be ſet that no hurtfull winde paſſing by it doe ſtrike in the other inhabiting, and if it be built on a high place it will be better. And becauſe the King being informed that goods of the deceaſſed in thoſe parts do not come

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comp so wholly as they might, nor so soone to the hands of the heyres, by will of the said deceased, for many causes, whereby the heires receiued great damage, and the testaments were not performed: for a remedy, it was prouided, that whatsoeuer *Spaniard* shall come to any Village, or Towne of these parts, he shall present himselfe before the Clarke of the Counsell, where he shall Register the name, and surname of such a one, with the place of his abode or birth, that his death happening, it may be knowne where those that are to be his heires may be found. That the ordinary Iustice, with the most auncient Ruler, and the Clark of the Counsell shall take charge of the goods of the persons that shall dye, and shall set them in an Inuentorie, before a Scriuener and Witnesses: and the debts that he did owe, and were owing him, and that which is in Gold & Siluer, small Pearle, and other things shall be sold, and put in a Chest of three Locks, whose Keyes the three persons abouesaid shall keepe. That the goods be sold in a publike out-cry, with the Testimony of a Scriuener: that if neede be, an Atturney shall be constituted. That the said Iustices doe take accompt of all those that haue charge of dead mens goods, and recouer all that they are behinde hand without any appeale, and doe put it in the Chest of the three Keyes. That hauing any Will of the deceased where he dyeth, and the Heires or Executors, the Iustice shall not meddle in any thing, neither take the goods, taking only notice who be the Heires of the said deceased. That the said Iustices, Rulers, and Scriueners doe send also to the *Contratation-house* of *Seuill*, all that which they shall recouer of the goods of the deceased, declaring the name, surname, and abode of of euery one deceased, with the Copy of the Inuentory of his goods, that they may be giuen to his Heires, by the order that touching the same is giuen. That when they take accompt of those that haue had goods of men deceased, it shall be sent to the supreme Counsell of the *Indies*, with a very particular relation, and reason of all. That the Iustices doe with care enforme themselues carefully of those which haue in possession the goods of men deceased, whether they haue done any fraude, and preiudice to the goods they haue had in possession, & send to the Counsel notice thereof, that they may giue accompt with paiment to the Iustices aboue said. That accompt be giuen euery yeere, and the memoriall of the dead that haue beene that yeere shall be shewed to the Gouernor of the Country, & of the goods they had, that they may be sent to *Seuill*, & be giuen to his heires, and the Testaments be fulfilled, with good accompt and reason that is behouefull. For in euery Counsell, one of the Iustices is Iudge of the goods of the deceased, the one succeeding another, from the yongest to the eldest, by their turne, which doth send his Commissaries through the bounds to take accompt of the houlders, and there be any carelessenesse, the Iustices are charged therewith in the visitations which are made of them, and before when there are any Plaintifes.

Orders for the goods of the deceased.

Touching married men.

Those Catholike Kings being informed that in the *Indies* were many married *Spaniards*, which liued separated from their wiues, of the which, besides the offence that was done to our Lord God, there followed a great inconuenience to the Plantation of those Countries, for that such not liuing seated in them, were not continued, neither did they attend to build, plant, breed, nor sowing, nor doing other things, which the good inhabiters are wont to doe, whereby the Townes doe not increase, as is behoofefull, and as they would do if there came inhabitors with their wiues & children, as true Townsmen; being willing to remedy the abouesaid, commanded that all and euery person or persons that should be found to be married, or betrothed in these Kingdomes, should come vnto them for their wiues, and not returne to the *Indies* without them, or with sufficient proof that they are dead. And the same order was giuen for all the Kingdomes, of that new world, and sundry times hath beene reiterated, and commanded to be executed vpon grieuous penalties.

The holy Office of the Inquisition.

Proceeding from the yeare 1492. when the discouery of this Orbe was begun, in directing and setling the spirituall gouernment, as hath beene seene, for greater perfection, and enduring of it: The Catholike King *Don Phillip* the second, called the *Prudent*, considering that among the great benefits that the *Indians* haue receiued, their illumination to receiue the Euangelicall Doctrin was the greatest, which hath extended it selfe, and considering also the singular grace which God for his mercy hath vsed with them, in giuing them knowledge of our holy Catholike Faith; that it was necessary to haue a speciall vigilancy in the conseruing of the deuotion, and reputation of the inhabitors, and *Castillans* pacifiers, which with so many labours procured the augmenting of the Religion, and exalting of the Catholike Faith (as in those parts like faithful & Catholik Christians, and good naturall and true *Castillans* they haue done) & seeing that those which are out of the holy Catholike & Apostolike *Roman* Church, obstinate, and stubborne in their errors, and heresies, do alwayes procure to peruert the faithful Christians, labouring to draw them to their false opinions, scattering certain damned Books, wherof hath followed great hurt to our sacred Religion; and hauing so certain experience that the best meanes to preuent these euils, consisteth in the separating the communication of heretical persons, punishing their errors, according to the disposition of the sacred Canons & laws of these Kingdoms (which by this holy means, by the diuine clemency haue beene preserued from this wicked contagion, and is hoped they will be preserued hereafter) to the end that the Orbe doe not receiue so much hurt, where the inhabiters of these Kingdomes haue giuen so good example of Christianity, & the Country-born haue not peruerted themselues with erronious doctrines of the hereticks: It seemed good to his Maiestie, with the aduice of the Cardinal D. *Iames* of *Espinosa*, Bishop of *Siguença*, Inquisitor generall in these Kingdoms, a man of great prudence,

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prudence, and of many rare parts and vertues, for the which he made election of his person, to help him to beare the burden of so many Kingdomes, and Lordships, and of the Counsels of the holy, and generall Inquisition, and of the supreame Counsell of the *Indies* (for it behoued to place one Counsell of the holy Office in *Mexico*; for the Kingdomes of *New Spaine*, and the rest of the *Indies* of the North, and another in the Citie of the Kings, for the Kingdomes of *Piru*, and the adherents, which are called the *Indies* of the South) which the authority that the Councels of these Kingdomes haue, so that as yet they should not meddle with the cases of the *Indians*, but onely of the *Castillanes*, & other Nations that should be found in the *Indies*, and so that the appeals should come to the supreame Counsell that is resident in this Court, as it is done in *Spaine*, and in the accomplishing thereof, in the yeare 1570. the King *Don Phillip* the second, called the *Prudent*, gaue a generall power to the Towne of *Madrid*, the 16. of August, that the Apostolike Inquisitours that should be named for the present, and for hereafter against the hereticall peruersnesse, & Apostacie; and the Officers and Ministers necessary for this holy Office, which was commanded to be seated in the Cities of *Mexico*, and of the *Kings*, should exercise & vse their Offices, and royall warrants, that *Don Martin Enriques*, and *Don Francisco* of *Toledo*, Viceroyes, and Captains generall in the Kingdomes of *New Spaine*, and *Piru*, and the Counsels, and Iustices, Gouernours, and other persons should giue all aide, and fauour to the holy *Officio*, and the Inquisitors, and Officers were nominated, as in their owne place shall be spoken more at large.

Chap. 30. Of the forme of the gouernment of the supreame Counsell of the *Indies*, and of the Institution of the Counsels, and Chanceries royall of those parts.

THese Catholike Kings, most wisely constituted the *Supreme Counsell of the Indies*, that they might helpe them to beare so great a burden, as is already the gouernment of that Orbe, and the Counsell consisteth in one *President*, and eight or more *Counsellors*, as necessitie requireth, with one *Atturney*, *Secretaries*, *Clerkes of the Chamber*, *Relators*, and other *Officers*, and an *Office of Accompts*, where a notice is had of all the goods Royall of those parts. And that proceeding might be according to rule and order, they declared first that the Counsell should meet three houres euery day in the morning, and two in the afternoone, three dayes in the weeke that bee no holy dayes, and that they should firme the Warrants that should be deliuered for these Kingdoms; but that those that were for the *Indies*, should haue the seale Royall: and that in those parts it should haue supreme iurisdiction, and might make Lawes, and Decrees, to see and examine whatsoeuer Statutes, Constitutions of Prelates, Senates, Chapters, and Conuents of the Religious, and of the Vice-royes, Courts, and Counsels; and that in the *Indies*, and in these Kingdoms, in matter dependant of them it should bee obeyed: that the gouernment of the *Indies* should bee like this of these Kingdomes, and that more in particular the Counsell doe occupie it selfe in the matters of gouernment. That in Suites remitted those of the *Councell Royall* shall come to giue their voyces to that *of the Indies*, and that two voyces shall make a Sentence in suites of 500. [d] Pesos, or vnder. That there be a second Supplication in a case of 10000. Pesos: that they deale not in the reparti-

Appeales.

[d] Which is 100. pound *English*, taking two Ryals for one shilling.

tions of the *Indians* in those parts, but the Processes well perused in the Courts according to a Law, called of *Malinas* (for there it was made) they shall come to the *Supreme Counsell*: touching order to be held in matters of seruices, that the Counsell doe see them all; and in matters of rewards, that which the greatest part doth determine, shall be done, and that in these there be a Supplication, and that no expedient suite be seene the third time: and that in the matters they doe resolue with breuitie, that the charges be giuen to the best deseruing, and that they be not giuen to the allied and kinsmen of them of the Counsell; neither may such bee Solicitors, nor Atturneys; in the prouidings of the Offices no price shall be admitted: nor that they of the Counsell haue any *Indians* of repartition, and they shall assist in their houses, that the Suiters may find them there, when they goe not to Counsel: and that due secrecy be kept in all things, and aboue all that the Counsell haue a particular care of the Conuersion and good Instruction of the *Indians*, and of the spirituall gouernment; and that of [e] 600000. Marmediz vpward the appeale shall come to the Counsell; that they may appeale from the Sentences in the fiue Cases of naturall death, or mayming of a member, or other bodily punishment, publike shame, or racking, and the appeales shall come to the Counsell, with many other laudable orders, which are omitted for breuities sake.

[e] Which as we accompt 441. pound 3 shillings and one third part of a pennie.

That the President being a learned man, shall haue a voice in matters of Gouernment, gratuities, and fauours, visitations, and accompts, and not in suits, because he may be the more free for the gouernment of the Counsell; and being vnlearned he shall haue no voice, but in matters of grace, gouernment, and fauour, and that he may assemble the Counsell in his owne house, and haue a noate of the businesses, and that the Counsellours doe not accompany with the Suitors. And because it seemed a necessary thing that one *Fiscad* or Atturney should assist in Counsell, it was commanded he should haue the same stipend that the Counsellours, and that they deliuer him the dispatches of the Office, that he haue a care to know how that is accomplished which is prouided for the *Indies*; that necessary Papers be giuen him for his Office, that he doe see the visitations before Counsell: that he haue a book to register all the capitulations that are taken with the King, another wherein he may set down the Atturneys Pleas: that he delay not the suits; that his demands, or those that are against him be admitted, if the Counsel think it good: that he keep a book of that which is concluded for the cases; that he haue a care to know the Officers that doe omit to send a relation euery yeere to the Counsell.

He continueth the orders of the supreame Counsell.

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Institution of the Courts royall of the *Indies.*

Hauing ordained all that which appertaineth to the Counsell, which is the head of this Gouernment, with many other orders which are not rehearsed for breuitie; they proceeded in ordering all the Prouinces of the *Indies*, in the matters of iustice, as neede required: and these Catholike Kings desiring the common good of that new world, that their subiects that should possesse it, hauing a zeale to the seruice of our Lord God, good, profit, & ease of the said Subiects, & to the peace, and quietnesse of the Towns, as the King is bound vnto God, and to them, for to accomplish with the Office that he hath in earth, hee thought good to command to place the Courts and Royall Chanceries, that (as hath beene said) are in the *Indies*, with the Statutes, and orders that hath beene giuen them, that the Ministers may doe their office, and iustice be well administred, and the Townes obtained the benefit pretended.

The Court of the *Hispanyola.* * Or *Ordinary Iustice, &c.*

The first Court that was established, was in the Citie of Saint *Dominicke* in the Iland *Hispaniola*, with one President a learned man, though now becausc of the warre he is a Souldiour, with title of Captaine Generall, and foure Iustices that beare rods, like an * *Alcalde*, and deale in ciuill and criminall matters, in a degree of apeale, and in the instance in matter of Court, and the Gouernment is onely commended to the President (which now is in *Don Antonio Osforio*) and the limits thereof.

The Court of *Mexico.*

The second Court was established in the Citie of *Mexico*, in *New Spaine*: the first President which was *Nunyo* of *Guzman*, had no authoritie, for he was placed but for a season: with the second Court, the Bishop D. *Sebastian Ramirez* (for he was so in the Court of *Hispanyola*) he had the Gouernment of the Kingdomes, and the supreame authoritie, and hee left that, established that which belonged vnto it, and vnto iustice, as at this present it is. The President of this Court is the Vice-roy (which now is the Earle of *Monterrey*) there are eight Iustices, which doe iudge in ciuill matters, and in the appeale of the cases of gouernment which the Vice-roy establisheth. There are three Iustices of criminall cases, which beare rods, and deale in criminal cases, and two Atturnies, one of ciuill, another of criminall causes, and hee prouideth the Rulers charges that are not reserued to the King, and the other Officers, and helpes of cost in releases, and vacations in the limits of this Court of *Mexico*, and in that Counsell of new *Galicia*.

The Court of *Panama.*

The third Court was that of *Panama* in *Terra firme* (for this name was giuen to it, because it was the first place where from the Ilands the *Castillanes* went to inhabit, and as their common speech was to say that they went and came from the *Firme Land*, though other Prouinces were found in the firme land of that Orbe) this Prouince continued this name, loosing that of *Castilla del Oro*, wherewith the Kings commanded it should be called: and when the affaires of *Peru* grew greater, in the yeare 1542. It was thought good that this Court should be remoued to the Citie of *The Kings*, where the Vice-roy (which now is *Don Lewis* of *Velasco*) hath at his charge the gouernment of these limits, and that of the Courts of the *Charcas* and *Quito*.

Wherefore it was called *Terra firme.*

Court of the Citie of the Kings.

There is in this Court of the *Kings* eight Iustices, three Iustices of Court, and two Atturneys, in the same order as in *Mexico*: and the Vice-roy is resident in the Citie of the *Kings*, and is the President of this Court, and shall be in the other two, when he is present in them, and doth diuide all the repartitions of *Indians* that are voide in the bounds of them.

The Court of *Guatemala.*

The fourth Court was established in the Prouince of the *Confines*, and seeming it was needlesse it was dissolued, and the yeare 1570. it was established againe in the Citie of Saint *Iames*, of the Kingdome of *Guatemala*: in it is one President which is the Doctor *Criado* of *Castile*: foure Iustices with rods, and one Attorney. They sit on ciuill and criminall cases, in appeales, and in the first instance: in matters of Court the President onely hath the Gouernment, and assigneth the *Indians*, prouideth the Rulerships, and other Offices temporall.

The Court of the new Kingdome.

The fift Court was established in the Citie of *Sancta Fe de Bogata*, in the new *Kingdome* of *Granada*, with one President (which now is the Doctor *Francisco de Sande*) foure Iustices with rods, and one Atturney, with the same authority that the former.

The Court of the new Kingdome of *Galicia*

The sixt was established in the Citie of *Guadalaiara*, of the new Kingdome of *Gallicia*, with one Regent, three chiefe Iustices, which dispatched a great while without Seale, and the matters increasing, the Seale was giuen, and a Register, and a President was placed, which now is Doctor *Sanctiago de Vera*: and three Iustices with rods, one Atturney, and the Viceroy of *New Spain* hath the Gouernment.

The Court of *Quito.*

The seuenth Court, was placed in the Citie of Saint *Francis* of *Quito*, of the Prouince of *Piru*, where there was also a Regent, chiefe Iustices without Seale, and afterward the Court was established with a President (which now is the Licentiat *Miguel de Vuarar*) with three Iustices with rods, & one Atturny with the same faculty of *Guadalaiara*, the gouernment, & the rest remaining to the Vice-roy of *Piru*, as aboue said.

The Court of the *Charcas.*

The eight Court was in the Citie of the *Plate*, in the Prouince of the *Charcas*, with a Regent and chiefe Iustices: after there was placed a President, foure Iustices with rods, Atturney, Seale, and Register, and now is President the Licentiat *Cepeda*, with reseruation of the prouiding the charges, and the rest to the Vice-roy of *Piru*.

Counsell of *Panama.*

The ninth Court, is that which was established againe in the Citie of *Panama*, with a President of Sword and Cloake, because of the matters of warre, which is now *Don Alonso de Sotomayor*, with the title of Captaine Generall of *Terra firme*: there are three Iustices with roddes, which doe deale in Appeales of ciuill and criminall cases, and at first instance in matters of Court, and it hath onely the Gouernment.

* *Sc.* a Soldiour.

The Court of the *Phillipines.*

In the Citie of Saint *Iames*, of the Prouince of *Chile*, was placed the tenth Court, and because it seemed needelesse, it was dissol-

ued,

ned, and a Gouernour was prouided, which dependeth on the Viceroy of *Piru*. In the Citie of the *Philippinas*, called *Manila*, was a Court, and it was dissolued, because it seemed needelesse a few yeares since it was established againe, with a Captaine Generall which is *Don Peter* of *Acuna* which is President, and foure Iustices, and one Atturney, with the same authoritie that the other Courts. For the Catholike Kings of *Castile*, with the aduise of the Supreme Councell of the *Indies*, doe alwayes prouide with a sincere and iust minde, that which is conuenient for the preseruation, and augmenting of the spirituall and temporall things of those parts, without any spare of expences, or labor: and euery Court hath according to the vse of these Kingdomes, Secretaries, Relators, Sergeants, Porters, and the Officers which are necessarie.

Chap. 3 1. Of the things that are prouided in the supreme Councell of the *Indies* with consultation of the Kings.

THE harmonie and agreement of this great Monarchie, is such, that to euery Minister hath beene giuen the authoritie that as well by reason of estate, as for the reputation of iustice hath seemed to be conuenient, reseruing to the supreme Maiestie that which hath beene iudged to be necessarie to his authoritie. For to the Vice-royes and Presidents, that they may haue to reward the well-deseruing, and they be more respected, there are Offices assigned which they may prouide, and matters wherein they may gratifie, and to the prouiding of the Person Royall haue remayned, with consultation of the supreme Councell of the *Indies* the offices following.

The gouernments which the King prouideth in the *Indies*.

For the Kingdome of *Chile* a Gouernour and a learned Iustice, with faculte to incommend or authorise the *Indians*: another for *Tucuman*, with the same faculte: another for the Prouinces of the Riuer of *Plate*, for *Popayan*, *Santa Martha*, *Cartagena*, and *Veragua*, with their Gouernour in euery one with the same power. In the Prouinces of *Nicaragua*, and the *Rich Coast*, one in the Iland of *Cuba*, one Gouernour, and Captaine which is resident in the Citie of Saint *Christopher* of the *Antans*: there are besides the Gouernours of the Iland of Saint *Iohn* of *Porto-rico*, *Venezuela*, *Soconusco*, *Yucatan*, *Cozumel*, and *Tabasco*, which is all one gouernment with authoritie to commend the *Indians*. His Maiestie prouideth also the gouernments of *Honduras*, the *Margarite*, *Florida*, new *Bisquie*, *Darado*, those of the *new Realme of Leon*, and that of *Pacamores*, *Yguasango*, which are for terme of life, and the same in the Prouinces of *Choco*, *Quixos*, the *Cynamom*, Ilands of *Salomon*, *Santa Cruz of the Hill*, and the last is that of the new *Andalusia*.

The Rulerships that his Maiestie doth prouide,

Likewise there are prouided by his Maiestie the Rulerships following. The *Cuzco*, the Citie of the *Plate*, and the seate of the mynes of *Potosi*, and the prouince of *Chicuito*, the *Andes* of *Cuzco*, the citie of *Truxillo*, *Arrequipa*, Saint *Iames* of *Guayaquil*, *Guamanga*, the citie of the *Peace*, *Chiquiabo*, Saint *Iohn* of the Frontier, *Lion* of *Guanuco*, *Old Hauen*, *Zamora*, the inhabiting of the mynes of the *Zacatecas* in new *Galicia*, *Cuenca*, *Loxa*, *Tunja*, the citie of *Mexico*, the citie of *the Kings*, the prouince of *Nicoya*. Chiefe Iusticeships, are those of the village of Saint *Sauiour* of the prouince of *Guatemala*, the inward part of *Hispaniola*, *Nombre de Dios*, the village of *Chuluteca*, prouince of the *Chiapa*, *Zapotlan*, the village of *Nata*, *Santa Marie* of the victorie in *Tabasco*. And the chiefe Bayliwickes are, in the citie of Saint *Dominicke* in *Mexico*, in *Guadalajara*, Saint *Iames* of *Guatemala*, *Panama*, holy *Faith* of *Bogota*, Saint *Francis* of *Quito*, the citie of *the Kings*, the *Plata*. In the Cities recited in euery one is a chiefe Bayliefe, which hath a voice in Councell as a Ruler, and Deputies named, for the vse of his Office, and in euery Court is another chiefe Bayliefe with faculte to name other two Deputies.

* Or the name of God.

For the gouernment of the goods Royall are prouided by his Maiestie, with the opinion of the supreme Councell of the *Indies*, many Officers, Factors, Treasurers, Tellers, and Ouer-seers, which all doe giue assurance in *Castile* and in the *Indies*, of good and faithfull administration: and because this new Commonwealth doth augment so much, it seemed behoofefull to the seruice of God, and of the King, to ennoble and authorize it more, with placing two Vice-royes, one in *New Spaine*, another in the Kingdomes of *Piru*, that in the Kings name they should gouerne and prouide the things belonging to the seruice of God, and of the King, and to the conuersion and instruction of the *Indians*, sustayning, continuing, inhabiting, and ennobling of the said Kingdomes, which experience hath shewed, that it hath beene conuenient: to the which Vice-royes instructions are giuen very particular of that which is recited, and that they may haue in protection the holy office of the Inquisition, and with their strong arme to defend and protect it, that this conformitie as a fast knot, may be the pure and true preseruation of the spirituall and temporall Estate, which is the best and truest estate, and most according to the Euangelicall estate.

That which is forbidden the Vice-royes, and Iudges.

The Vice-royes are commanded also, and likewise the Iudges, not to haue houses proper, nor to trafficke, nor contract, nor be serued of the *Indians*, neither haue any * Grangeries, nor meddle in Armies, nor Discoueries; that they receiue no guifts nor presents of any person; nor borrow mony, nor any thing to eate; nor pleade, nor receiue arbitrements. That no Lawyer may plead where his father, father in law, brother in law, cousin, or sonne is Iudge. That no Vice-roy, President, Iustice, Iudge of the criminall Cases, Solicitor, nor their children may marry in the *Indies*. That no Gouernours, Rulers, nor their Deputies, may buy Lands, nor build Houses, nor trafficke in their iurisdiction. That they may not farme the Bayliwickes, nor Iaylorships, nor other offices. That no Gouernour, Ruler, nor chiefe Bayliefe, during the time of his office, may marry in the bounds of his iurisdiction. That no Iudge be prouided for a Ruler, neither shall the said

* Where herds of Cattell are bred.

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ſaid Iudges, or Bayliefs, haue any charge in which they are to make any abſence from their offices: neither ſhall any office of iuſtice be giuen to the ſonnes, ſonne in law, brothers in law, nor fathers in law of Preſidents, Iuſtices, nor Solicitors, nor to the Officers of the Courts, and of the goods Royal, neither to ſeruants nor allied of theirs: and the ſame is commanded the Vice-royes. And that none of the abouesaid Miniſters, doe accept warraant for recoueries nor other things, nor ſerue themſelues of the *Indians* without paying them. That no Aduocate, Scriuener, nor Relator, doe dwell in the houſe of Iudge, nor Bayliefe, nor the Suiters ſerue the Iudges. That the Iudges of *Panama*, doe not accompanie themſelues with the Dealers, nor giue leaue to their wiues to accompanie them. And that no Iuſtices of all the Courts, ſhall haue much communication with the Suiters, Aduocates, nor Atturneys: neither in body of a Court to goe to Marriages, Funerals, nor Spouſals, except it be a very weighty matter: neither viſite any Neighbour for any cauſe. That they doe not meddle in matters of the Commonwealth, nor any Iuſtice, nor other miniſter of the Court, may haue two offices in it. And beſides theſe many other Ordinances, and good Lawes, which are all concerning adminiſtration of iuſtice.

Chap. 32. Wherein hee continueth the matter of the good gouernment of the Indies.

AND becauſe theſe Catholike Kings haue left nothing which moſt wiſely they haue not prouided for according to their dutie, the firſt thing they command the Vice-royes, and all the Miniſters in generall and particular is, the good vſage of the *Indians*, and their preſeruation, and the accompliſhing of the Orders which are made as touching this, for to puniſh the Offenders with great rigour: and as the *Indians* doe learne the *Caſtillan* policie, and can complaine, and know in what things they receiue wrong, for their greater eaſe it is prouided, that they giue no place that the ordinarie writings be made in the ſuites betweene, or with the *Indians*, neither make any delayes, as it is wont to happen, by the malice of ſome Aduocates, and Atturneys, but that ſummarily they be determined, keeping their vſes and cuſtomes, not being manifeſtly iniuſt, and that by all meanes poſſible, they doe prouide the good and ſhort diſpatch of them. And hauing notice that in the interpretation of the *Indians* languages, there were ſome fraudes; for to preuent all, it was ordayned, that euery interpretation be made by two Interpreters, which ſhall not confer both together about that which is controuerted by the *Indian*: and that before they be receiued to the vſe of the office, they ſhall take their oath to adminiſter it faithfully, and that they receiue no guifts of the *Indians* ſuiters, nor of others. That they doe aſſiſt at the Agreements, Courts, and viſitations of the Priſons. That in their houſes they heare not the *Indians*, but to carry them to the Court. That the Interpreters be not Solicitors, not Atturneys of the *Indians*. That they aske them nothing. And for their greater good, it is prouided, that the Atturney of the ſupreme Councell of the *Indies*, bee Protector of the *Indians*, and defend them in their ſuites, and aske in the Councell all the neceſſarie things for his inſtruction, preſeruation, and politike life: and now there are appointed Protectors in the Kingdomes of *Piru*, and *New Spaine*, with new orders for their better vſage.

Interpreters.

Schooles for Indians to learne the Spaniſh tongue.

It is alſo commanded, to ſet vp Schooles of the *Caſtillane* tongue, that the *Indians* may learne it, and may doe it from their childhood; and that no vagabond *Spaniard* doe dwell or remayne in the Townes of the *Indians*, nor among them, but that the Vice-royes and the Courts, doe put all diligence in driuing ſuch out of the Land, ſhipping them for *Caſtile*: and the * Countrie borne be compelled to ſerue and to learne Trades. And as well to the Prelates, as to the Vice-royes, Courts, Gouernours, and Rulers, and other whatſoeuer Iuſtices, is ordayned, and particular care is had they doe accompliſh it, that they doe prouide how the offences that were done to God may ceaſe, in the *Indians* marrying whiles they are children, without hauing reſpect of age: the *Caziques* marrying with more then one woman, though he be an Infidell: in hindering that when ſome *Caziques* did die they ſhould kill another to bee buried with him, and other like abominable vſes. That it be permitted to the *Indians* that they may diſpoſe of themſelues what they liſt, as free men, and exempted from all manner labour, though it ſhall bee procured that they doe labour and not be idle, and may haue libertie to diſpoſe of their goods, the Lands being ſet to ſale by out-cry thirty dayes, and the moueable nine, the Iuſtice being preſent. That the Lands remayning of any *Indian* deceaſing without a Will, ſhall remayne in the Townes where they dwelt. That they make the Markets freely, and ſell in them their merchandize. That their good vſes and ancient cuſtomes be approued. That they may ſend to theſe Kingdomes *Indian* Atturneys for three yeeres. That the * Reſidencies be publiſhed in the *Indian* Townes, to ſee if any will demand iuſtice. That in euery Towne of the *Indians* there bee an Hoſpitall with the things neceſſarie.

* *Se.* of the *Caſtillanes*, and the Countriwomen.

* Or accompts of the Iudges, or Iuſtices.

That they be no ſlaues.

In this matter of the *Indian* ſlaues, there were in the beginning of the Diſcoueries diuers opinions, and orders, gouerning themſelues as the time required and the ſtate of the things: but after the Biſhop *Don Sebaſtian Ramirez* came for Preſident of *New Spaine*, this vſe was abſolutely aboliſhed, notwithſtanding the ancient one which the *Indians* had to make themſelues ſlaues one to another: neither might they buy of them, nor receiue them, neither that any perſon may bring to theſe Kingdomes any *Indian* in title of a ſlaue, though he be taken in lawfull warre: and for this are ſo ſtraight orders giuen that they are effectually kept, and ſo in no place of the *Indies*

are

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are *Indian* slaues, though they be out of the bounds of *Castile* and *Lion*. And to eschew this inconuenience the more, the bringing *Indians* to these parts for whatsoeuer title it bee, is forbidden.

And the quietnesse for the Commonwealth being aboue all very necessarie, facultie is giuen to the Vice-royes, Presidents, Gouernours, and other Iustices, that they may driue away, and banish from the *Indies* all vnquiet persons, and send them to these Kingdomes, iudging it so to bee conuenient for the quietnesse of those, but that it bee not for hatred or passion, nor for any such reason. About vnquiet persons.

And that it may be some bridle to the Superiors, they are commanded, that they hinder no man the writing to the King, to his Councell, and to other persons, what they will: neither open, nor take any papers, or letters, vnder great penalties, and that they permit to passe and repasse through the Countrie them that will, prouiding wayes and bridges in the places where they are wanting.

As touching the matters of Warre, it is also prouided with great deliberation, for the Vice-royes greater authoritie, facultie is giuen them to haue a Guard on foot, and on Horse-backe: to make a casting place for Ordnance and Bullets, and a building for munitions, to leuy men, arme ships, and make fortifications, and prouide all the rest conuenient for the defence of those Kingdomes, and how the excesses of the Souldiers may be eschewed, as well by Land as by Sea, and to them that goe in the fleetes, committing the punishing of them to whom it belongeth, for to excuse competencies of iurisdiction. Matters of warre.

It hath already beene said how all the Gouernment of this Orbe, depends of the supreme and Royall Councell of the *Indies*, that are neere the Person Royall. But as it is necessarie that the executions of those parts haue correspondence in these; and here also there be they that may prouide in effecting that is behoofefull for the matters there: it was necessarie to place in *Siuil*, where all the trafficke of the *Indies* doth come, a house Royall of contratation of it, that medleth not but in the dispatching of those businesses, and dependants of them, without any person nor Iustice doe intermeddle in any thing belonging to the *Indian* affaires: and it is in substance, a Tribunall of great authoritie, in the which is a President, which now is *Don Bernardino Delgadillo* of *Anellaneda*, a Teller, a Treasurer, one Factor, three learned Iudges, one Solicitor, one Relator, one Sergeant, Scriueners, Porter, Taylor, and other Officers. In the Ilands of *Tenerife* and *Palma*, are placed two learned Iudges, called Officers Royall, or Iudges of the Registers, to cause Orders to be kept that are giuen for the lading and Registers of those Ilands, and Nauigation of that voyage. The house of the Contratation hath her instruction and ordinances, how her iurisdiction is to be gouerned and exercised, and the learned Iudges haue it also for their vse and exercise, keeping in the seeing of the plea, betweene parties, the order that is held in the Courts of *Valladolid*, and *Granada*: and because the particular care of the officers of this house, is the dispatch of the Fleetes and Armies, that they may depart in due times, they employ themselues in it with great diligence, and in receiuing them that come, and setting in safeguard the Gold, Siluer, Iewels, and other things that doe come, with a distinction of the waight and carracts, charging themselues with all, that there may be more account and reason, and for to make the prouisions of the Fleetes and Armies. There are so good orders giuen, that neither the Ministers doe exceed, nor the Subiects receiue wrong, for all passeth very conformable to the intention of these Godly and Catholike Kings, by meanes of the great diligence of the supreme Councell of the *Indies*. The house of contratation of *Siuil*.

And because the businesses of the *Indies* haue increased so much, that the supreme Councell could not dispatch them with the breuitie conuenient to the good gouernment of that Orbe, and the benefit of the Suiters, with the aduice of the President and supreme Councell; the King *Don Philip* the third our Lord, in imitation of his Catholike and Godly Predecessors, for the greater good of his subiects, hath instituted a *Priuie Councell*, where all the businesses of spirituall and temporall warrants, fauours and rewards may bee conferred and dispatched: and besides this, there are two Halls instituted, where on dayes appointed they may intreat of matters of warre, with the President and three Counsellors of the *Indies*, and two or three of the Counsell of warre, and other dayes, of the matters of the goods, by the President and Counsellors of *Indies*, and two of the Counsell of the goods, Atturney, and Secretarie of the Counsell of the *Indies*, the President naming those that he shall thinke best for it. Instruction of the Councell of *Camara*, or of Houshold.

And as these Catholike Kings doe alwayes looke to the benefit of the people of that Orbe, considering that the propagation of the holy Gospell in no part of it could goe more prosperously by any other hands then his, nor bee attended for his preseruation, and to haue the Conquerours and Inhabiters of those parts more satisfied, seeing all were his Subiects, and borne in these Kingdomes, declared by their Royall warrants, dated the yeere 1520. in *Valladolid*, and in the yeere 1523. in *Pamplona*, that their Maiesties, nor any of their Heires, in no time shall alienate from the Crowne Royall of *Castile* and *Lion*, the Ilands and Prouinces of the *Indies*, Towne, or any part of them, and so they promised it and gaue their Royall word. That the *Indies* shall not bee alienated.

The

The Preſidents, Counſellors, Secretaries, and Atturneys, which vnto this preſent day haue ſerued, and doe ſerue in the Supreme Councell of the Indies, *from their firſt Diſcouerie.*

PRESIDENTS.

IOhn *Rodriguez* of *Fonſeca*, brother to the Lord of *Coca* and *Alaejos*, Archbiſhop of *Roſano*, and Biſhop of *Burgos*, being Deane of *Siuil*, gouerned that which appertayned to the diſpatching of the Fleets and Armies of the *Indies*, till the Catholike King *Don Fernando* V. called him, to the end that in his Court hee might take charge of the *Indian* affaires, and he did it till the Emperor came to reigne, which commanded that the Doctor *Mercurino Gatinara* his great Chancellor, ſhould be Superintendent of all the Councels, and all the diſpatches paſſed through his hands, and intermedled in all the Aſſemblies that were made.

Friar *Garcia* of *Loayſa* Generall of the Order of Saint *Dominicke*, the Emperours Confeſſor, Biſhop of *Oſma*, which was Archbiſhop of *Siuil*, and Cardinall.

Don Garcia Manrique, Earle of *Oſorno*, which being Aſſiſtant of *Siuil*, did gouerne till the Cardinall came from *Rome*.

Don Lewis Hurtado of *Mendoça*, Marques of *Mondejar*, which after was Preſident of the Royall and ſupreme Councell of *Caſtile*.

The Licenciate *Don Franciſcus Tello* of *Sandoual*, which hauing beene of the Councell of the *Indies*, went for Preſident of the Royall Chancerie of *Granada*, and from thence came to gouerne in the Councell of *Indies*.

The Licenciate *Don Iohn Sarmiento* was alſo of the Councell of the *Indies*, and after went to gouerne in the Royal Chancerie of *Granada*, from whence he returned to be Preſident of the Royall and ſupreme Councell of the *Indies*.

Lewis Quixada, Lord of *Villagarcia*, and of the Councell of Warre.

The Licenciate *Iohn* of *Obando*, of the ſupreme Councell of the holy Inquiſition, did preſide in the Councell of the *Indies*, and of the goods Royall.

The Licenciate *Don Antonio de Padilla*, of the Royal and ſupreme Counſell of *Caſtile*, paſſed to be Preſident of the Councell of the Orders, and after to the ſupreme Councell of the *Indies*.

The Licenciate *Hernando* of *Vega* and *Fonſeca*, of the ſupreme Councell of the holy and generall Inquiſition, paſſed to the Councell of the goods Royall, and from it to the Royall and ſupreme Councell of the *Indies*.

The Licenciate *Don Pedro de Moya* of *Contreras*, the firſt Inquiſitor that went to *Mexico* for to ſeate the holy Office in that Citie. Hee was Archbiſhop of that Citie, and Preſident of the ſupreme Councell of the *Indies*.

The Licenciate *Paul* of *Laguna*, of the Royall and ſupreme Councell of *Caſtile*, and of the holy and generall Inquiſition, paſſed to gouerne in the Councell of the goods Royall and Tribunals of it, and was after Preſident of the ſupreme Councell of the *Indies*: and in his time began the Royall Councell of the Houſe-hold.

COVNSELLORS.

HErnando of *Vega*, Lord of *Grajal*, which was chiefe Knight of *Leon*, and Preſident of the Councell of Orders. Licenciate *Lewis Zapata*. Licenciate *Moxica*. Doctor S. *Iames*. Doctor *Palacios Penbios*. Doctor *Gonçalo Maldonado*, which was Biſhop of the citie *Rodrigo*. Maſter *Lewis Vaca*, Biſhop of *Canaria*. Doctor *Agurre*. Doctor *Mota*, Biſhop of *Badajoz*. Doctor *Soſa*. Doctor *Peter Martyr* of *Angleria*, Abbot of *Iamayca*. *Moſiur* of *Laſſao*, of the Emperours Chamber, and of the Councell of Eſtate. Licenciate *Garcia* of *Padilla*, of the habit of *Calatrana*. Doctor *Beltran*. Doctor *Galindez* of *Carnajal*. Doctor *Bernal*. Licenciate *Peter Manuel*. Licenciate *Rodrick* of the *Court*. Licenciate *Monteya*. Licenciate *Mercado*. Licenciate *Antonio* of *Aguilera*. Licenciate *Don Hernando* of *Salas*. Licenciate *Iohn Thomas*. Doctor *Villafanye*. Licenciate *Bottelho Maldonado*. Licenciate *Otalora*. Licenciate *Iames Gaſca* of *Salazar*. Licenciate *Gamboa*. Doctor *Gomez* of *Santillana*. Licenciate *Eſpadero*. Licenciate *Don Iames* of *Zuuniga*. Licenciate *Lopez* of *Sarria*. Licenciate *Enao*. Doctor *Lope* of *Baylo*. Licenciate *Gedeon* of *Tnojoſa*, of the habit of Saint *Iames*. Licenciate *Villafanne*. Doctor *Antonio Gonçalez*. Licenciate *Franciſcus Balcazar*. Licenciate *Medina* of *Saranz*. Licenciate *Don Lewis* of *Mercado*. Doctor *Peter Gutierrez Flores*. Licenciate *Peter Dayes* of *Tudança*. Licenciate *Benitte Rodriguez Valtodano*. Licenciate *Auſtine Aluarez* of *Toledo*, and of the Chamber. Doctor *Don Roderick Zapata*. Licenciate *Peter Brano* of *Setomayor*. Licenciate *Molina* of *Medrano*, of the habit of Saint *Iames*, & of the Chamber, Commiſſioner of this Hiſtorie. Licenciate *Iames* of *Armenteros*. Licenciate *Alonſo Perez* of *Salazar*. Licenciate *Gonçalo* of *Aponte*, and of the Chamber. Licenciate *Don Iohn* of *Ocon*, of the habit of *Calatrana*. Licenciate *Hernando* of *Saauedra*. Licenciate *Don Thomas Ximenez Ortiz*. Licenciate *Eugenius* of *Salazar*. Licenciate *Don Franciſcus Arias Maldonado*. Licenciate *Andrew* of *Ayala*. Licenciate *Benauente* of *Benauides*. Licenciate *Roocke* of *Villagutierre Chumazero*.

SECRETARIES.

IOhan *Colona*. *Michael Perez* of *Almazan*. *Gaſpar* of *Gricio*. The Knight *Lope* of *Conchillos*. *Franciſcus* of the *Cobes*, chiefe Commander of *Leon*. *Iohn* of *Samano*. The Commander

mander *Franciſcus* of *Eraſo*. *Antonie* of *Eraſo*. The Commander *Iohn* of *Ybarra*.

ATTVRNEYS or SOLLICITORS.

THe Licenciate *Franciſcus* of *Vargas*. Licenciate *Prado*. Licenciate *Martin Ruyz* of *Agreda*. Doctor *Franciſcus Hernandez* of *Liebana*, Licenciate *Ierome* of *Villoa*. Licenciate *Gamboa*. Licenciate *Lopez* of *Sarria*. Licenciate *Scipion Antolinez*. Licenciate *Negron*. Doctor *Valençuela*, Doctor *Marcus Caro*. Licenciate *Bennet Rodriguez* of *Valtodano*. Licenciate *Alonſo Perez* of *Salazar*. Licenciate *Roelle* of *Villagutierre Chumazero*.

The Gouernours, and Vice-royes, which haue gouerned vntill this time, the Kingdomes of New Spaine, *and of* Piru.

In *New Spaine*.

DOn *Fernando Cortes* Marquès of the *Valley*, Gouernour, chiefe Iuſtice, and Captaine generall.

The Licenciate *Lewis Pance*, of the Houſe of the Duke of *Arcos*, Iudge of * Reſidencie, with faculty to take the gouernment, and by his death the Licenciate *Marcus* of *Aguilar*, naturall of the Citie of *Eziya*, was ſubrogated his Deputie, and becauſe of his death ſucceeded within two moneths; hee ſubſtituted his authorities in the Treaſurer *Alonſo* of *Eſtrada*, borne in Citie Royall: and the death of *Lewis Pance* being knowne in *Caſtile*, it was prouided that *Marcus* of *Aguilar* ſhould gouerne, and in defect of him, *Alonſo* of *Eſtrada*, till the firſt Court came, with order that *Nunno* of *Guzman*, Knight of *Guadalajara*, Gouernour of *Panuco*, a Preſident did come: and becauſe it was conuenient to take away thoſe Iudges, others were ſent in their places, and for Preſident in the gouernment vniuerſall of *New Spaine*, *Don Sebaſtian Ramirez* of *Fuenleal*, Biſhop of Saint *Dominicke*, and of the *Conception*, late Preſident of the Court of Saint *Dominicke*, a man of great learning, and that after many dignities died in *Caſtile* Biſhop of *Cuenca*, and then the charge of Captaine generall was giuen anew to the Marques *Don Hernando Cortes*, that he might gouerne the matters of warre, with the aduiſe of *Don Sebaſtian Ramirez*.

The firſt that had title of Vice-roy and Captaine generall of *New Spaine*, was *Don Antonie* of *Mendoça*, brother of the Marques of *Mendejar*.

Don Lewis of *Velaſco*, a Gentleman of the Houſe of the high Conſtable of *Caſtile*.

Don Gaſton of *Peralta*, Marques of *Falces*.

Don Martine Enriquez of *Almanſa*, brother of the Marques of *Alcannizes*, the Kings Steward.

Don Laurence Xuarez of *Mendoça*, Earle of *Coruna*, which deceaſed being prouided for *Piru*, and by his death *Don Peter Moya* of *Contreras*, Archbiſhop of *Mexico*, gouerned in the meane while.

Don Aluaro Maurique of *Zunniga*, Marques of *Villamanuque*, brother of the Duke of *Bojar*.

Don Lewis of *Velaſco*, ſonne to the abouelaid *Don Lewis* of *Velaſco*, which paſſed to gouerne the Kingdomes of *Piru*, where at this preſent hee is.

Don Gaſpar of *Zunniga* and *Fonſeca*, Earle of *Monterrey*, which gouerneth at this day.

* Or of the examination of a Iudge or Iuſtice, or other Officer after their time is expired, to ſee if any will complaine of any wrong done to him in that time, and to pay the damage ſo ſuſtained by his default.

In the Kingdomes of Piru.

DOn *Franciſcus Piçarro*, Marques of the *Charcas*, Gouernour, chiefe Iuſtice, and Captaine generall.

The Licenciate *Vaca* of *Caſtro*, of the habit of Saint *Iames*, of the ſupreme Councell of *Caſtile*, carried Title of Gouernour generall.

Blaſco Nunnez Vela, a Gentleman of *Auila*, was the firſt that carried the Title of Vice-roy and Captaine generall of the Kingdomes of *Piru*.

The Licenciate *Iames de la Gaſca*, of the Councell of the holy and generall Inquiſition, carried the Title of Preſident of the new Court that was ſent to the Citie of *The Kings*, and of Gouernour generall, with faculty to giue the gouernment of Armes to whom hee thought beſt. He died Biſhop of *Siguença*, and his Funerall and Trophees are ſeene in *Magdalene* Church in *Valladolid*, and in his abſence the gouernment remayned to the Court of the Citie of *The Kings*.

The ſecond that carried Title of Vice-roy and Captaine generall, was *Don Antonie* of *Mendoça*, that gouerned the Kingdoms of *New Spaine*.

Don Andrew Hurtado of *Mendoça*, Marques of *Canyete*.

Don Iames of *Zunyga* and *Velaſco*, Earle of *Nieua*.

The Licenciate *Lope Garcia* of *Caſtro*, of the Royall and ſupreme Councell of the *Indies*, caried title of Preſident and Gouernor general.

Don Franciſcus of *Toledo*, brother to the Earle of *Oropeſa*, Steward to the King.

Don Martin Enriquez, from the charge of *New Spaine*, paſſed to gouerne the Kingdomes of *Piru*.

Don Garcia of *Mendoça*, Marques of *Canyete*.

Don Lewis of *Velaſco*, from the charge of *New Spaine*, paſſed to the Kingdomes of *Piru*, where now he is, and at the inſtant of the impreſſion of this Worke, is prouided for Vice-roy and Captaine generall of thoſe Kingdomes, *Don Iohn Pacheco*, Duke of *Eſcalona*.

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CHAP.

CHAP. II.

Obseruations gathered out of the First, Second, Third, and Fourth bookes of IOSEPHVS ACOSTA *a learned Iesuite, touching the naturall historie of the Heauens, Ayre, Water, and Earth at the west* Indies. *Also of their Beasts, Fishes, Fowles, Plants, and other remarkable rarities of Nature.*

§. I.

Of the fashion and forme of Heauen, at the new-found World, and of the Ayre and Windes.

Lib. 1. cap. 5. MAny in *Europe* demand, of what forme and fashion Heauen is in the Southerne parts, for that there is no certaintie found in ancient Books, who although they grant there is a Heauen on this other part of the World, yet come they not to any knowledge of the forme thereof, although in truth they make mention of a goodly great Starre seene in those parts, which they call *Canopus*. Those which of late dayes haue sayled into these parts, haue accustomed to write strange things of this Heauen; that it is very bright, hauing many goodly Starres: and in effect, things which come farre, are commonly described with encrease. But it seemes contrarie vnto me, holding it for certaine, that in our Region of the North, there is a greater number and bigger starres; finding no starres in these parts, which exceede the *Fisher* or the *Chariot* in bigneſſe. It is true, that the *Crosse* in these parts is very faire and pleasing to behold: we call the *Crosse*, foure notable and apparant starres, which make the forme of a crosse, set equally and with proportion. The ignorant suppose this crosse to be the Southerne Pole, for that they see the Nauigators take their heigth thereby, as wee are accustomed to doe by the North starre. But they are deceiued, and the reason, why Saylers doe it in this sort, is for that in the South parts there is no fixed starre that markes the Pole, as the North starre doth to our Pole. And therefore they take their heigth by the starre at the foote of the Crosse, distant from the true and fixed Pole Antarticke thirtie degrees, as the North starre is distant from the Pole Articke three degrees or little more. And so it is more difficult to take the heigth in those parts, for that the said starre at the foote of the Crosse must be right, the which chanceth but in one houre of the night; which is in diuers seasons of the yeere in diuers houres, and oftentimes it appeareth not in the whole night, so as it is very difficult to take the height. And therefore the most expert Pilots regard not the Crosse, taking the height of the Sunne by the Astrolabe, by which they know in what height they are: wherein commonly the *Portugals* are more expert, as a Nation that hath more discourse in the Arte of Nauigation then any other. There are also other starres in these Southerne parts, which in some sort resemble those of the North. That which they call the *Milken way*, is larger and more resplendent in the South parts, appearing therein those admirable blacke spots, whereof we haue made mention.

Plin. lib. 6. c. 22.

See Magellans Voyage.

Height taken by the Sunne.

Via lactea.

Considering with my selfe oftentimes, what should cause the Equinoctiall to bee so moist, as I haue said; to refute the opinion of the Ancients, I finde no other reason, but the great force of the Sunne in those parts, whereby it drawes vnto it a great abundance of vapours from out of the Ocean, which in those parts is very great and spacious: and hauing drawne vnto it this great abundance of vapours, doth suddenly dissolue them into raine, and it is approued by many tried experiences, that the raine and great stormes from Heauen proceed from the violent heate of the Sunne: first (as we haue said before) it raines in those Countries, when as the Sunne casts his beames directly vpon the earth, at which time he hath most force: but when the Sunne retires, the heate is moderate, and then there falls no raine: whereby wee may conclude, that the force and heate of the Sunne is the cause of raine in those Countries. Moreouer we obserue, both in *Peru*, new *Spaine*, and in all the burning *Zone*, that the raine doth vsually fal in the afternoone, when as the Sunne beames are in their greatest force, being strange to see it raine in the morning. And therefore Trauellers foreseeing it, begin their iourneys early, that they may end and rest before noone, for they hold that commonly it raines after noone. Such as haue frequented and trauelled those Countries, can sufficiently speake thereof. And there are, that (hauing made some abode there) say, that the greatest abundance of raine is, when the Moone is at the full; but to say the truth, I could neuer make sufficient proofe thereof, although I haue obserued it. Moreouer, the dayes, the yeere, and the moneths, shew the truth hereof, that the violent heate of the Sunne causeth the raine in the burning *Zone*: experience teacheth vs the like in artificiall things, as in a Limbecke, wherein they draw waters from herbs and flowers; for the vehemency

Shewing the reason why the Sunne without the Tropicks, causeth greatest quantitie of waters when it is farthest off; and contrariwise, within them it breedeth most, when it is neerest. *l. 2. chap. 7.*

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mency of the fire forceth and driueth vp an abundance of vapours, which being preſſed, and finding no iſſue, are conuerted into liquor and water. The like wee ſee in gold and ſiluer, which we refine with quick-ſiluer, the fire being ſmall and ſlow, we draw out almoſt nothing of the quick-ſiluer, but if it be quick and violent, it doth greatly euaporate the quick-ſiluer, which encountring the head aboue, doth preſently turne into liquor, and begins to drop downe: Euen ſo the violent heate of the Sunne produceth theſe two effects, when it findes matter diſpoſed, that is, to draw vp the vapours on high, and to diſſolue them preſently, and turne them into raine, when there is any obſtacle to conſume them. And although theſe things ſeeme contrarie, that one Sunne within the burning Zone, being neere, ſhould cauſe raine, and without the Zone afarre off ſhould breed the like effect; ſo it is, that all well conſidered, there is no contrarietie. A thouſand effects in naturall cauſes proceed of contrarie things by diuers meanes: we drie linnen by the fire, and in the aire, and yet the one heats and the other cooles; Paſtures are dried and hardened by the Sunne and with the Froſt; moderate exerciſe prouokes ſleepe, being too violent, it hindereth: if you lay no wood on the fire, it dyeth; if you lay on too much, it likewiſe quencheth: for the onely proportion entertaines and makes it to continue. To well diſcerne a thing, it muſt not be too neere the eye, nor too farre off, but in a reaſonable diſtance proportionable; being too farre off from any thing we loſe the ſight, and too neere likewiſe we cannot ſee it. If the Sunne beams be weake, they draw vp no fogge from the Riuers, if they be violent, hauing drawne vp the vapours, they preſently diſſolue and conſume them; but if the heat be moderate, it drawes vp and preſerues it: for this reaſon the vapours riſe not commonly in the night, nor at noone, but in the morning, when as the Sunne begins to enter into his force. There are a thouſand examples of naturall cauſes vpon this ſubiect, which wee ſee doe often grow from contrarie things: whereby we muſt not wonder, if the Sunne being neere, engenders raine, and being farre off, works the like effect: but being of a moderate and proportionable diſtance, cauſeth none at all. Yet there remaines one doubt, why the neerneſſe of the Sunne cauſeth the raine vnder the burning Zone, and without when it is fartheſt off. In my opinion the reaſon is, that in Winter without the Tropicks, the Sunne hath not force ſufficient to conſume the vapours which riſe from the Land and Sea; for theſe vapours grow in great abundance in the cold Region of the aire, where they are congealed and thickned by the extremitie of the cold; and after being preſſed, they diſſolue and turne into water. Therefore in Winter when the Sunne is fartheſt off, the dayes ſhort, and the nights long, his heat hath ſmall force: but when the Sunne approcheth, which is in the Summer time, his force is ſuch as it drawes vp the vapours, and ſuddenly conſumes and diſperſeth them; for the heat and the length of the dayes grow through the neerneſſe of the Sunne. But within the Tropicks vnder the burning Zone, the farre diſtance of the Sunne workes the ſame effects that the neerneſſe doth without the Tropicks; by reaſon whereof, it raines no more vnder the burning Zone when the Sunne is farre off, then without the Tropicks when it is neereſt, for that in this approching and retyring, the Sunne remayns alwayes in one diſtance whence proceedes this effect of cleerneſſe. But when the Sunne is in the period of his force in the burning Zone, and that he caſt his beames directly vpon the Inhabitants heads, there is neither cleerneſſe nor dryneſſe, as it ſeemes there ſhould be, but rather great and ſtrange ſhowers: for that by this violent heat, he drawes vp ſuddenly a great abundance of vapours from the Earth and Ocean, which are ſo thicke, as the winde, not able eaſily to diſperſe them, they melt into water, which breedeth the cold raine in ſo great abundance: for the exceſſiue heat may ſoone draw vp many vapours, the which are not ſo ſoone diſſolued: and being gathered together through their great abundance, they melt and diſſolue into water. The which wee may eaſily diſcerne by this familiar example: roaſt a piece of Porke, Mutton, or Veale, if the fire be violent, and the meate neere, wee ſee the fat melts ſuddenly and drops away, the reaſon is, that the violent heat drawes forth the humour and fat from the meat, and being in great abundance cannot diſſolue it, and ſo it diſtils more away: But when the fire is moderate, and the meat in an equall diſtance, wee ſee that it roaſts handſomly, and the fat drops not too ſuddenly, for that the moderate heat drawes out the moiſtneſſe which it conſumes ſuddenly. And therefore Cookes make a moderate fire, and lay not their meate too neere nor too farre off, leſt it melt away. The like may bee ſeene in another experience in candles of tallow or waxe, if the wike bee great, it melts the tallow or the waxe, for that the heat cannot conſume the moiſtneſſe which riſeth, but if the flame bee proportionable, the wax melts nor drops not, for that the flame doth waſte it by little and little as it riſeth.

But this is not to hinder the exceptions which Nature hath giuen to this Rule, making ſome Regions of the burning Zone extremely drie. The which is reported of *Ethiopia*, and wee haue ſeene it in a great part of *Peru*, where all that Land or Coaſt, which they call *Playnes*, wants raine, yea, land waters, except ſome Vallies where Riuers fall from the Mountaines; the reſt is a fandie and barren ſoile, where you ſhall hardly finde any Springs, but ſome deepe Wells. But with the helpe of God, we will ſhew the reaſon why it rayneth not in theſe Playnes (the which many demand;) for now I onely pretend to ſhew, that there are many exceptions to naturall Rules, whereby it may happen, that in ſome part of the burning Zone it raines not when the Sunne

Exceptions to generall rules.

Sunne is neereſt, but being fartheſt off, although vnto this day I haue neither ſeene nor heard of it: but if it be ſo, we muſt attribute it to the particular qualitie of the Earth: and alſo, if ſometimes the contrarie doth chance, we muſt haue regard that in naturall things there happens many contrarieties and lets, whereby they change and diſſolue one another. For example, it may be the Sunne will cauſe raine, and that the windes will hinder it, or elſe cauſe more abundance then hath beene vſuall.

The Authors experience.

When I paſſed to the *Indies*, I will tell what chanced vnto mee: hauing read what Poets and Philoſophers write of the burning Zone, I perſwaded my ſelfe, that comming to the Equinoctiall, I ſhould not indure the violent heate, but it fell out otherwiſe; for when I paſſed, which was when the Sunne was there for Zenith, being entred into *Aries*, in the moneth of March, I felt ſo great cold, as I was forced to goe into the Sunne to warme me: what could I elſe doe then, but laugh at *Ariſtotles* Meteors and his philoſophie, ſeeing that in that place, and at that ſeaſon, when as all ſhould be ſcortched with heat, according to his rules, I, and all my companions were a cold? In truth there is no Region in the world more pleaſant and temperate then vnder the Equinoctiall, although it be not in all parts of an equall temperature, but haue great diuerſities.

Various and diuerſified tempers of the Torrid Zone.

The burning Zone in ſome parts is very temperate, as in *Quito*, and on the playnes of *Peru*; in ſome parts very cold, as at *Potozi*, and in ſome very hot, as in *Ethiopia*, *Breſil*, and the *Molucques*. This diuerſitie being knowne and certaine vnto vs, wee muſt of force ſeeke out another cauſe of cold and heat then the Sunne beames, ſeeing that in one ſeaſon of the yeere, and in places of one height and diſtance from the Pole and Equinoctiall we finde ſo great diuerſitie, that ſome are inuironed with heat, ſome with cold, and others tempered with a moderate heat.

Cauſes of temperateneſſe vnder the Line and within the Tropicks.

Conſidering this matter generally, I finde two generall cauſes, which maketh this Region temperate: the one is that before mentioned, for that this Region is very moiſt and ſubiect to raine, and there is no doubt but the raine doth refreſh it, for that the water is by nature cold; and although by the force of the fire it be made hot, yet doth it temper this heat proceeding onely from the Sunne beames. The which wee ſee by experience in the inner *Arabia*, the which is burnt with the Sunne, hauing no ſhowres to temper the violence thereof. The cloudes and miſts are the cauſe that the Sunne offends not ſo much, and the ſhowres that fall from them, refreſh both the Aire and the Earth, and moiſten likewiſe how hot ſoeuer it be. They drinke raine water, and it quencheth the thirſt, as our men haue well tried, hauing no other to drinke. So as reaſon and experience doth teach vs, that raine of it ſelfe doth temper the heat; and hauing by this meanes ſhewed, that the burning Zone is much ſubiect vnto raine, it appeares that there is

Second cauſe.

matter in it, to temper the violence of the heat. To this I will adde an other reaſon, which deſerues to be knowne, not onely for this matter, but for many others; for although the Sunne be very hot and burning vnder the Equinoctiall, yet is it not long, ſo as the heat of the day being there ſhorter and of leſſe continuance, it cauſeth not ſo violent a heate; the which it behooues to ſpecifie more particularly. Such as are practiſed in the knowledge of the Spheare teach very well, that the more the Zodiake is oblique and trauerſing our Hemiſphere, the more vnequall are the dayes and nights; and contrariwiſe, where the Spheare is ſtraight, and the ſignes mount directly, there the dayes and nights are equall. And therefore in all that Region which is betweene the two Tropicks, there is leſſe inequalitie then without them, and the more wee approch the Line the leſſe inequalitie we finde, the which wee haue tried in thoſe parts. Thoſe of *Quito*, for that they are vnder the Line, haue not throughout the whole yeere the dayes and nights more ſhort at one ſeaſon then at an other, but are continually equall. Thoſe of *Lima* being diſtant almoſt twelue degrees, finde ſome difference betwixt the dayes and the nights, but very little, for that in December and Ianuarie the dayes increaſe an houre or little leſſe. Thoſe of *Potozi* finde much more difference both in Winter and in Summer, being almoſt vnder the Tropicke. But thoſe that liue without the Tropicks finde the dayes in Winter ſhorter and in Summer longer: the more remote they are from the Equinoctiall and come neere the Pole, as wee ſee in *Germanie* and in *England*, the dayes are longer in Summer then in *Italie* and in *Spaine*. It is a thing which the Spheare doth teach, and experience doth plainly ſhew vs. Wee muſt adde an other Propoſition, which is likewiſe true and very conſiderable for all the effects of Nature to vnderſtand the perſeuerance and continuation of the efficient cauſe to worke and mooue. This preſuppoſed, if any one demand of me, why vnder the Equinoctiall Line the heat is not ſo violent in Summer, as in ſome other Regions (as in *Andelouſia* in the moneths of Iuly and Auguſt) I will anſwere, that in *Andelouſia* the dayes are longer and the nights ſhorter; and as the day being hot, inflames and cauſeth heat; ſo the nights being cold and moiſt, giue a refreſhing. According to the which, at *Peru*, there is no ſuch great heat, for that the dayes in Summer are not long, nor the nights ſhort; ſo as the heat of the day is much tempered by the freſhneſſe of the night.

That there bee other reaſons beſides the former mentioned, which ſhew, that the burning Zone is temperate, eſpecially alongſt the Ocean. *Chap.* 11.

Being a thing concluded, that the two fore-named properties are common and vniuerſall to all the Region of the burning Zone: and yet in the ſame there are found ſome places very hot, and other exceeding cold: Alſo, that the temperature is not there equall in all places, but vnder one climate, one part is hot, another cold, and the third temperate, all at one ſeaſon; wee are forced

forced to seeke out other reasons, whence this great diuersitie should proceede in the burning Zone. Discoursing therefore vpon this question, I doe finde three apparant and certaine causes, and a fourth more obscure and darke. The apparant and certaine causes bee: The first, is the Ocean: the second, the situation of the Land: and the third, the nature and propertie of many and sundrie windes. Besides these three which I hold for manifest, I beleeue there is a fourth hidden and lesse apparant, which is the propertie of the same Land inhabited, and the particular influence of the Heauens. Among the speciall causes and reasons, I haue first placed the Sea, for without doubt, the neerneſse thereof doth helpe to temper and coole the heat: for although the Water be salt, yet is it alwayes water, whose nature is cold.

But if wee shall yet search more particularly, wee shall not finde in all this Land an equall temperature of heate, although it bee in equall distance from the Sea, and in the same degree, seeing that in some parts there is great heate, and in some very little. Doubtlesse, the cause thereof is, that the one is lower, and the other higher; which causeth that the one is hot, and the other cold. It is most certaine, that the tops of the Mountaines are colder then in the bottome of the Vallies, the which proceedes, not onely for that the Sunne beames haue greater repercussions vpon lower places, although it be a great reason; yet there is another, which is, that the Region of the aire is colder when it is farthest from the ground. The cause why the middle Region of the aire is more cold, hath beene shewed before: for that the Region of the aire next to the fierie exhalation, the which (according to *Aristotle*) is vpon the Spheare of the aire, repells and thrusts backe all the cold, the which retires it selfe into the middle Region of the aire, by *Antiperistasis*, as the Philosophers speake. Now, if any one should question with me in this manner; If it be so that the aire is hot and moist, as *Aristotle* holds, and as we commonly say; whence then proceedes the cold which is congealed in the middle Region of the aire, seeing it cannot come from the fierie Spheare? For if it come from the Water, or the Earth, by this reason the lower Region of the aire should be colder then the middle. *Arist. Met.*

To answere truly what I thinke, I will confesse, that this Argument and Obiection is so difficult, as I am almost readie to follow the opinion of such as reproue the qualities, agreements and disagreements which *Aristotle* giues vnto the Elements, saying, they are but imaginations, who for this occasion hold the aire to bee cold by nature. And to this end they vse many arguments and reasons, whereof we will propound one very familiar and well knowne, leauing the rest apart. In the Canicular dayes we are accustomed to beate the aire with a fan, and wee finde that it doth refresh vs; so as these Authors affirme, that heate is no priuate propertie of any other Element, but of fire onely, which is dispersed and mingled with all things (as the great *Denis* doth teach vs.) But whether it be so, or otherwise (for I will not contradict *Aristotle*, but in that which is most certaine) in the end they agree all, that the middle Region of the aire is colder then the lowest next to the Earth, as experience doth shew vs; seeing that in this middle Region are congealed, Snow, Haile, Frosts, and other signes of extreme cold. The middle Region then which they call the burning Zone, hauing on the one side the Sea, and on the other the Mountaines, we must hold them for sufficient causes to temper and coole the heate. *Dionys. c. 1. §. de cœl. hierar.*

The temperature of this Region ought chiefly to be attributed to the propertie of the winde that blowes in that Country, the which is pleasant and fresh. The prouidence of the great God Creator of all things hath beene such, as he hath ordayned fresh and coole windes in that Region where the Sunne makes his course (which seemes should be burnt vp) that by their coolenesse the excessiue heate of the Sunne might be qualified. Wee see in one climate, some Regions and Cities hotter then others, onely for that they feele lesse winde to refresh them. The like is in other Countries where no winde blowes, the which are all on fire like vnto a furnace. If we shall neerly looke into the consideration of the winde, whereof we haue spoken, we may resolue many doubts which some obiect, and which seeme strange and wonderfull: wherefore the Sunne casting his beames vpon the burning Zone, and particularly at *Peru*, and that more violently then in *Spaine* in the Canicular dayes, yet they defend the heat with a light couering, so as with a slender couering of mats or straw, they are better preserued from the heate, then in *Spaine* vnder a roofe of wood, or a vault of stone. Moreouer, why are not the nights in Summer at *Peru* as hot and troublesome as in *Spaine*? Wherefore on the highest tops of Mountaines, euen amongst the heapes of snowe, you shall sometimes feele great and insupportable heat? Wherefore in all the Prouince of *Colao*, when yee come into the shade, how little soeuer, you feele cold: But comming into the Sunne beames, you presently finde the heate excessiue? Euery morning the winde from the Sea doth cease, and the Sunne begins to cast his beames; and for this reason they feele the greatest heat in the morning, vntill the returne of the same windes, which otherwise they call the tyde or winde of the Sea, which makes them first to feele cold. Wee haue tried all this, whilest wee were at the Ilands of *Barlouante*, where in the mornings wee did sweat for heat, and at noone we felt a fresh aire; for that then, a North Easterly winde which is fresh and coole, doth commonly blow.

That the cold windes bee the principal cause to make the burning Zone temperate. *Chap. 13.* It is noted by trauellers that there is a hot winde sometimes neere to *Balsara* and *Ormus*, which swalloweth mens breath and suddenly kils them. *Linschoten* obserues at *Goa* the wind to blow twelue houres from the Sea, and other twelue constantly from the land.

Considering with my selfe, the pleasing temperature of many Countries at the *Indies*, where they know not what Winter is, which by his cold doth freeze them, nor Summer which doth trouble Temper of the *Indies*.

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trouble them with heat, but that with a Mat they preſerue themſelues from the iniuries of all weather, and where they ſcarce haue any neede to change their garments throughout the yeere. I ſay, that often conſidering of this, I find that if men at this day would vanquiſh their paſſions, and free themſelues from the ſnares of couetouſneſſe, leauing many fruitleſſe and pernicious deſignes, without doubt they might liue at the *Indies* very pleaſant and happily: for that which other Poets ſing of the *Eliſean* fields & of the famous *Tempe*, or that which *Plato* reports or feignes of his *Atlantike* Iland; men ſhould finde in theſe Lands, if with a generous ſpirit they would chooſe rather to command their ſiluer and their deſires, then to remayne to it ſlaues as they are.

Of the windes, their differences, properties, and cauſes in generall *lib. 3. cap. 2.*

Hauing diſcourſed in the two former Bookes of that which concernes the Heauens, and the habitation of the *Indies* * in generall, it behooues vs now to treat of the three elements, Aire, Water, and Land, and their compounds, which be metals, plants and beaſts; for, as for the fire, I ſee no ſpeciall matter at the *Indies* which is not in other Regions; vnleſſe ſome will ſay, that the manner to ſtrike fire in rubbing two ſtones one againſt another, as ſome *Indians* vſe, or to boile any thing in gourds, caſting a burning ſtone into it, & other ſuch like things, are remarkable, whereof I haue written what might bee ſpoken. But of thoſe which are in the *Vulcans* * and Mouthes of fire at the *Indies*, worthy doubtleſſe to be obſerued, I will ſpeake in their order, treating of the diuerſitie of grounds, whereas they finde theſe fires or *Vulcans*. Therefore to begin with the windes, I ſay, that with good reaſon, *Salomon* in the great iudgement which God had giuen him, eſteemes much the knowledge of the windes; and their properties being very admirable; for that ſome are moiſt, others drie; ſome vnwholſome, others ſound; ſome hot, others cold; ſome calme and pleaſant, others rough and tempeſtuous; ſome barren, and others fertile, with infinite other differences. There are ſome windes which blow in certaine Regions, and are, as it were, Lords thereof, not admitting any entrie or communication of their contraries. In ſome parts they blow in that ſort, as ſometimes they are Conquerors, ſometimes conquered; often there are diuers and contrarie windes, which doe runne together at one inſtant, diuiding the way betwixt them, ſometimes one blowing aboue of one ſort, and another below of an other ſort; ſometimes they incounter violently one with another, which puts them at Sea in great danger: there are ſome windes which helpe to the generation of Creatures, and others that hinder and are oppoſite. There is a certaine winde, of ſuch a qualitie, as when it blowes in ſome Countrie, it cauſeth it to raine Fleas, and in ſo great abundance, as they trouble and darken the aire, and couer all the Sea-ſhoare: and in other places it raines Frogs. Theſe diuerſities and others which are ſufficiently knowne, are commonly attributed to the place by the which theſe windes paſſe. For they ſay, that from theſe places they take their qualities to be cold, hot, drie, or moiſt, ſickly or ſound, and ſo of the reſt, the which is partly true, and cannot be denyed; for that in a ſmall diſtance you ſhall ſee in one winde many diuerſities. For example, the *Solanus* or Eaſterne winde is commonly hot and troubleſome in *Spaine*, and in *Murcia* it is the cooleſt and healthfulleſt that is, for that it paſſeth by the Orchards, and that large champaine which wee ſee very freſh. In *Carthagene* which is not farre from thence, the ſame winde is troubleſome and vnwholſome. The Meridionall (which they of the Ocean call South, and thoſe of the Mediterranean Sea, *Mezo giorno*) commonly is raynie and boyſterous, and in the ſame Citie whereof I ſpeake, it is wholeſome and pleaſant. *Plinie* reports that in *Africke* it raines with a Northerne winde, and that the Southerne winde is cleere. He then that ſhall well conſider what I haue ſpoken of theſe windes, he may conceiue, that in a ſmall diſtance of Land or Sea, one winde hath many and diuers qualities, yea ſometimes quite contrarie; whereby wee may inferre, that hee draweth his propertie from the place where it paſſeth, the which is in ſuch ſort true (although we may not ſay infallibly) as it is the onely and principall cauſe of the diuerſitie of the windes. It is a thing we eaſily find, that in a Riuer containing fiftie leagues in circuit (I put it thus for an example) that the winde which blowes of the one part, is hot and moiſt; and that which blowes on the other, is cold and drie. Notwithſtanding this diuerſitie is not found in places by which it paſſeth, the which makes me rather to ſay, that the windes bring theſe qualities with them, whereby they giue vnto them the names of theſe qualities. For example, we attribute to the Northerne winde, otherwiſe called *Cierco*, the propertie to be cold and drie, and to diſſolue miſts; to the Southerne winde his contrarie, called *Leueſche*, we attribute the contrarie qualitie, which is moiſt and hot, and ingenders miſts. But it is needfull to ſeeke further, to know the true and originall cauſe of theſe ſo ſtrange differences which we ſee in the windes. I cannot conceiue any other, but that the ſame efficient cauſe which bringeth forth and maketh the winds to grow, doth withall giue them this originall qualitie: for in truth, the matter whereon the winds are made, which is no other thing (according to *Ariſtotle*) but the exhalation of the interior Elements, may well cauſe in effect a great part of this diuerſitie, being more groſſe, more ſubtill, more drie, and more moiſt. But yet this is no pertinent reaſon, ſeeing that we ſee in one Region, where the vapours and exhalations are of one ſort and qualitie, that there riſe windes and effects quite contrarie. We muſt therefore

* We haue abbreuiated and to preuent tedioufneſſe cut off a great part of *Acoſtas* obſeruations in the two former bookes, as hauing handled the ſame in our Pilgrimage 18. where we haue ſhewed whence men and beaſts might come thither, and that the opinion of the worlds vnhabitableneſſe betwixt the Tropicks is falſe: for the daily raines when the Sunne is neereſt, the long nights & therein great dewes, the brecezes and conſtant courſe of the windes, the great Lakes & Riuers, height of Hills, &c. make thoſe parts not onely habitable, but more temperate then others and fitter for mans life: there being more heat at, and on this ſide the Tropicks then vnder the Line. We here doe but cull out choiſe things for better vnderſtanding the naturall hiſtorie of thoſe parts; for other things referring the Reader to the Authour himſelfe. Occaſionally our notes ſhall elucidate thoſe things alſo, which are in the Text omitted. * *Vulcans*, as *Aetna*, *Hecla*, &c. ſulphurous earth whence fire iſſueth. Generall windes. Monſons. Windes receiue their qualities from the places by which they paſſe.

referre

referre the cause to the higher and celestiall Efficient, which must be the Sunne, and to the motion and influence of the Heauens, the which by their contrarie motions, giue and cause diuers influences. But the beginnings of these motions and influences are so obscure and hidden from men, and on the other part, so mightie and of so great force; as the holy Prophet *Dauid* in his prophetical Spirit, and the Prophet *Ieremie* admiring the greatnesse of the Lord, speake thus, *Qui profert ventos de thesauris suis.* Hee that drawes the windes out of his Treasures. In truth these principles and beginnings are rich and hidden treasures: for the Author of all things holds them in his hand, and in his power; and when it pleaseth him, sendeth them forth for the good onchastisement of men, and sends forth such windes as he pleaseth: not as that *Eolus* whom the Poets doe foolishly feigne to haue charge of the windes, keeping them in a Caue like vnto wilde beasts. We see not the beginning of these windes, neither doe we know how long they shall continue, or whither they shall goe. But wee see and know well the diuerse effects and operations they haue, euen as the supreme Truth, the Author of all things hath taught vs, saying, *Spiritus ubi vult spirat, & vocem eius audis, & nescis unde veniat, aut quo vadat.* *Psalme* 134. *Ieremie* 10.

It is true, that the Northerne winde is not vsually cold and cleere there as here. In some parts of *Peru*, as at *Lima*, and on the Playnes, they finde the Northerne windes troublesome and vnwholsome, and all along the Coast which runnes aboue fiue hundred leagues, they hold the Southerne windes for healthfull and coole, and (which is more) most cleere and pleasant: yet is neuer raines, contrarie to that wee see in *Europe*, and of this side the Line. Yet that which chanceth vpon the coast of *Peru* is no generall rule, but rather an exception, and a wonder of Nature, neuer to raine vpon that coast, and euer to haue one winde, without giuing place to his contrarie, whereof we will hereafter speake our minde. It is no generall rule there, that the Northerne winde is neither hot nor raynie there, as the South winde is on this side; but contrariwise, it raines when as the South winde blowes there, as wee see in all the *Sierra* or mountaine of *Peru*, in *Chile*, and in the Countrie of *Congo*, which is on the other side of the Line, and farre aduanced into the Sea. And in *Potozi* likewise, the winde which they call *Tomabon* (which is our North) if my memorie faile me not, is extremely cold, drie, and vnpleasant, as it is here with vs. Yet doth not the Northerne winde disperse the cloudes vsually there, as it doth here: but contrariwise, if I be not deceiued, it doth often cause raine. There is no doubt, but the windes doe borrow this great diuersitie of contrarie effects, from the places by which they passe, and the neere Regions where they are bred, as wee see by daily experience in a thousand places. But speaking in generall of the qualitie of the windes, we must rather looke to the coasts or parts of the World from whence they proceede, then to obserue, whether they be on this side or beyond the Line, as it seemes the Philosopher held opinion. These capitall windes, which be the East and West, haue no such vniuersall qualities, nor so common in this Continent, nor in the other, as the two former. The *Solanus* or Easterne winde, is commonly here troublesome and vnwholsome, and the Westerne or *Zephirus*, is more milde and healthfull. At the *Indies*, and in all the burning Zone, the Easterne winde which they call *Briso*, is contrariwise very healthfull and pleasant. Of the West, I cannot speake any thing certaine or generall, for that it blowes not at all, or very seldom in the burning Zone, for in all the nauigation betwixt the two Tropicks, the Easterne winde is ordinarie. And for that it is one of the admirable workes of Nature, it shall bee good to vnderstand the cause and the beginning thereof.

Herera hath shewed the height of the Hills to bee the cause of the windes constancy and raines rarity.

Eastern winde raineth betwixt the Tropicks.

The wayes at Sea are not as at Land, to returne the same way they passe. It is all one way (saith the Philosopher) from *Athens* to *Thebes*, and from *Thebes* to *Athens*; but it is not so at Sea, for wee goe one way and returne by another. The first which discouered the East and West *Indies*, laboured much with great difficultie to finde out their course, vntill that Experience (the Mistresse of these secrets) had taught them, that to saile through the Ocean, is not like the passage in *Italie*, through the Mediterranean Sea, where in their returne, they obserue the same Ports and Capes they had sight of in their passage, attending still the benefit of the winde, which chanceth instantly, and when that failes, they haue recourse to their Oares; and so the Gallies goe and come daily, coasting along the shoare. In some parts of the Ocean, they may not looke for any other winde then that which blowes, for that commonly it continues long. To conclude, that which is good to goe by, is not fit to returne with: for in the Sea beyond the Tropicke, and within the burning Zone, the Easterly windes raine continually, not suffering their contraries. In the which Region there are two strange things, the one is, that in that Zone (being the greatest of the fiue, into the which the World is diuided) the Easterly windes (which they call *Brisas*) doe reigne, not suffering the Westerne or Southerne (which they call lower winds) to haue their course at any season of the yeere: The other wonder is, that these Easterly windes neuer cease to blow, and most commonly in places neerest to the Line (where it seemes that Calmes should be more frequent, being a part of the World, most subiect to the heat of the Sunne, but it is contrarie, for you shall hardly finde any Calmes there, and the winde is cold and continues longer, which hath beene found true in all the Nauigations of the *Indies*. This is the reason, why the voyage they make from *Spaine* to the West *Indies* is shorter, more easie, and more assured, then the returne to *Spaine*.

That the burning Zone, the Brises, or Easterly windes, doe continually blow, and without the Zone the Westerne, and that the Easterly are ordinarie alwayes there. *Chap. 4. Iuan de Cacos in Decade 1. lib. 4. cap. 6.*

They goe one way to the *Indies* and return another, why.

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The Fleetes parting from *Siuil*, haue more difficultie to passe the *Canaries*, for that the gulfe of *Tegnes* or of *Mares*, is variable, being beaten with diuers windes, but hauing passed the *Canaries*, they saile with a Westerne winde vntill they come to the burning Zone; where presently they finde an Easterly winde, and so they saile on with full windes, so as they haue scant any need to touch their sailes in the whole voyage: for this reason they called this great gulfe, the gulfe of *Dames*, for the calmnesse and pleasantnesse thereof. Then following their course, they come to the Ilands of *Guadelupe Dominique*, *Desired*, *Marigualante*, and the rest, which in that place, be as it were, the Suburbs of the *Indies*. There the Fleetes separate and diuide themselues, whereof some (which goe to new *Spaine*) take to the right hand towards *Hispaniola*; and hauing discouered Cape Saint *Anthony*, they passe vnto Saint *Iohn Delua*, alwayes vsing the same Easterly windes. Those for the mayne Land, take the left hand, discouering the high mountaine of *Fayrey*, then hauing touched at *Carthagene*, they passe vnto *Nombre de Dios*, from whence they goe by Land to *Panama*, and from thence, by the South Sea to *Peru*. But when the fleetes returne to *Spaine*, they make their voyage in this sort: The fleete of *Peru* discouers Cape Saint *Anthony*, then they enter into the *Hauana*, which is a goodly Port in the Iland of *Cuba*. The fleete of new *Spaine* doth likewise touch at the *Hauana*, being parted from *Vera Cruz*, or from the Land of Saint *Iohn Delua*, the which is not without difficultie, for that commonly Easterly windes blow there, which is a contrarie winde to goe to the *Hauana*. These fleetes being ioyned together for *Spaine*, they seeke their height without the Tropicks, where presently they finde Westerly windes, which serue them vntill they come in view of the *Azores*, or *Terceres*, and from thence to *Siuil*. So as their voyage in going, is of a small height, not aboue twentie degrees from the Line, which is within the Tropicks. But the returne is without the Tropicks, in eight and twentie or thirtie degrees of height at the least, for that within the Tropicks, the Easterne windes continually blow, the which are fittest to goe from *Spaine* to the West *Indies*, for that their course is from East to West; and without the Tropicks (which is in three and twentie degrees of height) they finde Westerly windes, the which are the more certaine and ordinarie, the farther you are from the Line, and more fit to returne from the *Indies*; for that they are windes blowing from the South and West, which serue to runne into the East and North.

The like discourse is of the Nauigation made into the South Sea, going from new *Spaine* or *Peru*, to the *Philippines* or *China*, and returning from the *Philippines* or *China* to new *Spaine*, the which is easie, for that they saile alwayes from East to West, neere the Line, where they finde the Easterly windes to blow in their Poope. In the yeere 1584. there went a ship from *Callao* in *Lima* to the *Philippines*, which sayled two thousand and seuen hundred leagues without sight of Land, and the first it discouered, was the Iland of *Luson*, where they tooke Port, hauing performed their voyage in two moneths, without want of winde or any torment, and their course was almost continually vnder the Line; for that from *Lima* (which is twelue degrees to the South) he came to *Manilla*, which is as much to the North. The like good fortune had *Aluaro de Mandana*, when as he went to discouer the Ilands of *Salomon*, for that he had alwayes a full gale, vntill he came within view of these Ilands, the which must bee distant from that place of *Peru*, from whence hee parted, about a thousand leagues, hauing runne their course alwayes in one height to the South. The returne is like vnto the voyage from the *Indies* vnto *Spaine*: for those which returne from the *Philippines* or *China* to *Mexico*, to the end they may recouer the western windes, they mount a great height, vntill they come right against the Ilands of *Iapon*, and discouering the *Caliphornes*, they returne by the coast of new *Spaine* to the Port of *Acapulco*, from whence they parted. So as it is proued likewise by this Nauigation, that they saile easily from East to West, within the Tropicks, for that their Easterly windes doe raine: but returning from West to East, they must seeke the Westerne windes without the Tropicks, in the height of seuen and twentie degrees. The *Portugals* proue the like in their Nauigations to the East *Indies*, although it be in a contrarie course.

Sayling 2700. leagues without sight of Land in two moneths. See *Candishes* voyage.

Let vs now speake of that which toucheth the Question propounded, what should be the reason why vnder the burning Zone we saile easily from East to West, and not contrarie: wherein we must presuppose two certaine grounds. The one is, that the motion of the first Mouer, which they call *Diurnall*, not onely drawes and mooues with him the celestiall Spheares, which are inferiour vnto him, as wee see daily in the Sunne, the Moone, and the Starres; but also the Elements doe participate of this motion, insomuch as they are not hindered. The Earth is not mooued, by reason of her heauinesse, which makes it immoueable, being farre from this first motor. The Element of water mooues not likewise with this Diurnall motion, for that it is vnited to the Earth and make one spheare, so as the Earth keeps it from all circular motion. But the other two Elements of Fire and Aire, are more subtill and neerer the heauenly Regions, so as they participate of their motion, and are driuen about circularly, as the same celestiall bodies. As for the Fire, without doubt it hath his spheare (as *Aristotle* and other Philosophers haue held) but for the Aire (which is no point of our subiect) it is most certaine that it mooues with a motion Diurnall, which is from East to West, which wee see plainly in Comets that mooue from the East vnto the West, mounting, descending, and finally turning in the hemispheare in the same

Cause of the Brises.

Motion of the *Primum Mobile* carrieth the inferiour aire with it.

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same sort as the Starres moue in the firmament; for otherwise these Comets being in the region and sphere of the ayre, whereas they ingender, appeares consum'd. It should be impossible for them to moue circularly, as they doe, if the element of the aire doth not moue with the same motion that the first motor doth. For these elements being of a burning substance, by reason they should be fixt; without mouing circularly, if the sphere where they are did not moue; if it be not as we faine, that some Angell or intellectuall Spirit doth walke with the Comet, guiding it circularly. In the yeare 1577. appeared that wonderfull Comet (in forme like vnto a feather) from the horizon almost to the middest of heauen, and continued from the first of Nouember, vntill the eight of December: I say from the first of Nouember, for although in *Spaine* it was noated but the ninth of Nouember (according to the testimonie of Writers of that time) yet at *Peru*, where I was then, I remember well, we did see it, and obserue it eight dayes before, and all the time after. Touching the cause of this diuersitie, some may delate vpon it particularly: I will onely shew, that during those fortie dayes which it continued, wee all obserued (both such as were in *Spaine*, and we that liued then at the *Indies*) that it moued daily with an vniuersall motion, from East to West, as the Moone and other Planets, whereby it appeares that the sphere of the aire, being its Region, the element it selfe must of necessitie moue after the same sort. We noted also, that besides this vniuersall motion, it had another particular, by which it moued with the planets from West to East; for euery night it turned more Eastward, like vnto the Moone, Sunne, and Planets of *Venus*. We did also obserue a third particular motion, whereby it moued from the Zodiacke towards the North; for after some nights it was found neerer vnto the Septentrionall signes. And it may be this was the reason why the great Comet was sooner seene by those that were Southerly, as at *Peru*, and later discouered by them of *Europe*: for by this third motion (as I haue said) it approached neerer the Northerne Regions. Yet euery one may well obserue the differences of this motion, so as we may well perceiue, that many and sundry celestiall bodies, giue their impressions to the sphere of the ayre. In like sort it is most certaine, that the ayre moues with the circular motion of the heauen, from East to West, which is the first ground before mentioned. The second is no lesse certaine, which is, that the motion of the ayre in those parts that are vnder the Line, or neere vnto it, is very swift and light, the more it approacheth to the Equinoctiall; but the farther off it is from the Line, approaching neere the Poles, the more slow and heauie this motion is. The reason hereof is manifest; for that the mouing of the celestiall bodies, being the efficient cause of the mouing of the ayre, it must of necessitie be more quicke and light, where the celestiall bodies haue their swiftest motion.

The Comet 1577. seene eight dayes sooner in *Peru* then in *Spaine*.

Alonso Sanches was of opinion that this motion of the ayre was not a winde, but the ayre moued by the Sunne. This is learnedly spoken, yet can wee not deny it to be a winde, seeing there are vapours and exhalations of the Sea; and that we sometimes see the *Brise*, or Easterly windes stronger, sometimes more weake, and placed in that sort, as sometimes they can hardly carry all their sayles. We must then know (and it is true) that the ayre moued, draweth vnto it the vapours it findes, for that the force is great, and findes no resistance, by reason whereof the Easterne and Westerne windes are continual, and in a manner alwayes alike, in those parts which are neere the Line, and almost vnder all the burning Zone, which is the course the Sun followes betwixt the two circles of *Cancer* and *Capricorne*.

The Brize (or motion of the aire with the heauens) is a winde.

Who so would neerely looke into what hath bin spoken, may likewise vnderstand, that going from the West to the East, in altitude beyond the Tropikes, we shall finde Westerne windes, for that the motion of the Equinoctiall being so swift, it is a cause that the ayre moueth vnder it according to this motion, which is from the East to West, drawing after it the vapours and exhalations that rise of either side the Equinoctiall or burning Zone, incountring the course and motion of the Zone, are forced by the repercussion to returne almost to the contrary, whence grow the South-west windes so ordinary in those parts. Euen as we see in the course of waters, the which (if they be incountred by others of more force) returne in a manner backe: So it seemes to be like in vapours and exhalations, whereby it growes that the windes doe turne and separate themselues from one part to another. These Westerly windes doe commonly raine in a meane altitude, which is from twenty and seuen to thirty and seuen degrees, though they be not so certaine nor so regular as the *Brises* that are in a lesse altitude. The reason is, for that the South-west winds are no causes of this proper and equall motion of the heauen, as the *Brises* are, being neere to the Line. But (as I haue said) they are more ordinary, and often more furious and tempestuous. But passing into a greater altitude, as of fortie degrees, there is as small assurance of windes at Sea as at Land; for sometimes the East or North winde blowes, and sometimes the South, or West: whereby it happeneth their nauigations are more vncertaine, and more dangerous.

Why without the Zone, in a greater altitude, we finde alwaies Westerly windes. *Chap. 7.* Eddy windes.

Of the exceptions to the foresaid Rules, & of the winds and calmes both at Land and at Sea. *Chap. 8.*

That which we haue spoken of windes, which blow ordinarily within and without the Zone, must be vnderstood of the maine Sea, and in the great gulphes; for at land it is otherwise, where we finde all sorts of windes, by reason of the inequalitie which is betwixt the Mountaines and the vallies; the great number of Riuers and Lakes, and the diuers scituations of Countries, whence the grosse and thick vapours arise, which are moued from the one part or the other, according

Cause of the variety of windes.

cording to the diuerſitie of their beginnings, which cauſe theſe diuers windes the motion of the ayre, cauſed by the heauen, hauing not power enough to draw and moue them with it. And this varietie of windes is not onely found at land, but alſo vpon the Sea coaſt, which is vnder the burning Zone, for that there be forraine or land windes which come from the land, and many which blow from the Sea; the which windes from the Sea, are commonly more wholeſome and more pleaſant then thoſe of the land, which are contrariwiſe troubleſome and vnwholeſome, although it be the difference of the coaſt that cauſeth this diuerſitie: commonly the land windes blow from mid-night to the Sunne riſing, and the Sea windes vntill Sunne ſetting. The reaſon perhaps may be, that the earth, as a groſſe ſubſtance, fumes more when as the Sunne ſhines not vpon it, euen as greene wood, or ſcarſe dry, ſmoakes moſt when the flame is quenched. But the Sea, which is compounded of more ſubtile parts, engenders no fumes, but when it is hot, euen as ſtraw or haie, being moiſt and in ſmall quantitie, breedes ſmoake when it is burnt, and when the flame failes, the fume ſuddenly ceaſeth. Whatſoeuer it be, it is certaine that the Land winde blowes by night, and that of the Sea by day. So that euen as there are often contrary, violent, and tempeſtuous windes vpon the Sea coaſt, ſo doe we ſee very great calmes. Some men of great experience report, that hauing ſailed many great paſſages at Sea vnder the Line, yet did they neuer ſee any calmes, but that they alwayes make way little or much, the ayre being moued by the celeſtiall motion, which is ſufficient to guide a Shippe, blowing in poope, as it doth. I haue already ſaid, that a Shippe of *Lima* going to *Manilla*, ſailed two thouſand ſeuen hundred leagues, alwayes vnder the Line, or not aboue twelue degrees from it, and that in the moneths of February and March, when as the Sunne is there for Zenith, and in all this ſpace they found no calmes, but alwayes a freſh gale, ſo as in two moneths they performed this great voyage. But in the burning Zone and without it, you ſhall vſually ſee great calmes vpon the coaſts, where the vapours come from the Ilands, or maine land. And therefore ſtormes and tempeſts, and the ſudden motions of the ayre, are more certaine and ordinary vpon the coaſts, whereas the vapours come from the Land, then in full Sea, I meane vnder the burning Zone, for without it and at Sea, there are both calmes and whirlewindes. Notwithſtanding, ſometimes betwixt the two Tropickes, yea, vnder the Line, you ſhall haue great raine and ſudden ſhowers, yea farre into the Sea; for the working whereof, the vapours and exhalations of the Sea, are ſufficient, which mouing ſometimes haſtily in the ayre, cauſe thunder and whirlewindes, but this is more ordinary neere to the Land and vpon the Land. When I ſailed from *Peru* to new *Spaine*, I obſerued, that all the time we were vpon the coaſt of *Peru*, our voyage was (as it was ordinary) very calme and eaſie, by reaſon of the Southerne winde that blowes, hauing alwayes a fore winde, returning from *Spaine* and new *Spaine*. As we paſſed the gulph, launching farther into the Sea, almoſt vnder the Line, we found the ſeaſon coole, quiet, and pleaſant, with a full winde, but comming neere to *Nicaragua*, and to all that coaſt, wee had contrary windes, with great ſtore of raine and fogges. All this Nauigation was vnder the burning Zone: for from twelue degrees to the South, which is *Lima*, we ſailed to the ſeuenteenth, which is *Guatulco*, a port of new *Spaine*: and I beleeue, that ſuch as haue obſerued their nauigations, made vnder the burning Zone, ſhall finde what I haue ſaid, which may ſuffice for the windes which raigne at Sea, vnder the burning Zone.

Simile.

Note.

It were a very difficult matter, to report particularly the admirable effects which ſome windes cauſe in diuers regions of the world, and to giue a reaſon thereof. There are windes, which naturally trouble the water of the Sea, and makes it greene and blacke, others cleere as Chriſtall, ſome comfort and make glad, others trouble and breede heauineſſe. Such as nouriſh Silke-wormes, haue great care to ſhut their windowes, when as the South-weſt windes doe blow, and to open them to the contrary: hauing found by certaine experience, that their wormes diminiſh and dye with the one, and fatten and become better with the other: and who ſo will neerely obſerue it, ſhall finde in himſelfe, that the diuerſities of windes, cauſe notable impreſſions and changes in the body, principally in ſicke parts and ill diſpoſed, when they are moſt tender and weake. The holy Scripture calleth one a burning winde, another, a winde full of dewe and ſweetneſſe. And it is no wonder if we ſee ſuch notable effects of the winde, in Plants, Beaſts, and Men, ſeeing that we ſee it viſibly in Iron, which is the hardeſt of all mettals. I haue ſeene Grates of Iron in ſome parts of the *Indies*, ſo ruſted and conſumed, that preſſing it betwixt your fingers, it diſſolued into powder, as if it had beene hay or parched ſtraw, the which proceedes onely from the winde which doth corrupt it, hauing no meanes to withſtand it. But leauing apart many other great and notable effects, I will onely make mention of two. The one, although it cauſeth pangs greater then death it ſelfe, yet doth it not breede any further inconuenience. The other takes away life without feeling of it. The ſickneſſe of the Sea, wherewith ſuch are troubled as firſt begin to goe to Sea, is a matter very ordinary; and yet if the nature thereof were vnknowne to men, we ſhould take it for the pangs of death, ſeeing how it afflicts and torments while it doth laſt, by the caſting of the ſtomacke, paine of the head, and other troubleſome accidents. But in truth this ſickneſſe ſo common and ordinary happens vnto men by the change of the ayre and Sea. For although it be true that the motion of the Ship helpes much,

Of ſome marueilous effects of the windes, which are in ſome parts of the *Indies*. *Chap. 9.*

Silke-wormes killed with South-weſt windes.

Exod. 10. & 14.
Iob 17.
Ioan 4.
Oſee 13.
Dan. 3.

The like *Linſchoten* obſerueth in the *Terceras*.

Sea ſickneſſe whence.

Agitation and Sea ayre.

in

in that it moues more or leſſe: and likewiſe the infections and ill ſauours of things in the Ship: yet the proper and naturall cauſe, is the ayre and the vapours of the Sea, the which doth ſo weaken and trouble the body and the ſtomacke, which are not accuſtomed thereunto, that they are wonderfully moued and changed: for the ayre is the Element, by which we liue and breath, drawing it into our entrailes, the which we bathe therewithall. And therefore there is nothing that ſo ſuddenly, and with ſo great force doth alter vs, as the change of the ayre we breathe, as we ſee in thoſe which dye of the plague. It is approued by many experiences, that the ayre of the Sea, is the chiefe cauſe of this ſtrange indiſpoſition; the one is, that when there blowes from the Sea a ſtrong breath, we ſee them at the Land as it were Sea-ſicke, as I my ſelfe haue often found. Another is, the farther wee goe into the Sea, and retyre from Land, the more wee are touched and dazeled with this ſickneſſe. Another is, that coaſting along any Iland, and after lanching into the maine, we ſhall there finde the ayre more ſtrong. Yet will I not deny, but the motion and agitation may cauſe this ſickneſſe, ſeeing that we ſee ſome are taken therewith paſſing Riuers in Barkes: others in like ſort going in Coaches and Caroaches, according to the diuers complexions of the Stomacke: as contrariwiſe, there are ſome how boiſterous and troubleſome ſoeuer the Sea be, doe neuer feele it. Wherefore it is a matter certaine, and tried, that the ayre of the Sea, doth commonly cauſe this effect in ſuch as newly goe to Sea. I thought good to ſpeake this, to ſhew a ſtrange effect, which happens in ſome parts of the *Indies*, where the ayre and the winde that raigns makes men dazle, not leſſe, but more then at Sea. Some hold it for a fable, others ſay it is an addition: for my part I will ſpeake what I haue tried.

There is in *Peru*, a high mountaine which they call *Pariacaca*, and hauing heard ſpeake of the alteration it bred, I went as well prepared as I could, according to the inſtructions which was giuen me, by ſuch as they call *Vaquianos*, or expert men: but notwithſtanding all my prouiſion, when I came to mount the *degrees*, as they called them, which is the top of this mountaine, I was ſuddenly ſurprized with ſo mortall and ſo ſtrange a pang, that I was ready to fall from the top to the ground: and although we were many in company, yet euery one made haſte (without any tarrying for his companion,) to free himſelfe ſpeedily from this ill paſſage. Being then alone with one *Indian*, whom I intreated to helpe to ſtay me, I was ſurprized with ſuch pangs of ſtraining and caſting, as I thought to caſt vp my heart too; for hauing caſt vp meate, flegme, and coller, both yellow and greene; in the end I caſt vp blood, with the ſtraining of my ſtomacke. To conclude, if this had continued, I ſhould vndoubtedly haue dyed; but this laſted not aboue three or foure houres, that wee were come into a more conuenient and naturall temperature, where all our companions (being fourteene or fifteene) were much wearied. Some in the paſſage demanded confeſſion, thinking verily to dye: others left the Ladders and went to the ground, being ouercome with caſting, and going to the ſtoole: and it was told me, that ſome haue loſt their liues there with this accident. I beheld one that did beate himſelfe againſt the earth, crying out for the rage and griefe which this paſſage of *Pariacaca* had cauſed. But commonly it doth no important harme, onely this, paine and troubleſome diſtaſte while it endures: and not onely the paſſage of *Pariacaca* hath this propertie, but alſo all this ridge of the Mountaine, which runnes aboue fiue hundred leagues long, and in what place ſoeuer you paſſe, you ſhall finde ſtrange intemperatures, yet more in ſome parts then in other, and rather to thoſe which mount from the Sea, then from the Plaines. Beſides *Pariacaca*, I haue paſſed it by *Lucanas* and *Soras*: in another place, by *Collegnas*, and by *Canaras*. Finally, by foure different places, going and comming, and alwayes in this paſſage I haue felt this alteration, although in no place ſo ſtrongly, as at the firſt in *Pariacaca*, which hath beene tried by all ſuch as haue paſſed it. And no doubt but the winde is the cauſe of this intemperature and ſtrange alteration, or the ayre that raignes there. For the beſt remedy (and all they finde) is to ſtoppe their noſes, their eares, and their mouthes, as much as may be, and to couer themſelues with cloathes, eſpecially the ſtomacke, for that the ayre is ſubtile and piercing, going into the entrailes, and not onely men feele this alteration, but alſo beaſts that ſometimes ſtay there, ſo as there is no ſpurre can make them goe forward. For my part I hold this place to be one of the higheſt parts of land in the world; for we mount a wonderfull ſpace. And in my opinion, the Mountaine *Nenade* of *Spaine*, the *Pirenees*, and the *Alpes* of *Italie*, are as ordinary houſes, in regard of hie Towers. I therefore perſwade my ſelfe, that the element of the ayre is there ſo ſubtile and delicate, as it is not proportionable with the breathing of man, which requires a more groſſe and temperate ayre; and I beleeue it is the cauſe that doth ſo much alter the ſtomacke, and trouble all the diſpoſition. The paſſages of the mountaines *Nenade*, and other of *Europe*, which I haue ſeene, although the ayre be cold there, and doth force men to weare more cloathes, yet this colde doth not take away the appetite from meate, but contrariwiſe it prouokes; neither doth it cauſe any caſting of the ſtomacke, but onely ſome paine in the feete and hands. Finally, their operation is outward. But that of the *Indies*, whereof I ſpeake (without moleſting of foote or hand, or any outward part) troubles all the entrailes within: and that which is more admirable, when the Sunne is hot, which maketh me imagine, that the griefe wee feele comes from the qualitie of the ayre which wee breathe: Therefore that is moſt ſubtile and delicate, whoſe cold is not ſo ſenſible, as piercing. All this ridge

Strange paſſion at *Pariacaca* by the ayre there.

Height of *Pariacaca*.

Aire too ſubtile for mens bodies. So we ſee Horſes to beate the water with their feete to make it more groſſe and thereby more agreeable to their bodies.

ridge of mountaines is, for the most part, desart, without any Villages or habitations for men, so as you shall scarce finde any small Cottages to lodge such as doe passe by night: there are no Beasts, good or bad, but some *Vicunos*, which are their Countrie Muttons, and haue a strange and wonderfull property, as I shall shew in his place. The Grasse is often burnt, and all blacke with the ayre, and this Desart runs fiue and twenty or thirty leagues ouerthwart, and in length aboue fiue hundred leagues.

Vicunos.

Great Desart.

There are other Desarts or places inhabited, which at *Peru* they call *Punas* (speaking of the second point we promised) where the qualitie of the ayre cutteth off mans life without feeling. In former time the *Spaniards* went from *Peru*, to the Realme of *Chille* by this Mountaine, but at this day they doe passe commonly by Sea, and sometimes alongst the side of it. And though that way be laborious and troublesome, yet is there not so great danger as by the Mountaine, where there are Plaines, on the which many men haue perished and dyed, and sometimes haue scaped by great hap, whereof some haue remained lame. There runs a small breath, which is not very strong nor violent, but proceeds in such sort, that men fall downe dead, in a manner without feeling, or at the least, they loose their feete and hands: the which may seeme fabulous, yet is it most true. I haue knowne and frequented long the Generall *Ieronie Costilla*, the auncient peopler of *Cusco*, who had lost three or foure toes, which fell off in passing the Desart of *Chille*, being perished with this ayre, and when he came to looke on them, they were dead, and fell off without any paine, euen as a rotten Apple falleth from the tree. This Captaine reported, that of a good armie which he had conducted by that place, in the former yeares, since the discouery of this Kingdome by *Almagro*, a great part of the men remained dead there, whose bodies he found lying in the Desart, without any stinke or corruption; adding thereunto one thing very strange, that they found a yong Boye aliue, and being examined how hee had liued in that place, hee said, that he lay hidden in a little Caue, whence hee came to cut the flesh of a dead Horse with a little Knife, and thus had he nourished himselfe a long time, with I know not how many companions that liued in that sort, but now they were all dead, one dying this day, & another to morrow, saying that he desired nothing more then to dye there with the rest, seeing that hee found not in himselfe any disposition to goe to any other place, nor to take any taste in any thing. I haue vnderstood the like of others, and particularly of one that was of our company, who being then a secular man, had passed by these Desarts: and it is a strange thing, the quality of this cold ayre, which kils, and also preserues the dead bodies without corruption. I haue also vnderstood it of a reuerend religious man, of the Order of Saint *Dominike*, and Prelate thereof, who had seene it passing by the Desarts: and which is strange, he reported, that trauelling that way by night, was forced to defend himselfe against that deadly winde which blowes there (hauing no other meanes) but to gather together a great number of those dead bodies that lay there, and made thereof, as it were, a rampire and a bolster for his head: in this manner did hee sleepe, the dead bodies giuing him life. Without doubt this is a kinde of colde so piercing, that it quencheth the vitall heate, cutting off his influence; and being so exceeding colde, yet doth not corrupt nor giue any putrifaction to the dead bodies, for that putrifaction groweth from heate and moistnesse. As for the other kinde of ayre which thunders vnder the earth, and causeth earthquakes, more at the *Indies*, then in any other Regions, I will speake thereof in treating the qualities of the Land at the *Indies*. We will content our selues now with what we haue spoken of the winde and ayre, and passe to that which is to be spoken of the water.

Punas ayre killing.

Strange Story.

The same confirmed by a *Iesuites* report, and a *Dominicans.*

Such effects of cold we haue obserued in *Russia*, and other Northern parts: and the like Master *Kniuet* will tell vs at the *Magelan* Straits.

§. II.

Of the Ocean that inuirons the Indies, *and of the North and South Seas, their ebbing, flowing, Fishes, fishing, Lakes, Riuers, and Springs.*

AMong all waters the Ocean is the principall, by which the *Indies* haue beene discouered, and are inuironed therewith; for either they be Ilands of the Ocean Sea, or maine Land, the which whereseuer it ends, is bounded with this Ocean. To this day they haue not discouered at the *Indies* any Mediterranean Sea, as in *Europe*, *Asia*, and *Affrica*, into the which there enters some arme of this great Sea, and makes distinct Seas, taking their names from the Prouinces they wash: and almost all the Mediterranean Seas continue and ioyne together, and with the Ocean it selfe, by the straight of *Gibraltar*, which the Ancients called, the Pillers of *Hercules*, although the *Red Sea* being separated from the Mediterranean Seas, enters alone into the *Indian* Ocean; and the *Caspian* Sea ioynes not with any other: so that at the *Indies* we finde not any other Sea then this Ocean, which they diuide into two, the one they call the North Sea, and the other the South; for that the *Indies* which were first discouered by the Ocean, and reacheth vnto *Spaine*, lies all to the North, and by that Land thereafter discouered a Sea on the other side, the which they called the South Sea, for that they decline vntill they haue passed the Line; and hauing lost the North, or Pole-articke, they called it South.

No Mediterranean Sea of great note in *America.*

For

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For this cause they haue called all that Ocean the South Sea, which lyeth on the other side of the East *Indies*, although a great part of it be seated to the North, as all the coast of new *Spaine*, *Nuaragna*, *Guatimala* and *Panama*. They say, that he that first discouered this Sea, was called *Blascowunes* of *Bilbo*, the which he did by that part which we now call *Maine Land*, where it growes narrow, and the two Seas approach so neere the one to the other, that there is but seuen leagues of distance: for although they make the way eighteene from *Nombre de Dios* to *Panama*, yet is it with turning to seeke the commoditie of the way, but drawing a direct line, the one Sea shall not be found more distant from the other. Some haue discoursed and propounded to cut through this passage of seuen leagues, and to ioyne one Sea to the other, to make the passage from *Peru* more commodious and easie, for that these eighteene leagues of Land betwixt *Nombre de Dios* and *Panama*, is more painefull and chargeable then 2300. by Sea, whereupon some would say, it were a meanes to drowne the Land, one Sea being lower then another. As in times past we finde it written, that for the same consideration, they gaue ouer the enterprize to winne the red Sea into *Nile*, in the time of King *Sesostris*, and since, in the Empire of the *Othomans*. But for my part, I hold such discourses and propositions for vaine, although this inconuenience should not happen, the which I will not hold for assured. I beleeue there is no humaine power able to beate and breake downe those strong and impenetrable Mountaines, which God hath placed betwixt the two Seas, and hath made them most hard Rockes, to withstand the furie of two Seas. And although it were possible to men, yet in my opinion they should feare punishment from heauen, in seeking to correct the workes, which the Creator by his great prouidence hath ordained and disposed in the framing of this vniuersall world.

Terra firma.

Straight of land but eight leagues betwixt North & South Seas.

Herodotus.

Iouius.

Leauing this discourse of opening the Land, and ioyning both Seas together, there is yet another lesse rash, but very difficult and dangerous to search out. Whether these two great gulfes doe ioyne in any other part of the world, which was the enterprize of *Fernando Magellan* a *Portugall* Gentleman, whose great courage and constancie in the research of this subiect, and happy successe in the finding thereof, gaue the name of eternall memory to this straight, which iustly they call by the name of the discouerer *Magellan*, of which straight we will intreate a little, as of one of the greatest wonders of the world. Some haue beleeued, that this Straight which *Magellan* had discouered in the South Sea, was none, or that it was straightned, as *Don Alonso d'Arsile* writes in his *Auracane*: and at this day there are some that say, there is no such Straight, but that they are Ilands betwixt the Sea and Land, for that the maine Land ends there, at the end whereof are all Ilands, beyond the which the one Sea ioynes fully with the other, or to speake better, it is all one Sea. But in truth it is most certaine, there is a straight and a long and stretched out Land on either side, although it hath not yet beene knowne how farre it stretcheth of the one side of the straight towards the South. After *Magellan*, a Shippe of the Bishop of *Plaisance* passed the straight, *Don Guiteres Carnaial* (whose Maste they say is yet at *Lima*, at the entrie of the Pallace) they went afterwards coasting along the South, to discouer the Straight, by the commandement of *Don Garcia* of *Mendoca*, then Gouernor of *Chille*, according to that which Captaine *Ladrillero* found it and passed it. I haue read the discourse and report he made, where he saieth, that he did not hazard himselfe to land in the Straight, but hauing discouered the North Sea, he returned backe, for the roughnesse of the time, winter being now come, which caused the waues comming from the North, to grow great and swelling, and the Sea continually foming with rage. In our time, *Francis Drake* an *Englishman*, passed this Straight. After him, Captaine *Sarmiento* passed it on the South side. And lastly, in the yeere 1587. other *Englishmen* passed it, by the instruction of *Drake*, which at this time run along all the coast of *Peru*.

Experience in *Drakes* and *Maires* voyage haue found them no straights but broken Ilands to the South, contrary to our Author here.

See of this Sir *Francis Drakes* Voyage, *to.* 1. *l.* 2 I haue omitted *Sa. micntoes* voiage. &c.

Euen as *Magellan* found out this Straight vpon the South, so some haue pretended to discouer another Straight, which they say is in the North, and suppose it to be in *Florida*, whose coast runnes in such sort, as they know no end thereof. *Peter Melendez* the *Adelantade*, a man very expert at Sea, affirmeth for certaine, that there is a Straight, and that the King had commanded him to discouer it, wherein he shewed a great desire: he propounded his reasons to proue his opinion, saying, that they haue seene some remainders of Ships in the North Sea, like vnto those the which the *Chinois* vse, which had beene impossible, if there were no passage from one Sea vnto another. Moreouer, hee reported, that in a certaine great Bay in *Florida* (the which runs 300. leagues within the Land) they see Whales in some season of the yeare, which come from the other Sea.

The supposed Straight in *Florida*.

One of the most admirable secrets of Nature is the ebbing and flowing of the Sea, not onely for this strange property of rising and falling, but much more for the difference there is thereof in diuers Seas, yea in diuers coasts of one and the same Sea. There are some Seas that haue no daily flowing nor ebbing, as we see in the inner Mediterranean, which is the *Thyrene* Sea, and yet it flowes and ebbes euery day in the vpper Mediterranean Sea, which is that of *Venice*, and iustly giueth cause of admiration, that these two Seas being Mediterranean, and that of *Venice* being no greater then the other, yet hath it his ebbing and flowing as the Ocean, and that other Sea of *Italie* none at all. There are some Mediterranean Seas, that apparantly rise and fall euery moneth;

Of the ebbing and flowing of the *Indian* Ocean. *Chap.* 14.

The Philosophers in searching the cause of ebbing and flowing haue easily erred, following the *Greekes* and *Latines* which knew not the Ocean, and could not therefore know the cause.

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moneth; and others that neither riſe in the day, nor in the moneth. There are other Seas, as the *Spaniſh* Ocean, that haue their flux and reflux euery day; and beſides that, they haue it monethly, which commeth twice, that is to ſay, at the change, and at the full of euery Moone, which they call *Spring-tides*. To ſay that any Sea hath this daily ebbing and flowing, and not monethly, I know not any. It is ſtrange, the difference we finde of this ſubiect at the *Indies*; for there are ſome places whereas the Sea doth daily riſe and fall two leagues, as at *Panama*, and at a high water it riſeth much more. There are other places where it doth riſe and fall ſo little, that hardly can you finde the difference. It is ordinary in the Ocean Sea to haue a daily flowing and ebbing, and that was twice in a naturall day, and euer it fals three quarters of an houre ſooner one day then another, according to the courſe of the Moone: ſo as the tide fals not alwaies in one houre of the day. Some would ſay, that this flux and reflux proceeded from the locall motion of the water of the Sea; ſo as the water that riſeth on the one ſide, fals on the other that is oppoſite vnto it: ſo that it is full Sea on the one ſide when it is a low water on the oppoſite, as we ſee in a Kettle full of water, when we moue it, when it leanes to the one ſide the water increaſeth, and on the other it diminiſheth. Others affirme, that the Sea riſeth in all parts at one time, and decreaſeth at one inſtant: as the boyling of a Pot, comming out of the centre it extendeth it ſelfe on all parts, and when it ceaſeth, it fals likewiſe on all parts.

This ſecond opinion is true, and in my iudgement, certaine and tried, not ſo much for the reaſons which the Philoſophers giue in their Meteors, as for the certaine experience wee may make. For to ſatisfie my ſelfe vpon this point and queſtion, I demanded particularly of the ſaid * Pilot, how he found the tides in the ſtraight, and if the tides of the South Sea did fall when as thoſe of the North did riſe. And contrariwiſe (this queſtion being true) why the increaſe of the Sea in one place, is the decreaſe thereof in another, as the firſt opinion holdeth. He anſwered that it was not ſo, but they might ſee plainely, that the tides of the North and South Seas riſe at one inſtant, ſo as the waues of one Sea incountred with the other, and at one inſtant likewiſe they began to retire, euery one into his Sea, ſaying, that the riſing and falling was daily ſeene, and that the incounter of the tides (as I haue ſaid) was at threeſcore and tenne leagues to the North Sea, and thirtie to the South. Whereby we may plainely gather, that the ebbing and flowing of the Ocean is no pure locall motion, but rather an alteration: whereby all waters really riſe and increaſe at one inſtant, and in others, they diminiſh, as the boyling of a Pot, whereof I haue ſpoken. It were impoſſible to comprehend this point by experience, if it were not in the Straight, where all the Ocean, both on th'one ſide, and on th'other ioynes together: for none but Angels can ſee it, and iudge of the oppoſite parts: for that man hath not ſo long a ſight, nor ſo nimble and ſwift footing as were needefull, to tranſport his eyes from one part to another, in ſo ſhort a time, as a tide will giue him reſpite, which are onely ſix houres.

* *Hernando Alonſo* which with *Sarmiento* had gone to the Straights to ſeeke Captaine *Drake*.

At the Downes on our coaſt two tides meet one from the Weſterne Sea or ſlewe, the other from the North, which there cauſe much varietie.

Of ſundry Fiſhers, and their manner of fiſhing at the *Indies*.

There are in the *Indian* Ocean, an infinite number of fiſhes, the kindes and properties whereof the Creator onely can declare. There are many ſuch as we haue in the Sea of *Europe*, as Shads, and Aloſes which come from the Sea into the Riuers; Dorads, Pilchards, and many other. There are others, the like I doe not thinke to haue ſeene in theſe parts, as thoſe which they doe call *Cabrillas*, which doe ſomewhat reſemble the Trowt, and in new *Spaine* they call them *Bobos*, they mount from the Sea into the Riuers. I haue not ſeene any *Beſugues* there, nor Trowts, although ſome ſay there are in *Chille*. There are *Tonins* in ſome parts vpon the coaſt of *Peru*, but they are rare, and ſome are of opinion, that at a certaine time they doe caſt their ſpawne in the Straight of *Magellan*, as they doe in *Spaine* at the Straight of *Gibraltar*, and for this reaſon they finde more vpon the coaſt of *Chille*, although thoſe I haue ſeene there, are not like to them in *Spaine*. At the Ilands (which they call *Barlouente*) which are *Cuba*, Saint *Dominicke*, *Port rique*, and *Iamaique*, they finde a fiſh which they call *Manati*, a ſtrange kinde of fiſh, if we may call it fiſh, a creature which ingenders her yong ones aliue, and hath teates, and doth nouriſh them with milke, feeding of graſſe in the fields, but in effect it liues continually in the water, and therefore they eate it as fiſh; yet when I did eate of it at Saint *Dominique* on a friday, I had ſome ſcruple, not for that which is ſpoken, but for that in colour and taſte it was like vnto morſels of Veale, ſo is it greene, and like vnto a Cowe on the hinder parts. I did wonder at the incredible rauening of the *Tiburons*, or ſharkes, when as I did ſee drawne from one (that was taken in the Port) out of his gullet, a Butchers great Knife, a great Iron hooke, and a piece of a Cowes head with one whole horne, neither doe I know if both were there, or no. I did ſee in a creeke made with that Sea, a quarter of a horſe for pleaſure hanging vpon a ſtake, whither preſently came a company of theſe *Tiburons*, at the ſmell thereof: and for the more pleaſure, this Horſe-fleſh was hung in the ayre, I know not how many hand breadth from the water; this company of fiſh flocke about it, leaping vp, and with a ſtrange nimbleneſſe cut off both fleſh and bone off the Horſe legge, as if it had beene the ſtalke of a lettuce; their teeth being as ſharpe as a raſour. There are certaine ſmall fiſhes they call *Rambos*, which cleaue to theſe *Tiburons*, neither can they driue them away, and they are fed with that which falles from the *Tiburons*.

The *Manati* a ſtrange fiſh. The Whales alſo bring forth their yong aliue, and nouriſh them with their breſts, being in that huge creature ſcarce twice ſo big as the breaſts of a woman, and farre leſſe then thoſe of many women. Their foode is alſo Sea weedes.

Sharking ſharkes.

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Taburons. There are other small fishes, which they call flying fishes, the which are found within the tropickes, and in no other place, as I thinke: they are pursued by the *Ducades*; and to escape them they leape out of the Sea, and goe a good way in the ayre, and for this reason they are called *flying Fishes*: they haue wings as it were of linnen cloath, or of parchment, which doe support them some space in the ayre. There did one flye or leape into the Ship wherein I went, the which I did see, and obserue the fashion of his wings.

They haue rough heads whereby they cleaue and sticke fast to the Sharke, which thus are forced to ca ry them with their swift motion, of whose offall also they liue.

In the *Indian* Histories there is often mention made of *Lezards* or *Caymans* (as they call them) and they are the very same which *Plinie* and the Auncients call Crocodiles, they finde them on the Sea side, and in hot Riuers, for in cold Riuers there are none to be found. And therefore they finde none vpon all the coasts of *Peru* vnto *Payta*, but forward they are commonly seene in the Riuers. It is a most fierce and cruell beast, although it be slow and heauie. Hee goes hunting and seekes his prey on the Land, and what he takes aliue, he drownes it in the water, yet doth he not eate it, but out of the water, * for that his throate is of such a fashion, as if there entred any water, he should easily be drowned. It is a wonderfull thing to see a combat betwixt a Caymant and a Tigre, whereof there are most cruell at the *Indies*. A religious man of our company told me that he had seene these beasts fight most cruelly one against the other; vpon the Sea shoare the Caymant with his taile gaue great blowes vnto the Tygre, striuing with his great force to carry him into the water: and the Tigre with his pawes resisted the Caymant, drawing him to Land. In the end the Tigre vanquished, and opened the Lezard, it seemes by the belly, the which is most tender and penetrable, for in euery other part he is so hard, that no Lance, and scarce a harquebuze can pierce it. The victory which an *Indian* had of a Caymant was yet more rare: the Caymant had carried away his yong childe, and sodainely plunged into the Sea, the *Indian* moued with choller, cast himselfe after him, with a knife in his hand, and as they are excellent swimmers and diuers, and the Caymant swimmeth alwayes on the toppe of the water, hee hurt him in the belly, and in such sort, that the Caymant feeling himselfe wounded, went to the shoare, leauing the little infant dead.

* Yet so as euer and anon hee dipsit in the water his tongue being so short, that otherwise he could not swallow it.

Tigre kils a Crocodile.

Indians exploit on a Crocodile

But the combat which the *Indians* haue with Whales is yet more admirable, wherein appeares the power and greatnesse of the Creator, to giue so base a Nation (as be the *Indians*) the industrie and courage to incounter the most fierce and deformed beast in the world, and not onely to fight with him, but also to vanquish him, and not to triumph ouer him. Considering this, I haue often remembred that place of the Psalmes, speaking of the Whale, *Draco iste quem formasti ad illudendum eum*: What greater mockerie can there be, then to see an *Indian* leade a Whale as bigge as a Mountaine, vanquished with a cord? The manner the *Indians* of *Florida* vse (as some expert men haue told me) to take these Whales (whereof there is great store) is, they put themselues into a Canoe, which is like a barke of a tree, and in swimming approach neere the Whales side, then with great dexteritie they leape to his necke, and there they ride as on horse-back expecting his time, then he thrusts a sharpe and stong stake (which he carries with him) into the Whales nostrill, for so they call the hole or vent by which they breathe, presently he beates it in with another stake as forcibly as he can; in the meane space the Whale doth furiously beate the Sea, and raiseth Mountaines of water, running into the deepe with great violence, and presently riseth againe, not knowing what to doe for paine: the *Indian* still sits firme, and to giue him full paiment for this trouble, hee beates another stake into the other vent or nosthrill, so as he stoppeth him quite, and takes away his breathing, then he betakes him to his Canoe, which he holds tied with a cord to the Whales side, and goes to Land, hauing first tied his cord to the Whale, the which he lets run with the Whale, who leapes from place to place, whilest he finds water enough: being troubled with paine, in the end he comes neere the Land, and remaines on ground by the hugenesse of his body, vnable any more to moue; then a great number of *Indians* come vnto the Conquerour, to gather his spoiles, they kill him, and cut his flesh in peeces, the which is bad enough: this doe they dry and beate into powder, vsing it for meate, it doth last them long: wherein is fulfilled, that which is spoken in another Psalme of the Whale, *Dedisti eum escam populis Æthiopum*. *Peter Mendez* the *Adelantade* did often speake of this kinde of fishing. Whereof *Monardes* makes mention in his Booke.

Whale killed by the Sauages

There is another fishing which the *Indians* doe commonly vse in the Sea, the which, although it be lesse, yet is it worthy the report. They make as it were faggots of bul-rushes or dry sedges well bound together, which they call *Balsus*: hauing carried them vpon their shoulders to the Sea, they cast them in, and presently leape vpon them: being so set, they lanch out into the deepe, rowing vp and downe with small reedes of either side: they goe a league or two into the Sea to fish, carrying with them their cords and nets vpon these faggots, and beare themselues thereon. They cast out their nets, and doe there remaine fishing the greatest part of the day and night, vntill they haue filled vp their measure, with the which they returne well satisfied. Truely it was delightfull to see them fish at *Callao* of *Lima*, for that they were many in number, and euery one set on horse-backe, cutting the waues of the Sea, which in their place of fishing are great and furious, resembling the *Tritons* or *Neptunes*, which they paint vpon the water, and being come to Land, they draw their barke out of the water vpon their backes, the which they presently

presently vndoe, and lay abroad on the shoare to drie. There were other *Indians* of the Vallies of *Yca*, which were accustomed to goe to fish in leather, or skins of Sea-wolues, blowne vp with winde, and from time to time they did blow them like bals of winde, lest they should sinke. In the vale of *Canete*, which in old time they called *Guaroo*, there were a great number of *Indian* fishers; but because they resisted the *Ingua*, when he came to conquer that Land, hee made shew of peace with them, and therefore to feast him, they appointed a solemne fishing of many thousand *Indians*, which went to Sea in their vessels of reeds: at whose returne, the *Ingua* (who had laid many Souldiers in ambush) made a cruell butcherie of them, so as afterward this Land remained vnpeopled, although it be aboundant and fertile. I did see another manner of fishing, whereunto *Don Francis* of *Toledo* the Viceroy did leade me, yet was it not in the Sea, but in a Riuer which they call great in the Prouince of *Charcas*, where the *Indians Chiraquanas* plunged into the water, and swimming with an admirable swiftnesse, followed the fish, where with darts and hookes (which they vse to carry in their right hand, onely swimming with the left) they wound the fish, and so hurt they brought them forth, seeming in this more like vnto fishes then men of the Land. But now that we haue left the Sea, let vs come to other kinde of waters that remaine to be spoken of.

Of Lakes and Pooles that be at the *Indies*. *Chap.* 16.

In place of the Mediterranean Sea, which is in the old world, the Creator hath furnished this new with many Lakes, whereof there are some so great, as they may be properly called Seas, seeing the Scripture calleth that of *Palestina* so, which is not so great as some of these. The most famous is that of *Titicaca*, which is at *Peru*, in the Prouince of *Callao*, the which as I haue said in the former booke, containes neere foure score leagues in compasse, into the which there runs ten or twelue great Riuers. A while since, they began to saile in it with Barkes and Ships, wherein they proceeded so ill, that the first Ship was split with a tempest that did rise in the Lake. The water is not altogether sower nor salt, as that of the Sea, but it is so thicke, as it cannot be drunke. There are two kindes of fishes breede in this Lake in great abundance, the one they call *Suches*, which is great and sauorous, but phlegmaticke and vnwholesome: and the other *Bogos*, which is more healthfull, although it be lesse and fuller of bones: there are great numbers of wilde-ducks and Wigens. When as the *Indians* will feast it, or shew delight to any one that passeth along the two bankes, which they call *Chucuyto* and *Omasuyo*, they assemble a great number of *Canoes*, making a circle and inuironing the fowle, vntill they take with their hands what they please: and they call this manner of fishing *Chaco*. On the one and the other banke of this Lake, are the best habitations of *Peru*. From the issue thereof there growes a lesser Lake, although it be great, which they call *Paria*, vpon the bankes whereof, there are great numbers of cattell, especially Swine, which grow exceeding fat with the grasse vpon those bankes. There are many other Lakes in the high Mountaines, whence proceede Brookes and Riuers, which after become great flouds. Vpon the way from *Arequippa* to *Callao*, there are two Lakes, vpon the Mountaines of the one and other side the way, from the one flowes a brooke, which growes to a floud, and fals into the South Sea; from the other, they say the famous Riuer of *Aporima* takes her beginning; from the which some hold that the renowned Riuer of *Amazons*, otherwise called *Maragnon* proceedes, with so great an assembly and abundance of waters, which ioyne in these Mountaines. It is a question may be often asked, why there is so many Lakes in the tops of these Mountaines, into the which no riuer enters, but contrariwise, many great streames issue forth, and yet doe we scarce see these Lakes to diminish any thing at any season of the yeare. To imagine that these Lakes grow by the Snow that melts, or raine from heauen, that doth not wholly satisfie me: for there are many that haue not this abundance of Snow, nor raine, and yet wee see no decrease in them, which makes me to beleeue they are Springs which rise there naturally, although it be not against reason, to thinke that the Snow and raine helpe somewhat in some seasons. These Lakes are so common in the highest tops of the Mountaines, that you shall hardly finde any famous riuer that takes not his beginning from one of them. Their water is very cleere and breedes little store of fish, and that little is very small, by reason of the cold which is there continually.

Thicke water.

Fishes and fishing.

Originall of Lakes.

Greatest riuers flow from Lakes.

Notwithstanding, some of these Lakes be very hot, which is another wonder. At the end of the Vallie of *Tarapaya* neere to *Potozi*, there is a Lake in forme round, which seemes to haue beene made by compasse, whose water is extreamely hot, and yet the Land is very cold: they are accustomed to bathe themselues neere the banke, for else they cannot endure the heate being farther in. In the midst of this Lake, there is a boiling of aboue twentie foote square, which is the very Spring, and yet (notwithstanding the greatnesse of this Spring) it is neuer seene to increase in any sort: it seemes that it exhals of it selfe, or that it hath some hidden and vnknowne issue, neither doe they see it decrease; which is another wonder, although they haue drawne from it a great streame, to make certaine engines grinde for mettall, considering the great quantitie of water that issueth forth, by reason whereof, it should decrease.

Hot Lake, and many wonders thereof.

But leauing *Peru*, and passing to new *Spaine*, the Lakes there, are no lesse to be obserued; especially that most famous of *Mexico*, where we finde two sorts of waters, one salt Lake like to that of the Sea, and the other cleere and sweete, by reason of the Riuers that enter into it.

Lakes of *Mexico* salt and fresh.

In

In the midſt of this Lake, is a rocke very delightfull and pleaſant, where there are bathes of hot water that iſſue forth, the which they greatly eſteeme for their health. There are Gardens in the middeſt of this Lake, framed and fleeting vpon the water, where you may ſee plots full of a thouſand ſorts of hearbes and flowers, & they are in ſuch ſort as a man cannot well conceiue them without ſight. The Citie of *Mexico* is ſeated in the ſame Lake, although the *Spaniards* haue filled vp the place of the ſcituation with earth, leauing onely ſome currents of water, great and ſmall, which enter into the Citie, to carrie ſuch things as they haue neede of, as wood, hearbs, ſtone, fruites of the Countrie, and all other things. When *Cortez* conquered *Mexico*, hee cauſed *Brigandins* to be made, yet afterwards he thought it more ſafe not to vſe them: therefore they vſe *Canoes*, whereof there is great ſtore. There is great ſtore of fiſh in this Lake, yet haue I not ſeene any of price: notwithſtanding, they ſay the reuenue of this Lake, is worth three-hundred thouſand Duckets a yeere. There are many other Lakes, not farre from this, whence they bring much fiſh to *Mexico*. The Prouince of *Mechoacan* is ſo called, for that it aboundeth greatly with fiſh. There are goodly and great Lakes, in the which there is much fiſh, and this Prouince is coole and healthfull. There are many other Lakes, whereof it is not poſſible to make mention, nor to know them in particular, onely wee may note by that which hath beene diſcourſed in the former Booke, that vnder the burning Zone there is greater abundance of Lakes, then in any other part of the world.

Rich Lakes.

There is at the *Indies* as in other parts of the world, great diuerſitie of Springs, Fountaines, and Riuers, and ſome haue ſtrange properties. In *Guancauilica* of *Peru* (where the Mines of Quick-ſiluer be,) there is a Fountaine that caſts forth hot water, and in running, the water turnes to rocke, of which rocke or ſtone, they build in a manner all the houſes of the Village. This ſtone is ſoft, and eaſie to cut, for they cut it as eaſily with Iron as if it were wood, it is light and laſting. If men or beaſts drinke thereof, they dye, for that it congeales in the very entrailes, and turnes into ſtone, and for that cauſe ſome Horſes haue died. As this water turnes into ſtone, the which flowes, ſtoppes the paſſage to the reſt; ſo as of neceſſitie it changeth the courſe, and for this reaſon it runnes in diuers places, as the rocke increaſeth. At the point of Cape Saint *Helaine*, there is a Spring or Fountaine of Pitch, which at *Peru*, they call *Coppey*. This ſhould be like to that which the Scripture ſpeakes of the ſauage Valley, where they did finde pits of Pitch. The Marriners vſe theſe Fountaines of Pitch or *Coppey*, to pitch their ropes and tackling, for that it ſerues them as Pitch and Tarre in *Spaine*. When I ſailed into new *Spaine* by the coaſt of *Peru*, the Pilot ſhewed me an Iland, which they call the *Ile of Wolues*, where there is another Fountaine or Pit of *Coppey* or Pitch, with the which they anoint their tackling. There are other Fountaines and Springs of *Goultrauezen*, which the Pilot (an excellent man in his charge) told me he had ſeene, and that ſometimes ſailing that waies, being ſo farre into the Sea, as he had loſt the ſight of Land, yet did he know by the ſmell of the *Coppey*, where he was, as well as if he had knowne the Land, ſuch is the ſauour that iſſues continually from that Fountaine.

Of many and diuers Springs and Fountains *Chap.* 17.

Hot Spring turning into Stone.

Fountaine of Pitch.

At the Bathes, which they call the Bathes of *Ingua*, there is a courſe of water, which comes forth all hot and boiling; and ioyning vnto it, there is another whoſe water is as cold as Ice. The *Ingua* was accuſtomed to temper the one with the other; and it is a wonderfull thing to ſee Springs of ſo contrarie qualities, ſo neere one to the other. There are an infinite number of other hot Springs, ſpecially in the Prouince of *Charcas*, in the water whereof, you cannot indure to hold your hand the ſpace of an *Ave Maria*, as I haue ſeene tried by wager. In a Farme neere to *Cuſco*, ſprings a Fountaine of Salt, which as it runnes turnes into Salt, very white and exceeding good, the which (if it were in another Countrie) were no ſmall riches, yet they make very ſmall account thereof, for the ſtore they haue there. The waters which runne in *Guayaquel*, which is in *Peru*, almoſt vnder the Equinoctiall Line, are held to be healthfull for the *French* diſeaſe, and other ſuch like, ſo as they come from many places farre off to be cured. And they ſay the cauſe thereof is, for that in that Countrie there is great aboundance of rootes, which they call *Salepareille*, the vertue and operation whereof is ſo knowne, that it communicates her propertie to the waters wherein it is put to cure this diſeaſe. *Bilcanota* is a Mountaine the which (according to common opinion) is in the higheſt part of *Peru*, the top whereof is all couered with Snow, and in ſome places is blacke like coale. There iſſueth forth of it, two Springs in contrary places, which preſently grow to be very great brookes, and ſo by little and little become great flouds, the one goes to *Cuſco*, into the great Lake *Titicaca*; the other goes to the Lands, and is that which they call *Yucay*, which ioyning with another runnes into the North Sea, with a violent and furious courſe. This Spring, when it comes out of the rocke *Bilcanota*, as I haue ſaid, is of the colour of lie, hauing an aſhie colour, and caſts a fume as a thing burnt, the which runs far in this ſort, vntil the multitude of waters that run into it, quench this ſmoak and fire which it drawes from the Spring. In new *Spain* I haue ſeene a Spring as it were Ink, ſome what blew, in *Peru* another, of color red like blood, where vpon they cal it the red Riuer.

Cold and hot Springs together.

Salt Spring which yeeldes Salt without boiling.

Pocke-ſpring.

Smoak Spring.

Inke, &c.

Of Riuers. *Chap.* 18.

Amongſt all Riuers, not onely at the *Indies*, but generally through the world, the Riuer *Maragnon*, or of *Amazons*, is the chiefe, whereof we haue ſpoken in the former Booke. The *Spaniards*,

Maragnon or *Amazons*.

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niards haue often ſailed it, pretending to diſcouer the Lands, which by report are very rich, eſpecially thoſe they call *Dorado* and *Paytiti, Iean de Salnies*, the *Adelantade*, made a memorable entrie, though of ſmall effect. There is a paſſage which they call *Pongo*, one of the moſt dange-
Water-fall. rous in all the world; for the Riuer being there ſtraightned, and forced betwixt two high ſteepe Rocks: the water fals directly downe with ſo great a violence, that comming ſteepe downe, it cauſeth ſuch a boyling, as it ſeemeth impoſſible to paſſe it without drowning: yet the courage of men durſt attempt to paſſe it, for the deſire of this renowmed *Dorado*: they ſlipt downe from the top to the bottome, thruſt on with the violence and currant of the floud, holding themſelues faſt in their Canoes or barkes: and although in falling they were turned topſie turuie, and both they and their Canoes plunged into the deepe, yet by their care and induſtrie they recouered themſelues againe; and in this ſort the whole armie eſcaped, except ſome few that were drow-
Golden thirſt. ned. And that which is more admirable, they carried themſelues ſo cunningly, that they neither loſt their Powder nor Munition. In their returne (hauing ſuffered many troubles and dangers) they were forced, in the end, to paſſe backe that ſame way) mounting by one of thoſe high Rocks, ſticking their Ponyards in the Rocke,

Captaine *Peter d'Orſua* made another entrie by the ſame Riuer, who being dead in the ſame Voyage, and the Souldiers mutinied; other Captaines followed the enterpriſe, by an arme that comes into the North Sea. A religious man of our company told vs, that being then a ſecular man, he was preſent in a manner at all that enterpriſe, and that the tides did flow almoſt a hundred leagues vp the Riuer, and whereas it enters into the Sea (the which is vnder the Line, or very neere) it hath ſeuenty leagues breadth at the mouth of it, a matter incredible; and which exceeds the breadth of the Mediterranean Sea, though there be ſome others, who in their deſcriptions giue it but twenty fiue or thirty leagues breadth at the mouth.

Riuer of *Plata*, increaſing as *Nilus*. Next to this Riuer that of *Plata*, or of Siluer holds the ſecond place, which is otherwiſe called *Paraguay*, which runs from the Mountains of *Peru*, into the Sea, in thirty fiue degrees of altitude to the South: it riſeth (as they ſay) like to the Riuer of *Nile*, but much more without compariſon, and makes the fields it ouerflowes like vnto a Sea, for the ſpace of three moneths, and after returneth againe to his courſe, in the which Shippes doe ſaile many leagues againſt the ſtreame. There are many other Riuers that are not of that greatneſſe, and yet are equall: yea they ſurpaſſe the greateſt of *Europe*, as that of *Magdalaine*, neere to Saint *Marthe*, called *the great Riuer*, and that of *Aluarado* in new *Spaine*, and an infinite number of others. Of the South ſide, on the Mountaines of *Peru*, the Riuers are not vſually ſo great, for that their current is not long, and that many waters cannot ioyne together, but they are very ſwift, deſcending from the Mountaines, and haue ſodaine fals, by reaſon whereof they are very dangerous, and many men haue periſhed there. They increaſe and ouerflow moſt in the time of heate. I haue gone ouer twenty and ſeuen Riuers vpon that coaſt, yet did I neuer paſſe any one by a foord.

How they paſſe their Riuers. The *Indians* vſe a thouſand deuiſes to paſſe their Riuers. In ſome places they haue a long cord that runnes from one ſide to th'other, and thereon hangs a basket, into the which he puts himſelfe that meanes to paſſe; and then they draw it from the banke with another cord, ſo as he paſſeth in this basket. In other places the *Indian* paſſeth, as it were on Horſe-backe, vpon a bottle of ſtraw, and behinde him he that deſires to paſſe; and ſo rowing with a peece of a boord, carries him ouer. In other places they make a floate of gourds or pompions, vpon which they ſet men with their ſtuffe to carry ouer, and the *Indians* hauing cords faſtned to them, goe ſwimming before, and draw this floate of pompions after them, as Horſes doe a Coach: others goe behinde thruſting it forward. Hauing paſſed, they take their barke of pompions vpon their backe, and returne ſwimming: this they doe in the Riuer of *Saint* at *Peru*. We paſſed that of *Aluarado* in new *Spain* vpon a table, which the *Indians* carried vpon their ſhoulders, and when they loſt their footing, they ſwamme. Theſe deuiſes, with a thouſand other wherewith they vſe to paſſe their Riuers, breede a terrour in the beholders, helping themſelues with ſuch weake and vnſure meanes; and
Haire and Straw Bridges. yet they are very confident. They doe vſe no other bridges but of haire or of ſtraw. There are now vpon ſome Riuers bridges of Stone, built by the diligence of ſome Gouernours, but many fewer then were needefull in ſuch a Countrie, where ſo many men are drowned by default thereof, and the which yeeldes ſo much Siluer, as not onely *Spaine*, but alſo other ſtrange Countries make ſumptuous buildings therewith. The *Indians* doe draw from theſe flouds that runne from the Mountaines to the Vallies and Plaines, many and great Brookes to water their Land, which they vſually doe with ſuch induſtrie, as there are no better in *Murcia*, nor at *Millan* it ſelfe, the which is alſo the greateſt and onely wealth of the *Plaines* of *Peru*, and of many other parts of the *Indies*.

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§. III.

Of the qualitie of the Land at the Indies *in generall. Properties of* Peru *and of new* Spaine, *and other parts: Of* Vulcanes *and Earthquakes.*

WE may know the qualitie of the Land at the *Indies*, for the greatest part (seeing it is the last of the three Elements, whereof we haue propounded to treate in this Booke) by the discourse we haue made in the former Booke of the burning Zone, seeing that the greatest part of the *Indies* doth lye vnder it. But to make it knowne the more particularly, I haue obserued three kindes of Lands, as I haue passed through those Regions: whereof there is one very low, another very high, and the third which holds the middle of these two extreames. The lower is that which lyeth by the Sea coasts, whereof there is in all parts of the *Indies*, and it is commonly very hot and moist, so as it is not so healthfull; and at this day we see it lesse peopled, although in former times it hath beene greatly inhabited with *Indians*, as it appeareth by the histories of new *Spaine* and *Peru*, and where they kept and liued, for that the soile was naturall vnto them being bred there. They liued of fishing at Sea, and of seeds, drawing brooks from the Riuers, which they vsed for want of raine, for that it raines little there, and in some places not at all. This low Countrie hath many places vnhabitable, as well by reason of the Sands which are dangerous (for there are whole Mountaines of these Sands) as also for the Marishes which grow by reason of the waters that fall from the Mountaines, which finding no issue in these flat and low Lands, drowne them, and make them vnprofitable. L. 3. C. 19.

And in truth the greatest part of all the *Indian* Sea coast is of this sort, chiefly vpon the South Sea: the habitation of which coasts is at this present so wasted and contemned, that of thirty parts of the people that inhabited it, there wants twenty nine; and it is likely the rest of the *Indians* will in short time decay. Many, according to the varietie of their opinions, attribute this to diuers causes: some to the great labour which hath beene imposed vpon these *Indians*; others, vnto the change and varietie of meates and drinkes they vse, since their commerce with the *Spaniards*: others, to their great excesse and drinking, and to other vices they haue: for my part, I hold this disorder to be the greatest cause of their decay, whereof it is not now time to discourse any more. In this low Countrie (which I say generally is vnhealthfull, ond vnfit for mans habitation) there is exception in some places which are temperate and fertile, as the greatest part of the Plaines of *Peru*, where there are coole vallies and very fertile. The greatest part of the habitation of the coast entertains all the traffike of *Spain* by Sea: whereon all the estate of the *Indies* dependeth. Vpon this coast there are some Towns well peopled, as *Lima* and *Truxillo* in *Peru*, *Panama* and *Carthagena* vpon the maine Land, and in the Ilands Saint *Dominique*, *Port Ricco*, and *Hauana*, with many other Towns which are lesse then these, as the *True Crosse* in new *Spain*, *Yca*, *Arigua* and others in *Peru*: the Ports are commonly inhabited, although but slenderly. The second sort of Land is contrary, very high, and by consequent, cold and dry, as all the Mountaines are commonly. This Land is neither fertile nor pleasant, but very healthfull, which makes it to be peopled and inhabited. There are Pastures and great store of Cattle, the which, for the most part, entertaines life, and by their Cattell, they supply the want they haue of Corne and Graine, by trucking and exchange. But that which makes these Lands more inhabited and peopled, is the riches of the Mines that are found there, for that all obeys to Gold and Siluer. By reason of the Mines there are some dwellings of *Spaniards* and *Indians*, which are increased and multiplied, as *Potozi* and *Gancauelicqua* in *Peru*, and *Cacatecas* in new *Spaine*. There are also through all these Mountaines great dwellings of the *Indians*, which to this day are maintained; yea some will say they increase, but that the labour of the Mines doth consume many, and some generall diseases haue destroyed a great part, as the *Cocoliste* in new *Spaine*: yet they finde no great diminution. In this extremitie of high ground they finde two commodities, as I haue said, of Pastures and Mines, which doe well counteruaile the two other that are in the lower grounds alongst the Sea coast, that is, the commerce of the Sea, and the abundance of Wine which groweth not but in the hot Lands. Betwixt these two extreames there is ground of a meane height, the which, although it be in some parts higher or lower one then other, yet doth it not approach neither to the heate of the Sea coast, nor the intemperature of the Mountaines. In this sort of soyle there groweth many kindes of Graine, as Wheate, Barley, and Mays, which growes not at all in the high Countries, but well in the lower; there is likewise store of Pasture, Cattell, Fruits, and greene Forrests. This part is the best habitation of the three, for health and recreation; and therefore it is best peopled of any part of the *Indies*, the which I haue curiously obserued in many Voyages that I haue vndertaken, and haue alwayes found it true, that the Prouince best peopled at the *Indies* be in this scituation. Let vs looke neerely into new *Spaine* (the which without doubt is the best Prouince the Sunne doth circle) by what part soeuer you doe enter, you mount vp; and when you haue mounted a good height, you begin to descend,

Decay of people in the *Indies* by the *Spaniards*.

Corn grounds.

descend, yet very little: and that Land is alwayes much higher then that along the Sea coast.

All the Land about *Mexico* is of this nature and scituation; and that which is about the *Vulcan*, which is the best soile of the *Indies*, as also in *Peru*, *Arequipa*, *Guamangua* and *Cusco*, although more in one then in the other. But in the end, all is high ground, although they descend into deepe Vallies, and clime vp to high Mountaines: the like is spoken of *Quitto*, *Saint Foy*, and of the best of the *New Kingdome*. To conclude, I doe beleeue that the wisedome and prouidence of the Creator would haue it so, that the greatest part of this Countrie of the *Indies* should be hillie, that it might be of a better temperature: for being low, it had beene very hot vnder the burning Zone, especially being farre from the Sea. Also all the Land I haue seene at the *Indies*, is neere to the Mountaines on the one side or the other, and sometimes of all parts: So as I haue oftentimes said there, that I would gladly see any place, from whence the horizon did fashion it selfe and end by the heauen, and a Countrie stretched out and euen, as we see in *Spaine* in a thousand champaine fields; yet doe I not remember that I haue euer seene such sights at the *Indies*, were it in the Ilands, or vpon the maine Land, although I haue trauelled aboue seuen hundred leagues in length. But as I haue said, the neerenesse of the Mountaines is very commodious in this region, to temper the heate of the Sunne. To conclude, the best inhabited parts of the *Indies* are as I haue said: and generally, all that Countrie abounds in Grasse, Pastures, and Forests, contrary vnto that which *Aristotle* and the ancients did hold. So as when we go out of *Europe* to the *Indies* we wonder to see the Land so pleasant, greene and fresh. Yet this rule hath some exceptions, and chiefly in the Land of *Peru*, which is of a strange nature amongst all others, whereof we will now proceede to speake.

The *Indies* mountainous, and thereby temperate.

Of the properties of the land of *Peru*. *Chap.* 20

We meane by *Peru*, not that great part of the world which they call *America*, seeing that therein is contained *Brasil*, the Kingdome of *Chille*, and that of *Grenade*, and yet none of these Kingdomes is *Peru*, but onely that part which lies to the South, beginning at the Kingdome of *Quitto*, which is vnder the Line, and runs in length to the Realme of *Chille*, the which is without the Tropickes, which were six hundred leagues in length, and in breadth it containes no more then the Mountaines, which is fiftie common leagues, although in some places, as at *Chachapayas*, it be broader. This part of the world which wee call *Peru*, is very remarkeable, and containes in it strange properties, which serueth as an exception to the generall rule of the *Indies*. The first is, that vpon all the coast it blowes continually with one onely winde, which is South and South-west, contrary to that which doth vsually blow vnder the burning Zone. The second is, that this winde being by nature the most violent, tempestuous, and vnhealthfull of all others, yet in this Region it is maruellous pleasing, healthfull, and agreeable: so as we may attribute the habitation of that part thereunto, without the which it would be troublesome and inhabitable, by reason of the heate, if it were not refreshed with the winde. The third propertie is, that it neuer raines, thunders, snowes, nor hailes in all this coast, which is a matter worthy of admiration. Fourthly, that a little distance from the coast it raines & snowes terribly. Fiftly, that there are two ridges of Mountaines which runne the one as the other, and in one altitude, notwithstanding on the one there are great Forrests, and it raines the greatest part of the yeare, being very hot; and the other is all naked and bare, and very cold: so as winter and summer are diuided on those two Mountaines, and raine and cleerenesse it selfe. For the better vnderstanding hereof, we must consider that *Peru* is diuided as it were into three parts, long and narrow, which they call *Lanos*, *Sierras*, and *Andes*; the *Lanos* runs alongst the Sea coast; the *Sierras* be all hils, with some vallies; and the *Andes* be steepe and craggie Mountaines. The *Lanos* or Sea coast, haue some ten leagues in breadth, in some parts lesse, and in some parts a little more. The *Sierra* containes some twenty leagues in breadth: and the *Andes* as much, sometimes more, sometimes lesse. They run in length from North to South, and in breadth from East to West. It is a strange thing, that in so small a distance as fiftie leagues, equally distant from the Line and Pole, there should be so great a contrarietie, as to raine almost continually in one place, and neuer in the other. It neuer raines vpon the coast or *Lanos*, although there fals sometimes a small dew, which they call *Guarua*, and in *Castill Mollina*, the which sometimes thickens, and fals in certaine drops of water, yet is it not troublesome, nor such as they neede any couering. Their couerings are of mats with a little earth vpon them which is sufficient. Vpon the *Andes* it raines in a manner continually, although it be sometimes more cleere then other. In the *Sierra* which lies betwixt both the extreames, it raineth in the same season as it doth in *Spaine*, which is from September vnto Aprill, but in the other season, the time is more cleere, which is when the Sunne is fartheste off, and the contrary when it is neereste. That which they call *Andes*, and *Sierra*, are two ridges of most high Mountaines, which runne aboue a thousand leagues, the one in view of the other, and almost equally. There are an infinite number of *Vicagues*, which breede in the *Sierres*, aud are properly like vnto wilde Goates, very nimble and swift. There are also of those beasts which they call *Guanacos* and *Pacos*, which are sheepe, which we may well tearme the Asses of that Countrie; whereof we shall speake in their place. And vpon the *Andes* they finde Apes, very gentle and delightfull, and Parrots in great numbers.

One winde onely.

The Plaines, the hils, and the *Andes*. See *sup.* in *Herera*.

Raine almost euer, and almost neuer.

Diuers Beasts.

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numbers. There also they finde the herbe or tree which they call *Coca*, that is so greatly esteemed by the *Indians*, and the trafficke they make of it, is worth much mony.

That which they call *Sierre*, causeth Vallies, where as it opens, which are the best dwellings of *Peru*, as is the Valley of *Xauxa* of *Andaguaylas*, and *Yucay*. In these Vallies there growes Wheat, Mays, and other sorts of fruits, but lesse in one then in the other. Beyond the Citie of *Cusco* (the ancient Court of the Lords of those Realmes) the two ridges of Mountaines separate themselues one from the other, and in the midst leaue a Playne and large Champaigne, which they call the Prouince of *Callao*, where there are many Riuers and great store of fertile Pastures: there is also that great Lake of *Titicaca*. And although it bee a full soile, and in the same height and intemperature, that the *Sierre*, hauing no more Trees nor Forrests, yet the want they haue of bread is counteruailed with the rootes they sow, the which they call *Papas*, and they grow in the earth. This roote is the *Indians* foode; for dry ing it and making it cleane, they make that which they call *Chugno*, which is the bread and nourishment of those Prouinces. There are other rootes and small herbes which they eate. It is a healthfull soile, best peopled, and the richest of all the *Indies*, for the abundance of Cattell they feede, as well of those that are in *Europe*, as Sheepe, Neat, and Goates, as of those of the Country, which they call *Guanacos* and *Pacos*, and there are store of Partridges. Next to the Prouince of *Callao*, is that of *Charcas*, where there are hot Vallies very fertile, and very high Rocks, the which are very rich in mynes, so as in no part of the World shall you finde better nor fairer.

Their bread.

For that it is rare and extraordinarie to see a Country where it neuer raines nor thunders; men desire naturally to know the cause of this strangenesse. The reason which some giue that haue neerly looked into it, is, that vpon that Coast there rise no vapours, sufficient to engender raine for want of matter; but onely that there bee small and light vapours, which cannot breede any other then mists and deawes, as wee see in *Europe*, oftentimes vapours doe rise in the morning, which are not turned into raine, but into mists onely: the which growes from the substance, which is not grosse and sufficient enough to turne to raine. They say, the reason why that which happens but some times in *Europe*, falls out continually vpon the Coast of *Peru*, is, for that this Region is very drie, and yeelds no grosse vapours. The drinesse is knowne by the great abundance of Sands, hauing neither Wells nor Fountaines, but of fifteene Stades deepe (which is the height of a man or more) and that is neere vnto Riuers, the water whereof, piercing into the Land, giues them meanes to make Wells. So as it hath beene found by experience, that the course of Riuers being turned, the Wells haue beene dried vp, vntill they returned to their ordinarie course: and they giue this reason for a materiall cause of this effect, but they haue another efficient, which is no lesse considerable, and that is the great height of the *Sierre*, which comming along the Coast, shadowes the *Lanos*; so as it suffers no winde to blow from the Land, but aboue the tops of these Mountaines. By meanes whereof, there reignes no winde, but that from the Sea, which finding no opposite, doth not presse nor straine forth the vapours which rise to engender raine; so as the shadow of the Mountaines keepes the vapours from thickning, and conuerts them all into mists. There are some experiences agree with this discourse; for that it raines vpon some small Hills along the Coast, which are least shadowed, as the Rocks of *Atico* and *Arequipa*. It hath rained in some yeeres when as the Northerne or Easterly windes haue blowne: yea, all the time they haue continued, as it happened in seuentie eight, vpon the *Lanos* of *Trugillo*, where it rained abundantly, the which they had not seene in many ages before. Moreouer, it raines vpon the same Coast in places, where as the Easterly or Northerne windes be ordinarie, as in *Guayaquil*, and in places where as the Land riseth much, and turnes from the shadow of the Mountaines, as in those that are beyond *Ariqua*. Some discourse in this manner, but let euery one thinke as he please. It is most certaine, that comming from the Mountaines to the Vallies, they doe vsually see as it were two Heauens, one cleere and bright aboue, and the other obscure, and as it were a gray vaile spread vnderneath, which couers all the Coast; and although it raine not, yet this mist is wonderfull profitable to bring forth grasse, and to raise vp and nourish the seed: for although they haue plentie of water, which they draw from the Pooles and Lakes, yet this moisture from Heauen hath such a vertue, that ceasing to fall vpon the Earth, it breedes a great discommoditie and defect of graine and seedes. And that which is more worthy of admiration, the drie and barren Sands are by this deaw so beautified with grasse and flowers, as it is a pleasing and agreeable sight, and very profitable for the feeding of Cattell, as we see in the Mountaine called *Sandia*, neere to the Citie of *Kings*.

The reason why it raines on the *Lanos*, along the Sea coast, *Chap.* 21.

New *Spaine* passeth all other Prouinces in pastures, which breedes infinite troopes of Horse, Kine, Sheepe, and other Cattell. It abounds in fruit and all kinde of graine. To conclude, it is a Country the best furnished and most accomplished at the *Indies*. Yet *Peru* doth surpasse it in one thing, which is Wine, for that there growes store and good; and they daily multiply and increase, the which doth grow in very hot Vallies, where there are waterings. And although there be Vines in new *Spaine*, yet the grape comes not to his maturitie, fit to make Wine. The reason is, for that it raines there in Iuly and August, when as the grape ripens: and therefore it comes

Of the propertie of new *Spaine*, of the Ilands, and of other Lands. *Chap.* 22.

Peru wine.

not

not to his perfection. And if any one through curiositie would take the paines to make wine, it should be like to that of *Genua* and *Lombardie*, which is very small and sharpe, hauing a taste like vnto Verjuyce. The Ilands which they call *Barlouente*, which bee *Hispaniola*, *Cuba*, *Port Ricco*, and others thereabouts, are beautified with many greene pastures, and abound in Cattell, as Neat, and Swine, which are become wilde. The wealth of these Ilands, bee their Sugar-workes and Hides. There is much *Cassia fistula* and Ginger. It is a thing incredible, to see the multitude of these merchandizes brought in one fleete, being in a manner impossible that all *Europe* should waste so much. They likewise bring wood of an excellent qualitie and colour, as Ebone, and others, which serue for buildings and Ioyners. There is much of that wood which they call *Lignum sanctum* or *Guage*, fit to cure the pox. All these Ilands and others thereabouts, which are many, haue a goodly and pleasant aspect, for that throughout the yeere, they are beautified with grasse and greene trees, so as they cannot discerne when it is Autumne or Summer, by reason of continuall moisture ioyned to the heat of the burning Zone. And although this Land bee of a great circuit, yet are there few dwellings, for that of it selfe it engenders great *Arcabutos*, as they call them, which be Groues or very thicke Coppises: and on the Playnes there are many marishes and bogs. They giue yet another notable reason, why they are so smally peopled, for that there haue remayned few naturall *Indians*, through the inconsideratnesse and disorder of the first Conquerors that peopled it: and therefore, for the most part, they vse *Negros*, but they cost deare, being very fit to till the Land. There growes neither bread nor wine in these Ilands, for that the too great fertilitie and the vice of the soile, suffers them not to seede, but casts all forth in grasse, very vnequally. There are no Oliue trees, at the least, they beare no Oliues, but many greene leaues pleasant to the view, which beare no fruit. The bread they vse is of *Caçaue*, whereof we shall hereafter speake. There is gold in the Riuers of these Ilands, which some draw forth, but in small quantitie. I was little lesse then a yeere in these Ilands, and as it hath beene told me of the mayne Land of the *Indies*, where I haue not beene, as in *Florida*, *Nicaragua*, *Guatimala*, and others, it is in a manner of this temper, as I haue described: yet haue I not set downe euery particular of Nature in these Prouinces of the firme Land, hauing no perfect knowledge thereof. The Country which doth most resemble *Spaine* and the Regions of *Europe*, in all the West *Indies*, is the Realme of *Chille*, which is without the generall rule of these other Prouinces, being seated without the burning Zone, and the Tropicke of *Capricorne*. This Land of it selfe is coole and fertile, and brings forth all kindes of fruits that bee in *Spaine*; it yeelds great abundance of bread and wine, and abounds in Pastures and Cattell. The aire is wholsome and cleere, temperate betwixt heat and cold, Winter and Summer are very distinct, and there they finde great store of very fine gold. Yet this Land is poore and smally peopled, by reason of their continuall warre with the *Auricanos*, and their Associates, being a rough people and friends to libertie.

Sugar workes and Hides.

Indians wasted.

There are great coniectures, that in the temperate Zone at the *Antartike* Pole, there are great and fertile Lands: but to this day they are not discouered, neither doe they know any other Land in this Zone, but that of *Chille*, and some part of that Land which runnes from *Ethiopia* to the Cape of *Good Hope*, as hath beene said in the first Booke; neither is it knowne if there bee any habitations in the other two Zones of the Poles, and whether the Land continues and stretcheth to that which is towards the *Antartike* or South Pole. Neither doe we know the Land that lyes beyond the Straight of *Magellan*, for that the greatest height yet discouered, is in fiftie sixe degrees, as hath beene formerly said; and toward the Artike or Northerne Pole, it is not known how farre the Land extends, which runnes beyond the Cape of *Mendoçin* and the *Califbornes*, nor the bounds and end of *Florida*, neither yet how farre it extends to the West. Of late they haue discouered a new Land, which they call *New Mexico*, where they say is much people that speake the *Mexican* tongue. The *Philippines* and the following Ilands, as some report that know it by experience, ranne aboue nine hundred leagues. But to intreat of *China*, *Cochinchina*, *Siam*, and other Regions which are of the East *Indies*, were contrarie to my purpose, which is onely to discourse of the West: nay, they are ignorant of the greatest part of *America*, which lyes betwixt *Peru* and *Brefil*, although the bounds be knowne of all sides, wherein there is diuersitie of opinions; some say it is a drowned Land, full of Lakes and waterie places; others affirme there are great and flourishing Kingdomes, imagining there be the *Paytiti*, the *Dorado*, and the *Cesars*, where they say are wonderfull things. I haue heard one of our companie say, a man worthy of credit, that he had seene great dwellings there, and the wayes as much beaten as those betwixt *Salamanca* and *Villadollit*, the which he did see, when as *Peter d'Orsua*, and after, those that succeeded him, made their entrie and discouerie by the great Riuer of *Amazons*, who beleeuing that the *Dorado* which they sought, was farther off, cared not to inhabit there, and after went both without the *Dorado*, which they could not finde, and this great Prouince which they left. To speake the truth, the habitations of *America* are to this day vnknowne, except the extremities, which are *Peru*, *Brefil*, and that part where the Land begins to straighten, which is the Riuer of *Siluer*, then *Tucuman*, which makes the round to *Chille* and *Charcas*. Of late we haue vnderstood by Letters from some of ours which goe to Saint *Croix* in the *Sierre*, that they goe discouering

Of the vnknowne Land, and the diuersitie of a whole day, betwixt them of the East and the West. *Chap.* 23.

couering of great Prouinces and dwellings, betwixt *Brasil* and *Peru*. Time will reueile them, for as at this day the care and courage of men is great, to compasse the World from one part to another; so we may beleeue, that as they haue discouered that which is now knowne, they may likewise lay open that which remaynes, to the end the Gospell may bee preached to the whole World, seeing the two Crownes of *Portugal* and *Castile* haue met by the East and West, ioyning their discoueries together, which in truth is a matter to be obserued, that the one is come to *China* and *Iapan* by the East, and the other to the *Philippines*, which are neighbours, and almost ioyning vnto *China*, by the West: for from the Ilands of *Luson*, which is the chiefe of the *Philippines*, in the which is the Citie of *Manille*, vnto *Macao*, which is in the Ile of *Canton*, are but foure score or a hundred leagues, and yet we finde it strange, that notwithstanding this small distance from the one to the other, yet according to their account, there is a dayes difference betwixt them; so as it is Sunday at *Macao*, when as it is but Saturday at *Manille*, and so of the rest. Those of *Macao* and of *China* haue one day aduanced before the *Philippines*. It happened to father *Alonso Sanches*, of whom mention is made before, that parting from the *Philippines*, hee arriued at *Macao* the second day of May, according to their computation, and going to say the Masse of Saint *Athanasius*, he found they did celebrate the feast of the *Inuention of the holy Crosse*, for that they did then reckon the third of May. The like happened vnto him in another voyage beyond it.

Some haue found this alteration and diuersitie strange, supposing that the fault proceedes from the one or the other, the which is not so: but it is a true and well obserued computation, for according to the difference of wayes where they haue beene, we must necessarily say, that when they meet, there must be difference of a day; the reason is, for that saying from West to East, they alwayes gaine of the day, finding the Sunne rising sooner: and contrariwise, those that saile from East to West, doe alwayes lose of the day, for that the Sunne riseth later vnto them; and as they approach neerer the East or the West, they haue the day longer or shorter. In *Peru*, which is Westward in respect of *Spaine*, they are aboue sixe houres behinde; so as when it is noone in *Spaine*, it is morning at *Peru*; and when it is morning here, it is mid-night there. I haue made certaine proofe thereof, by the computation of Eclipses of the Sunne and Moone. Now that the *Portugals* haue made their nauigations from West to East, and the *Castillans* from East to West, when they came to ioyne and meet at the *Philippines* and *Macao*, the one haue gayned twelue houres, and the other hath lost as much; so as at one instant, and in one time, they finde the difference of foure and twentie houres, which is a whole day.

Although we finde vents of fire in other places, as Mount *Aetna* and *Vesuuio*, which now they call Mount *Soma*, yet is that notable which is found at the *Indies*. Ordinarily these *Volcans* be Rocks or Pikes of most high Mountaines, which raise themselues aboue the tops of all other Mountaines; vpon their tops they haue a Playne, and in the midst thereof a pit or great mouth, which descends euen vnto the foote thereof; a thing very terrible to behold. Out of these mouthes there issues smoake, and sometimes fire: some cast little smoake, and haue in a manner no forte of *Volcans*, as that of *Arequipa*, which is of an vnmeasurable height, and almost all sand. It cannot be mounted vp in lesse then two dayes, yet they haue not found any shew of fire, but onely the reliques of some sacrifices which the *Indians* made while they were *Gentiles*, and sometimes it doth cause a little smoake. The *Volcan* of *Mexico* which is neere to the *Village of Angels*, is likewise of an admirable height, whereas they mount thirtie leagues in turning: from this *Volcan* issueth not continually, but sometimes, almost euery day, a great exhalation or whirlewinde of smoake, which ascends directly vp like to the shot of a Crosse-bow, and growes after like to a great plume of feathers, vntill it ceaseth quite, and is presently conuerted into an obscure and darke cloude. Most commonly it riseth in the morning after the Sunne rising, and at night when it setteth, although I haue seene it breake out at other times. Sometimes it doth cast forth great store of ashes after this smoake. They haue not yet seene any fire come from it, yet they feare it will issue forth and burne all the Land round about, which is the best of all the Kingdome: And they hold it for certaine, that there is some correspondencie betwixt this *Vulcan* and the *Sierre* of *Tlaxcala*, which is neere vnto it, that causeth the great thunders and lightnings they doe commonly heare and see in those parts.

Of the Volcans or Vents of fire. Chap. 4.

Some *Spaniards* haue mounted vp to this *Volcan*, and giuen notice of the myne of sulphur to make powlder thereof. *Cortez* reports the care he had to discouer what was in this *Volcan*. The *Volcans* of *Guatimala* are more renowmed, as well for their greatnesse and height: which those that saile in the South Sea discouer afarre off, as for the violence and terrour of the fire it casts. The three and twentieth day of December, in the yeere 1586. almost all the Citie of *Guatimala* fell with an Earthquake, and some people slaine. This *Volcan* had then sixe moneths together, day and night cast out from the top, and vomited as it were, a floud of fire, the substance falling vpon the sides of the *Volcan*, was turned into ashes like vnto burnt earth (a thing passing mans iudgement, to conceiue how it could cast so much matter from its centre during sixe moneths, being accustomed to cast smoake alone, and that sometimes with small flashes.) This was written vnto me being at *Mexico*, by a Secretarie of the Audience of *Guatimala*, a man worthy of credit,

Terrible earthquake at Guatimala.

credit, and at that time it had not ceased to cast out fire. This yeere past, being in *Quitto* in the Citie of *Kings*, the *Volcan* which is neere thereunto, cast such abundance of ashes, that in many leagues compasse thereabout it darkned the light of the day: and there fell such store in *Quitto*, as they were not able to goe in the streets. There haue beene other *Volcans* seene which cast neither smoake, flame, nor yet ashes, but in the bottome they are seene to burne with a quicke fire without dying: such a one was that which in our time a couetous and greedie Priest seeing, perswaded himselfe that they were heapes of gold he did see burning, imagining it could be no other matter or substance, which had burnt so many yeeres, and not consumed. And in this conceit he made certaine kettles with chaines, and an instrument, to gather and draw vp the gold out of this Pit or *Volcan:* but the fire scorned him, for no sooner did his Iron chaine and Caldron approach neere the fire, but suddenly they were broken in pieces. Yet some told me, that this man was still obstinate, seeking other inuentions for to draw out this gold as he imagined.

Couetous Priest.

Some haue held opinion, that these *Volcans* consume the inner substance they haue of Nature; and for this reason they beleeue, that naturally they shall end, when as they haue consumed the fuell (as a man may say) that is within them. According to which opinion wee see at this day, some Mountaines and Rocks, from whence they draw a burnt stone which is light, but very hard, and is excellent to build with, as that which is carried to *Mexico*. And in effect there are some shewes of that which hath beene spoken, that these Mountaines or Rocks had somtimes a naturall fire, which hath died after the matter was consumed; and so these stones haue remayned burnt and pierced with the fire as wee see. For my part, I will not contradict it, that in those places there hath not beene fire sometimes, or *Volcans*. But there is some difficultie to beleeue it should be so in all *Volcans*, considering the matter they cast out is almost infinite; and that being gathered together, it could not bee contayned in the same concauitie from whence it goes. Moreouer, there are some *Volcans*, that in hundreds, yea thousands of yeeres are alwayes of one fashion, casting out continually smoake, fire, and ashes. *Plinie* the historiographer of naturall things (as the other *Plinie* his nephew reports) searching out the secret how this should passe: and approaching too neere the exhalation of fire of one of these *Volcans*, died; and thinking by his diligence to find an end thereof, had an end of his life. For my part, vpon this consideration I thinke, that as there are places in the earth, whose vertue is to draw vaporous matter, and to conuert it into water, which bee the Fountaines that alwayes runne, and haue alwayes matter to make them runne, for that they draw vnto them the substance of water. In like sort there are places that haue the propertie to draw vnto them hot exhalations, and to conuert them into fire and smoake which by their force and violence cast out other thicke matter which dissolues into ashes, into pumice stone, or such like substance: and for a sufficient argument to proue it to be so in these *Volcans*, they sometimes cast smoake, and not alwayes, and sometimes fire, and not alwayes, which is according to that it can draw vnto it, and digest, as the Fountaines which in Winter abound, and in Summer decrease; yea some are quite dried vp, according to the force and vigour they haue, and the matter that is presented: euen so it is of these *Volcans*, which cast fire more or lesse at certaine seasons. Others say, that it is Hell fire, which issueth there, to serue as a warning, thereby to consider what is in the other life: but if Hell (as Diuines hold) bee in the centre of the Earth, the which containes in diameter aboue two thousand leagues, we cannot iudge that this fire is from the centre; for that Hell fire (as Saint *Basil* and others teach) is very different from this which wee see, for that it is without light, and burneth without comparison much more then ours.

Causes of this burning.

Basil. Psal. 28. & in exam.

Some haue held, that from these *Volcans* which are at the *Indies*, the Earthquakes proceede, being very common there: but for that they ordinarily chance in places farre from those *Volcans*, it cannot be the totall cause. It is true they haue a certaine simpathy one with another, for that the hot exhalations which engender in the inner concauities of the Earth, seeme to be the materiall substance of fire in the *Volcans*, whereby there kindleth another more grosse matter, and makes these shewes of flame and smoake that come forth. And these exhalations (finding no easie issue in the Earth) moue it, to issue forth with great violence, whereby wee heare that horrible noise vnder the Earth, and likewise the shaking of the Earth, being stirred with this burning exhalation; Euen as Gun-powlder in mynes, hauing fire put to it breaks Rocks and Walls; and as the Chesnut laid into the fire, leapes and breakes with a noise, when as it casts forth the aire (which is contayned within the huske) by the force of the fire: Euen so these Earthquakes doe most commonly happen in places neere the water or Sea. As wee see in *Europe*, and at the *Indies*, that Townes and Cities fartheſt from the Sea and waters are least afflicted therewith; and contrariwise, those that are seated vpon Ports of the Sea, vpon Riuers, the Sea coast, and places neere vnto them, feele most this calamitie. There hath happened in *Peru* (the which is wonderfull, and worthy to be noted) Earthquakes which haue runne from *Chille* vnto *Quitto*, and that is aboue a hundred leagues, I say the greatest that euer I heard speake of, for lesser be more common there. Vpon the coast of *Chille* (I remember not well in what yeere) there was so terrible an Earthquake, as it ouer-turned whole Mountaines, and thereby stopped the course of Riuers which it conuerted into Lakes, it beat downe Townes, and slue a great number of people, causing

Of Earthquakes. *Cap. 26.*

Great earthquakes.

causing the Sea to leaue her place some leagues, so as the ships remayned on drie ground, farre from the ordinarie Roade, with many other heauie and horrible things. And as I well remember, they say this trouble and motion, caused by the Earthquake, ranne three hundred leagues alongst the Coast. Soone after, which was in the yeere eightie two, happened that earthquake of *Arequipa*, which in a manner ouer-threw the whole Citie. Since in the yeere eightie sixe, the ninth of Iuly, fell another earthquake in the Citie of *Kings*, the which as the Vice-roy did write, had runne one hundred threescore and ten leagues alongst the Coast, and ouerthwart in the *Sierre* fiftie leagues. The mercy of the Lord was great in this Earthquake, to forewarne the people by a great noise which they heard a little before the Earthquake, who taught by former experiences, presently put themselues in safetie, leauing their Houses, Streets, and Gardens, to goe into the fields; so as although it ruined a great part of the Citie, and of the chiefest buildings, yet there died not aboue fifteene or twentie persons of all the Inhabitants. It caused the like trouble and motion at Sea, as it had done at *Chille*, which happened presently after the Earthquake, so as they might see the Sea furiously to flie out of her bounds, and to runne neere two leagues into the Land, rising aboue fourteene fathom: it couered all that Playne, so as the Ditches and pieces of wood that were there, swam in the water. There was yet another earthquake in the Realme and Citie of *Quitto*; and it seemes all these notable Earthquakes vpon that Coast, haue succeeded one another by order, as in truth it is subiect to these inconueniences. And therefore although vpon the coast of *Peru*, there be no torments from Heauen, as thunder and lightning, yet are they not without feare vpon the Land: and so euery one hath before his eyes, the Heralds of diuine Iustice, to moue him to feare God. For as the Scripture saith, *Fecit hæc vt timeatur*. Returning then to our purpose, I say the Sea coast is most subiect to these earthquakes, the reason is, in my iudgement, for that the water doth stop the conduits and passages of the earth, by which the hot exhalations should passe, which are engendered there. And also the humiditie thickning the superficies of the earth, doth cause the fumes and hot exhalations to goe close together and encounter violently in the bowels of the earth, which doe afterwards breake foorth.

Noyse before the earthquake.

Why the Sea coast is subiect to earthquakes.

Some haue obserued, that such Earthquakes haue vsually hapned, when as a raynie season falls after some drie yeeres. Whereupon they say, that the Earthquakes are most rare, where are most Wells, the which is approued by experience. Those of the Citie of *Mexico* hold opinion, that the Lake whereon it is seated, is the cause of the Earthquakes that happen there, although they be not very violent: and it is most certaine, that the Townes and Prouinces, farre within the Land, and farthest from the Sea, receiue sometimes great losses by these Earthquakes, as the Citie of *Chachapoyas* at the *Indies*, and in *Italie* that of *Ferrara*, although vpon this subiect It seemes this latter, being neere to a Riuer, and not farre from the *Adriatique* Sea, should rather be numbred among the Sea-townes. In the yeere of our Lord 1581. in *Cugiano*, a Citie of *Peru*, otherwise called *The Peace*, there happened a strange accident touching this subiect. A Village called *Angoango* (where many *Indians* dwelt that were Sorcerers and Idolaters) fell suddenly to ruine, so as a great part thereof was raysed vp and carried away, and many of the *Indians* smothered, and that which seemes incredible (yet testified by men of credit) the earth that was ruined and so beaten downe, did runne and slide vpon the Land for the space of a league and a halfe, as it had beene water or waxe molten, so as it stopt and filled vp a Lake, and remayned so spread ouer the whole Countrie.

Earthquake at *Ferrara* terrible.

At *Angoango*.

§. IIII.

Of Metals in the Indies *and especially of the Gold and Siluer, and Quick-siluer.*

METals are (as Plants) hidden and buried in the bowels of the Earth, which haue some conformitie in themselues, in the forme and manner of their production; for that we see and discouer euen in them, branches, and as it were a bodie, from whence they grow and proceede, which are the greater veines and the lesse, so as they haue a knitting in themselues: and it seemes properly that these Minerals grow like vnto Plants, not that they haue any inward vegetatiue life, being onely proper to Plants: but they are engendered in the bowels of the earth, by the vertue and force of the Sunne and other Planets, and in long continuance of time, they increase and multiply after the manner of Plants. And euen as metals bee plants hidden in the earth, so wee may say, that plants bee liuing Creatures fixed in one place, whose life is maintayned by the nourishment which Nature furnisheth from their first beginning. But *liuing Creatures* surpasse Plants, in that they haue a more perfect being; and therefore haue neede of a more perfect foode and nourishment; for the search whereof, Nature hath giuen them a mouing and feeling to discouer and discerne it. So as the rough and barren earth is as a substance and nutriment for metals; and that which is fertile and better seasoned a nourishment for

Metals grow as plants.

Animalia.

for Plants. The ſame plants ſerue as a nouriſhment for liuing creatures, and the plants and liuing creatures together as a nouriſhment for men, the inferiour nature alwayes ſeruing for the maintenance and ſuſtentation of the ſuperiour, and the leſſe perfect yeelding vnto the more perfect; whereby wee may ſee how much it wants, that gold and ſiluer and other things which men ſo much eſteeme by their couetouſneſſe, ſhould bee the happineſſe of man, whereunto hee ſhould tend, ſeeing they bee ſo many degrees in qualitie inferior to man, who hath beene created and made onely to be a ſubiect to ſerue the vniuerſall Creator of all things, as his proper end and perfect reſt; and to which man, all other things in this world, were not propounded or left, but to gaine this laſt end.

The diuerſitie of metals, which the Creator hath ſhut vp in the cloſets and concauities of the earth, is ſuch, and ſo great, that man drawes profit and commoditie from euery one of them. Some ſerue for curing of diſeaſes, others for armes and for defence againſt the enemies, ſome are for ornament and beautifying of our perſons and houſes, and others are fit to make veſſels and Iron-workes, with diuers faſhions of inſtruments, which the induſtrie of man hath found out and put in practice. But aboue all the vſes of metals, which be ſimple and naturall, the communication and commerce of men hath found out one, which is the vſe of money, the which (as the Philoſopher ſaith) is the meaſure of all things. And although naturally, and of it ſelfe, it bee but one onely thing, yet in value and eſtimation we may ſay, that *it is all things*. Money is vnto vs as it were, meate, clothing, houſe, horſe, and generally whatſoeuer man hath need of. By this meanes all obeyes to money, and as the Wiſeman ſaith, to finde an inuention that one thing ſhould be all. Men guided or thruſt forward by a naturall inſtinct, chooſe the thing moſt durable and moſt maniable, which is metall, and amongſt metals, gaue them the preheminence in this inuention of money, which of their nature were moſt durable and incorruptible, which is ſiluer and gold. A Wiſeman ſaid, that what a father doth to marry his daughter well, is to giue her a great portion in marriage; the like hath God done for this Land ſo rough and labourſome, giuing it great riches in mynes, that by this meanes it might be the more ſought after. At the weſt *Indies* then there are great ſtore of mynes of all ſorts of metals, as Copper, Iron, Lead, Tinne, Quick-ſiluer, Siluer, and Gold: and amongſt all the Regions and Parts of the *Indies*, the Realmes of *Peru* abound moſt in theſe metals, eſpecially with Gold, Siluer, Quick-ſiluer, or Mercurie, whereof they haue found great ſtore, and daily diſcouer new mynes. And without doubt, according to the qualitie of the earth, thoſe which are to diſcouer, are without compariſon, farre more in number then thoſe which are yet diſcouered: yea, it ſeemes that all the Land is ſowed with theſe metals, more then any other in the world that is yet known vnto vs, or that ancient Writers haue made mention of.

Ariſt. 5. Ethic. cap. 5.

Eccleſ. 10.

Of the qualitie and nature of the earth wher the metals are found, and that all theſe metals are not imployed at the *Indies*, and how the *Indians* vſed them. *L. 4. Chap. 3. Plin. lib. 5. de Geneſ. mund. Euſeb. lib. 8. de præpar. euang. cap. 9.*

The reaſon why there is ſo great abundance of metals at the *Indies* (eſpecially at the weſt of *Peru*, as I haue ſaid) is the will of the Creator, who hath imparted his gifts as it pleaſed him. But comming to a naturall and philoſophicall reaſon, it is very true, which *Philon* a wiſe man writes, ſaying, that gold, ſiluer, and metals, grow naturally in land that is moſt barren and vnfruitfull. And wee ſee, that in Lands of good temperature, the which are fertile with graſſe and fruits, there are ſeldome found any mynes; for that Nature is contented to giue them vigour to bring forth fruits more neceſſarie for the preſeruation and maintenance of the life of beaſts and men. And contrariwiſe to lands that are very rough, drie, and barren (as in the higheſt Mountaines and inacceſſible Rocks of a rough temper) they finde mynes of ſiluer, of quick-ſiluer, and of gold, and all thoſe riches (which are come into *Spaine* ſince the Weſt *Indies* were diſcouered) haue beene drawne out of ſuch places which are rough and full, bare and fruitleſſe: yet the taſte of this money, makes theſe places pleaſing and agreeable, yea, well inhabited with numbers of people. And although there be, as I haue ſaid, many mynes of all kindes of metals as at the *Indies*, yet they vſe none but thoſe of gold and ſiluer, and as much quick-ſiluer as is neceſſarie to refine their gold and ſiluer. They carry Iron thither from *Spaine* and *China*. As for Copper, the *Indians* haue drawne of it, and vſed it for their armes, the which were not vſually of Iron, but of Copper. Since the *Spaniards* poſſeſſed the *Indies*, they haue drawne very little, neither doe they take the paines to ſeeke out theſe mynes, although there bee many buſying themſelues in the ſearch of richer and more precious metals, wherein they ſpend their time and labour. They vſe no other metals, as Copper, and Iron, but onely that which is ſent them from *Spaine*, or that which remaines of the refining of gold and ſiluer. Wee finde not that the *Indians* in former times vſed gold, ſiluer, or any other metall for money, and for the price of things, but onely for ornament, as hath beene ſaid, whereof there was great quantitie in their Temples, Palaces, and Tombes, with a thouſand kindes of veſſels of gold and ſiluer, which they had. They vſed no gold nor ſiluer to trafficke or buy withall, but did change and trucke one thing for another, as *Homer* and *Plinie* report of the Ancients. They had ſome other things of greater eſteeme, which went currant amongſt them for price, and in ſtead of coine: and vnto this day this cuſtome continues amongſt the *Indians*, as in the Prouinces of *Mexico*, in ſtead of money they vſe *Cacao*, (which is a ſmall fruit) and therewith buy what they will. In *Peru* they vſe *Coca*, to the ſame end (the which is a leafe the *Indians* eſteeme much) as in *Paraguay*, they haue ſtamps of Iron for coine,

No money of gold, but of fruits, &c.

Plin. lib. 33. c. 3.

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coine, and cotton wouen in Saint *Croix*, of the *Sierre*. Finally, the manner of the *Indians* trafficke, and their buying and ſelling, was to exchange, and giue things for things: and although there were great Marts and famous Faires, yet had they no neede of money, nor of Brokers, for that euery one had learned what he was to giue in exchange for euery kinde of merchandiſe. Since the *Spaniards* entred, the *Indians* haue vſed gold and ſiluer to buy withall: and in the beginning there was no coine, but ſiluer by weight was their price and money, as they report of the ancient *Romans*. Since, for a greater benefit, they haue forged coine in *Mexico* and *Peru*, yet vnto this day they haue not in the Weſt *Indies* coyned any money of Copper or other metall, but onely of ſiluer and gold: for the richneſſe of that Countrie hath not admitted nor receiued ſuch money as they call bullion, nor other kindes of alloy, which they vſe in *Italie*, and in other Prouinces of *Europe*; Although in ſome Ilands of the *Indies*, as Saint *Dominique*, and *Port Ricco*, they vſe coine of leather, which is ſquare, the which are currant onely in thoſe Ilands, hauing little ſiluer or gold. I ſay little, although there be much, for that no man digges it and refines it. But for that the riches of the *Indies*, and their manner to labour in the mynes, conſiſts of gold, ſiluer, and quick-ſiluer, I will ſpeake ſomething of theſe three metals, leauing the reſt for this time.

Plin. lib. 33. c. 4.

Coine of leather.

Gold amongſt other metals hath beene alwayes held the moſt excellent; and with reaſon, being the moſt durable and incorruptible of all others; for fire which conſumes and diminiſheth the reſt, amends it, and brings it to perfection. Gold which hath often paſſed through the fire, keepes his colour, and is moſt fine and pure; which properly is called (as *Plinie* ſaith) *Obriſo*, whereof the Scripture makes ſo often mention and vſe, which conſumeth all other metals (as the ſame *Plinie* ſaith) doth not any thing waſte gold, nor yet hurt it, neither is it eaten, nor groweth old. And although his ſubſtance and body bee firme and ſolid; yet doth it yeeld and bow wonderfully; the Beaters and Drawers of gold know well the force it hath to bee drawne out without breaking. All which things well conſidered, with other excellent properties, will giue men of iudgement to vnderſtand, wherefore the holy Scripture doth compare Charitie to gold. To conclude, there is little neede to relate the excellencies thereof to make it more deſirable. For the greateſt excellencie it hath, is to be knowne (as it is) amongſt men, for the ſupreme power and greatneſſe of the World. Comming therefore to our ſubiect; at the *Indies* there is great abundance of this metall, and it is well knowne by approued Hiſtories, that the *Ingues* of *Peru* did not content themſelues with great and ſmall veſſels of gold, as Pots, Cups, Goblets, and Flagons; yea with Kowles or great Veſſels, but they had Chaires alſo, and Litters of maſſie gold: and in their Temples they had ſet vp mayne Images of pure gold, whereof they finde ſome yet at *Mexico*, but not ſuch ſtore as when the firſt Conquerors came into the one and the other Kingdome, who found great treaſure, and without doubt there was much more hidden in the earth by the *Indians*. It would ſeeme ridiculous to report that they haue made their horſe ſhooes of ſiluer for want of Iron, and that they haue paid three hundred crownes for a bottle of wine, and other ſtrange things; and yet in truth this hath come to paſſe, yea and greater matters. They draw gold in thoſe parts after three ſorts: or at the leaſt; I haue ſeene all three vſed. For either they finde gold in graines, in powlder, or in ſtone.

Of gold which they digge and refine at the *Indies*. *Chap. 4.*

Plin. lib. 33. c. 3.

Apoc. 3. & 21. Cant. 3. Pſal. 67. 3. Reg. 6.

See before in *I. dos Santos*, and in *Herrera*.

The moſt famous gold is that of *Caranaua* in *Peru*, and of *Valdiuia* in *Chille*, for that it riſeth with his alloy and perfection, which is twentie three Carrats and a halfe, and ſometimes more. They make account likewiſe of the gold of *Veragua* to bee very fine. They bring much gold to *Mexico* from the *Philippines*, and *China*, but commonly it is weake and of baſe alloy. Gold is commonly found mixt with Siluer or with Copper; but that which is mixed with ſiluer is commonly of fewer Carrats then that which is mixed with copper. If there be a fift part of ſiluer, *Plinie* ſaith, it is then properly called *Electrum*, which hath the propertie to ſhine more at the light of the fire, then fine gold or fine ſiluer. That which is incorporate with copper, is commonly of a higher value. They refine powldred gold in baſons, waſhing it in many waters, vntill the Sand falls from it, and the gold as moſt heauie remayneth in the bottome. They refine it likewiſe with quick-ſiluer and ſtrong water, for that the allum whereof they make this water hath the vertue to ſeparate gold from droſſe, or from other metals. After it is purified and molten, they make Bricks or ſmall Barres to carry it vnto *Spaine*; for being in powlder, they cannot tranſport it from the *Indies*, for they can neither cuſtome it, marke it, nor take ſay, vntill it bee molten. In the fleet where I came, which was in the yeere 1585. the declaration of the firme Land was of twelue Caſſons or Cheſts of gold, euery Caſſon at the leaſt weighed foure *Arobes*, that is a hundred weight; and a thouſand fiftie and ſixe Mares from new *Spaine*, which was for the King onely, beſides that which came for Merchants and priuate men being regiſtred; and much that came vnregiſtred. This may ſuffice touching the gold of the *Indies*, and now wee will ſpeake of Siluer.

Plin. lib. 3. cap. 4.

Now we will ſhew how they diſcouer the mynes of Siluer, their veines, rootes, and beginnings whereof *Iob* ſpeakes. And firſt I will ſay, that the reaſon why they giue ſiluer the ſecond place among all other metals, is, for that it approcheth neerer to gold then any other, being more durable and leſſe indamaged by the fire, and more mallable then any other: yea it paſſeth gold in brightneſſe, beautie, and ſound, the which is cleere, and agreeable, for the colour is more conformable

Of the Siluer at the *Indies*. *Chap. 5.*

mable and resembling the light, and the sound more piercing, more liuely, and more delicate. The mynes of siluer are commonly found in Mountaines and high Rocks very desart, although they haue sometimes beene found in Playnes and Champaines. There are two different kindes, the one they call *stragling*, the other *fixed* and setled. The stragling, are pieces of metall found in certaine places, the which drawne away, there is no more found. But the fixed veines, are those which haue a continuance in depth and length, like to great branches and armes of Trees; and when they finde any one of them, they commonly finde many in the same place. The manner to purge and refine siluer which the *Indians* haue vsed, was by melting, in dissoluing this masse of metall by fire, which casts the earthly drosse apart, and by his force separates Siluer from Lead, Tin from Copper, and other metals mixt. To this end they did build small Furnaces in places where as the winde did commonly blow, and with Wood and Cole made their refining, the which Furnaces in *Peru* they call *Guayras*. Since the *Spaniards* entred, besides this manner of refining which they vse to this day, they likewise refine siluer with quick-siluer, and draw more by this meanes then in refining it by fire. For there is some kind of siluer metall found which can by no meanes be purged and refined by fire, but onely with quick-siluer. But this kinde of metall is commonly poore and weake, the which vsually they finde in greatest abundance. They call that poore which yeelds least siluer, and great quantitie of other metall, and that rich which yeelds most siluer. It is strange to see, not onely the difference betwixt the refining of metall by fire, and without it by quick-siluer, but also that some of these metals, which are refined by the fire, cannot well be molten with any artificiall winde, as with bellowes; but when it is kindled and blowne with the naturall aire, or naturall winde. The metall of the mynes of *Porco* is easily refined with bellowes, and that of the mynes of *Potozi* cannot bee molten with bellowes, but onely by the breath of their *Guayras*, which are small Furnaces vpon the sides of the Mountaines, built expressly where the winde lies, within the which they melt this metall; and though it be hard to yeeld a reason for this difference, yet is it most certaine and approued by long experience: so as the greedie desire of this metall so much valued amongst men, hath made them seeke out a thousand gentle inuentions and deuices, whereof we will hereafter make mention. The chiefe places of the *Indies* from whence they draw siluer, are new *Spaine* and *Peru*, but the mynes of *Peru* farre surpasse the rest; and amongst all others of the World, those of *Potozi*.

Note,

Of the Mountaine or Hill of *Potozi*, and the discouery thereof, *Chap. 6.*

The Mountaine or Hill of *Potozi* so famous, is situate in the Prouince of *Charcas*, in the Kingdome of *Peru*, distant from the Equinoctiall towards the South, or Pole Antartike, one and twentie degrees and two thirds: so as it falls vnder the Tropicke, bordering vpon the burning Zone, and yet this Region is extremely cold, yea, more then old *Castile* in the Kingdome of *Spaine*, and more then *Flanders* it selfe, although by reason it should be hot or temperate, in regard of the height and eleuation of the Pole where it is seated. The reason of this so cold a temperature, is the height of the Mountaine, whereas cold and intemperate winds continually blow, especially that which they call *Thomahaui*, which is boistrous and most cold. It raines most commonly in Iune, Iuly, and August. The ground and soile of this Mountaine is drie, cold, and very vnpleasant, yea altogether barren, which neither engenders nor brings forth any fruit, grasse, nor graine; it is naturally vnhabitable, for the intemperature of the Heauen, and the barrennesse of the Earth. But the force of siluer, which drawes vnto it the desire of all things, hath peopled this Mountaine more then any other place in all these Kingdomes, making it so fruitfull of all kindes of meates, as there wants nothing that can be desired, yea, in great abundance; and although there be nothing but what is brought by carriage, yet euery place abounds so with Fruit, Confectes, exquisite Wines, Silkes, and all other delicates, as it is not inferiour to any other part. This Mountaine is of colour darke red, and is in forme pleasing at the first sight, resembling perfectly the fashion of a Pauilion, or of a Sugar-loafe. It exceeds all other Hills and Mountaines about it in height. The way whereby they ascend, is very rough and vneuen, and yet they goe vp on horse-back. It is round at the top, and at the foot it hath a league in circuit. It containes from the top to the bottom 1680. common yards, the which reduced to the measure of *Spanish* leagues, makes a quarter of a league. At the foot of this Mountaine there is another small Hill that riseth out of it, in the which there hath beene somtimes mynes of metall dispersed, which were found as it were in purses, and not in fixed or continued veines; yet were they very rich, though few in number. This small Rock was called by the *Indians*, *Guayna Potozi*, which is yong *Potozi*; at the foot whereof begins the dwellings of the *Spaniards* and *Indians*, which are come to the riches and worke of *Potozi*, which dwelling may containe some two leagues in circuit, and the greatest traffick and cõmerce of all *Peru* is in this place. The mynes of this Mountaine were not digged nor discouered in the time of their *Ingues*, which were the Lords of *Peru*, before the *Spaniards* entred, although they had digged and opened the mynes of *Porco*, neer to *Potozi*, distant only six leagues.

An *Indian* called *Gualpa*, of the Nation of *Chumbibilca*, which is a Prouince of *Cusco*, going one day to hunt for Venison, passing towards the West whither the beast was fled, hee began to runne vp against the Rocke, which at that time was couered and planted with certaine Trees they call *Quinua*, and with thicke bushes, and as he striued to get vp a way which was somewhat rough and vneasie, hee was forced to lay hold vpon a branch, which issued from a veine of a siluer

siluer myne: (which since they haue called *Rich*) which hee pulled vp, perceiuing in the hole or roote thereof, metall, the which he knew to be very good, by the experience he had of the mynes of *Porco*: and after finding vpon the ground certaine pieces of metall, which lay broken and dispersed neere to this veine, being scarse well able to iudge thereof, for that the colour was spoyled and changed by the Sunne and raine; he carried it to *Porco* to trie by the *Guayra* (which is the triall of metall by fire) and hauing thereby found the great riches and his happy fortune, he secretly digged and drew metall out of this veine, not imparting it to any man, vntill that an *Indian* called *Guanca*, of the Valley of *Xaura*, which is vpon the borders of the Citie of *Kings*, who remayning at *Porco* neere vnto *Gualpa* of *Chumbibilca*, perceiued one day that hee made a refining, and that his Wedges and Bricks were greater then such as were vsually made in those places: and also increasing in his expence of apparell, hauing till then lined but basely. For this reason, and for that the metall his Neighbour refined was different from that of *Porco*, hee thought to discouer this secret; and wrought so, that although the other kept it as secret as hee could, yet through importunitie hee was forced to carry him vnto the Rocke of *Potozi*, hauing enioyed this rich treasure full two moneths. And then *Gualpa* the *Indian* willed *Guanca* for his part to take a veine, which he had discouered neere to the rich veine, which at this day is called the veine of *Diego Centeno*, that was not lesse rich, but more hard to digge and to draw forth; and so by agreement they diuided betweene them the richest Rocke in the world. It chanced after, the *Indian Guanca* finding some difficultie to digge and draw forth his metall, being most hard, and the other *Gualpa* refusing to impart any of his myne vnto him, they fell at debate; so as *Guanca* of *Xaura* grieued therewith, and with some other discontents, discouered this secret vnto his Master called *Villarel* a *Spaniard*, who then remayned at *Porco*. This *Villarel* desirous to vnderstand the truth, went to *Potozi*, and finding the riches his *Yanacona* or seruant had discouered vnto him, caused the *Indian Guanca* to be inrolled, vndertaking with him the said veine, which was called *Centeno*, they call it *Vndertaking*, that is as much as to note and marke the myne, and so much ground in circuit for him, which the Law graunts vnto those that discouer any myne, or vnto those that digge them: by meanes whereof, hauing discouered them to the Iustice, they remayned Lords of the myne, to digge and draw forth the siluer, as being their owne, paying onely their duties vnto the King, which is a fift part. So as the first discouerie and inregistring of the mynes of *Potozi*, was the one and twentieth of Aprill, in the yeere of our Lord 1545. in the Territorie of *Porco*, by the said *Villarel* a *Spaniard*, and *Guanca* an *Indian*. Presently after they discouered another veine, which they called the *Veine of Tinne*, the which is very rich, although it be rough and very painfull to worke in, the metall being as hard as flint. Since the thirtie day of August in the same yeere 1545. the veine called *Mendieta* was inrolled, and these are the foure principall veines of *Potozi*. They say of the rich veine, the first that was discouered, that the metall lay aboue the ground the height of a Lance, like vnto Rocks, raysing the superficies of the Earth, like vnto a crest of three hundred foot long, and thirteene foot broad, and that this remayned bare and vncouered by the deluge, this veine hauing resisted the violence and force of the water, as the hardest part. The metall was so rich as it was halfe siluer, and this veine continued in his bountie fiftie or threescore *Spades* (which is the height of a man) and then it fayled. Presently after that the discouerie of *Potozi* was knowne in *Peru*, many *Spaniards*, and the most part of the *Bourgeois* of the *Siluer Citie*, which is eighteene leagues from *Potozi*, came thither to take mynes: yea, there came many *Indians* from diuers Prouinces, specially the *Quayzadores* of *Porco*, so as within a short space it was the best peopled habitation of all the Kingdome.

When as the Licenciate *Polo* gouerned that Prouince, the which was many yeeres after the discouerie of this Mountaine, they did euery Saturday enter a hundred and fiftie and two hundred thousand pieces, whereof the Kings fift amounted to thirtie and fortie thousand pieces; and for euery yeere a million and a halfe, or little lesse. So as according to that computation they did draw euery day from this myne thirtie thousand pieces, whereof there came to the King for his fift, sixe thousand pieces a day.

Euery piece is worth thirteene Rials and a fourth part.

There is yet another thing to bee spoken of, to shew the riches of *Potozi*, that the account which hath beene made, was onely of siluer that was marked and customed. And it is well knowne in *Peru*, that they haue long vsed siluer in their Realmes, which they call *Currant*, which was neither marked nor customed. And they hold it for certaine which know these mynes, that in these dayes, the greatest part of siluer drawne at *Potozi*, was not customed, and this had course amongst the *Indians*, and much amongst the *Spaniards*, as I haue seene continued to my time; so as it may appeare, the third part of the riches of *Potozi*, yea the one halfe came not to light, neither was it customed. There is yet a more notable consideration, in that which *Plinie* saith, they had digged a fifteene hundred paces in the myne of *Rebello*, and that continually they found water, which is the greatest hinderance they haue to draw forth their metall. But in this of *Potozi*, although they haue digged two hundred stades or heights of a man in depth; yet did they neuer finde any water, which is the greatest happinesse of this Mountaine. But the mynes of *Porco*, whose metall is good and very rich, are at this day left for the discommoditie

Plinius lib. 33. c. 6.

moditie of water, which they haue found in their worke; for they are two insupportable labours in searching of the metall; first, to digge and breake the Rocks, and then to draw out the water all together. The first of them, that is, to cut through the Rocks, is paine enough; yea very hard and excessiue. Finally, at this day the King receiues for his fift yeerly, from the mynes of *Potozi*, a million of siluer, besides the wealth that growes by quick-siluer, and other Royall prerogatiues, which is a great treasure. Some men of iudgement hauing cast vp the accounts, say, that what hath beene brought into the custome House of *Potozi*, vnto the yeere of our Lord 1585. amounteth vnto a hundred thousand millions of pieces of Essay, whereof euery piece is worth thirteene Rials and a fourth part, not reckoning the siluer which hath beene carried away without custome, or that hath beene entred in other Royall custome houses, or the siluer that hath beene wrought in the Countrie, which is not entred, the which is innumerable, although the first Registers of Entries are not so exactly kept as at this day; for that in the beginning and first discoueries, they made their recoit by *Romans*, so great was their abundance.

But by the instructions and remembrances of *Don Francisco de Toledo* the Vice-roy, in the yeere of our Sauiour Christ 1574. they finde seuentie and sixe millions to that yeere: and from that yeere to eightie fiue inclusiue, it appeares by the Royall Registers, there were thirtie fiue millions more entred. They sent this accompt to the Vice-roy from *Potozi*, in the yeere I haue mentioned, being then in *Peru*; and since the wealth that hath come from *Peru* by ship, hath amounted to much more. In that fleet where I came in the yeere 1587. there were eleuen millions transported in the two fleetes of *Peru* and *Mexico*, whereof two thirds were in that of *Peru*, and almost the one halfe for the King.

Huge summes of siluer.

Estaim.

This Rocke of *Potozi*, containes as I haue said, foure principall veines, that is, the *Rich* veine, that of *Centeno*, that of *Tinne*, and that of *Mendieta*. All these veines are of the East part of the Mountaine, as looking to the Sunne rising, for on the West part there is not any. The foresaid veines runne from North to South, which is from Pole to Pole. In the largest place they haue sixe foot, and in the narrowest a span breadth. There are others of diuers fashions that runne out of the said veines; like as out of the great armes of Trees, there commonly sprout forth lesse. Euery veine hath diuers mynes which are parts and portions of the same, distinct and diuided betwixt diuers Masters, by whose names they are commonly called. The great myne containes fourscore yards, neither may it be more by the Law, and the least containes foure. All these mynes are at this day very deepe. In the *Rich* myne they reckon seuentie eight mynes, which are eightie yards deepe, or a hundred stades or height of a man, and in some places two hundred. In the veine of *Centeno* are foure and twentie mynes, whereof some are seuentie or eightie stades deepe, and so of the other veines of this Mountaine. For a remedie to this great profunditie, they haue inuented mynes, which they call *Soccabones*, which are caues or vents made at the foote of the Mountaine, the which goe crossing till they incounter with the veines: for we must vnderstand, that although the veines runne North to South, as hath beene said, yet is it in declining from the top to the foote of the Mountaine, which may be as they beleeue by coniecture, aboue twelue hundred stades. And by this account, although the mynes extend in such a profunditie, yet there remaines sixe times as much space vnto the bottome or roote, the which they say, are most rich and abundant, as the body and spring of all veines. Although vnto this day we haue seene the contrarie by experience, for the higher the veine is to the superficies of the earth, the more rich they finde it: and the deeper it goes, the poorer it is, and of the baser aloy. They then inuented the *Soccabons*, by which they enter to worke in the mynes very easily, with lesse charge, paine, and danger. They haue eight foot in breadth, and a stade in height, the which they shut with doores. By them they drawe forth their metall very easily, paying to the proprietarie of the *Soccabon*, the fift part of all the metall they draw forth. There are nine already made, and others are begun. They were nine and twentie yeeres in making of one *Soccabon*, as they call it, of the venome that flowes from the rich veine. It was begun in the yeere 1550. the eleuenth yeere of the discouerie, and was ended in the yeere 1585. the eleuenth of August. This *Soccabon* crossed the rich veine thirtie fiue stades from the foote or spring, and from thence where it met to the mouth of the myne, were a hundred thirtie fiue stades. So as they must descend all this depth to labour in the myne. This *Soccabon* containes from his mouth vnto the veine of *Crusero* as they call it, two hundred and fiftie yards, in which worke were spent nine and twentie yeeres, whereby we may see what great paines men take to draw siluer out of the bowels of the earth. They labour in these mynes in continuall darknesse and obscuritie, without knowledge of day or night. And forasmuch as those places are neuer visited with the Sunne, there is not only continuall darknesse, but also an extreme cold, with so grosse an aire contrarie to the disposition of man, so as, such as newly enter, are sicke as they at Sea. The which happened to me in one of these mynes, where I felt a paine at the heart, and beating of the stomacke. Those that labour therein, vse candles to light them, diuiding their worke in such sort, as they that worke in the day, rest by the night, and so they change. The metall is commonly hard, and therefore they breake it with hammers, splitting and hewing it by force, as if they were flints. After they carry vp this metall

Preciosa periculo, Speciosa suppicia.

Intolerable paines and darknesse in the Mynes, and if in the Mindes farre more intolerable remayning.

vpon

vpon their ſhoulders, by Ladders of three branches, made of Neats leather twiſted like pieces of wood, which are croſſed with ſtaues of wood; ſo as by euery one of theſe Ladders they mount and deſcend together. They are ten ſtades long a piece: and at the end of one beginnes another of the ſame length, euery Ladder beginning and ending at plat-formes of wood, where there are ſeates to reſt them, like vnto galleries, for that there are many of theſe Ladders to mount by one at the end of another. A man carries ordinarily the weight of two *Arrobes* of metall vpon his ſhoulders, tied together in a cloth in manner of a skip, and ſo mount they three and three. He that goes before carries a candle tied to his thumbe: for (as it is ſaid) they haue no light from Heauen, and ſo goe they vp the Ladder holding it with both their hands, to mount ſo great a height, which commonly is aboue a hundred and fiftie ſtades: a fearfull thing, and which breedes an amazement to thinke vpon it, ſo great is the deſire of Siluer, that for the gaine thereof, men endure any paines. And truly, it is not without reaſon, that *Plinie* treating of this ſubiect, exclaimes and ſayes thus, *Wee enter euen into the bowels of the Earth, and goe hunting after riches, euen to the place of the damned.* And after in the ſame Booke hee ſaith: *Thoſe that ſeeke for metals, performe workes more then Giants, making holes and caues in the depth of the Earth, piercing Mountaynes ſo deepe by the light of Candles, whereas the day and the night are alike, and in many moneths they ſee no day. So as often the walls of their mynes fall, ſmothering many of them that labour therein.* And afterwards hee addes, *They pierce the hard Rocke with hammers of Iron waighing one hundred and fiftie pounds, and draw out the metall vpon their ſhoulders, labouring day and night, one deliuering his charge to another, and all in darkneſſe, onely the laſt ſees the light: with Wedges and Hammers they breake the Flints, how hard and ſtrong ſoeuer, for the hunger of gold is yet more ſharpe and ſtrong.*

Euery *Arobe* is 25. pound.

Plin. in proem. lib. 33. cap. 6.

The veines as I haue ſaid, where they finde ſiluer, runne betwixt two Rocks, which they call *The Chaſe*, whereof the one is commonly as hard as flint, and the other ſoft and eaſie to breake. This metall is not alwayes equall, and of the ſame bountie, for you ſhall find in one and the ſame veine, one ſort of metall very rich, which they call *Cacilla*, or *Tacana*, from which they draw much ſiluer; and another is poore, from whence they draw little. The moſt rich metall of this Mountaine, is of the colour of Amber, and the next is that which inclines to blacke. There is other ſomewhat red, and other of the colour of aſhes: finally, of diuers and ſundrie colours, which ſeeme to ſuch as know them not, to bee ſtones of no value. But the myners doe preſently know his qualitie and perfection, by certaine ſignes and ſmall veines they finde in them. They carry all this metall they draw out of theſe mynes, vpon *Indian* ſheepe, which ſerue them as Aſſes to carry it to the Mills; the richeſt metall is refined by melting in thoſe ſmall Furnaces, which they call *Guayras*, for that is moſt leadie; by reaſon whereof, it is moſt ſubiect to melt, and for the better melting thereof, the *Indians* caſt in a matter, they call *Soroche*, which is a metall full of Lead. The metall being in theſe Furnaces, the filth and earthie droſſe, through the force of the fire, remaines in the bottome, and the Siluer and Lead melt; ſo as the Siluer ſwimmes vpon the Lead, vntill it bee purified; then after they refine the ſiluer many times, after this manner of melting. They haue vſually drawne out of one Quintall of metall, thirtie, fortie, and fiftie pieces of ſiluer, and yet I haue ſeene ſome moſt excellent that haue beene ſhewne me, where they haue drawne in the melting two hundred, yea two hundred and fiftie pieces of ſiluer of a Quintall of metall; a rare wealth, and almoſt incredible, if we had not ſeene the triall thereof by fire, but ſuch metals are very rare. The pooreſt metall is that which yeelds two, three, fiue, or ſixe pieces, or little more. This metall hath commonly little Lead, but is drie, and therefore they cannot refine it with fire. And for this reaſon in *Potozi*, there was great ſtore of theſe poore metals, whereof they made no great account, but were reiected like ſtraw, and as the ſkum of the good metall, vntill they found meanes to refine it by quick-ſiluer, whereby the ſkum they called *Oquiache* was of great profit, for the quick-ſiluer by a ſtrange and wonderfull propertie, purifies the ſiluer, and is apt for theſe metals which are drie and poore, wherein they conſume leſſe quick-ſiluer then in the richer: for the richer they are, the more need of quick-ſiluer they haue. At this day the moſt vſuall manner of refining in *Potozi*, is by quick-ſiluer, as alſo in the mynes of *Cacutecas*, and others of new *Spaine*. There were in old time vpon the ſides and tops of *Potozi*, aboue ſixe thouſand *Guayras*, which are ſmall Furnaces where they melt their metall, the which were placed like lights (a pleaſant ſight to behold by night) caſting a light afarre off like a flame of fire. But at this day there are not aboue two thouſand, for that (as I haue ſaid) they vſe little melting, but refine it by quick-ſiluer, the which is the greateſt profit. And for that the properties of quick-ſiluer are admirable; and that this manner of refining of ſiluer is remarkable, I will diſcourſe of Quick-ſiluer, of the Mynes and Worke, and what is requiſite for that ſubiect.

How they refine the metall of ſiluer. *Chap. 9.*

Quick-ſiluer, ſo called by the *Latines*, for that it runnes and ſlides ſuddenly from place to place; amongſt all other metals hath great and wonderfull vertues. The firſt is, although it bee a true metall, yet is it not hard, neither hath it any certaine forme nor ſubſiſtance like to other metals, but is liquid, not like vnto gold and ſiluer molten, but of his owne proper nature; and although it be a liquor, yet is it more heauie then any other metall: and therefore all others ſwim aboue and ſinke not to the bottome, being more light. I haue ſeene two pounds of Iron put into a

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barrell of quick-ſiluer, the which did ſwimme about like vnto Wood or Corke vpon the Wa-
Plin. l. 33. c. 6. ter. *Plinie* giues an exception hereunto, ſaying, That gold alone doth ſinke and not ſwimme aboue it. I haue not ſeene the experience; but it may bee this growes, by reaſon that quick-ſiluer by nature doth inuiron gold, and couers it, which is one of the moſt important proper-
Sympathie with gold. ties it hath; for it ioynes with gold in a ſtrange manner, it ſeekes it where it lyes, and inui-rons it in ſuch ſort, as it doth diſtinguiſh and ſeparate it from any other body or metall where-with it is mixt: for this reaſon ſuch take gold as will preſerue themſelues from the dangers and diſcommodities of quick-ſiluer. They haue vſed a remedie to thoſe (in whoſe eares they had put quick-ſiluer, to cauſe them to die ſecretly) to put little plates of gold into their eares (for that Gold hath the vertue to draw out Mercurie) and after they drew out theſe plates all white with the quick-ſiluer, it did ſticke vnto them. Being one day at *Madril*, I went to ſee the exquiſite workes which *Iacomo de Treco* (a rare worke-man of *Millan*) made for Saint *Laurence* the *Royall*, it was my hap to be there one day, when as they gilded certaine pieces of a countertable of braſſe, which is done with quick-ſiluer; and for that the fume of Mercurie is mortall, he told me that the worke-men preſerued themſelues from this venome, by ſwallowing a double Duckat of gold rolled vp; the which being in the ſtomacke, drawes vnto it all the quick-ſiluer that enters in fume by the Eares, Eyes, Noſtrils, and Mouth, and by this meanes freed themſelues from the danger of quick-ſiluer, which the gold gathered in the ſtomacke, and after caſt out by the excrements: a thing truly worthy of admiration. After the quick-ſiluer hath purified and purged gold from all other metals and mixtures, hee is likewiſe ſeparated from the gold his friend by the heate of the fire, the which purifies it from all quick-
Plin. l. 33. c. 6. ſiluer. *Plinie* ſayes, that by a certaine arte and inuention they did ſeparate gold from quick-ſiluer. It ſeemes to me the Ancients had no knowledge to refine ſiluer by quick-ſiluer, which at this day is the greateſt vſe, and chiefe profit of quick-ſiluer; for that he ſayes plainly, that quick-ſiluer ioynes with no other metall but with gold; and when hee makes mention of refi-ning of ſiluer, hee ſpeakes onely but of the manner of melting; whereby wee may inferre that the Ancients had no knowledge of this ſecret. In truth, though there be a league and ſimpathy betwixt gold and quick-ſiluer, yet where as the Mercurie findes no gold, it ioynes with ſil-uer, though not in the like manner as with gold; but in the end, it doth cleanſe and purge it from Earth, Copper, and Lead, amongſt the which the ſiluer growes, without any neede of fire to melt it: yet muſt they vſe fire to ſeparate it from the ſiluer, as I will ſhew hereafter. Quick-ſiluer holds no account of other metals, but of Gold and Siluer; but contrariwiſe, it doth corrupt them, force and conſume them, and flyeth from them as much as may bee. The which is likewiſe admirable, and for this cauſe they put it in earthen veſſels, or in beaſts skins. For if it bee put in veſſels of Copper, of Iron, or other metall, it preſently pierceth and cor-rupts them. And therefore *Plinie* calleth it the poyſon of all things, for that it conſumes and ſpoiles all. Wee finde quick-ſiluer in the graues of dead men, which after it hath conſumed the bodies, comes forth pure and whole. There hath beene likewiſe found in the bones and mar-row of Men and Beaſts, who hauing receiued it in fume by the mouth and noſtrils, congeales within them and pierceth euen vnto the bones. Therefore it is a dangerous thing to frequent ſo perillous and mortall a creature. It hath another propertie, which is, to runne and make a hun-dred thouſand ſmall drops, whereof not one is loſt, bee they neuer ſo little, but they returne euery way to their liquor. It is almoſt incorruptible, hauing nothing in a manner that may conſume it. And therefore *Plinie* calls it the eternall ſweat. It hath yet another propertie, that although it doth ſeparate Gold from Copper, and all other metals, yet they that will gild Cop-per, Braſſe, or Siluer, vſe quick-ſiluer as the meanes of this vnion; for with the helpe thereof they gild metals. Amongſt all the wonders of this ſtrange liquor that ſeemes to mee moſt wor-thy obſeruation, that although it bee the weighteſt thing in the world, yet is it conuerted in-to the lighteſt of the world, which is ſmoake, and ſuddenly the ſame ſmoake which is ſo light a thing, turnes againe into ſo heauie a ſubſtance, as is the proper liquor of quick-ſiluer, where-into it is diſſolued; for this ſmoake encountring the metall on high, being a ſolid body, or comming into a cold Region, ſuddenly it thickens and is conuerted into quick-ſiluer, and if you ſet him once againe to the fire, he doth likewiſe returne into ſmoake, to be reſolued againe in-to quick-ſiluer.

Of the place where they finde quick-ſiluer, and how they diſcoue-red theſe rich mynes in *Guancavilca*. *Chap.* 11.

Quick-ſiluer is found in a kinde of ſtone, which doth likewiſe yeeld Vermillion, which the Ancients called *Minium*, and at this day they call the Images of cryſtall *Miniades*, which are painted with quick-ſiluer. The Ancients made great account of this *Minium* or Vermillion, holding it for a ſacred colour, as *Plinie* reports, ſaying, That the *Romans* were accuſtomed to paint the face of *Iupiter*, and the bodies of thoſe that triumphed in *Ethiopia*: yea, their Idols and their Gouernours likewiſe had their faces coloured with this *Minium*. And this Vermillion was ſo eſteemed at *Rome* (which they brought onely from *Spaine*, where they had many pits and mynes of quick-ſiluer, which continue there to this day) that the *Romans* ſuffered it not to be re-fined in *Spaine*, leſt they ſhould ſteale ſome of it, but they carried it to *Rome*, ſealed vp in a maſſe as they drew it out of the myne, and after refined it. They did yeerly bring from *Spaine*, eſpecially

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from *Andaluſie*, about ten thouſand pound weight, which the *Romans* valued as an infinite treaſure. I haue reported all this out of that Author, to the end that thoſe which doe ſee what paſſeth at this day in *Peru*, may haue the content to know what chanced in former ages, among the mightieſt Lords of the world. I ſpeake for the *Ingnas* Kings of *Peru*, and for the naturall *Indians* thereof, which haue laboured and digged long in theſe Mines of Quick-ſiluer, not knowing what Quick-ſiluer was, ſeeking onely for *Cinabrium* or Vermillion, which they call *Limpi*, the which they eſteeme much, for that ſame effect that *Plinie* reports of the *Romans* and *Ethiopians*, that is, to paint the face and bodies of themſelues and their Idols: the like hath beene much practiſed by the *Indians*, eſpecially when they went to the warres, and vſe it at this day in their feaſts and dancing, which they call ſlubbering, ſuppoſing that their faces and viſages ſo ſlubbered, did much terrifie, and at this day they hold it for an ornament and beautifying; for this cauſe there were ſtrange workes of Mines in the Mountaines of *Guancauilca*, which are in *Peru*, neere to the Citie of *Guamangua*, out of the which they drew this Mettall: it is of ſuch a manner, that if at this day they enter by the caues or *Soccabones*, which the *Indians* made in thoſe dayes, they looſe themſelues, finding no paſſage out: but they regarded not Quick-ſiluer, which naturally is in the ſame ſubſtance or mettall of Vermillion, neither had they knowledge of any ſuch matter. Labirinths.

The *Indians* were not alone for ſo long a time without the knowledge of this treaſure, but likewiſe the *Spaniards*, who vntill the yeare 1566. and 1567. (at ſuch time as the licentiate *Caſtro* gouerned in *Peru*) diſcouered not the Mines of Quick-ſiluer, which happened in this manner. A man of iudgement called *Henrique Guarces*, a *Portugall* borne, hauing a piece of this coloured Mettall, as I haue ſaid, which the *Indians* call *Limpi*, with which they paint their faces, as he beheld it well, found it to be the ſame which they call Vermillion in *Caſtile*: and for that hee knew well that Vermillion was drawne out of the ſame mettall that Quick-ſiluer was, he coniectured theſe Mines to be of Quick-ſiluer, went to the place whence they drew this Mettall, to make triall thereof. The which he found true, and in this ſort the Mines of *Palcas* in the territorie of *Guamangua*, being diſcouered, great numbers of men went thither to draw out Quick-ſiluer, and ſo to carry it to *Mexico*, where they refine Siluer by the meanes of Quick-ſiluer, wherewith many are inriched. This Countrie of Mines which they call *Guancauilca*, was then peopled with *Spaniards* and *Indians* that came thither, and come ſtill to worke in theſe Mines of Quick-ſiluer, which are in great numbers, and very plentifull: but of all theſe Mines, that which they call *de Amador de Cabrera*, or of Saints, is goodly and notable. It is a Rocke of moſt hard Stone, interlaced all with Quick-ſiluer, and of that greatneſſe, that it extends aboue foureſcore *Vares* or yards in length, and fortie in breadth: in which Mine they haue many pits, and ditches, of threeſcore and tenne ſtades deepe, ſo as three hundred men may well worke together; ſuch is the capacitie thereof. This Mine was diſcouered by an *Indian* of *Amador* of *Cabrera*, called *Nauincopa* of the Village of *Acoria*, the which *Amador* of *Cabrera* cauſed to be regiſtred in his name. He was in ſuite againſt the Procurer fiſcall, but the vſufruite was adiudged to him by ſentence as the diſcouerer. Since he ſold his intereſt to another, for two hundred and fiftie thouſand Ducates; and afterwards thinking he had bin deceiued in the ſale, he commenced an action againſt the buyer, being worth, as they ſay, aboue fiue hundred thouſand Ducates; yea, ſome hold it to be worth a Million of Gold: a rare thing to ſee a Mine of that wealth. Mines of Quick-ſiluer found.

When as *Don Franciſco* of *Toledo* gouerned in *Peru*, there was one which had bin in *Mexico*, and obſerued how they refined Siluer with Mercury, called *Pero Fernandes de Valeſco*, who offred to refine Siluer at *Potozi*, with Mercury: and hauing made triall thereof in the yeare 1571. performed it with credit; then began they to refine Siluer at *Potozi* with Quick-ſiluer, which they tranſported from *Guancauelicqua*, which was a goodly helpe for the Mines; for by the meanes of Quick-ſiluer they drew an infinite quantitie of mettall from theſe Mines, whereof they made no accompt, the which they called *Scrapings*. For as it hath beene ſaid, the Quick-ſiluer purifies the Siluer, although it be drie, poore, and of baſe alloy, which cannot be done by melting in the fire. The Catholike King drawes from it Quick-ſiluer mines, without any charge or hazard, almoſt foure hundred thouſand pieces of a Mine, the which are foureteene rials a peece, or little leſſe, beſides the rights that riſe in *Potozi*, where it is imployed, the which is a great riches. They doe yearely, one with another, draw from theſe Mines of *Guancauilca*, eight thouſand quintals of Quick-ſiluer, yea and more.

Let vs now ſpeake how they draw out Quick-ſiluer, and how they refine Siluer therewith. They take the ſtone or mettall where they finde the Quick-ſiluer, the which they put into the fire in pots of earth well luted, being well beaten, ſo as this mettall or ſtone comming to melt by the heate of the fire, the Quick-ſiluer ſeparates it ſelfe, and goes forth in exhalation, and ſometimes euen with the ſmoake of the fire, vntill it incounters ſome body where it ſtaies and congeales, and if it paſſe vp higher, without meeting of any hard ſubſtance, it mounts vp vntill it be cold, and then congealed, it fals downe againe. When the melting is finiſhed, they vnſtop the pots and draw forth the mettall, ſometimes ſtaying vntill it be very cold, for if there remained The manner how to draw out Quick ſiluer, and how they refine Siluer. *Chap. 12.*

remained any fume or vapour, which should incounter them that should vnstop the pots, they were in danger of death, or to be benummed of their limbes, or at the least to loose their teeth. And for that they spend an infinitie quantitie of wood, in the melting of these mettals, a Miller called *Rodrigo de Tores* found out a profitable inuention, which was, to gather certaine straw which growes throughout all those Mountaines of *Peru*, the which they call *Ycho*, it is like vnto a hard reede wherewith they make their fire. It is a strange thing to see the force which this straw hath to melt and dissolue these mettals, the which fals out, as *Plinie* saies, that there is gold which melts more easily with the flame of straw, then with hot burning coales. They put the Quick-siluer thus molten into skinnes, for that it keepes best in leather, and in this sort they lay it into the Kings store-house, from whence they carrie it by Sea to *Ariqua*, and so to *Potozi* by Land vpon their sheepe. There is yeerely spent in *Potozi* for the refining of Mettals, about six or seuen thousand quintals of Quick-siluer, besides that they draw from the Plates (which is the earth or drosse of the first washings of these Mettals, which are made in caldrons.) The which plates they burne in their furnaces, to draw out the Quick-siluer which remaines in them: and there are aboue fiftie of these Furnaces in the Citie of *Potozi*, and in *Tarpaya*. The quantitie of mettals which they refine, (as some men of experience haue made the account) doth amount yearely to aboue three hundred thousand quintals, from the earth and drosse whereof being molt and refined, they may draw yearely aboue two thousand quintals of Quick-siluer. We must vnderstand there are diuers sorts of mettals, for some yeelde much Siluer, and waste little Quick-siluer: others consume much Quick-siluer, and yeelde little Siluer: and there are others which consume much Quick-siluer, and yeeldes much Siluer; and others that consume little Quick-siluer, and also yeelde little Siluer: and as men incounter in these mettals, so they grow rich or poore in their trafficke. Although commonly the rich mettall yeeldes much Siluer, and consumes much Quick-siluer; and likewise that which is poore, yeeldes little Siluer, and consumes as little Mercurie. They first beate and grinde the mettall very small, with hammers and other instruments, which beate this Stone like vnto tanne Mils, and being well beaten, they searce it in a copper searce, making the poulder as small and fine, as if it were horse haire: these searces being well fitted, doe sift thirtie quintals in a day and a night; then they put the poulder of the mettall into the vessels vpon furnaces, whereas they anoint it and mortifie it with brine, putting to euery fiftie quintals of poulder, fiue quintals of Salt. And this they doe for that the Salt seperates the earth and filth, to the end the Quick-siluer may the more easily draw the Siluer vnto it. After they put Quick-siluer into a peece of Holland and presse it out vpon the mettall, which goes forth like a dewe, alwaies turning and stirring the mettall, to the end it may be well incorporate.

Dangers by Quick-siluer.
Force of Straw *Pl n.l.33.c.4.*
Abundance of Mettals.
Manner of working.

Before the inuention of these furnaces of fire, they did often mingle their mettall with Quick-siluer, in great troughes, letting it settle some daies, and did then mixe it, and stir it againe, vntill they thought all the Quick-siluer were well incorporate with the Siluer, the which continued twentie daies and more, and at the least nine daies. Since they discouered (as the desire to get is diligent,) that to shorten the time fire did much helpe: to incorporate Siluer the sooner with Quick-siluer, they inuented these furnaces, whereon they set vessels to put in their mettall, with Salt and Quick-siluer, and vnderneath they put fire by little and little, in furnaces made for the nonce vnderneath; so as in fiue or six daies the Quick-siluer is incorporate with the Siluer. And when they finde that the Mercurie hath done his part, and assembled all the Siluer, leauing nothing behinde, but is well imbrued as a Spunge doth water, diuiding it from the Earth, Lead, and Copper, with the which it is engendered. Then after they seperate it likewise from the Quick-siluer, the which they doe in this sort; they put the Mettall in Caldrons, and vessels full of water, where with certaine wheeles they turne the mettall round about, as if they should make Mustard, and so the earth and drosse goes from the Mettall with the water that runnes away: The Siluer and Quick-siluer as most ponderous remaining in the bottome; the Mettall which remaines, is like vnto Sand: then they take it out and wash it againe in great platters of wood, or keelers full of water, still drawing the earth from it, vntill they leaue the Siluer and Quick-siluer well clensed. There slippes away also some small portion of Siluer and Quick-siluer with the earth and drosse, which they call *washings*, the which they after wash againe and draw out the remainder. When the Siluer and Quick-siluer are clensed and begin to shine, and that there remaines no earth, they put all the Mettall into a cloth, which they straine out very forcibly, so as all the Quick-siluer passeth out, being not incorporate with the Siluer, and the rest remaines as a loafe of Siluer, like to a marke of Almonds pressed to draw oyle. And being thus pressed, the remainder containes but the sixt part in Siluer, and fiue in Mercurie. So as if there remaines a marke of threescore pounds, ten are of Siluer, and fiftie of Mercurie. Of these markes they make pinnes (as they call them) like pine apples, or sugar loaues, hollow within, the which they commonly make of a hundred pound weight; then to separate the Siluer from the Quick-siluer, they put it into a violent fire, which they couer with an earthen vessell, like to the mold of a Sugar-loafe, or vnto a capuchon or hood, the which they couer with coales, and set fire vnto it; whereby the Quick-siluer exhals in smoake, the which striking against the capuchon of earth,

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earth, it thickens and diſtils, like vnto the ſmoake of a pot couered; and by a pipe like vnto a limbecke, they receiue the Quick-ſiluer which diſtils, the Siluer remaining without changing the forme, but in weight it is diminiſhed fiue parts of that it was, and is ſpungious, the which is worthy the obſeruation. Of two of theſe loaues they make one barre of Siluer, in weight ſixtie fiue or ſixtie ſix markes: and in this ſort they carrie it to the touch, cuſtome, and marke. Siluer drawne with Mercurie, is ſo fine, that it neuer abates of two thouſand three hundred and foure-ſcore of alloy, and it is ſo excellent, that the worke-men are enforced to alay it, putting ſome mixture to it, as they doe likewiſe in their Mints, whereas their monie is ſtampt. Siluer indures all theſe martyrdomes (if we may ſo call it) to be refined, the which if we conſider well, it is a body framed where they grinde, ſift, kneade, lay the leuen, and bake the Siluer: beſides all this, they waſh it and waſh it againe; they bake it and bake it againe, induring the peſtels, ſiues, troughes, furnaces, caldrons, preſſes: and finally, by the water and fire. I ſpeake this, for that ſeeing this art in *Potozi*, I did conſider what the Scripture ſpeakes of the iuſt, *Colabit eos & purgabit quaſi argentum:* And that which they ſpeake in another part. *Sicut argentum purgatum terra, purgatum ſeptuplum.* So as to purifie Siluer, to refine and cleanſe it from the earth and ſtone where it engenders, they purge and purifie it ſeuen times: for in effect it paſſeth their hands ſeuen times, yea oftner, vntill it remaines pure and fine; ſo is it in the word of God, where the ſoules muſt be purified, that ſhall inioy the heauenly perfection.

Fine Siluer for worke muſt be alloyed.

Mat. 3. Eccleſ. 2. Pſal. 11.

To conclude this ſubiect of Siluer and of Mettals, there remaines yet two things to ſpeake of, the one is of their Engins and Mils, the other of their eſſay or triall: I haue ſaid before, how they grinde their Mettall: for the receiuing of the Quick-ſiluer, which is done with diuers inſtruments and Engins, ſome with Horſes like vnto hand-mils, others like Water-mils; of which two ſorts there are great numbers. But for that the water they doe vſe commonly, is but of raine, whereof they haue not ſufficient but three months in the yeare, December, Ianuary, and February: for this reaſon they haue made Lakes and ſtanding Pooles, which containe in circuite about a thouſand and ſix hundred rods, and in depth three ſtades; there are ſeuen with their ſluces: ſo as when they haue neede of any water, they raiſe vp a ſluce, from whence runnes a little ſtreame of water, the which they ſtop vpon holy-dayes. And when the Lakes and Pooles doe fill, and that the yeare abounds with raine, their grinding doth then continue ſix or ſeuen moneths; ſo as euen for Siluer ſake men deſire a good yeare of raine in *Potozi*, as they doe in other places for bread. There are ſome other Engins in *Tarapaya*, which is a valley three or foure leagues diſtant from *Potozi*, whereas there runnes a Riuer as in other parts. The difference of theſe Engins is, that ſome goe with ſix peſtels, ſome with twelue, and others with foureteene. They grinde and beate the Mettall in Morters, labouring day and night; and from thence they carry it to be ſifted, vpon the bankes of the brooke of *Potozi*. There are fortie eight Water-mils, of eight, ten, and twelue peſtels, and foure on the other ſide, which they call *Tanacognugno*; in the Citie of *Tarapaya*, there are two and twentie Engins all vpon the water; beſides there are thirtie goe with Horſes in *Potozi*, and many others in diuers parts, ſo great the deſire of man is to get Siluer, which is tried by deputies appointed by the King.

Of their Engius to grinde the Mettail, and of their triall of Siluer. *Chap. 13.*

To giue the alloy to euerie piece, they carrie the bars of Siluer vnto the Aſſay Maſter, who giue to euery one his number, for that they carrie many at once, hee cuts a ſmall peece of euerie one, the which he weighs iuſtly, and puts them into a *Cruſet*, which is a ſmall veſſell made of burnt bones beaten; after he placeth euery cruſible in his order in the furnace, giuing them a violent fire, then the Mettall melteth, and that which is lead, goes into ſmoake, and the copper and tinne diſſolues, the Siluer remaining moſt fine, of the colour of fire. It is a ſtrange thing, that being thus refined, although it be liquid and molten, yet it neuer ſpils, were the mouth of the cruſible turned downewards; but it remaineth fixed, without the loſſe of a droppe. The Aſſay Maſter knoweth by the colour and other ſignes, when it is refined, then doth he draw the cruſibles from the fire, and weighes euery peece curiouſly, obſeruing what euery one wants of his weight; for that which is of high alloy, waſtes but little, and that which is baſer, diminiſheth much; and according to the waſte, he ſees what alloy he beares, according to the which he markes euery bar punctually. Their ballance and weights are ſo delicate, and their graines ſo ſmall, as they cannot take them vp with the hand, but with a ſmall paire of pincers: and this triall they make by candle-light, that no ayre might mooue the ballance. For of this little the price of the whole barre dependeth. In trueth it is a very delicate thing, and requires a great dexteritie.

Cap. V.

Of Emeralds, Pearles, Indian Bread, Trees, Fruites, Flowers naturall, and carried thither from Spaine.

Pli lib. 37. ca. 3.

IT ſhall not be from the purpoſe, to ſpeake ſomething of Emeralds, both for that it is a precious thing, as Gold and Siluer, as alſo that they take their beginning from Mines and Mettals, as *Plinie* reports. The Emerald hath bin in old time in great eſteeme, as the ſame Author writes, giuing it the third place amongſt all Iewels and precious ſtones, that is, next to the Diamond and Pearle. At this day they doe not ſo much eſteeme the Emerald, nor the Pearle, for the great abundance brought of theſe two ſorts from the *Indies*; onely the Diamond holds the principalitie, the which cannot be taken from it. Next, the Rubies come in price and other Stones, which they hold more precious then the Emerald. Men are ſo deſirous of ſingularities and rare things, that what they ſee to be common, they doe not eſteeme. They report of a *Spaniard*, who being in *Italie* when the *Indies* were firſt diſcouered, ſhewed an

A pretty ſtorie

Emerald to a Lapidary, who asking him the value thereof, after he had well viewed it, being of an excellent luſtre and forme, he prized it at a hundred Duckets: he then ſhewed him another greater then it, which he valued at three hundred Duckats. The *Spaniard* drunke with this diſcourſe, carried him to his lodging, ſhewing him a Casket full. The *Italian* ſeeing ſo great a number of Emeralds, ſaid vnto him, Sir, theſe are well worth a crowne a peece. The Kings of *Mexico* did much eſteeme them; ſome did vſe to pierce their noſtrils, and hang therein an excellent Emerald: they hung them on the viſages of their Idols. The greateſt ſtore is found in the new Kingdome of *Grenado*, and *Peru*, neere vnto *Manta* and *Port Vieil*. There is towards that place

How Emeralds grow.

a ſoile which they call, *the Land of Emeralds*, for the knowledge that they haue of abundance to be there: and yet vnto this day they haue not conquered that Land. The Emeralds grow in ſtones like vnto Chriſtall; I haue ſeene them in the ſame ſtone, faſhioned like a veine, and they ſeeme by little and little to thicken and refine. I haue ſeene ſome that were halfe white, and halfe greene; others all white, and ſome greene and very perfit. I haue ſeene ſome of the bigneſſe of a Nut, and there haue bin ſome greater found: but I haue not knowne that in our time they haue found any of the forme and bigneſſe of the plat or Iewell they haue at *Genes*, the which they eſteeme (and with reaſon) to be a Iewell of great price, and no relique; yet without compariſon, the Emerald which *Theophraſtus* ſpeakes of, which the King of *Babylon* preſented to the King of *Ægypt*, ſurpaſſeth that of *Genes*; it was foure cubits long, and three broad, and they ſay, that in *Iupiters* Temple, there was a needle or pyramide, made of foure Emeralds ſtones of fortie cubits long, and in ſome places foure broad, and in others two: and that in his time there was in *Tirus* in *Hercules* Temple, a Pillar of an Emerald. It may be (as *Plinie* ſaieth) it was of ſome greene ſtone, ſomewhat like the Emerald, and they called it a falſe Emerald.

Admirable Emerald.

Church of *Corduba*.

As ſome will ſay, that in the Cathedrall Church of *Cordoua* there are certaine Pillars of Emeralds which remaine ſince it was a Meſquite for the Kings *Miramamolins Moores*, which reigned there. In the fleete, the yeare one thouſand fiue hundred eightie and ſeuen, in the which I came from the *Indies*, they brought two cheſts of Emeralds, euery one weighing at the leaſt foure *Arabes*, whereby we may ſee the abundance they haue.

Of Pearles. *Chap. 15.*

Now that we intreate of the great riches that comes from the *Indies*, it were no reaſon to forget the Pearle, which the Ancients called *Margueritès*, and at the firſt were in ſo great eſtimation, as none but royall perſons were ſuffered to weare them: but at this day there is ſuch abundance as the *Negres* themſelues doe weare chaines thereof; they grow in ſhels or Oyſters, in eating whereof I haue found Pearles in the middeſt of them. Theſe Oyſters within are of the colour of heauen, very liuely. In ſome places they make Spoones, the which they call *Mother of Pearle*. The Pearles doe differ much in forme, in bigneſſe, figure, colour and poliſhing; ſo likewiſe in their price they differ much. Some they call *Aue Mariaes*, being like the ſmall grains of beades: others are *Pater noſters*, being bigger. Seldome ſhall you finde two of one greatneſſe,

Plin. lib. 3. ca. 35.

forme, and colour. For this reaſon the *Romans* (as *Plinie* writeth) called them *Unions*. When as they doe finde two that are alike in all points, they raiſe the price much, eſpecially for eare-rings. I haue ſeene ſome paires valued at thouſands of Ducats, although they were not like to *Cleopatraes* two Pearles, whereof *Plinie* reports, either of them being worth a hundred thouſand Ducates, with the which this fooliſh Queene wonne a wager ſhe had made againſt *Marc Antony*, to ſpend in one Supper aboue an hundred thouſand Ducates, ſo at the laſt courſe ſhee diſſolued one of theſe Pearles in ſtrong Vinegar, and dranke it vp. They ſay the other Pearle was cut in two, and placed in the *Pantheon* at *Rome*, at th'eares of the Image of *Venus*.

Cleopatraes vanity.

They fiſh for Pearles in diuers parts of the *Indies*, the greateſt abundance is in the South Seas,

Pearle fiſhings.

neere vnto *Panama*, where the *Ilands of Pearles* be, as they call them. But at this day they finde greateſt ſtore, and the beſt, in the North Seas, the which is neere to the Riuer of *Hache*. I

did

did see them make their fishing, the which is done with great charge and labour of the poore slaues, which diue six, nine, yea twelue fadomes into the Sea, to seeke for Oysters, the which commonly are fastened to the rockes and grauell in the Sea: they pull them vp, and bring them aboue the water to their canoes, where they open them, drawing forth the treasure they haue within them. The water of the Sea in this part is very cold, but yet the labour and toile is greatest in holding of their breath, sometimes a quarter, yea halfe an houre together, being vnder the water at their fishing. And to the end these poore slaues may the better continue and hold their breaths, they feede them with drie meates, and that in small quantitie, so as couetousnesse makes them abstaine and fast thus against their wils. They imploy their Pearles to diuers works, and they pierce them to make chaines whereof there is great store in euery place. In the yeare of our Lord 1581. I did see the note of what came from the *Indies* for the King: there were eighteene Maces of Pearle, besides three caskets, and for particulars, there were twelue hundred threescore and foure Marks, and besides them, seuen caskets not pierced, which heretofore we would haue esteemed and held for a lye.

Manner thereof.

Long winded slaues.

They haue (as we haue here) a proper name, whereby they note and signifie bread, which at *Peru*, they call *Tanta*, and in other places by another name. But the qualitie and substance of the bread the *Indians* vse, differs much from ours; for we finde not they had any kinde of Wheat or Barley, nor any other kinde of graine which they vse in *Europe* to make Bread withall: instead whereof they vsed other kindes of graines and rootes, amongst the which *Mays* holds the first place, and with reason, in *Castile* they call it *Indian Wheat*, and in *Italie*, they call it *Turkey graine*. And euen as Wheate is the most common graine for the vse of man, in the regions of the old world, which are *Europe*, *Asia*, and *Affrica*: So in the new found world, the most common graine is *Mays*, the which is found almost in all the Kingdomes of the West *Indies*, as at *Peru*, new *Spaine*, in the new Kingdome of *Granado*, in *Gautimalla*, in *Chille*, and vpon the maine Land. I doe not finde that in old time, in the Ilands of *Barlouente*, as *Cuba*, Saint *Dominique*, *Iamaique*, and Saint *Iean*, that they vsed Mays: at this day they vse much *Yuca* and *Caçani*, whereof we will presently intreate. I doe not thinke that this *Mays* is any thing inferiour to our Wheate, in strength nor substance, but it is more hot and grosse, and engenders more bloud, whereupon they that haue not beene accustomed thereunto, if they eate too much, they swell and become scabbed. It growes vpon Canes or Reedes; euerie one beares one or two branches, to the which the graine is fastened, and although the graine be bigge, yet finde they great store thereof, so as in some clusters I haue told seuen hundred graines. They must plant it with the hand one by one, and not verie thicke; it desires a hot and a moist ground, and growes in great abundance in many places of the *Indies*. It is not strange in those Countries to gather three hundred *Fanegues*, or measures for one sowen. There is difference of *Mays* as there is of Wheate, one is great and very nourishing, another small and drie, which they call *Morocho*; the greene leaues and canes of *Mays*, is a good foode for their Mules and Horses, and it serues them for straw when it is dried; the graine is of more nourishment for Horses then Barley; and therefore in those Countries, they vse to water their Horses before they eate, for if they should drinke after, they would swell as when they eate Wheate. *Mays* is the *Indians* bread, the which they commonly eate boiled in the graine hot, and they call it *Mote*, as the *Chinois* and *Iaponois* eate their Rice soddden with the hot water: sometimes they eate it baked. There is some *Mays* round and bigge, as that of *Lucanas*, which the *Spaniards* eate rosted as a delicate meat, and hath a better taste then *Buarbenses*, or rosted peason. There is another kinde of eating it more pleasant, which is, to grinde the *Mays*, and to make small cakes of the flower, the which they put in the fire, and then bring them hot to the Table. In some places they call them *Arepas*. They make also round bowles of this paste, and so trimme them that they continue long, eating it as a daintie dish.

Of the *Indian* Bread, and of *Mays*, *Chap.* 16.

We call it also *Virginia* wheat.

How it groweth

I haue had it ripen reasonably in my Garden in *Essex*.

They haue inuented at the *Indies* (for friandise and pleasure) a certaine kinde of paste, they doe make of this flower mixt with Sugar, which they call Biscuits and mellinders. This *Mays* serues the *Indians*, not onely for bread, but also for wine: for they doe make their drinke thereof, wherewith they are sooner drunke then with wine of Grapes. They make this wine of *Mays* in diuers sorts and manners, calling it in *Peru*, *Acua*, and by the most common name of the *Indies*, *Chicha*. And the strongest is made like vnto Beere, steeping the graine vntill it breake. After they boile it in such sort, that it growes so strong, as a little ouerthrowes a man. In *Peru* they call this *Sora*, it is defended by the Law, for the great inconueniences that grow thereby, making men drunke. But this Law is ill obserued, for that they vse it still; yea they spend whole daies and nights in drinking carowses.

Malt & strong drinke made of it.

There is another manner of making this *Acha* or *Chicha*, which is to champe the *Mays*, and make a leuen thereof, and then boile it: yea the *Indians* hold opinion, that to make good leuen, it must be champed by old withered women, which makes a man sicke to heare, and yet they doe drinke it. The cleanliest manner, the most wholesome, and that which least harmeth, is to roast the *Mays*, which the most of all *Indians* doe vse, and some *Spaniards*, yea for physicke: For in effect they finde it a very wholesome drinke for the reines, so as you shall hardly finde any one at the *Indies* complaine of paine in the backe, for that they doe drinke of this *Chicha*.

Chica good against the Stone.

The

The *Spaniards* and *Indians* eate this *Mays* boyled and roasted for daintinesse, when it is tender in the grape like milke, they put it into the pot, and make sauces that are good to eate. The buds of *Mays* are very fat, and serue instead of Butter and oyle: so as this *Mays* at the *Indies* serues both for men and beasts, for bread, wine, and oyle.

Of *Yucas, Caçaui, Papas, Chunes and Kis. Chap. 17.*

In some parts of the *Indies* they vse a kinde of Bread they call *Caçaui*, which is made of a certaine roote they call *Yuca*. This *Yuca* is a great and grosse roote, which they cut in small morsels, they grate or scrape it, and then put it in a presse to straine, making a thinne and broad cake thereof, almost like vnto a *Moores* Target or Buckler; then doe they drie it: and this is the Bread they eate. It hath no taste, but is healthfull and of good nourishment. For this reason we said, being at Saint *Dominicke*, that it was the proper foode for great eaters, for that they might eate much, without any feare of surfetting. They must of necessitie water this *Caçaui* before they eate it; it is sharpe, and easely watered with water or broath, wherein it is very good, for that it swels much, and so they make *Capirotades*, but it is hardly steeped in Milke, Hony of Canes, or in Wine, for that these liquors cannot pierce it, as it doth Bread made of Wheate. Of this *Caçaui* there is one kinde more delicate then any other, which is that they make of the flower called *Xauxau*, which they doe much esteeme in those parts. For my part, I esteeme more a morsell of Bread, how hard and blacke soeuer. It is a strange thing that the iuyce or water that commeth from this roote when they straine it, which makes the *Caçaui*, is a deadly poison, and kils any that drinkes thereof: but the substance that remaineth, is a very wholesome Bread and nourishment, as we haue said.

Iuice of *Caçaui* poison.

There is another kinde of *Yuca*, which they call *Sweet*, and hath not this poison in the iuyce: this is eaten in the roote boiled or roasted, and is good meate. *Caçaui* will keepe long, and therefore they carrie it to Sea instead of Biscuit. The place where they vse most of this Bread, is at the Ilands of *Barlouente*, which are Saint *Dominicke*, *Cuba*, *Port Ricco*, *Iamaique*, and some others thereabouts; for that the soile of these Ilands will neither beare Wheate, nor *Mays*: for when as they sowe Wheate, it comes vp well, and is presently greene, but so vnequally, as they cannot gather it; for of the seede sowen, at one instant some is spindled, some is in the eare, and some doth but bud, one is great and another little, one is in the grasse and another in the graine: and although they haue carried labourers thither, to see if there were any tillage or Art to be vsed, yet could they finde no remedy for the qualitie of the earth. They carry Meale from new *Spaine* or the *Canaries*, which is so moist, that hardly can they make any profitable Bread, or of good taste. The Wafer-cakes wherewith they say Masse, did bend like to wet paper, by reason of the extreame humiditie and heate which are ioyntly in that Countrie. There is another extreame contrarie to this, which hinders the growing of *Mays* or Wheate in some parts of the *Indies*, as on the height of the *Sierre* of *Peru*; and the Prouinces which they call of *Colao*, which is the greatest part of this Realme, where the climate is so cold and dry, as it will not suffer any of these seedes to grow: instead thereof the *Indians* vse another kinde of roote, which they call *Papas*: these rootes are like to ground Nuts, they are small rootes, which cast out many leaues. They gather this *Papas*, and dry it well in the Sunne, then beating it, they make that which they call *Chuno*, which keepes many daies, and serues for bread. In this Realme there is great trafficke of *Chuno*, the which they carry to the Mines of *Potozi*: they likewise eate of these *Papas* boiled or roasted: there is one sweete of these kindes, which growes in hot places, whereof they doe make certaine sawces and minced meate, which they call *Locro*. To conclude, these rootes are the bread of that Land; so as when the yeare is good, they reioyce much, for that oftentimes they freeze in the earth, so great is the cold of that Region: they carrie *Mays* from the Valley or Sea-coast, and the *Spaniards* which are daintie, carrie likewise from the same places Wheate-meale, whereof they doe make good Bread, because that the Land is drie.

Wheat, why it groweth not in those parts.

Papas and *Chuno*.

Of diuers roots which grow at the *Indies*, *Chap. 18.*

Besides *Papas*, which is the principall, there is *Ocas*, *Yanoconas*, *Camotes*, *Vatas*, *Xiquimas*, *Yuca*, *Cochucha*, *Cani*, *Totora*, *Mani*, and an infinite nnmber of other kindes, as the *Patattes*, which they eate as a delicate and toothsome meate. They haue likewise carried fruites to the *Indies* from these parts, the which prosper better there, then the *Indian* Plants doe, brought into *Europe*. There are other rootes that serue them for dainties, as the *Cochucho*: it is a small sweete roote, which some prouide for more delight. There are other rootes fit to coole, as the *Piquinia*, which is the qualitie very cold and moist, and in Summer it refresheth and quencheth the thirst: but the *Papas* and *Ocas*, be the chiefe for nourishment and substance. The *Indians* esteeme Garlike aboue all the rootes of *Europe*, and hold it for a fruite of great force.

Of diuers sorts of green hearbs and Pulses, and of those they call Concombres, Pines, or Pine Apples, small fruits of *Chili*, and of Prunes, *Chap. 19*

Seeing we haue begunne with the lesser Plants, I might in few words, touch that which concernes Flowers and Pot-herbes, and that which the Latines call *Arbusta*, without any mention of Trees. There are some kindes of these shrubbes at the *Indies*, which are of verie good taste. The first *Spaniards* named many things at the *Indies* with such *Spanish* names, as they did most resemble, as *Pines*, *Concombres*, and *Prunes*, although they be very different fruites to those which are so called in *Spaine*. The Pines, or Pine-apples, are of the same fashion and forme outwardly to those of *Castile*, but within they wholly differ, for that they haue neither Apples,

nor scales, but are all one flesh, which may be eaten when the skin is off. It is a fruite that hath an excellent smell, and is very pleasant and delightfull in taste, it is full of iuyce, and of a sweete and sharpe taste, they eate it being cut in morsels, and steeped a while in water and salt. They grow one by one like a cane or stalke, which riseth amongst many leaues, like to the Lillie, but somewhat bigger. The Apple is on the top of euerie cane, it growes in hot and moist grounds, and the best are those of the Ilands of *Barlouente*. I haue seene in new *Spaine*, conserues of these Pines, which was very good. Those which they call *Concombres*, are no trees, but shrubbes, continuing but one yeare. They giue it this name, for that some of this fruite, and the most part, is in length, and roundnesse like to the *Concombres* of *Spaine*: but for the rest they differ much, for they are not greene, but violet, yellow, or white, neither are they thornie or rough, but polished and euen, hauing a verie different taste, and farre better then that of *Spaine*, for they haue a sharpe sweete taste, very pleasant when it is ripe, yet is it not so sharpe as the Pine. They are very coole, full of liquor and of easie digestion, and in time of heate fit to refresh. They take away the rinde which is white, and all that remaines is meate. They grow in a temperate soile, and require watering. And although for the resemblance they call them *Concombres*, yet are there many of them round, and others of a different fashion: so as they haue not the figure of *Concombres*. I doe not remember to haue seene this kinde of fruite in new *Spaine*, nor at the Ilands, but vpon the *Lanos* of *Peru*. That which they call the little fruite of *Chille*, is of the same sort, verie pleasant to eate, and comes neere the taste of Cherries, but in all other things it differs much; for that it is no tree, but an hearbe, which growes little and spreads vpon the earth, casting forth this little fruite, the which in colour and graines, resembles almost the Mulberie, when it is white and not ripe, yet is it more rough and bigger then the Mulberie. They say this little fruite is naturally found in the fields of *Chille*, where I haue seene of them. They set it vpon Plants and branches, and it growes like any other shrub. Those which they call *Prunes*, are verily the fruits of trees, and haue more resemblance then the rest to our Plumbs. But to returne to Pot-hearbs, I finde not that the *Indians* had any Gardens of diuers Hearbes and Plants, but did onely till the Land in some parts for pulses, which they vse, as those which they call *Frisolles* and *Palares*, which serue them as our Lentils, Beanes, or Tares: neither haue I knowne that these Pulses, or any other kindes that be in *Europe*, were there before the *Spaniards* entred, who carried Plants and Pulses from *Spaine* thither, where they now grow and increase wonderfully, and in some places exceede greatly the fertilitie of these parts. As if we speak of Mellons which grow in the Vallie of *Yuca*, in *Peru*, whose roote becomes a stalk that continues many yeares carrying Mellons yeerely, and they trimme it like vnto a tree; a thing which I doe not know to be in any part of *Spaine*. But that is more monstrous of the *Calibasses* or *Indian* Pompions, and the greatnesse they haue as they grow, especially those which are proper to the Countrie, which they call *Capallos*, the which they eate most commonly in Lent, boiled and trimmed with some other sawce. There are a thousand kindes of *Calibasses*, some are so deformed in their bignesse, that of the rinde cut in the middest and cleansed, they make as it were baskets to put in all their meate for their dinner. Of the lesser they make Vessels to eate and drinke in, and doe trimme them handsomely for manie vses.

Pines.

Pulses, Melons and Pompons carried out of *Europe* and thriuing better there.

These *Calibasses* seemeth *Guinny Gourds* carried from the *African* coast thither.

They haue not found at the West *Indies* anie kinde of Spices, proper or peculiar to them, as Pepper, Cloues, Cinamon, Nutmegs or Ginger, although one of our companie, who had trauelled much, and in diuers parts, told vs, that in the Desarts of the Iland of *Iamaique* he had found trees where Pepper grew. But they are not yet assured thereof, neither is there anie trade of these spices at the *Indies*. The Ginger was carried from the *Indies* to *Hispaniola*, and it hath multiplied so, as at this day they know not what to doe with the great abundance they haue. In the fleete the, yeare 1587. they brought 22053. quintals of Ginger to *Seuille*: but the naturall spice that God hath giuen to the West *Indies*, is that we in *Castill* call *Indian Pepper*, and at the *Indies*, *Axi*, as a generall word taken from the first Land of the Ilands, which they conquered. In the language of *Cusco*, it is called *Vchu*, and in that of *Mexico*, *Chili*. This plant in well knowne, and therefore I will speake a little, onely we must vnderstand, that in old time it was much esteemed amongst the *Indians*: that they carried into places where it grew not, as a Marchandise of consequence. It growes not vpon cold grounds, as on the *Sierre* of *Peru*, but in hot Vallies, where it is often watered. There is of this *Axi* of diuers colours, some is greene, some red, some yellow, and some of a burning colour, which they call *Caribe*, the which is extreamely sharpe and biting; there is another sort not so sharpe, but is so sweete, as they may eate it alone as any other fruite. There is some of it verie small and pleasing in the mouth, almost like to the smell of Muske, and is verie good. That which is sharpe and biting in this *Axi*, be the veines and the grain onely; the rest is not: for that they eate it greene & dry, whole and beaten, in the pot, and in sawces, being the chiefe sawce, & all the spice they haue at the *Indies*. When this *Axi* is taken moderately, it helps and comforts the stomack for digestion: but if they take too much, it hath bad effects, for of it selfe it is verie hot, fuming, & pierceth greatly, so as the vse thereof is preiudiciall to the health of yong folkes, chiefely to the soule, for that it prouokes to lust. They

Of *Axi* or *Indian* Pepper, *Chap.* 20.

Ginger.

vse Salt to temper this *Axi*, hauing great force to correct it, and so they moderate one with the other by the contrarietie that is in them. They vse also *Tomates*, which are cold and very wholesome. It is a kinde of graine great and full of iuyce, the which giues a good taste to sawce, and they are good to eate. They haue generally throughout the *Indies* of this *Indian* Pepper, at the Ilands, new *Spaine*, *Peru*, and all the rest that is discouered. And as Mays is the generall graine for Bread, so *Axi* is the most common spice for sawces.

Of the Plane tree. *Chap.* 21.

The thing wherein was most resemblance, in my opinion, betwixt the *Planes* at the *Indies*, and those which the Ancients did celebrate, is the greatnesse of the leaues, for that these haue them very great and coole. But in truth there is no more comparison nor resemblance of the one with the other, then there is (as the Prouerbe saith) betwixt an Egge and a Chesnut. For first, the ancient plane carries no fruite, at the least, they made no account thereof, but the chiefest reason why they esteemed it, was, for the shadow, for that there was no more Sunne vnder a Plane than vnder a roofe. And contrariwise, the reason why they should regard it at the *Indies*, yea make great accompt thereof, is by reason of this fruite, which is very good; for they haue little shade. Moreouer, the ancient Plane had the body so bigge, and the boughs so spread, that *Plinie* reporteth of one *Licinius* a *Romane* Captaine, who with eighteene of his companions dined at ease in th'hollow of one of these Planes: and of the Emperour *Caius Caligula*, who with eleuen of his ghests feasted vpon the top of another Plane, where he made them a sumptuous banquet. The *Indian* Planes haue neither so great nor hollow bodies, not so broad boughs.

Plin. lib. 2. cap. 1.

Pli. lib. 11. ca. 16.

The leaues of the *Indian* Plane, are of a wonderfull bignesse, and are, in a manner, sufficient to couer a man from the foote to the head. It is a Plant that makes a stocke within the earth, out of the which springs many and sundry sienes and sprigges, diuided, and not ioyned together. These sprigges grow bigge, euery one making a small tree apart, and in growing they cast forth these leaues, which are of a fine, greene, smooth, and great as I haue said. When it is growne to the height of a stade and a halfe, or two, it puts forth one onely bough of fruite, whereon sometimes there are great numbers of this fruite, and sometimes lesse. I haue told vpon some of these boughs three hundred, whereof euery one was a spanne long more or lesse, and two or three fingers bigge; yet is there much difference herein, betwixt some and others, they take away the rinde, and all the rest is a firme kernell and tender, good to eate, and nourishing. This fruite inclines more to cold then heate. They are accustomed to gather the boughes or clusters, as I haue said, being greene, and put them into vessels, where they ripen, being well couered, especially when there is a certaine hearbe mingled with it, which serues for this effect. If they suffer them to ripen on the tree, they haue a better taste, and a very good smell, like to *Camoisses* or sweete Apples. They last almost all the yeare, for that there are alwaies yong ones that grow out of this stocke; so as when one ends, another beginnes to yeelde his fruite, the one is halfe ripe, and the other begins to bud anew, so as one succeedes another, and the fruite continues the whole yeare. In gathering the cluster, they cut the sprigge or stalke, for that it beares but one, and neuer but once: but as I haue said, the stalke remaines, and casts forth new sienes or stalkes, vntill it growes old and dies. This Plane continues many yeares, and requires much moisture, and a very hot ground. They put ashes at the foote of it, for the better entertaining thereof, and they make small groues and very thicke: the leafe is as broad as a sheete of Paper, or little lesse, and foure times as long.

Of *Cacao* and *Coca*. *Chap.* 22.

Althongh the Plane be the most profitable, yet that *Cacao* is most esteemed at *Mexico*, and the *Coca* in *Peru*, in which two trees they haue great superstition. The *Cacao* is a fruite little lesse then Almonds, yet more fat, the which being roasted hath no ill taste. It is so much esteemed amongst the *Indians* (yea and among the *Spaniards*) that it is one of the richest and the greatest traffickes of new *Spaine*: for being a drie fruite, and that keepes long without corruption, they carrie whole Ships loaden from the Prouince of *Guatimalla*. The last yeare an *English* Pirat did burne in the Port of *Guatulco* in new *Spaine*, aboue a hundred thousand charges of *Cacao*. They vse it instead of money, for with fiue *Cacaos* they buy one thing, with thirtie another, and with a hundred another, without any contradiction; and they vse to giue it to the poore that beg for almes. The chiefe vse of this *Cacao*, is in a drinke which they call *Chocholate*, whereof they make great accompt in that Country, foolishly, and without reason; for it is loathsome to such as are not acquainted with it, hauing a skum or froth that is very vnpleasant to taste, if they be not very well conceited thereof. Yet it is a drinke very much esteemed among the *Indians*, wherewith they feast Noble men as they passe through their Countrie. The tree whereon this fruite growes, is of reasonable bignesse, and well fashioned, it is so tender, that to keepe it from the burning of the Sunne, they plant neere vnto it, a great tree, which serues onely to shadow it, and they call it *the mother of Cacao*. There are places where they are like to the Vines and Oliue trees of *Spaine*. The Prouince where there is greatest abundance for the trafficke of Marchandise, is *Guatimalla*. There growes none in *Peru*, but *Coca*, wherein they hold another great superstition, which seemes to be fabulous. It is a kinde of Marchandise, by the which all their Markets and Faires are made with great expedition. This *Coca* whereof they make such account, is a small greene leafe, which groweth vpon small trees about a fadome high, and in hot and moist grounds

Cacao money.

Coca.

euery

euery foure moneths it casts forth this leafe, which they call *Trefuitas* or *Tremey*; it requires great care in planting, being very tender, and much more to keepe it, when it is gathered. They lay it in ordes in long and narrow baskets, and so lade their sheepe of the Country, which goe in troopes, with one, two, or three thousand baskets of this marchandise.

They bring it commonly from the *Andes* and vallies, where there is an extreame heate; and where it raines continually the most part of the yeare: wherein the *Indians* endure much labour and paine to entertaine it, and often many die; for that they goe from the *Sierra* and cold places to till and gather them in the *Andes*. Their vse is to carry it in their mouthes, chawing it, and sucking out the iuice, but they swallow it not. They say it giues them great courage, and is very pleasing vnto them. They willingly imploy their money therein, and vse it as money.

Of Maguey, Tunal, Cochenille, Anir, and Cotton. Chap. 23.

Maguey is a tree of wonders, whereof the Notaries or Chapetons (as the *Indians* call them) are wont to write miracles, in that it yeeldeth Water, Wine, Oyle, Vinegar, Honie, Sirrope, Thred, Needles, and a thousand other things. It is a tree which the *Indians* esteeme much in new *Spaine*, and haue commonly in their dwellings some one of them for the maintenance of life; it growes in the fields, and hath great and large leaues, at the end whereof is a strong and sharpe point, which serues to fasten little pins, or to sew as a needle: and they draw out of this leafe as it were a kinde of thred which they vse. They cut the body which is bigge, when it is tender, wherein is a great hollownesse, by which the substance mounts from the roote, and is a liquor which they drinke like water, being sweete and fresh. This liquor being sodden, turnes like Wine, which growes to Vinegar, suffring it to soure, and boiling it more, it becomes as honie, and boiling it halfe, it serues as sirrope: which is healthfull enough, and of good taste; in my iudgement it is better then the sirrope of Raisons. Thus do they boile this liquor, and vse it in diuers sorts, whereof they draw a good quantitie, for that in some season they draw daily some pots of this liquor. There are also of these trees in *Peru*, but they are not so profitable as in new *Spaine*. The wood of this tree is hollow and soft, and serues to keepe fire, like to the match of a harquebuze, and preserues it long: I haue seene the *Indians* vse it to that end.

Maguey.

Manifold commodities of the Maguey.

The *Tunall* is another famous tree in new *Spaine*: if wee may call a tree a heape of leaues gathered together one vpon another, it is the strangest fashiond tree of all other: for first there growes one leafe out of the ground, then another vpon it, and so one vpon one, till it commeth to his perfection; but as the leaues grow vp, and on the sides, those vnderneath doe become great, and loose in a manner the forme of leaues, making a body and branches, which are sharpe, pricking, and deformed, so as in some places they doe call it a *Thistle*. There are Thistles or wilde *Tunalls*, the which doe carrie no fruite, or else it is very pricking without any profit. There are likewise planted *Tunalls* which yeelde fruite much esteemed amongst the *Indians*, the which they call *Tunas*, and they are much greater then Plumbes, and long. They open the shell which is fat, and within it is meate and small graines, like to those of figges, which be very sweete; they haue a good taste, especially the white, which haue a pleasing smell, but the red are not vsually so good. There is another sort of *Tunalls*, which they esteeme much more, although it yeeldes no fruit, yet it beares another commoditie and profit, which is of the graine, for that certaine small wormes breede in the leaues of this tree, when it is well husbanded, and are thereunto fastned, couered with a certaine small fine web, which doth compasse them in daintily; and this is that *Indian Cochenille*, so famous, and wherewith they die in graine. They let it drie, and being dried, carrie it into *Spaine*, which is a great and rich marchandise. The arobe of this *Cochenille* or graine is worth many ducats. In the fleete, the yeare 1587. they did bring fiue thousand six hundred seuentie seuen arobes, which amounted to two hundred fourescore three thousand seuen hundred and fiftie peeces, and commonly there comes euery yeare as great a wealth.

Tunall tree.

These *Tunalls* grow in temperate grounds inclining to cold. In *Peru* there growes none to this day. I haue seene some Plants in *Spaine*, but they deserue not estimation. I will speake something likewise of the *Anir*, although it comes not from a tree, but from an hearbe, for that it serueth for the dying of cloth, and is a marchandise which agrees with the graine; it groweth in great abundance in new *Spaine*, from whence there came in the fleete I mentioned 5263. arobes, or there abouts, which amounted to so many peeces. *Cotten* likewise growes vpon small shrubs, and great trees like to little apples, which doe open and yeelde forth this webbe, which being gathered, they spinne to make stuffes: and the yeare that I spake of, there came 64000. arobes.

I thinke hee meaneth Anil or Indico: of which see To. 1. l. 4. in Fitches Ioiirnall.

Cotten.

These Plants we haue spoken of, are the most profitable of the *Indies*, and the most necessarie for the life of man: yet there are many other that are good to eate, among the which the *Mameys* are esteemed, being in fashion like to great Peaches, and bigger, they haue one or two stones within them, and their meate is somewhat hard. There are some sweete, and others somewhat sowre, and haue the rinde hard. They make conserues of the meate of this fruite, which is like to Marmelade. The vse of this fruite is reasonable good, but the conserues they make thereof, are better. They grow in Ilands. I haue not seene any in *Peru*. It is a great tree, well fashioned, and a reasonable faire leafe. The *Guauanes* be other trees which commonly

Of Mameys, Guauanos, and Palto. Chap. 24.

carrie an ill fruite, full of sowre kernels, and are like to little Apples. It is a tree little esteemed vpon the firme Land and at the Ilands, for they say it smels like to the *Punaises*. The taste and sauour of this fruite is very grosse, and the substance vnholesome. In Saint *Domingue* and other Ilands, there are whole Mountaines full of these *Guayanos*, and they say, there was no such kindes of trees before the *Spaniards* came there, but that they brought them they know not from whence. This tree hath multiplied infinitely, for that there is no Beast that will eate the kernels or the graine, so as being thus scattered on the earth, being hot and moist, it multiplies in this sort. In *Peru*, the *Guayanos* differs from others, for that the fruite is not red, but white, neither hath it any ill smell, but is of a very good taste; and of what sort of *Guayanos* soeuer it be, the fruite is as good as the best of *Spaine*, especially of those which they call *Guayanos de Mayo*, and of other little white *Guayuilles*. It is a fruite reasonably holesome, and agrees with the stomack, being of a strong digestion, and cold. The *Paltas* commonly are hote and delicate. The *Palto* is a great tree, and carries a faire leafe, which hath a fruit like to great Peares: within it hath a great stone, and all the rest is soft meate, so as when they are full ripe, they are as it were Butter, and haue a delicate taste. In *Peru* the *Paltas* are great, and haue a verie hard skale, which may be taken off whole. This fruite is most vsuall in *Mexico*, hauing a thinne skinne, which may be pilled like an Apple: they hold it for a very holesome meate, and as I haue said, it declines a little from heate. These *Mamayes*, *Guayanos*, and *Paltos*, be the *Indians* Peaches, Apples, and Peares; and yet would I rather choose them of *Europe*.

Chicopotes.

The Marmalad is that which they call *Capotes*, or *Chicaçapotes*, which haue a sweete taste, and neere vnto the colour of Marmalade. Some *Crollos* (for so they talled the *Spaniards* borne at the *Indies*) say that this fruite passeth all the fruites of *Spaine* in excellencie: yet am I not of that opinion. Those *Chicoçapotes* or *Capotes*, wherein there is little difference, grow in the hotest parts of new *Spaine*, neither haue I knowledge of any such fruite in the firme Land of *Peru*. As for the *Blanckemanger*, it is that *Annona* or *Guanauana*, which growes in the *firme Land*, which is fashioned like vnto a Peare, a little sharpe and opened, within it is white, tender and soft like Butter, sweete and of a pleasing taste: It is no white meate, though they call it *Blanckemanger*.

Of many sorts of fruit Trees, of *Cocos*, Almonds, of the *Andes*, and Almonds of *Chachapoyas*. *Cha* 26

There are some grosse Fruites, as those which they call *Lucumes* (of which fruite they speake in a Prouerbe, that it is a counterfet price.) The *Guanos*, *Pacayes*, *Hubos*, and the Nuts which they call *Imprisoned*: which fruites seeme to many, to be the same kinde of Nuts we haue in *Spaine*. I doe not thinke it good to passe away vnder silence the *Cocos* or *Indian Palmes*, by reason of a verie notable propertie it hath. I call them Palmes, not properly, or that it beares Dates, but that they are trees like to other Palmes. They are high and strong, and the higher they grow, the broader they stretch out their branches. These *Cocos* yeeld a fruite which they likewise call *Cocos*, whereof they commonly make vessels to drinke in, and some they say haue a vertue against poison, and to cure the paine in the side. The nutte and meate being dried, is good to eate, and comes neere in take to greene Chesnuts. When the *Coco* is tender vpon the tree, the substance within it, is as it were Milke, which they drinke for daintinesse, and to refresh them in time of heate. I haue seene of these trees in Saint *Iean de Port Rico*, and other parts of the *Indies*, and they report a wonderfull thing, that euery moneth or Moone, this tree casts forth a new branch of this *Cocos*; so as it yeeldes fruite twelue times in the yeare, as it is written in the *Apocalips*: and in truth this seemes like vnto it, for that all the branches are of different ages, some beginning, others being ripe, and some halfe ripe. These *Cocos* are commonly of the forme and bignesse of a small Melon. There is of another kinde, which they call *Coquilles*, the which is a better fruite, whereof there be some in *Chille*. They are somewhat lesse then Nuts, but more round. There is another kinde of *Cocos*, which haue not the kernell so oylie, but within they haue a great number of small fruits like Almonds, like vnto the graines of a Pomgranat.

Cocos.

Almonds.

These Almonds are thrice as bigge as those of *Castille*, and resemble them in taste, though they be more sharpe, and likewise moist and oylie. It is a good meate, they vse it also in feasting, for lacke of Almonds to make Marchpanes, and such other things. They call them *Almonds of the Andes*, for that these *Cocos* grow abundantly vpon the *Andes* of *Peru*; they are so strong and hard, as to open them, they must beate them with a great stone, when they fall from the tree. If they chance to hit any one on the head, he hath no more neede of any Surgeon. It is an incredible thing, that within the hollow of these *Cocos*, which are no bigger than the rest, or little more, there are such a multitude of these Almonds. But as touching Almonds and other fruits, all trees must yeelde to the Almonds of *Chachapoyas*, which I cannot otherwise call. It is the most pleasing, delicate and wholesome fruite of all that I haue seene at the *Indies*.

Of many and diuers flowers, and of some trees which yeelde onely a flower, & how the *Indians* doe vse them. *Ch.* 27.

The Indians are great louers of flowers, and in new *Spaine* more then in any other part of the world, and therefore they are accustomed to make many kindes of Nosegaies, which there they call *Suchilles*, with such prettie varietie and art, as nothing can be more pleasing. They haue a custome amongst them, that the chiefest man offer their *Suchillos* or nosegayes in honour to Noblemen, and to their ghests; and they presented vs with such abundance as wee passed through that Countrey, as wee knew not what to doe with them; and at this day they vse

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the principall flowers of *Castile*, to that end, for that they grow better there than here, as Gilliflowers, Roses, Iasmins, Violets, Orange flowers, and other sorts which they haue transported out of *Spaine*. The Rose tree groweth too fast in some places, so as they beare no Roses. It chanced one day that a Rose tree was burned, and the liens which sprowted out, presently bare abundance of Roses, and thereby they learned to prune them, and to cut off the superfluous branches, so as at this day they yeelde reasonable store of Roses. But besides these kindes of flowers, which haue beene transported from hence, there are many others, whose names I doe not know, whereof some are red, blew, yellow, violet and white, with a thousand different colours, which the *Indians* did vse to carry on their heads, as feathers for ornament. True it is, that may of these flowers are onely pleasing to the sight, hauing no good sauour, either they are grosse, or else they haue none at all; and yet there be some of an excellent sent. As those which grow vpon a tree tearmed by them *Floripondio* or *carry flower*, which beares no fruite, but onely these flowers, which are greater than the Lillie, and are like to little Bels, all white, which haue within them small threds, as we see in the Lillie: it leaues not all the yeare to beare these flowers, whose smell is wonderfull sweete and agreeable, especially in the coole of the morning. The Viceroy *Don Francisco de Toledo* sent of these trees vnto King *Phillip*, as a thing worthy to be planted in royall Gardens. In new *Spaine* the *Indians* esteeme much of a flower, which they call *Voloſuchil*, which signifieth *flower of the heart*, for that it beares the forme of a heart, and is not much lesse. The flower of *Granadille* is held for an admirable thing, and they say, it hath in it the markes of the Passion, and that therein they note the nailes, the piller, the whips, and crowne of thornes, and the wounds, wherein they are not altogether without reason, and yet to find out and obserue these things, it requires some pietie to cause beleefe: but it is very exquisite and faire to the eye, although it haue no smell, &c. Accidents produce most arts.

The balme which comes from the West *Indies*, is not of the same kinde of right Balme which they bring from *Alexandria* or *Caire*, and in old time was in *Iudea*, which *Iudea* (as *Plinie* writeth) did of all the world possesse this greatnesse, vntill the Emperour *Vespasian* brought it to *Rome* and into *Italie*. At the *Indies* I haue seene the Tree from whence they draw the Balme, which is as big as a Pomgranat tree, and something neere the fashion: and if my memorie failes me not, it hath nothing common with the Vine, although that *Strabo* writes, that the ancient tree of Balme, was of the bignesse of a Pomgranat tree. But in their accidents & operations, their liquors are alike, as likewise they be in their admirable smels, & in the cure and healing of wounds in colour and substance, seeing they report of other Balmes that there is some white, vermillion, greene and blacke, the which is likewise seene in that of the *Indies*. And as they drew forth the ancient in cutting and making incisions in the barke, to cause the liquor to distill out, so doe they with that at the *Indies*, although it distils in greater abundance. And as in the ancient there is one kinde which is pure, the which they call *Opobalſamum*, which be the verie teares that distill, so as there is another sort which is not so exquisite, the which they draw from the barke and leaues strained and boiled on the fire, the which they call *Xilobalſamum*. The like is also in the *Indian* Balmes; there is one pure that distils from the tree, and others that the *Indians* draw out by straining and boiling the leaues and wood. The Apostolike Sea hath giuen libertie to giue Creame of Balme at the *Indies*, and that they should vse it in Confirmation and other ceremonies which they vse. Of Balme. *Plin. lib. 12. c. 15. Chap. 28.* *Strab. lib. 16. Geograp.*

Next to Balme, Amber holds the second place: it is another liquor which is likewise sweet and medicinall, but more thicke, and turnes into a paste of a hot complexion, and a good perfume. This Amber comes from new *Spaine*, which hath that aduantage aboue other Prouinces in Gummes, Liquors, and juyce of Trees, whereby they haue such abundance of matter, for perfume and physicke, as is the *Animè*, whereof there comes great store, *Copal* or *Suchicopal*, which is another kinde, *Storax* and *Incense*, which haue excellent operations, and haue a very good smell fit for fumigations. Likewise the *Tacamahaca* and *Caranna*, which are also very medicinall. They bring likewise from this Prouince oile of *Aspicke*, which the Physicians and Painters vse much, the one for plaisters, the other to vernish their pictures. They bring also for the Physicians *Cassia fistula*, the which growes plentifully in Saint *Dominique*. It is a great Tree, which carries these Canes as his fruit. They brought in the fleet wherein I came from Saint *Dominique* fortie eight Quintals of *Cassia fistula*. *Salcepareille* is not lesse knowne, for a thousand remedies wherein it is vsed. There came in the same fleet fiftie Quintals from the same Iland. There is much of this *Salcepareille* at *Peru*, and most excellent in the Prouince of *Guayaquil*, which is vnder the Line. Many goe to be cured into this Prouince, and it is the opinion of some, that the pure water onely which they drinke, giues them health, for that it passeth by rootes as I haue said, from whence it drawes this vertue, so as there needes no great couering or garments to make a man sweat in that Countrie. The wood of *Guayac*, which they call *Lignum sanctum*, or *Indian* wood, growes abundantly in the same Ilands, and is as heauie as Iron, so as it presently sinkes in the water: hereof they brought in the same fleet three hundred and fiftie Quintals, and they might haue brought twentie, yea, a hundred thousand of this wood, if there were vse for it. There came in the same fleet, and from the same Iland, one hundred and thirtie Quintals of *Brefil* wood, the which is Of Amber, and other Oyles, Gummes, and Drugs, which they bring from the *Indies Chap. 29.* *Caſ. Fiſtula.* *Salceparilla.* *Lignum vitæ.*

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fiery red, ſo well knowne, and much vſed in dying and other things. There are at the *Indies* infinite numbers of other aromaticall Woods, Gummes, Oiles, and Drugs, ſo as it is not poſſible to name them all, neither doth it now much import. I ſay onely, that in the time of the Kings *Ingas* of *Cuſco*, and the *Mexicane* Kings, there were many great perſonages expert in curing of diſeaſes with ſimples, and did goodly cures, hauing the knowledge of the many vertues and properties of Herbs, Rootes, Woods, and Plants, which grow there, and whereof the Ancients of *Europe* haue had no knowledge. There are a thouſand of theſe ſimples fit to purge, &c.

Auncient Phyſicians.

Woods are ſo many and great, that it hath beene needfull (paſſing through ſome parts of the *Indies*, eſpecially where they newly entred) to make their way, in cutting downe Trees, and pulling vp Buſhes, ſo that (as ſome religious men haue written that haue tried it) they could not ſometimes haue paſſed aboue a league in a day. One of our brothers (a man worthy of credit) reported vnto vs, that being ſtrayed in the Mountaines, not knowing which way hee ſhould paſſe, he fell among ſuch thicke Buſhes, that hee was forced to goe vpon them, without ſetting foot to the ground, by the ſpace of fifteen whole dayes: and to ſee the Sunne, or to marke ſome way in this thicke Foreſt full of wood, hee was forced to climbe to the top of the higheſt Trees to diſcouer. He that ſhall reade the diſcourſe of his trauell, how often he was loſt, and the wayes hee paſſed, with the ſtrange aduentures that happened vnto him, the which I haue written briefly, being ſo worthy the knowledge, and hauing my ſelfe trauelled a little ouer the Mountaines at the *Indies*, were it but the eighteene leagues betwixt *Nombre de Dios* and *Panama*, may well iudge what great Foreſts there are. So as hauing no winter in thoſe parts, to nip them with cold, and the humiditie of the Heauens and Earth being ſo great, as the Mountaines bring forth infinite Foreſts, and the Playnes which they call *Sauanas*, great plentie of graſſe: there is no want of Paſture for feeding, of Timber for building, nor of Wood for fuell. It is impoſſible to ſet downe the differences and formes of ſo many wilde Trees, for that the names of the greateſt part are vnknowne.

Strange trauil.

Cedars in old time ſo much eſteemed, are there very common, both for buildings and ſhips, and they are of diuers ſorts, ſome white, and ſome red, very odoriferant. There are great ſtore of Bay trees, very pleaſant to behold vpon the *Andes* of *Peru*, vpon the Mountaines, in the Ilands of *Nicaragua*, and in new *Spaine*. There are alſo infinite numbers of Palmes and Ceiuas, whereof the *Indians* make their Canoes, which are Boates made of one piece. They bring into *Spaine* from the *Hauana*, excellent timber. In the Iland of *Cuba*, there are infinite numbers of like trees, as *Ebene*, *Caouana*, *Grenadille*, *Cedars*, and other kindes which I doe not know. There are great Pine trees in new *Spaine*, though they be not ſo ſtrong as thoſe in *Spaine*: they beare no pignous or kernels, but emptie apples. The Oakes as they call them of *Guayaquil*, is an excellent wood and ſweet, when they cut it; yea there are Canes or moſt high Reeds, of whoſe boughs or ſmall reedes they doe make Bottles and Pitchers to carry water, and doe likewiſe vſe them in their buildings. There is likewiſe the wood of *Mauſle* or Firre, whereof they make maſts for their ſhips, and they hold them as ſtrong as Iron. *Molle* is a tree of many vertues, which caſteth forth ſmall boughes, whereof the *Indians* make wine. In *Mexico* they call it the tree of *Peru*, for that it came from thence: but it growes alſo in new *Spaine*, and better then thoſe in *Peru*. There are a thouſand other Trees, which were a ſuperfluous labour to intreat of, whereof ſome are of an exceeding greatneſſe, I will ſpeake onely of one which is in *Tlaco Chanoya*, three leagues from *Guayaca* in new *Spaine*: this tree being meaſured within, being hollow, was found to haue nine fadome, and without, neere to the roote, ſixteene, and ſomewhat higher, twelue. This tree was ſtrooke with lightning from the toppe to the bottome, through the heart, the which cauſed this hollowneſſe: they ſay that before the thunder fell vpon it, it was able to ſhaddow a thouſand men, and therefore they did aſſemble there for their dances and ſuperſtitions: yet to this day there doth remaine ſome boughes and verdure, but not much. They know not what kinde of tree it is, but they ſay it is a kinde of Cædar. Such as ſhall finde this ſtrange, let them reade what *Plinie* reporteth of the Plaine of *Lidia*, the hollow whereof contained foureſcore foot and one, and ſeemed rather a Cabbin or a Houſe, then the hollow of a tree, his boughes like a whole wood, the ſhaddow whereof couered a great part of the field. By that which is written of this Tree, we haue no great cauſe to wonder at the Weauer, who had his dwelling and Loome in the hollow of a Cheſnut tree: and of another Cheſnut tree, if it were not the very ſame, into the hollow whereof there entered eighteene men on Horſebacke, and paſſed out without diſturbing one another. The *Indians* did commonly vſe their Idolatries in theſe Trees, ſo ſtrange and deformed, euen as did the auncient *Gentiles*, as ſome Writers of our time doe report.

Great Tree.

Plin. lib. 12. c. 1.

Of Plants and fruites which haue bin carried out of *Spaine* to the *Indies*. *Chap. 31.*

The *Indians* haue receiued more profit, and haue bin better recompenced in Plants that haue bin brought from *Spaine*, then in any other Merchandiſe, for that thoſe few which are carried from the *Indies* into *Spaine*, grow little there, and multiply not, and contrariwiſe the great number that haue beene carried from *Spaine* to the *Indies*, proſper well and multiply greatly: I know not whether I ſhall attribute it to the bountie of the Plants that goe from hence, or to the goodneſſe of the ſoyle that is there. Finally, there is at the *Indies* any good thing that *Spaine* brings forth: in ſome places it is better, in ſome worſe, as Wheate, Barley, Hearbes, and all

kinds

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kinds of Pulſes, alſo Lettuce, Coleworts, Radiſhes, Onions, Garlike, Parſley, Turneps, Parſeneps, *Becengenes*, or Apples of loue, Siccorie, Beetes, Spinage, Peaſe, Beanes, Fetches: and finally, whatſoeuer groweth here of any profit, ſo as all that haue voyaged thither, haue beene curious to carry Seedes of all ſorts, and all haue growne, although diuerſly, ſome more, ſome leſſe. As for thoſe trees that haue moſt abundantly fructified, be Orenge-trees, Limons, Citrons, and other of that ſort. In ſome parts there are at this day, as it were whole Woods and Forreſts of Orange trees: tha which ſeeming ſtrange vnto me, I asked who had planted the fields with ſo many Orange trees? they made me anſwer, that it did come by chance, for that Oranges being fallen to the ground, and rotten, their ſeedes did ſpring, and of thoſe which the water had carried away into diuers parts, theſe Woods grew ſo thicke: which ſeemed to mee a very good reaſon. I haue ſaid that this fruite hath generally increaſed moſt at the *Indies*, for that I haue not beene in any place but I finde Orange trees, for that all their ſoile is hot and moiſt, which this tree moſt deſires. There growes not any vpon the *Sierre* or Mountaine, but they carrie them from the vallies or Sea coaſt. The conſerue of Oranges which they doe make at the Ilands, is the beſt I haue ſeene any where: Peaches, Preſſes, and Apricockes haue greatly multiplied, eſpecially in new *Spaine*. At *Peru* there growes few of theſe kindes of fruites, except Peaches, and much leſſe in the Ilands. There growes Apples and Peares, yet but ſcarcely: there are but few Plumbs, but aboundance of Figges, chiefly in *Peru*. They finde Quinces in all the Countrie of the *Indies*, and in new *Spaine*, in ſuch aboundance, as they gaue vs little choice ones for halfe a riall. There is great ſtore of Pomegranats, but they are all ſweete, for the ſharpe are not there eſteemed. There are very good Melons in ſome parts of *Peru*. Cherries both wilde and tame haue not proſpered well at the *Indies*, the which I doe not impute to want of temperature, for that there is of all ſorts, but to careleſneſſe, or that they haue not well obſerued the temperature. To conclude, I doe not finde that in thoſe parts there wants any daintie fruite. As for groſſe fruites, they haue no *Beillottes*, nor Cheſnuts, neither doe I finde that any haue growne there to this day. Almonds grow there, but rarely. They carry from *Spaine*, for ſuch as are daintie mouthed, both Almonds, Nuts, and Filberds: but I haue not knowne they had any Medlers or Seruices, which imports little.

Natures huſbandrie.

There growes no Wine nor Grapes in the Ilands, nor firme Land, but in new *Spaine*, there are ſome Vines which beare Grapes, and yet make no Wine. The cauſe is, for that the Grape ripens not well, by reaſon of the raine that fals in the Moneths of Iuly and Auguſt, which hinders their ripening, ſo as they ſerue onely to eate. They carry Wine out of *Spaine*, and from the *Canaries*, to all parts of the *Indies*, except *Peru* and the Realme of *Chille*. There are ſome places where the Vines are not watered, neither from heauen nor earth, and yet they increaſe in great abundance, as in the Valley of *Yca*, and in the ditches that they call *Villacuzi*, in which places they finde ditches, or th'earth ſunke downe amongſt the dead Sands, which are thorow-out the yeare of a wonderfull cooleneſſe, and yet it raines not there at any time, neither is there any manner of meanes to water it artificially: the reaſon is, becauſe the ſoile is ſpongious, and ſucks vp the water of the riuers that fall from the Mountaine, which moiſten theſe Sands, or elſe it is the moiſtneſſe of the Sea, as others ſuppoſe, which paſſing ouer this Sand, is the cauſe why it is not barren nor vnprofitable, as the Philoſopher teaches. The Vines haue ſo increaſed there, as for this cauſe onely the tithes of the Churches are multiplied fiue or ſix times double within theſe twentie yeares. And it is ſtrange, that in the Citie of *Cuſco* you ſhall finde ripe Grapes all the yeare long: the reaſon is (as they ſay) for that thoſe Vallies bring forth fruits in diuers moneths of the yeare, either for that they cut their Vines in diuers ſeaſons, or that this varietie proceedes from the qualitie of the ſoile: but whatſoeuer it be, it is moſt certaine, there are ſome Vallies which carrie fruite all the yeare. If any one wonder at this, it may be he will wonder much more at that which I ſhall ſay, and perchance not beleeue it. There are Trees in *Peru*, whereof the one part yeeldes fruite one ſixe moneths of the yeare, and the other halfe part yeeldes fruite the other ſix moneths. In *Malla* which is thirteene leagues from the Citie of *Kings*, there is a Figge tree, whereof the one halfe which is towards the South, is greene, and yeeldeth his fruite one ſeaſon of the yeare, that is, when it is ſummer vpon the *Sierre*, and the other moitie towards the *Lanos* or Sea coaſt, is greene, and yeeldes his fruite in the other contrarie ſeaſon, when it is ſummer vpon the *Lanos*, which groweth from the diuers temperature, and the ayre which commeth from the one part, and the other. The reuenue of Wine there is not ſmall, but it goeth not out of the Countrie. But the Silke that is made in new *Spaine* is tranſported into other Countries, as to *Peru*. There were no Mulberrie trees in the *Indies*, but ſuch as were brought from *Spaine*, and they grow well, eſpecially in the Prouince which they call *Miſtecqua*, where there are Silke-wormes, and they put to worke the Silke they gather, whereof they make verie good Taffataes: yet to this day they haue made neither Damaske, Sattin, nor Veluet. The Sugar yet is a greater reuenue, for they not onely ſpend it at the *Indies*, but alſo they carrie much into *Spaine*, for the Canes, grow exceeding well in manie parts of the *Indies*. They haue built their engins in the Ilands, in *Mexico*, in *Peru*, and in other parts, which yeeldeth them a very great reuenue.

Of Grapes, Vines, Oliues, Mulberries, and Canes of Sugar. *Chap.* 32.

Grapes all the yeere.

Strange fructifying.

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It was told me, that the engine for Sugar in *Nasca*, was worth yeerly aboue thirtie thousand pieces of reuenue. That of *Chicama* ioyning to *Truxillo*, was likewise of great reuenue, and those of new *Spaine* are of no lesse; and it is a strange thing to see what store they consume at the *Indies*. They brought from the Iland of Saint *Dominique*, in the fleet wherein I came, eight hundred ninetie eight chests of Sugar, which being (as I did see) shipped at *Port Ricco* (euery chest (in my opinion) weighed eight Arobes, euery Arobe weighing fiue and twentie pounds, which are two hundred weight of Sugar) is the chiefe reuenue of these Ilands, so much are men giuen to the desire of sweet things. There are likewise Oliues and Oliue trees at the *Indies*, I say in *Mexico* and in *Peru*, yet hath there not beene to this day any Mill for Oile, for that they eate all their Oliues, and dresse them well: they finde the charge is greater to make Oile then the profit, and therefore they carry all the Oile they doe spend from *Spaine*. And here we will end with plants, and will passe to such beasts as be at the *Indies*.

Oliues but no Oile.

§. VI.

Of Beasts and Fowles in the Indies.

Of beasts bearing woll, and of Kine. *Cap.* 33.

I Finde there are three kindes of beasts at the *Indies*, whereof some haue beene carried from *Spaine*; others are of the same kinde we haue in *Europe*, and yet not carried by the *Spaniards*; and others are proper to the *Indies*, whereof there are none in *Spaine*. Of the first kinde are Sheepe, Kine, Goats, Swine, Horses, Asses, Dogs, Cats, and other such beasts, for there are of all these kindes at the *Indies*. The smaller Cattell haue greatly multiplyed, and if they could make profit of their woolls by sending them into *Europe*, it were one of the greatest riches the *Indies* had, for there the flocks of sheepe haue great pastuers, where as their feeding failes not. In *Peru* there is such store of pastures and feedings, as no man hath any proper to himselfe, but euery man feedes his troups where he pleaseth. For this reason there is commonly great store of flesh, and very good cheape, and all other things that come from sheepe, as Milke, and Cheese. For a time they lost their woolls, vntill that some began to husband it, and to make cloth and couerings, which hath beene a great helpe for the poorer sort of the Countrie, for that the cloth of *Castile* is very deare there. There are many Clothiers in *Peru*, but more in new *Spaine*, yet the cloth that comes from *Spaine* is farre better, whether the wooll bee more fine, or the workmen more expert. In former times there were men that did possesse threescore and ten, yea a hundred thousand sheepe, and at this day they haue not many lesse. If this were in *Europe*, it were a very great substance, but in that Conntrie it is but a meane wealth. In many parts of the *Indies*, and I thinke in the greatest part, small Cattell doe not increase and profit well, by reason that the grasse is high, and the soile so vicious, that they cannot feede so well as great Cattell.

European beasts.

Store of sheep.

Store of Kine.

And therefore there is an infinite number of Kine, whereof there are two kindes. Some are tame and goe in troups, as in the land of *Charca*, and other Prouinces of *Peru*, as also in all new *Spaine*: from these tame Kine they draw such profit as they doe in *Spaine*, that is, the Flesh, Butter, Calues, and Oxen to till the ground. The other kinde is wilde, which liue in the Mountains and Forests, and therefore they tame them not, neither haue they any master to whom they are proper, both for the roughnesse and thicknesse of the Forest, as also for the great multitude there is, and he that first kills them is the master, as of any wilde beast. These wilde Kine haue so multiplyed in Saint *Dominique*, and thereabouts, that they troupe together in the fields and woods by thousands, hauing no master to whom they appertaine. They hunt these beasts onely for their hides, they goe to the field on horse-backe with their weapons to hough them, coursing the Kine: and when they haue strucken any and stayed them, they are their owne, they flay them and carry the hides home, leauing the flesh, which euery one neglects for the abundance there is, so as some haue testified in this Iland, that in some places the aire hath beene corrupted with the abundance of these stinking carkasses. The hides they bring into *Spaine*, is one of the best reuenues of the Ilands, and of new *Spaine*. In the fleet the yeere 1587. there came from Saint *Dominique* 35444. hides, and from new *Spaine* 64350. which they value at 96532. pieces, so as when they discharge one of these fleets, it is admirable to behold the Riuer of *Seuile*, and in the Arcenall (where they vnlade) so many hides, and so much merchandize. There are also great numbers of Goats, whose chiefe profit is their tallow, besides their Kid-milke and other commodities, for that both rich and poore vse this tallow for lights. For as there is a great quantitie, so doe they make very good account of it; yea, more then of oile, but all the tallow they vse is onely of the Males. They vse their skins for shooes, yet I hold them not so good, as those which are carried from *Castile*.

Wilde herds.

Killed only for the hides.

Almost 100000 hides transported at once. How rich might *Virginia* become, if I

Horses haue multiplyed there, and are very excellent in many places; yea in many parts there are Races found as good as the best in *Spaine*, as well for passing of a Carrier, and for pompe, as also for trauell: and therefore they vse Horses most commonly, although there bee no want of

Horses.

Moyles,

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Moyles, whereof there are many, especially where they make their carriages by land. There is no great numbers of Asses, hauing no great vse for them, neither for trauell nor seruice. There are some few Camels; I haue seene some in *Peru*, that were brought from the *Canaries*, and haue multiplyed there a little. In Saint *Dominique*, Dogs haue so multiplyed in number and bigneſſe, as at this day it is the scourge and affliction of that Iland: for they eate the Sheepe, and goe in troupes through the fields. Such that kill them are rewarded like to them that kill Wolues in *Spaine*. At the first there were no Dogs at the *Indies* but some beasts like vnto little Dogs, the which the *Indians* call *Alco*, and therefore they call all Dogs that goe from *Spaine*, by the same name, by reason of the resemblance that is betwixt them. The *Indians* doe so loue these little Dogs, that they will spare their meat to feed them, so as when they trauell in the Country, they carry them with them vpon their shoulders, or in their bosoms, and when they are sicke, they keepe them with them, without any vse, but onely for companie.

Asses. Camels. Dogs multiplyed to noysomneſſe. *Indian* Dogs.

It is certaine that they haue carried from *Spaine* all these beasts whereof I haue spoken, of which kindes there were none at the *Indies*, when they were first discouered about a hundred yeeres since; for besides that it may be well approued by witnesses at this day liuing; It is also a sufficient argument to see that the *Indians* in their tongue, haue no *proper wordes to signifie these beasts, but they vse the same Spanish names*, although they be corrupted: for being ignorant of the thing, they tooke the word common to those places from whence they came. I haue found this a good rule, to discerne what things the *Indians* had before the *Spaniards* came there, and what they had not: for they gaue names to those they had and knew before, and haue giuen new names to these that are newly come vnto them, which commonly are the same *Spanish* names, although they pronounce them after their manner, as for a Horse, Wine, and Wheat. They found of some sorts of beasts that are in *Europe*, and were not carried thither by the *Spaniards*. There are Lions, Tigres, Beares, Boares, Foxes, and other fierce and wilde beasts, whereof we haue treated in the first Booke, so as it was not likely they should passe to the *Indies* by Sea, being impossible to swim the Ocean: and it were a folly to imagine that men had imbarked them with them. It followes therefore that this world ioynes with * the new in some part: by which these beasts might passe, and so by little and little multiplyed this world. The Lions which I haue seene, are not red, neither haue they such haire as they vsually paint them with. They are grey, and not so furious as they seeme in pictures. The *Indians* assemble in troupes to hunt the Lion, and make as it were a circle, which they doe call *Chaco*, wherewith they inuiron them, and after they kill them with stones, staues, and other weapons. These Lions vse to climbe trees, where being mounted, the *Indians* kill them with Lances and Crosse-bowes, but more easily with Harquebuzes. The Tigres are more fierce and cruell, and are more dangerous to meet, because they breake forth and assaile men in treason: They are spotted, as the Historiographers describe them. I haue heard some report that these Tigres were very fierce against the *Indians*, yet would they not aduenture at all vpon the *Spaniards*, or very little; and that they would choose an *Indian* in the middest of many *Spaniards*, and carry him away.

Of some beasts of *Europe*, which the *Spaniards* found at the *Indies*, and how they should passe thither. *Cap.* 34. Note.

* But where our Nauigations beyond 80. haue shewed open and wide Seas betwixt. Lions. Circles are vsed in hunting by *Persians*, *Tartars*, &c. Tigres.

The Beares which in *Cusco* they call *Otoiongos*, be of the same kinde that ours are, and keepe in the ground. There are few swarmes of Bees, for that their hony-combs are found in Trees, or vnder the ground, and not in Hiues as in *Castile*. The hony-combs which I haue seene in the Prouince of *Charcas*, which they call *Chiguanas*, are of a grey colour, hauing little iuyce, and are more like vnto sweet straw, then to hony-combs. They say the Bees are little, like vnto Flies; and that they swarme vnder the earth. The hony is sharpe and blacke, yet in some places there is better, and the combs better fashioned, as in the Prouince of *Tucuman* in *Chile*, and in *Carthagene*. I haue not seene nor heard speake of wilde Boares, but of Foxes and other wilde beasts that eate their Cattell and Fowle, there are more then their Shepherds would willingly haue. Besides these beasts that are furious and hurtfull, there are others that are profitable, and haue not beene transported by the *Spaniards*, as Stags and Deere, whereof there is great abundance in all the Forests. But the greatest part is a kinde of Deere without hornes, at the least, I haue neuer seene nor heard speake of other, and all are without hornes like vnto *Corcos*. It seemes not hard to beleeue; but is almost certaine, that all these beasts for their lightneſſe, and being naturally wilde, haue passed from one World to another, by some parts where they ioyne, seeing that in the great Ilands farre from the mayne land I haue not heard that there are any, though I haue made diligent inquirie.

Beares. Bees. Foxes and beasts of spoile. Deere without hornes.

We may more easily beleeue the same of birds, and that there are of the same kindes that we haue, as Partridges, Turtles, Pidgeons, Stock-doues, Quailes, and many sorts of Falcons, which they send from new *Spaine* and *Peru*, to the Noblemen of *Spaine*, for they make great account of them. There are also *Herons* and *Eagles* of diuers kindes; and there is no doubt but these birds and such like, haue sooner passed thither then Lions, Tigres, and Stags. There are likewise at the *Indies* great numbers of *Parrots*, especially vpon the *Andes* of *Peru*, and in the Ilands of *Port Rico*, and Saint *Dominique*, where they flie by flocks, as Pidgeons doe here. To conclude, birds with their wings may goe where they will; and truly, many kindes might well passe the Gulfe, seeing it is certaine, as *Plinie* affirmeth, that there are many that passe the Sea, and goe into strange

Of Fowles which are here and are at the *Indies*, and how they could passe thither. *Cap.* 35. *Plin. lib.* 10. *c.* 23.

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strange Regions, although I haue not read that any Fowle hath passed by flight so great a Gulfe, as is the *Indian* Ocean, yet hold I it not altogether impossible, seeing the common opinion of Mariners, that you shall finde them two hundred leagues and more from the Land. And as *Aristotle* doth teach, that birds endure the water easily, hauing little respiration, as wee see in Sea fowle, which diue and remayne long vnder the water. Euen so wee may say, that the Fowle which be at this present vpon the mayne land, and in the Hands at the *Indies*, might passe the Sea, resting themselues in some small Ilands, or vpon some land which they discouered by a naturall instinct (as *Pluuie* reporteth of some) or peraduenture falling into the water, when they were wearie of flying, and after began their flight anew when they had a little rested. As for the Fowles which wee see in the Ilands, where there are no beasts, I beleeue certainly that they passed by one of the foresaid meanes. But for other birds which we finde vpon the mayne land, especially those whose flight is short, it is more credible that they came thither as the beasts did, which are of the same kindes that we haue in *Europe*. For at the *Indies* there are great birds, very heauie, as *Estridges*, whereof there are many in *Peru*; which doe vse sometimes to terrifie the *Indian* sheepe as they doe goe with their burthens.

Plin. l. 10. c. 25.

Estridges.

But leauing these birds that gouerne themselues without the care of man, but onely for hawking, let vs now speake of tame Fowle. I wondred at *Hennes*, seeing there were some at the *Indies* before the *Spaniards* came there, the which is well approued, for they haue a proper name of the Countrie, and they call a Hen *Gualpa*, and the Egge *Ponto*, and they vse the same prouerbe we doe, to call *a Coward, a Hen*. Those that were at the discouerie of the Ilands of *Salomon*, doe report that they haue seene Hennes there like vnto ours: wee may conceiue that the Hen being so tame a Fowle, and so profitable, men might carry them with them when they passed from one place to another, as we see at this day the *Indians* in their trauell carry their Hen with them, or chicken vpon the burthen they haue on their shoulders: and likewise they nurse them easily in their Cages of reedes or wood. Finally, there be at the *Indies* many kindes of beasts and birds, such as wee haue in *Europe*, as I haue specified, and other sorts which I leaue to others to discourse of.

Hennes.

How it should be possible, that at the *Indies* there should be any sorts of beasts, whereof the like are no where else. *Chap.* 36.

It were a matter more difficult, to shew, and proue, what beginning many and sundrie sorts of beasts had, which are found at the *Indies*, of whose kindes we haue none in this Continent. For if the Creator hath made them there, we may not then alleadge nor flie to *Noahs* Arke, neither was it then necessarie to saue all sorts of birds and beasts, if others were to bee created anew. Moreouer, we could not affirme, that the creation of the World was made and finished in sixe dayes, if there were yet other new kindes to make, and specially perfit beasts, and no lesse excellent then those that are knowne vnto vs: If we say then that all these kindes of Creatures were preserued in the Arke by *Noah*, it followes, that those beasts, of whose kindes wee finde not any but at the *Indies*, haue passed thither from this Continent, as wee haue said of other beasts that are knowne vnto vs. This supposed, I demand how it is possible that none of their kinde should remayne here? and how they are found there, being as it were Trauellers and Strangers? Truly it is a question that hath long held me in suspence. I say for example, if the sheepe of *Peru*, and those which they call *Pacos* and *Guanacos*, are not found in any other Regions of the world, who hath carried them thither? or how came they there, seeing there is no shew nor remaynder of them in all this world? If they haue not passed from some other Region, how were they formed and brought forth there? It may bee God hath made a new creation of beasts! That which I speak of these *Pacos* and *Guanacos* may be said of a thousand different kinds of birds and beasts of the Forest, which haue neuer beene known, neither in shape nor name, and whereof there is no mention made, neither among the *Latines*, nor *Greekes*, nor any other Nations of the world. Wee must then say, that though all beasts came out of the * Arke, yet by a naturall instinct, and the prouidence of Heauen, diuers kinds dispersed themselues into diuers Regions, where they found themselues so well, as they would not part; or if they departed, they did not preserue themselues, but in processe of time perished wholly, as we doe see it chance in many things. For if wee shall looke precisely into it, we shall finde that it is not proper and peculiar alone to the *Indies*, but generall to many other Nations and Prouinces of *Asia*, *Europe*, and *Affrike*, where they say there are certaine kindes of Creatures, that are not found in other

The same prouidence which brought all beasts and fowles from all their native diuersified residencies thorow all the world to the Arke (which no naturall instinct in such antipathies and at once, could doe) and kept them safe in the Arke, did also dispose them to their designed abodes after. For I hold it vnchristian with *Mercator* to say, *America* was not drowned with the Floud. And the same scruple might bee made for beasts, &c. in other parts; the temper of the Arke, or of the place where the Arke rested, not agreeing naturally to the Zebra, Elephant, Riuer-horse, Crocodile, and many other better creatures of *Africa*; nor to the other peculiar creatures of many other Regions. In things aboue nature (as it both the historie and mysterie of the Arke) we must flee necessarily to a supernaturall cause. For except wee would imagine the most part of the Sea to haue beene lands or Ilands from beyond the cold *Magellan* to the coldest *Purchas plus vltra*, that is from 57. South latitude, to aboue 81. of North latitude, all the Sea is known, and voyages many in this work deliuerd which excludes al possibilitie of such passages of beasts especially such as cannot endure cold, as our Author imagineth. For men in boats, that might happen accidentally, which voluntarily hath beene attempted by Ours, a little boat comming home from *Bermuda* to *England*: and the *Dutch* open boats from *Noua Zembla* to *Norway*: further and longer distances then is needfull from Iland to Iland for crossing from *Europe* to some parts of *America*; that I mention not the *Carthaginian* and *Owen Gwyneds* voyages, and other casuall tempests, &c. in which by fishing, fishermen might liue long at Sea with their wiues, and be carried by a higher coworking ouer-ruling prouidence to people this new World, which (it is likely) at diuers times and by diuers meanes receiued her inhabitants; God which made *all men of one bloud*, allotting to all *Adams* sonnes their portions and the seuerall *bounds of their habitation*. Act. 17. 20.

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other Regions, at the least if they be any where else, they are knowne to be carried from thence. Seeing then these Creatures came out of the Arke, as for example, the Elephant which wee finde onely in the East *Indies*, and from thence haue beene imparted to other Regions, wee may say as much of these Creatures of *Peru*, and of others of the *Indies*, which are not found in any other part of the World.

We may likewise consider well vpon this subiect, whether these beasts differ in kinde, and essentially from all others, or if this difference be accidentall, which might grow by diuers accidents, as wee see in the linages of men, some are white, others blacke, some Giants, others Dwarfes: and in Apes, some haue no taile, others haue: and in Sheepe, some are bare, others haue fleeces; some great and strong with a long necke, as those of *Peru*; others weake and little, hauing a short necke, as those of *Castile*. But to speake directly, who so would by this Discourse, shewing onely these accidentall differences, preserue the propagation of beasts at the *Indies*, and reduce them to those of *Europe*, hee shall vndertake a charge hee will hardly discharge with his honour. For if wee shall iudge the kindes of beasts by their properties, those of the *Indies* are so diuers, as it is to call an Egge a Chesnut, to seeke to reduce them to the knowne kindes of *Europe*.

Of Fowles that are proper to the Indies, *and Venison.*

THere are many kindes of notable Fowles at the *Indies*, either of the same sort that ours be, or of different. They bring certaine birds from *China*, that haue no feete, and all their bodies are almost feathers. They sit not vpon the ground, but hang vpon boughs, by strings or feathers which they haue, and so rest themselues like Flies or ayrie things. In *Peru* there are birds which they call *Tomineios*, so small, that often-times I haue doubted seeing them flie, whether they were Bees or Butter-flies; but in truth they are birds. Contrariwise, those which they call *Condores*, be of an exceeding greatnesse, and of such a force, that not only they will open a sheep and eate it, but also a whole calfe. Those which they call *Auras*, and others *Poullazes* (which in my opinion are of the kinde of *Rauens*) are of a strange lightnesse, and haue a very quicke sight, being very fit to clense Cities, for that they leaue no Carrion nor dead thing. They passe the night on Trees or vpon Rocks, and in the morning they come to the Cities and Townes, sitting on the tops of the highest buildings, where they attend their prey. Their yong haue white feathers, as they report of Rauens, and so change into blacke.

See *Iobson Tom. 1. l. 9.* of such in *Guinee*.

Tomineios.

Condores.

Rauens.

The *Guacamayas* be birds bigger then Parrets, and resemble them something; they are esteemed for the varietie of their feathers, which be very faire and pleasing. In new *Spaine* there are abundance of birds with excellent feathers, so as there bee not any found in *Europe* that comes neere them, as wee may see by the Images of feathers they bring from thence, the which are (with great reason) much valued and esteemed, giuing cause of admiration, that with the feathers of birds, they should make so excellent a worke, and so perfectly equall, as they seeme properly to be the true colours of a Painter, and haue so liuely and pleasing a regard, as the Painter cannot exceede it with his pencill and colours. Some *Indians* which are good and expert workmen in this Art, will represent perfectly in feathers, whatsoeuer they see drawne with the pencill, so as the Painters of *Spaine*, haue in this point, no aduantage ouer them. *Don Philip* the Prince of *Spaine* his Schoole-master, did giue vnto him three figures or portraitures made of feathers, as it were to put in a *Breuiarie*. His Highnesse did shew them to King *Philip* his father, the which his Maiestie beholding attentiuely, said, that he had neuer seene in so small a worke, a thing of so great excellency and perfection. One day as they presented to Pope *Sixtus Quintus*, another square bigger then it, wherein was the figure of Saint *Francis*, and that they had told him it was made of feathers by the *Indians*, he desired to make triall thereof, touching the table with his fingers, to see if it were of feathers; for that it seemed strange, to see them so properly fitted, that the eye could not iudge nor discerne whether they were naturall colours of feathers, or artificiall done with the pencill. It is a goodly thing to see the lustre which a greene, an orange tawnie like gold, and other fine colours doe cast, and beholding them another way they seeme dead colours. They make the best and goodliest figures of feathers in the Prouince of *Mechouacan*, and in the village of *Pascaro*. The manner is with small delicate Pinsors they pull the feathers from the dead fowles, and with a fine paste they cunningly ioyne them together. They take the small and delicate feathers of those birds, which in *Peru* they call *Tomineyos*, or others like vnto them, which haue the most perfect colours in their feathers. The *Indians* (besides these Images) did vse feathers in many other most excellent workes, especially for the ornament of Kings and Noblemen, their Temples and Idols.

Feather pictures.

There are also other great birds, which haue excellent and fine feathers, whereof they make plumes of sundrie colours, especially when they goe to warre, inriching them with gold and siluer very artificially, which was a matter of great price. They haue the same birds still, but they are not so curious, neither doe they make so many gentill deuices as they were wont. There are other birds at the *Indies*, contrarie to these of so rich feathers, the which (besides that they are

ill-

ill-fauoured) serue to no other vse but for dung, and yet perchance they are of no lesse profit. I haue considered this, wondering at the prouidence of the Creator, who hath so appointed, that all Creatures should serue Man. In some Ilands or *Phares*, which are ioyning to the coast of *Peru*, we see the tops of the Mountaines all white, and to sight, you would take it for Snow, or for some white Land, but they are heapes of dung of Sea fowle which goe continually thither: and there is so great abundance, as it riseth many Elles, yea, many Lances in height, which seemes but a fable. They goe with boates to these Ilands, onely for the dung, for there is no other profit in them. And this dung is so commodious and profitable, as it makes the earth yeeld great abundance of fruit. They call this dung *Guano*, whereof the Valley hath taken the name, which they call *Limaguana*, in the valleys of *Peru*, where they vse this dung, and it is the most ferrile of all that Country. The Quinces, Pomegranets, and other fruits there, exceed all other in bountie and greatnesse; and they say, the reason is, for that the water wherewith they water it, passeth by a Land compassed with this dung.

The like is in the East *Indies.*

Of beasts for the Chases. *Chap.* 38.

Besides the Beasts of Chase, whereof wee haue spoken, There are beasts called *Sainos*, made like small Hogs, which haue this singular to themselues, to haue their Nauill vpon the ridge of their backs: these goe by troupes through the Woods, they are cruell and nothing fearfull, but contrariwise they assaile, and haue their tallents sharpe as Rasors, wherewith they make dangerous wounds and incisions, if such as hunt them put not themselues in safetie. Such as hunt them (for the more safer killing of them) climbe vp into Trees, whither the *Sainos* or Hogs come presently in troupes, biting the Tree when they cannot hurt the man, and then with their Lances they kill what they will. They are very good to eate, but they must of necessitie cut off the round piece where the Nauill growes vpon the backe; for otherwise, within a day they corrupt. There is another kinde of little beast like to sucking Pigges, and they call them *Guadatinaias*. I am in doubt whether there were any Swine at the *Indies*, before the *Spaniards* came thither, like to these in *Spaine*, for that in the discouerie of the Ilands of *Soloman*, it is said, they found * Hennes and Swine of *Spaine*. But howsoeuer it be, it is most certaine, that this Cattell hath greatly multiplyed at the *Indies*. They eate the flesh fresh, and hold it to bee as wholesome and as good, as if it were of Mutton; as in *Carthagene* in some parts, they are become wilde and cruell, the which they hunt like wilde Boares, as wee see in Saint *Dominique*, and other Ilands where the beasts liue in the Foresters. In some places they feede them with the graine of Mays, and they grow wonderfully fat, to haue the grease, which they vse for want of Oile; in some places they make Gamons, as in *Tolluca* of new *Spaine*, and in *Paria* at *Peru*. Returning then to such beasts as are peculiar there, euen as the *Sainos* are like vnto Swine, though somewhat lesse; euen so the *Dantes* resemble small Kine, but more vnto Mules, hauing no hornes. The Hides of these beasts are much esteemed for jerkins and other couerings, they are so hard as they resist any blow whatsoeuer. And as the *Dantes* be defended by the hardnesse of their Hides, so those which they call *Armadillos* are by the multitude of their scales, which open and shut as they please like to a Curasse. There bee little beasts which goe through the Woods, called *Armadillos*, by reason of the defence they haue hiding themselues within their scales, and opening when they list: I haue eaten of them, and doe not hold it for a meate of any great worth; but the flesh of the *Yguanas* is a better meate, but more horrible to the eye; for they are like to the very *Lizardes* of *Spaine*, although they bee of a doubtfull kinde, for that they goe to the Water, and comming to Land they climbe the Trees vpon the bankes; and as they cast themselues from the Trees into the water, the Boates watch vnderneath to receiue them. The *Chinchilles* is an other kinde of small beasts, like Squirrels, they haue a wonderfull smoothe and soft skin, which they weare as a healthfull thing to comfort the stomacke, and those parts that haue neede of a moderate heate; they make Coorrings and Rugs of the haire of these *Chinchilles*, which are found on the *Sierre* of *Peru*, where there is likewise a small beast very common, which they call *Cuyes*, and which the *Indians* hold for a very good meate, and they are accustomed often to offer these *Cuyes* in their sacrifices. They are like small Conies, and haue their borrowes in the ground, and in some places they haue vndermined all the Land: some are grey, some white, and some speckled. There are other small Animals which they call *Viscachas*, and are like to Hares, although they bee bigger, they hunt them and eate the flesh. Of common Hares there are great store in some parts. There are also Conies in the Realme of *Quitto*, but the good are come from *Spaine*. There is another strange beast, the which for his great heauinesse, and slownesse in mooning, they call *Perico-ligero*, or the *little light Dogge*, hee hath three nailes to euery hand, and mooues both hand and feete, as it were by compasse and very heauily: it is in face like to a Monkey, and hath a shrill crie; it climeth Trees, and eates Ants.

* These might come from the East parts thither by means of those Ilands which you see in *Schoutens* voyage.

Dantes.

Armadillos.

Yguanas.

Chinchilles.

Cuyes.

Viscachas.

Light-Dogge.

Of *Micos* or *Indian* Monkeys. *Chap.* 39.

Throughout all the Mountaines, either of these Ilands of the firme Land, or of the *Andes*, there are infinite numbers of *Micos* or Monkeys, which are a kinde of Apes, but very different, in that they haue a tayle, yea a very long one. And amongst them there are some kindes which are thrice, yea foure times bigger then the ordinarie; some are all blacke, some bay, some grey, and some spotted. Their agilitie and manner of doing is admirable, for that they seeme

ſeeme to haue reaſon and diſcourſe to goe vpon Trees, wherein they ſeeme to imitate Birds. Going from *Nombre de Dios* to *Panama*, I did ſee in *Capira*, one of theſe Monkeys leape from one Tree to an other, which was on the other ſide of a Riuer, making me much to wonder. They leape where they liſt, winding their tailes about a branch to ſhake it: and when they will leape further then they can at once, they vſe a pretie deuice, tying themſelues by the tailes one of another, and by this meanes make as it were a chaine of many: then doe they lanch themſelues forth, and the firſt holpen by the force of the reſt, takes hold where he liſt, and ſo hangs to a bough, and helpes all the reſt, till they be gotten vp. It were long to report the fooleries, tricks, trauerſes, and pleaſant ſports they make when they are taught, which ſeeme not to come from bruit beaſts, but from a manlike vnderſtanding. I ſaw one in *Carthagene* in the Gouernours houſe, ſo taught, as the things he did ſeemed incredible: they ſent him to the Tauerne for wine, putting the pot in one hand, and the money in the other; and they could not poſſibly get the money out of his hand, before he had his pot full of wine. If any children met him in the ſtreet, and threw any ſtones at him, hee would ſet his pot downe on the one ſide, and caſt ſtones againſt the children till hee had aſſured his way, then would hee returne to carry home his pot. And which is more, although he were a good Bibber of wine (as I haue oftentimes ſeene him drinke, when his Maſter hath giuen it him) yet would hee neuer touch it vntill leaue was giuen him. They told me moreouer, that if he ſaw any women painted, he would fall vpon them, pull off their attire, and would ſeeke to bite them.

Luſtie leape. Strange ſight. Monkey learned. Zealous.

Amongſt the moſt remarkable things at the *Indies* of *Peru*, be the *Vicugnes*, and ſheepe of the Countrie, as they call them, which are tractable beaſts and of great profit; the *Vicugnes* are wilde, and the Sheepe are tame. Some thinke that the *Vicugnes* are thoſe which *Ariſtotle*, *Plinie*, and other Authors call *Capreas*, which are wilde Goats, and in truth they haue ſome reſemblance, for the lightneſſe they haue in the Woods and Mountaines, but yet they are no Goates, for the *Vicugnes* haue no hornes, as thoſe haue, whereof *Ariſtotle* makes mention; neither are they the Goates of the Eaſt *Indies*, from whom they draw the *Bezar* ſtone; for if they be of that kinde, it were a diuerſe one, as in the race of Dogs, the Maſtife is diuerſe from the Grey-hound. The *Vicugnes* of *Peru* are not thoſe beaſts which carry the *Bezar* ſtone, in the Prouince of new *Spaine*, which there they call *Bezaars*, for that they are a kinde of Stags and Veniſon; yet doe I not know in any part of the World there bee any of theſe beaſts, but in *Peru*, and in *Chille*, which are Countries ioyning one to another. Theſe *Vicugnes* are greater then Goates, and leſſe then Calues. Their haire is of the colour of dried Roſes, ſomewhat cleerer; they haue no hornes like Stags and Goates. They feede vpon the higheſt tops of the Mountaines, which they call *Pugnas*. The Snow nor Froſt doth not offend them, but contrariwiſe they ſeeme to delight in it. They goe in troupes, and runne moſt lightly; when they meete with any Trauellers or Beaſts, they flie away, ſeeming very fearefull, and in flying they driue their yong ones before them. They doe not finde that they multiply much: and therefore the Kings *Ingnas* did defend the hunting of *Vicugnes*; if it were not for their feaſts, or by their commandement. Some complaine, that ſince the *Spaniards* entred there, they haue giuen too much libertie to hunt the *Vicugnes*, and by this meanes they are much diminiſhed. The manner the *Indians* vſe in their hunting, they aſſemble many men together, to the number of a thouſand or two thouſand, yea more, and inuironing a great circuit of wood, they hunt their game vntil they haue compaſſed it in on all parts, and by this meanes they commonly take three or foure hundred, and ſo chooſing what they liſt, they let goe the reſt, eſpecially the Females for breede. They are accuſtomed to sheere theſe beaſts, and of their fleece to make Couerings and Rugges of great value, for that this wooll is like to white ſilke, which laſts long: and as the colour is naturall and not dyed, ſo is it perpetuall. The ſtuffes that are made of this wooll, are very freſh and good in Summer, and they hold them profitable for the inflammation of the reines, and other parts, tempering the exceſſiue heate: This wooll hath the like vertue when it is made in Quilts, and therefore ſome vſe it to that end, for the triall they haue made thereof. They ſay moreouer, that this wooll or couerings made thereof, is phyſicall for other indiſpoſitions, as for the gowt: yet doe I not know that they haue made any certaine triall thereof. The fleſh of theſe *Vicugnes* is not good, although the *Indians* eate it, and drie it. For the effects of phyſicke, I will ſay what I haue ſeene vpon the *Sierre* of *Peru*, comming one night into a *Tambo* or Inne, being much afflicted with paine in mine eyes, thinking they would fall out (the which doth commonly happen in thoſe parts) for that they paſſe through places couered with ſnow, which is the cauſe of this accident. Being troubled with this paine, and out of patience, there came an *Indian* woman which ſaid to me, *Father, lay this to thine eyes, and thou ſhalt bee cured.* It was a piece of the fleſh of *Vicugnes* newly killed and all bloudie. I vſed this medicine, and preſently the paine ceaſed, and ſoone after went quite away. Beſides theſe *Chacos* which is the moſt common manner of hunting at the *Indies*, they haue vſed another more priuate to take them, which is, that comming neere, they doe caſt certaine lines with plummets of lead, which intangle their legges, ſo as they cannot runne, and by this meanes they take the *Vicugne*. The chiefe reaſon why this beaſt is eſteemed, is, by reaſon of

Of *Vicugnes*, and *Tarugnes* of *Peru*. Chap 40. *Ariſtot. lib. 3. de partib. animal. c. 2. lib. 10. c. 72.* *Indian hunting.* Experiment for the eyes.

Bezar stone. the *Bezars* stone they finde in them, whereof wee will intreate hereafter. There is another kinde of beasts, which they call *Tarugues*, which likewise are wilde, and more nimble then the *Vicugnes*. They are greater of body, and more hot. They haue soft eares and hanging: they goe not in troupes as the *Vicugnes*. I haue not seene them but alone, and most commonly in high places. They also draw *Bezars* stones from these *Tarugues*, which are greater, and haue more operation and vertue.

Tarugues.

Of *Pacos*, *Guanacos*, and *Indian* Muttons. *Chap.* 41.

There is nothing at *Peru* of greater riches and profit then the Cattell of the Country, which our men call *Indian Sheepe*, and the *Indians* in their generall language call them *Lama*. For all things well considered, it is a beast of the greatest profit and least charge of any that I know: from them they draw meate and clothing, as from the sheepe of *Spaine*. Moreouer, they haue the benefit to carry all things they haue need of, vsing them to beare their burthens: and they haue no need either of shooes or saddles, nor yet of oates, but he serueth his Master for nought, feeding on the grasse he findes in the fields; so as God hath furnished them of Sheepe and Mares, and all in one beast. And as it is a poore Nation, so would hee in this point free them from charge, for that there is much pasture vpon the *Sierre*: and this kinde of Cattell hath no need of any other charge. There are two kindes of these Sheepe or *Lamas*, the one they call *Pacos*, or sheepe bearing wooll, and the others are bare, and haue little wooll, so are they better for burthen; they are bigger then great Sheepe, and lesse then Calues, they haue a very long necke, like to a Camel, whereof they haue good need: for being high of stature, they haue need of a long necke, else should they be deformed. They are of diuers colours, some all white, others all blacke, some grey and some spotted, which they call *Moromoro*. The *Indians* had great superstitions in chooling the beasts for sacrifices, of what colour they should bee, according to the diuersitie of Seasons and Sacrifices. Their flesh is good, although it be hard, but that of their Lambs is the better, and the most delicate that can be eaten: yet they eate not many, for that the chiefe fruit and profit they yeeld, is their wooll, to make clothes, and their seruice to carry burdens. The *Indians* make stuffes of this wooll wherewith they clothe themselues: the one is grosse and common, which they call *Hanaca*, and the other fine and delicate, which they call *Cumbi*, they make Carpets and Couerings, and other exquisite workes, which last long, and haue a very faire lustre, like halfe silke: and that which is most rare, is their manner of weauing their workes, being both sides alike, so as you shall not finde any end in a whole piece. The *Ingua* King of *Peru* had many chiefe workmen, to make this worke of *Cumbi*: and the which, for the most part, were resident in the Prouince of *Capachica*, ioyning to the great Lake of *Titicaca*. They die this wooll into diuers fine colours, with sundrie kindes of herbs, whereof they make many sorts of workes both course and fine. All the *Indians*, both men and women, worke in the *Sierre*, and haue their Loomes in their houses, hauing no need to buy any stuffes for their necessarie vses. Of the flesh of these sheepe they make *Cuschargui*, or dryed flesh, the which will last very long, whereof they make great account. They are accustomed to driue troupes of these sheepe with burthens, and to goe in bands, three hundred, fiue hundred, yea a thousand in a companie, with Wine, Mays, Coca, Chuno, Quick-siluer, and all other kindes of merchandise, and of Siluer, which is the best of all. They carry barres of Siluer from *Potozi* to *Ariqua*, which is three score and ten leagues. I haue often wondered to see these troupes of sheepe laden with a thousand or two thousand barres of Siluer, and much more, which is aboue three hundred thousand ducats, without any other guard or resort then some *Indians*, which serue onely to guide these sheepe, and to lade and vnlade them, or at the most, some few *Spaniards*: and they sleepe all night in the middest of the fields, without other guard: and yet in so long a way and so weake a guard, they neuer finde want or losse of any thing in so great a treasure of Siluer, so safe is the way in *Peru*. The burthen which one of these sheepe doth commonly carry, is of foure or sixe Arrobes: when their voyage is long they goe not aboue two, three, or foure leagues at the most on a day. Those that guide those troupes, haue their ordinarie lodgings, where they are assured to haue water and pasture, and there they vnlade and set vp their Tents, making fire, and dressing their meates, which is not painfull, although it be a flegmatike and slow manner of trauell. When there is but one dayes iourney, one of these sheepe will beare eight Arrobes in weight, or more, and beares this burthen eight or ten leagues in a day, as the poore Souldiers were wont to doe, when they marched through *Peru*. This kinde of Cattell delights most in a cold aire, and for this cause they liue vpon the *Sierre*, and die in the *Lanos*, by reason of the heate. Sometimes these sheepe are all couered with Ice and frost, and yet they continue sound and well. The bare sheepe are pleasant to behold, for they will stay vpon the way, raysing vp their necks, and will looke vpon any one very wistly, and so they remaine a long time, without mouing or any shew of feare, which giueth occasion of laughter, seeing them thus to stand. And yet sometimes they doe grow amazed sodainly, and runne away with their burthens, euen to the highest Rocks, so as not being able to come vnto them, they are constrayned to kill them with an Harquebuze, lest they should lose their barres of Siluer, which they sometimes carry. The *Pacos* will grow reastie vnder their burthens, lying down, and will endure to be cut in a thousand pieces before they will rise when this humor takes them: wherof the prouerb growes in *Peru*, to say that

Two kindes.

Sixe Arobes is a hundred and fiftie pounds weight.

one

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is reastie, to signifie, he is obstinate; for that when any of these beasts is moodie, it is with excesse: the remedie they haue is, to stay and sit downe by the *Paco*, making much on him, vntill the fit be past, and that he rise: and sometimes they are forced to stay two or three houres. They haue a disease like to scabs, which they call *Carache*, whereof they commonly die. The Ancients had a remedie, to burie them quicke that had the *Carache*, lest they should infect the rest, being a very contagious disease, and goes from one to another. An *Indian* that hath one or two of these sheepe, is not reputed poore, for one of them is worth sixe or seuen pieces of assay, and more, according to the time and places.

The *Bezaars* stone is found in all these beasts before mentioned, which are proper to *Peru*, whereof some Authors of our time haue written whole bookes, which they may reade that desire to haue a more particular knowledge. For the present subiect it shall be sufficient to say, that this stone which they call *Bezaar*, is found in the stomacke and belly of this beast, sometimes one alone, sometimes two, three, and foure. They are very different in forme, greatnesse and colour, for that some are small like Filberds, and lesse; others like Walnuts; some like Pidgeons egges, and others as bigge as a Hens egge: and I haue seene some as bigge as an Orange; in forme some are round, others in fashion like to Lentils, and many other formes. For their colour, some are blacke, some white, some grey, darke greene, and others, as if they had beene gilded. It is no certaine rule to iudge the best and most fine by the colour or forme. All these stones are made and fashioned of diuers films and skins one vpon another. In the Prouince of *Xaura* and other Prouinces of *Peru*, they finde these stones in diuers kindes of beasts, both wilde and tame, as in the *Guanacos*, *Pacos*, *Vicugnes*, and *Tarugues*, some adde an other kinde, which they say are wilde Goates, which the *Indians* call *Cypris*. These other kindes of beasts are very well known in *Peru*, whereof we haue alreadie discoursed. The *Guanacos* or Countrie sheepe, or *Pacos*, haue commonly the lesser stones, and blacke, neither are they so much approued for the vse of physicke. They draw the greatest *Bezaar* stones from the *Vicugnes*, and they are grey, or white, or of a darke greene, which are held for the better. They esteeme those of the *Tarugues* for the most excellent, whereof there are some reasonable bigge: they are commonly white, inclining to grey; and they haue the filmes commonly bigger and thicker then the rest.

Of the Bezaars stone. chap. 42.

They finde the *Bezaar* stone equally both in Male and Female. All beasts that ingender it, chaw the cuid, and commonly feede vpon the Snow and Rocks. The *Indians* report and teach by tradition from their Fathers and Ancients, that in the Prouince of *Xaura*, and in other Prouinces of *Peru*, there are many herbs and venemous beasts, which poison the water and the pastures where they eate and drinke, and where they breathe: amiddest which venemous herbs there is one very well knowne of the *Vicugne*, by a naturall instinct, and of other beasts that ingender the *Bezaar* stone, which eate this herbe, and by meanes thereof they preserue themselues from the poisoned waters and pastures; and they say, that of this herbe the stone is compounded in the stomacke, whence it drawes all the vertue against poison, and other wonderfull effects. This is the opinion and tradition of the *Indians*, discouered by men of great experience in the Kingdome of *Peru*, which agrees with reason, and with that which *Plinie* reports of the Mountaines Goats, which are nourished and fed vpon poison without suffering any harme. The *Indians* being demanded, why the Sheepe, Kine, Goats, and Calues, such as are in *Castile*, haue not the *Bezaar* stone, seeing that they feede on the same Rocks: their answere is, That they beleeue not, that those beasts of *Castile* eate of that herbe, or that they haue found the *Bezaar* stone in Stags and fallow Deere. This seemes to agree with our knowledge, for that in new *Spaine* they finde the *Bezaar* stone, although there be no *Vicugnes*, *Pacos*, *Tarugues*, nor *Guanacos*, but onely Stags, in some of which they finde these stones.

Plin. l. 10. c. 72.

One thing is worthy admiration, that they grow and are fashioned vpon very strange things, as vpon the tagge of a Point, vpon a Pin, or a piece of Wood, which they finde in the centre of this stone, and yet doe they not hold it false, for that the beast might swallow it, and the stone thicken vpon it, and growes one vpon another, and so it increaseth. I did see in *Peru*, two stones fashioned vpon *Pignons* of *Castile*, which made vs to wonder much, for that in all *Peru*, wee had not seene any Pines or *Pignons* of *Castile*, if they were not brought from *Spaine*, which seemes to mee very extraordinarie. This little may suffice touching the *Bezaars* stone. They bring other physicall stones from the *Indies*, as the stone of *Hyiada*, or of *Rate*, the blood stone, the stones of Milke, and of the Sea. Those which they call *Cornerinas*, for the Heart, whereof there is no neede to speake, hauing nothing common with the subiect of beasts, whereof wee haue intreated: which giues vs to vnderstand how the great Master and Author of all, hath imparted his benefits and wonderfull secrets, to all parts of the World; for the which he is to be glorified for euer.

READER, I haue here added this worke, for the better and more particular knowledge of the Naturall Historie *of the West* Indies. *This Author* Gonzalo Ferdinando de Ouiedo *did first write a Summarie to* Charles *the fifth (out of which the most part of this is taken)* An. 1525. *and after that writ*

writ his Generall Historie, *enlarging what he had written before this Summarie; and in the dividing it into three Parts: the first of which contayning principally the* Spanish *acts and Naturall obseruations in the Ilands, in twentie Bookes, wee haue in* Ramusios *third Tome of Voyages: the second (in which hee writ of the Continent of* New Spaine, *and the third of* Peru *and the Southerne* America, *with aboue foure hundred pictures of the Plants, Beasts, and other Creatures of those parts, were neuer published; to the great losse of naturall knowledge of those parts. As for the* Spanish *acts we haue them sufficiently written by others. But* Acosta *and* Oviedo *haue best deserued of the studious of Nature, that is, of the knowledge of God in his workes. In which respect I haue added many things omitted by Master* Eden, *and Master* Willes *in the former publication, both examining this, and translating the rest from* Ramusios *Italian edition.*

CHAP. III.

Extracts of GONZALO FERDINANDO DE OVIEDO his Summarie and Generall Historie of the *Indies*.

Of the mynes of gold, and the manner of working in them.

THis particular of the mynes of Gold, is a thing greatly to be noted, and I may much better speake hereof then any other man, forasmuch as there are now twelue yeeres past since I serued in the place of the Surueyor of the melting shops, pertayning to the gold mynes of the *firme Land*, and was the Gouernor of the mynes of the Catholike King *Don Ferdinando*, after whose departure from this life, I serued long in the same roome in the Name of your Maiestie. The myne or veine which ought to be followed, ought to be in a place which may stand to saue much of the charges of the Labourers, and for the administration of other necessarie things, that the charges may bee recompenced with gaynes. The greatest part of the wrought gold which the *Indians* haue, is base, and holdeth somewhat of Copper: of this they make Bracelets and Chaines, and in the same they close their Iewels which their Women are accustomed to weare, and esteemed more then all the riches of the World. The manner how gold is gathered, is this, either of such as is found in *Zauana*, that is to say, in the Plaines and Riuers of the Champaine country being without Trees, whether the Earth be with grasse or without, or of such as is sometimes found on the Land without the Riuers in places where Trees grow, so that to come by the same, it shall be requisite to cut downe many and great Trees. But after which soeuer of these two manners it be found, either in the Riuers or Breaches of waters, or else in the earth, I will shew how it is found in both these places, and how it is separate and purged. Therefore when the myne or veine is discouered, this chanceth by searching and prouing in such places as by certaine signes and tokens doe appeare to skilfull men apt for the generation of gold, and to hold gold: and when they haue found it, they follow the myne, and labour it, whether it be in the Riuer, or in the Playne, as I haue said. And if it be found on the Playne, first they make the place very cleane where they intend to digge, then they digge eight or ten foot in length, and as much in breadth: but they goe no deeper then a span or two, or more, as shall seeme best to the Master of the myne, digging equally, then they wash all the earth which they haue taken out of the said space, and if herein they finde any gold they follow it, and if not, they digge a span deeper, and wash the earth as they did before: and if then also they finde nothing, they continue in digging and washing the earth as before, vntill they come to the hard rocke or stone: and if in fine they finde no gold there, they follow no further to seeke gold in that place, but goe to another part. And it is to be vnderstood, that when they haue found the myne, they follow it in digging, in the same measure in leuell and depth, vntill they haue made an end of all the myne which that place contayneth, if it appeare to be rich. This myne ought to consist of certaine feet or paces in length or breadth, according to certaine orders determined, and within that compasse of earth, it is not lawfull for any other to digge for gold: And where as endeth the myne of him that first found the gold, immediatly it is lawfull for any other man that will, with a staffe to assigne himselfe a place by the side of the same, inclosing it with stakes or pales as his owne. These mynes of *Zauana* (that is, such as are found in the Playnes) ought euer to bee sought neere to some Riuer or Brooke, or Spring of water, or Dike, or standing Poole, to the end that the gold may be washed, for the which purpose they vse the labour of certaine *Indians*, as they doe other in digging of the myne. And when they haue digged out the myne, they fill certaine Trayes with that earth, which other *Indians* haue the charge immediatly to receiue at their hands, and to carry those Trayes of earth to the water, where it may be washed: Yet doe not they that bring it wash it, but deliuer it to other, putting it out of their owne Trayes into theirs, which they haue readie in their hands to receiue it. These Washers for the most part are the *Indian* women, because this worke is of lesse paine and trauell then any other. These women when they wash, are accustomed to sit by the water side, with their legges in the water euen vp to the knees, or lesse, as the place

Gold of *Indians* base.

Manner of mynes and searching for gold.

Gold in mynes.

Spanish customes for vsage of mynes.

Water a good neighbour.

Women gold-washers.

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place ſerueth their purpoſe: and thus holding the Trayes with earth in their hands by the handles thereof, and putting the ſame into the water, they moue them round about, after the manner of ſifting, with a certaine aptneſſe, in ſuch ſort that there entreth no more water into the Trayes then ſerueth their turne, and with the ſelfe ſame apt mouing of their Trayes in the water, they euer auoid the foule water with the earth out of the one ſide of the Veſſell, and receiue in cleane water on the other ſide thereof, ſo that by this means by little and little, the water waſheth the earth as the lighter ſubſtance of the Trayes, and the Gold as the heauier matter reſteth in the bottome of the ſame, being round and hollow in the middeſt like vnto a Barbars Baſen. And when all the earth is auoided, and the Gold gathered together in the bottome of the Tray, they put it a part, and returne to take more earth, which they waſh continually as before. Furthermore it is to be noted, that for euery two *Indians* that waſh, it is requiſite that two other ſerue them to bring earth from the Mine, and other two to breake the ſame ſmall, and fill their Trayes therewith. Alſo beſide theſe Labourers, it is neceſſarie that there be other people in the place where they worke and reſt in the night: theſe are ſuch as make their bread, and prouide for victuals, and other neceſſaries. So that to conclude, there are in all, fiue perſons ordinarily aſſigned to euery Tray of waſhers.

Other Labourers.

Fiue to a tray.

There is another manner of working the Mines, in Riuers or Brookes of running waters: and this is, that in auoyding the water of his courſe, after that the beds of the Riuers are dry and vtterly emptied, they find Gold among the breaches, clifts, and rifts of ſtones, and among all that is in the bottome of the Channell, and where naturally the Riuer runneth of greateſt force: So that it chanceth ſometime, that when the bed of the Riuer is good and rich, they find in it great quantitie of Gold. And therefore your Maieſtie ought to vnderſtand for a generall rule, as it appeareth in fact, that all Gold is ingendred in the tops and higheſt places of the Mountaines, and in continuance of time is by little and little brought downe to the Vales and Plaines by ſhowres of raine, and the fals of Springs, Riuers, and Brookes, hauing their originall in the Mountaines, and deſcending from the ſame, notwithſtanding it is oftentimes found in the Plaines farre from the Mountains. But when it chanceth to be found in great quantity, it is for the moſt part among the Mountaines, and in the Riuers, or their branches, more then in any other part of the Plaine: and in theſe two manners it is commonly found moſt abundantly. And for the better proofe that Gold is ingendred on high, and is brought downe into the low places, I haue one great token thereof, which cauſeth me to beleeue it for certaine: and this is, to conſider that coles neuer putrifie nor corrupt vnder the ground, if they be made of ſtrong wood. Whereby it chanceth, that digging the earth by the foulds or indented places of the Mountaines, or on the ſides, and breaking a Mine in the earth, where it had beene broken before, and hauing now digged one or two or three Poles in meaſure, the Miners found certaine coles of wood vnder the ſame leuell where they found Gold, and this I ſay in the earth which was taken for a Virgin, that is to ſay, ſuch as had not before beene opened for any Mine: the which coles could not naturally bee ingendred there, or enter in by any meanes, but when the ſuperficiall part of the earth was equall with the leuell where the coles were found, it is like that the coles were left there by ſome occaſion of fire, and that they faſtened there in time, and that afterward in long continuance of time, they were by little and little couered with the earth, which the often ſhowres of raine waſhed from the Mountaines, ſo that by the courſe of yeeres the earth ouergrew the coles vnto the ſaid leuell and meaſure, which had before time beene the ſuperficiall part of the earth, where the coles and Gold were found together: whereby it may appeare that the Gold was no more ingendred there then were the coles, but brought thither from the Mountaynes by the falls of waters as we haue ſaid, foraſmuch as the Mountaines are the Matrices and bowels of all rich Metals. Further and beſide this, I ſay that in how much more the Gold is gone farre from the naturall place of his generation to the place where it is found, it is ſo much the more purified and fined, and of a better caract, and the neerer that it is found to his proper Mine or veine where it is ingendred, it is ſo much the baſer, fouler, and more crude, and of a baſer alay and caract, and doth waſte ſo much the more in melting, and remayneth more brickle.

Gold in Riuers or poulder.

Gold engendred on hill tops.

His reaſon.

Some may thinke that coles, ſhels & other *ludibria naturæ*, naturally grow there.

Sometimes there are found graines of Gold of great quantitie, and of great weight aboue the earth, and ſometimes alſo vnder the earth: And the greateſt of all other that was found to this day in the *Indies*, was that which was loſt in the Sea about the Iland *Beata*, which weighed three thouſand and two hundred of *Caſtellans* of God, which are in value foure thouſand a hundred thirtie and eight Ducats of Gold, which weigh one *Arroua* and ſeuen pound, or thirtie and two pound, after twelue ounces to the pound, which make threeſcore and foure Markes of Gold. And I ſaw in the yeere 1515. in the hands of *Michel Paſſamonte* Treaſurer to your Maieſtie, two graines, of the which one weighed ſeuen pounds, which are fourteene Markes, and are in value about three ſcore and fiue Ducats of Gold euery Marke: the other was of ten Marks, which are fiue pounds of like value, and of very good Gold of two and twentie caracts, and better: There are alſo found many other great graines, although not equall vnto theſe in bigneſſe. And foraſmuch as I haue ſpoken of Gold, I haue thought good to declare ſomewhat how the *Indians* can very excellently gild ſuch Veſſels of Copper and baſe Gold as they make: for they can

Gold in graines.

One huge piece of gold.

A Marke is a pound of 8. ounces *ſumma*, 16. pound weight eight ounces, after 12. ounces to the pound.

Indian gilding.

giue them ſo faire and flouriſhing a colour, that all the maſſe which they gilt, appeareth as though it were Gold of two and twentie carects, and better. This colour they giue with a certaine hearbe, as though it were wrought by the art of any Gold-ſmith of *Spaine* or *Italie*, and would of them be eſteemed as a thing of great riches and a ſecret manner of gilding. For the deſire that our men haue to Gold, they nothing eſteeme the Copper, although there might great commoditie and profit be had thereby, and alſo by other Metals, which they nothing regard, except Siluer, which is found abundantly in that part of the firme Land which is called New *Spaine*.

Of the manner of fiſhing for Pearles.

THe *Indians* exerciſe this kind of fiſhing for the moſt part in the Coaſts of the North in *Cubagua* and *Cumana*, and many of them which dwell in the Houſes of certaine particular Lords in the Ilands of *San Dominico* and *Sancti Iohannis*, reſort to the Iland of *Cubagua*, for this purpoſe. Their cuſtome is to goe fiue, ſixe, or ſeuen, or more in one of their Canoas or Barkes, earely in the morning to ſome place in the Sea thereabout, where it appeareth vnto them that there ſhould be great plentie of thoſe ſhell fiſhes (which ſome call Muſcles, and ſome Oyſters) wherein Pearles are ingendred, and there they plunge themſelues vnder the water, euen vnto the bottome, ſauing one that remayneth in the Canoa or Boat, which hee keepeth ſtill in one place as neere as he can, looking for their returne out of the water: And when one of them hath beene a good while vnder the water, he riſeth vp, and commeth ſwimming to the Boat, entring into the ſame, and leauing there all the Oyſters which he hath taken and brought with him (for in theſe are the Pearles found) and when he hath there reſted himſelfe a while, and eaten part of the Oyſters, he returneth againe to the water, where hee remayneth as long as hee can endure, and then riſeth againe, and ſwimmeth to the Boat with his prey, where hee reſteth him as before, and thus continueth courſe by courſe, as doe all the other in like manner, being all moſt expert Swimmers and Diuers: and when the night draweth neere, they returne to the Iland to their houſes, and preſent all the Oyſters to the Maſter or Steward of the houſe of their Lord, who hath the charge of the ſaid *Indians*, and when he hath giuen them ſomewhat to eate, he layeth vp the Oyſters in ſafe cuſtodie, vntill he haue a great quantitie thereof, then he cauſeth the ſame Fiſhermen to open them, and they find in euery of them Pearles, other great or ſmall, two, or three, or foure, and ſometimes fiue or ſixe, and many ſmall graines, according to the liberalitie of nature. They ſaue the Pearles both ſmall and great which they haue found, and either eate the Oyſters if they will, or caſt them away, hauing ſo great a quantitie thereof, that they in manner abhorre them. Theſe Oyſters are of hard fleſh, and not ſo pleaſant in eating as are ours of *Spaine*. This Iland of *Cubagua*, where this manner of fiſhing is exerciſed, is in the North Coaſt, and is no bigger then the Iland of *Zeland*. Oftentimes the Sea increaſeth greatly, and much more then the Fiſhers for Pearles would, becauſe whereas the place is very deepe, a man cannot naturally reſt at the bottom, by reaſon of the abundance of airie ſubſtance which is in him, as I haue oftentimes proued. For although he may by violence and force deſcend to the bottome, yet are his feet lifted vp againe, ſo that hee can continue no time there: and therefore where the Sea is very deepe, theſe *Indian* Fiſhers vſe to tye two great ſtones about them with a coard, on each ſide one, by the weight whereof they deſcend to the bottome, and remayne there vntill them liſteth to riſe againe, at which time they vnloſe the ſtones, and riſe vp at their pleaſure.

Men continue an houre vnder water.

But this their aptneſſe and agilitie in ſwimming, is not the thing that cauſeth men moſt to maruell: but rather to conſider how many of them can ſtand in the bottome of the water for the ſpace of one whole houre, and ſome more or leſſe, according as one is more apt hereunto then an other. An other thing there is which ſeemeth to me very ſtrange: and this is, that whereas I haue oftentimes demanded of ſome of theſe Lords of the *Indians*, if the place where they are accuſtomed to fiſh for Pearles, being but little and narrow, will not in ſhort time be vtterly without Oyſters, if they conſume them ſo faſt: They all anſwered mee, that although they be conſumed in one part, yet if they goe a fiſhing in an other part, or an other Coaſt of the Iland, or at an other contrary wind, and continue fiſhing there alſo vntill the Oyſters bee likewiſe conſumed, and then returne againe to the firſt place, or any other place where they fiſhed before, and emptied the ſame in like manner, they find them againe as full of Oyſters as though they had neuer beene fiſhed. Whereby we may iudge, that theſe Oyſters either remoue from one place to an other, as doe other fiſhes, or elſe that they are ingendred and increaſe in certaine ordinarie places.

Naturall ſucceſſion.

Of this read more largely in the Decads.

This Iland of *Cumana* and *Cubagua*, where they fiſh for theſe Pearles, is in the twelfth degree of the part of the ſaid Coaſt which inclineth toward the North. Likewiſe Pearles are found and gathered in the South Sea, called *Mare del Sur*, and the Pearles of this Sea are very bigge, yet not ſo bigge as they of the Iland of Pearles, called *de las Perlas*, or *Margarita*, which the *Indians* call *Terarequi*, lying in the Gulfe of Saint *Michael*, where greater Pearles are found, and of greater price, then in any other Coaſt of the North Sea, in *Cumana*, or any other part. I ſpeake this as a true teſtimonie of ſight, hauing beene long in that South Sea, and making curious inquiſition to be certainly informed of all that pertayneth to the fiſhing of Pearles. From this Iland of *Terarequi*, there was brought a Pearle of the faſhion of a Peare, weighing thirtie and one Carats,

Huge Pearle.

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Caracts, which *Petrus Arias* had among a thousand and so many pounds weight of other Pearles, which he had when Captaine *Gaspar Morales* (before *Petrus Arias*) passed to the said Iland in the yeare 1515. which Pearle was of great price. From the said Iland also, came a great and very round Pearle, which I brought out of the Sea, this was as bigge as a small pellet of a Stone-bow, and of the weight of twentie and sixe Caracts: I bought it in the Citie of *Panama*, in the Sea of *Sur*, and paid for it sixe hundred and fiftie times the weight thereof of good Gold, and had it three yeeres in my custodie, and after my returne into *Spaine*, sold it to the Earle of *Nansao* Marquesse of *Zenete*, great Chamberlaine to your Maiestie, who gaue it to the Marquesse his Wife, the Ladie *Mentia* of *Mendoza*. I thinke verily that this Pearle was the greatest, fairest, and roundest that hath beene seene in those parts. For your Maiestie ought to vnderstand, that in the Coast of the Sea of *Sur*, there are found a hundred great Pearles round after the fashion of a Peare, to one that is perfectly round and great.

By the computation of *Venice*, foure graines make a Caract.

Peare-pearles.

Of the familiaritie which certayne of the Indians *haue with the Deuill, and how they receiue answere of him of things to come, and other Superstitions.*

WHen the *Indians* beginne their battaile, or goe to any combate, or attempt any other great mater, they haue certaine elect men, whom they reuerently esteeme, and call them *Tequinas*, which in their tongue is as much to say as Masters: notwithstanding that they call euery man, that is cunning in any Science, by the same name, as Fishers, Fowlers, Hunters, or makers of Nets. These *Tequinas* therefore, they call the Masters of their Answeres, because they speake with *Tuyra*, that is, the *Deuill*, and bring them answere what he saith, either as touching such things as they haue to doe, or shall chance to them the day following, or many dayes to come. For the Deuill, being so ancient an Astronomer, knoweth the times of things, and seeth how they are naturally directed and inclined, and maketh them beleeue that they come so to passe by his ordinance, as though he were the Lord and mouer of all that is and shall be, and that he giueth the day light, and raine, causeth tempest, and ruleth the stations of times, giuing life, or taking away life, at his pleasure: By reason whereof, the *Indians* being deceiued of him, and seeing also such effects to come certainly to passe as he hath told them before, beleeue him in all other things, and honour him in many places with Sacrifices of the bloud and liues of men, and odoriferous Spices; And when God disposeth the contrary to that which the Deuill hath spoken in Oracle, whereby he is proued a Lyer, hee causeth the *Tequinas* to perswade the people that he hath changed his mind and sentence for some of their sins, or deuiseth some such lye as liketh him best, being a skilfull Master in such subtill and craftie deuices, to deceiue the simple and ignorant people, which hath small defence against so mightie and craftie an Aduersarie. And as they call the Deuill *Tuyra*, so doe they in many places call the Christians by the same name, thinking that they greatly honour them thereby, as indeed it is a name very fit and agreeable to many of them, hauing laid apart all honestie and vertue, liuing more like Dragons then men, among these simple people.

Deuils Impostures.

Before the Inhabitants of the Iland of *Hispaniola* had receiued the Christian Faith, there was among them a Sect of men, which liued solitarily in the Deserts and Woods, and led their life in Silence and Abstinence, more streightly then euer did the Philosophers of *Pythagoras* Sect, abstaining in like manner from the eating of all things that liue by bloud, contented onely with such Fruites, Herbes, and Rootes, as the Deserts and Woods ministred vnto them to eate: The Professors of this Sect were called *Piaces*. They gaue themselues to the knowledge of naturall things, and vsed certaine secret Magicall Operations and Superstitions, whereby they had familiaritie with Spirits, which they allured into their owne bodies, at such times as they would take vpon them to tell of things to come, which they did in manner as followeth. When any of the Kings had occasion to call any of them out of the Deserts for this purpose, their custome was to send them a portion of their fine Bread of *Cazabi* or *Maiz*, and with humble request and suite to desire them to tell them of such things as they would demand. After the request granted, and the place and day appointed, the *Piaces* commeth with two of his Disciples wayting on him, whereof the one bringeth with him a Vessell of a secret Water, and the other a little Siluer Bell. When hee commeth to the place, hee sitteth downe on a round seate made for him of purpose, where hauing his Disciples the one standing on the one hand, and the other on the other, euen in the presence of the King and certaine of his Nobles (for the common people are not admitted to these Mysteries) and turning his face toward the Desart, he beginneth his Inchantment, and calleth the Spirit with loude voyce by certaine names, which no man vnderstandeth but hee and his Disciples. After hee hath done thus a while, if the Spirit yet deferre his comming, hee drinketh of the said Water, and therewith waxeth hot and furious, and inuerteth and turneth his Inchantment, and letteth himselfe bloud with a thorne, maruellously turmoiling himselfe, as we read of the furious Sybils, not ceasing vntill

Pythagoreall Piaces.

Indian consultings or consultations.

vntill the ſpirit be come; who at his comming entreth into him, and ouerthroweth him, as it were a Greyhound ſhould ouerturne a Squerell, then for a ſpace, he ſeemeth to lye as though he were in great paine, or in a rapte, wonderfully tormenting himſelfe, during which agonie, the other Diſciple ſhaketh the Siluer Bell continually. Thus when the agonie is paſt, and he lyeth quietly (yet without any ſence or feeling) the King, or ſome other in his ſtead, demandeth of him what he deſired to know: and the ſpirit anſwered him by the mouth of the rapte *Piaces*, with a direct and perfect anſwere to all points: Inſomuch that on a time certaine *Spaniards* being preſent at theſe myſteries with one of the Kings, and in the *Spaniſh* tongue demanding the *Piaces* of their Ships which they looked for out *Spaine*, the ſpirit anſwered in the *Indian* tongue, and told them what day and houre the Ships departed from *Spaine*, how many they were, and what they brought, without failing in any point. If he be alſo demanded of the eclipſe of the Sunne or Moone (which they greatly feare and abhorre) he giueth a perfect anſwer, and the like of tempeſts, famine, plentie, warre or peace, and ſuch other things. When all the demands are finiſhed, his Diſciples call him aloud, ringing the Siluer Bell at his eare, and blowing a certaine powder into his noſtrils, whereby he is raiſed as it were from a dead ſleepe, being yet ſomewhat heauy headed and faint a good while after. Thus being againe rewarded of the King with more bread, he departeth againe to the deſarts with his Diſciples. But ſince the Chriſtian faith hath beene diſperſed throughout the Iland, theſe diuelliſh practiſes haue ceaſed, and they of the members of the Diuell, are made the members of Chriſt by Baptiſme, forſaking the Diuell and his workes, with the vaine curioſity of deſire of knowledge of things to come, whereof for the moſt part it is better to be ignorant, then with vexation to know that which cannot be auoided.

Eclipſes and Prognoſtications.

Furthermore, in manie places of the firme Land, when any of the Kings dye, all his houſhold ſeruants, aſwell women as men, which haue continually ſerued him, kill themſelues, beleeuing as they are taught by the Diuell *Tuyra*, that they that kill themſelues when the King dyeth, goe with him to heauen, and ſerue him in the ſame place and office as they did before on the earth while he liued: and that all that refuſe ſo to doe, when after they dye by their naturall death or otherwiſe, their ſoules to die with their bodies, and to be diſſolued into ayre, and become nothing, as doe the ſoules of Hogges, Birds, Fiſhes, or other bruite beaſts: and that onely the other may enioy the priuiledge of immortalitie for euer, to ſerue the King in heauen. And of this falſe opinion commeth it, that they which ſowe corne, or ſet rootes for the Kings bread, and gather the ſame, are accuſtomed to kill themſelues, that they may enioy this priuiledge in heauen, and for the ſame purpoſe, cauſe a portion of the graine of *Maiz*, and a bundle of *Iucca* (whereof their bread is made) to be buried with them in their graues, that the ſame may ſerue them in heauen, if perhaps there ſhould lacke ſeedes to ſowe, and therefore they take this with them, to begin withall, vntill *Tuyra* (who maketh them all theſe faire promiſes) prouide them of greater quantitie. This haue I my ſelfe ſeene in the top of the Mountaines of *Guaturo*, where hauing in priſon the King of that Prouince (who rebelled from the obedience of your Maieſtie) and demanding of him to whom pertained thoſe Sepultures or graues which I ſaw in his houſe: he anſwered, that they were of certaine *Indians* which ſlew themſelues at the death of his Father. And becauſe they are oftentimes accuſtomed to bury great quantities of wrought gold with them, I cauſed two graues to be opened, wherein was nothing found but a veſſell full of the graine of *Maiz*, and a bundle of *Iucca*, as I haue ſaid. And demanding the cauſe hereof, of the King and the other *Indians*: they anſwered, that they that were buried there, were the labourers of the ground, and men skilfull in ſowing of ſeedes, and making of bread, and ſeruants to the Kings father, and to the end that their ſoules ſhould not dye with their bodies, they ſlue themſelues at the death of the King their Maſter, to liue with him in heauen, and to the intent that they might ſerue him there in the ſame office, they reſerued that *Maiz* and *Iucca*, to ſowe it in heauen. Whereunto I anſwered them in this manner, Behold how your *Tuyra* deceiueth you, and how all that he teacheth you is falſe. You ſee how in ſo long a time ſince they are dead, they haue not yet taken away this *Maiz* and *Iucca*, which is now putrified and worth nothing, and not like to be ſowen in heauen. To this the King replied, ſaying, In that they haue not taken it away, nor ſowen it in heauen, the cauſe is, that they chanced to finde enough there, by reaſon whereof they had no neede of this. To this errour many things were ſaid, which ſeemed of little force to remoue him from his falſe opinion, and eſpecially any ſuch as at that age are occupied of the Diuell, whom they paint of the ſelfe ſame forme and colour, as he appeared vnto them in diuers ſhapes and formes. They make alſo Images of Gold, Copper, and Wood, to the ſame ſimilitudes, in terrible ſhapes, and ſo variable, as the Painters are accuſtomed to paint them at the feete of Saint *Michael* the Archangell, or in any other place, where they paint them of moſt terrible portrature. Likewiſe when the diuell greatly intendeth to feare them, he threateneth to ſend them great tempeſts, which they call *Furacanas*, or *Hauracanas*, and are ſo vehement, that they ouerthrow many houſes, and great trees. And I haue ſeene in Mountaines, full of many and great trees, that for the ſpace of three quarters of a league the Mountaine hath beene ſubuerted, and the tree ouerthrowne, and plucked out of the earth with the rootes.

Reaſon why men kill themſelues to ſerue their Maſters in the other world.

Images of the Diuell.

Tempeſts.

The gulfe of *Vraba*, is diſtant from the Equinoctiall line, from an hundred and twentie, to a hundred

hundred and thirty leagues, and three quarters of a league, after that accompt of seuenteen leagues and a halfe for euerie degree from Pole to Pole: & thus for a little more or lesse, goeth all the coast. By reason wherof, in the Citie of *Santta Maria, Antiqua*, in *Dariena*, and in all that course of the foresaid gulfe of *Vraba*, at all times of the yeere the daies and nights are in manner of equall length: and if there be any difference betweene them by reason of this small distance from the Equinoctiall, it is so little, that in foure and twentie houres, making a naturall day, it cannot be perceiued but by the iudgement of speculatiue men, and such as vnderstand the sphere. From hence the North Starre is seene verie low.

Of diuers particular things, as Wormes, Serpents, Beasts, Foules, Trees, &c.

I Will first speake of certaine little and troublesome Beasts, which may seeme to be engendred of nature to molest and vexe men, to shew them and giue them to vnderstand, how small and vile a thing may offend & disquiet them, to the end that they may remember the principall end for the which they were created, that is, to know their maker. In manie parts of the firme Land, by the which as wel the Christians as the Indians do trauaile, there are such marishes & waters in the way, that they are faine to go without breeches among the hearbs & weeds, by reason wherof, certain small beasts or wormes (which they call *Garapates*) much like vnto Ticks, cleaue fast to their legs. These worms are as little as the pouder of beaten Salt, & cleaue so fast, that they can by no meanes be taken away, except the place be nointed with oyle: & after that the legs be nointed a while with oyle, or the other parts where these little Tickes are fastened, they scrape the place with a Knife, & so take them away. But the *Indians* which haue no oyle, smoake them, and burne them with fire, and abide great paines in taking them away by this means. Of other little Beasts which trouble men, and are engendred in their heads or other parts of their bodies, I say that the Christian men which trauaile into these parts, haue them but seldome times, and that not past one or two, and this also very seldome: For passing by the line of the Diameter where the compasse maketh difference of sailing by the winde called *Greco* (that is, North-east) and *Magistral* (that is, South-west) which is in the course of the Ilands of *Azori*, they saile but a little way following our voiage by the West, but that all the Lice which the Christians carrie with them, or are engendred in their heads, or other places of their bodies, die and vtterly consume by little and little, and are not engendred in *India*, except in the heads of little children in those parts, as well among the children of the *Christians* which are borne there, as also among the naturall *Indians*, who haue them commonly in their heads, and sometimes in other parts of their bodies, and especially they of the Prouince of *Cuena*, which is a region containing more then a hundred leagues in length, and embraceth the one and the other coast of the North Sea, and of the East. When these *Indians* are infected with this filthinesse, they dresse and cleanse one another: And they that exercise this, are for the most part women, who eate all that they take, and haue herein such dexterity by reason of their exercise, that our men cannot lightly attaine thereunto. There is also another thing greatly to be considered: and this is, how the *Christian* men, being there cleane from this filthinesse of *India*, as well in their heads as the rest of their bodies, yet when they returne to come againe into *Europe*, and begin to arriue in that place of the Ocean Sea where we said before that these Lice died and forsooke them, sodainely in their repassing by the same clime (as though these Lice had tarried for them in that place) they can by no meanes auoide them for the space of certaine daies, although they change their shirts two or three times in a day. These Lice are at the first as little as Nits, and grow by little and little, vntill they be of the bignesse that they are in *Spaine*. This haue I oftentimes proued, hauing now foure times passed the Ocean Sea by this voiage. Beside these wormes and vermin wherof we haue spoken, there is another little mischieuous worm, which we may number among the kindes of Fleas, this Pestilence the *Indians* call *Nigua*, and is much lesse then a Flea: it pearceth the flesh of a man, and so lanceth or cutteth the same (while in the meane time it can neither be seene nor taken) that from some it hath cut off their hands, and from other their feete, vntill the remedy was found to annoint the place with Oyle and scrape it with a Rasor. In the firme Land in golden Castile or *Beragua*, there are many Vipers like vnto them of *Spaine*: they that are bitten of them, dye in short space, for few liue to the fourth day, except present remedy. Of these, some are of lesse kinde then other, and haue their taile somewhat round, and leape in the aire to assaile men; and for this cause, some call this kinde of Vipers *Tyro*: their biting is most venomous, and for the most part incurable. One of them chanced to bite an *Indian* Maide which serued me in my house, to whom I caused the Surgians to minister their ordinary cure, but they could doe her no good, nor yet get one drop of blood out of her, but onely a yellow water, so that she died the third day for lacke of remedie, as the like hath chanced to diuers others. This Maide was of the age of foureteene yeares, and spake the *Spanish* tongue as if she had beene borne in *Castile*: she said that the Viper which bit her, on the foot, was two spans long, or little lesse: and that to bite her, she leapt in the aire for the space of more then six paces, as I haue heard the like of other credible persons.

Small Wormes troublesome.

Lice forsake them.

Lice finde them againe.

Nigua.

Vipers.

I haue

Adders. I haue alſo ſeene in the firme Land a kinde of Adders, very ſmall, and of ſeuen or eight foot long; theſe are ſo red, that in the night they appeare like burning coles, and in the day ſeeme as red as blood, theſe are alſo venemous, but not ſo much as the Vipers. There are other much leſſe and ſhorter, and blacker: theſe come out of the Riuers, and wander ſometimes farre on the Land, and are likewiſe venemous. There are alſo other Adders of a ruſſet colour: theſe are ſomewhat bigger then the Viper, and are hurtfull and venemous. There are likewiſe another ſort of many colours, and very long: of theſe I ſaw one in the yeare of Chriſt 1515. in the Iland of *Hiſpaniola*, neere vnto the Sea coaſts, at the foote of the Mountaines called *Pedernales*. When this Adder was ſlain I meaſured her, & found her to be more then twenty foot long, and ſomewhat more then a mans fiſt in bigneſſe: and although ſhe had three or foure deadly wounds with a Sword, yet dyed ſhe not, nor ſtunke the ſame day, in ſo much that her blood continued warme all that time. There are alſo in the Mariſhes and deſarts of the firme Land many other kindes of Lyſarts, Dragons, and diuers other kindes of Serpents, whereof I intend not here to ſpeak much, becauſe I haue more particularly entreated of theſe things in my generall hiſtorie of the Weſt *Indies*. There are alſo Spiders of marueilous bigneſſe, and I haue ſeene ſome with bodie and legges bigger then a mans hand extended euery way, and I once ſaw one of ſuch bigneſſe, that onely her body was as bigge as a Sparrow, and full of that Laune whereof they make their webbes: this was of a darke ruſſet colour, with eyes greater then the eyes of a Sparrow, they are venemous, and of terrible ſhape to behold. There are alſo Scorpions, and diuers other ſuch venomous wormes. Furthermore in the firme Land, there are many Toades, being verie noious and hurtfull by reaſon of their great multitude, they are not venemous, they are ſeene in great abundance in *Dareena*, where they are ſo big that when they die in the time of drought, the bones of ſome of them (and eſpecially the ribs) are of ſuch greatneſſe, that they appeare to be the bones of Cats, or of ſome other beaſts of the ſame bigneſſe. But as the waters diminiſh, & the moiſture conſumeth in the time of drought (as I haue ſaid) they alſo conſume therewith, vntill the yeare next following when the raine and moiſture encreaſe, at which time they are ſeene againe. Neuertheleſſe, at this preſent there is no ſuch quantitie of them, as was wont to be, by reaſon that as the Land is better cultured by the Chriſtians, as well by the felling of Woods and Shrubs, as alſo by the Paſture of Kine, Horſes, and other beaſts, ſo is it apparant that this poiſon diminiſheth daily, whereby that region becommeth more holeſome and pleaſant. Theſe Toades ſing after three or foure ſort, for ſome of them ſing pleaſantly, otherlike ours of *Spaine*, ſome alſo whiſtle, and other ſome make another manner of noiſe: they are likewiſe of diuers colours, as ſome greene, ſome ruſſet or gray, and ſome almoſt blacke, but of all ſorts they are great and filthie, and noious by reaſon of their great multitude, yet are they not venemous, as I haue ſaid.

Dragons.

Spiders huge.

Toades.

Their renuing.

Singing.

Crabs or rather Tortoiſes. There are alſo a ſtrange kinde of Crabbes, which come forth of certaine holes of the earth, that they themſelues make: the head and bodie of theſe make one round thing, much like to the hood of a Faulcon, hauing foure feete comming out of the one ſide, and as manie out of the other: they haue alſo two mouthes, like vnto a paire of ſmall Pincers, the one bigger then the other, wherewith they bite, but doe no great hurt, becauſe they are not venemous: their skin and bodie is ſmooth, and thinne, as is the skinne of a man, ſauing that it is ſomewhat harder; their colour is ruſſet, or white, or blew, and walke ſidelong, they are verie good to be eaten, in ſo much that the Chriſtians trauailing by the firme Land, haue beene greatly nouriſhed by them, becauſe they are found in manner euerie where: in ſhape and forme they are much like vnto the Crabbe which we paint for the ſigne Cancer, and like vnto thoſe which are found in *Spaine* in *Andaluſia* in the Riuer *Guadalchiber*, where it entreth into the Sea, and in the Sea coaſts there about, ſauing that theſe are of the water, and the other of the land: they are ſometimes hurtfull, ſo that they that eate of them dye, but this chanceth onely when they haue eaten any venomous thing, or of the venemous apples wherewith the Caniball archers poiſon their arrowes, whereof I will ſpeake hereafter, and for this cauſe the Chriſtians take heede how they eate of theſe Crabbes, if they finde them neere vnto the ſaid apple trees. Furthermore in theſe *Indies*, as well in the firme land, as in the Ilands, there is found a kinde of Serpents, which they call *Yuanas*, which ſome call *Iuannas*, theſe are terrible and fearefull to ſight, and yet not hurtfull, they are verie delicate to be eaten, and it is not yet knowne whether they be beaſts of the land, or fiſhes, becauſe they liue in the water, and wander in the woods, and on the land: they haue foure feet, and are commonly bigger then Connies, and in ſome places bigger then Otters, with tailes like Lyſarts or Eutes: their skinne is ſpotted, and of the ſame kinde of ſmoothneſſe or bareneſſe, although of diuers colours: vpon the ridge of their backes, they haue manie long prickes, their teeth are very ſharpe, and eſpecially their fangs or dogge teeth, their throates are long and large, reaching from their beards to their breſts, of the like skinne to the reſidue of their bodies: they are dumbe, and haue no voice, or make any noiſe, or crie, although they be kept tied to the foote of a cheſt, or any other thing, for the ſpace of twentie or fiue and twentie daies, without any thing to eate or drinke, except they giue them now and then a little of the bread of *Cazabi*, or ſome ſuch other thing: they haue foure feete, and their fore-feete as long as a mans finger, with clawes like the clawes of a bird, but weaker, and ſuch as cannot graſple or take hold of any thing:

Serpents called *Iuanni*.

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thing: they are much better to be eaten then to behold, for few that see them, will haue desire to eate of them, by reason of their horrible shape, except such as haue beene accustomed to the beasts of these regions, which are more horrible and fearefull, as this is not, but onely in apparence: their flesh is of much better taste then the flesh of Connies, and more holesome, for it hurteth none but onely such as haue had the French poxe, in so much, that if they haue beene touched of that infirmitie, although they haue beene whole of long time, neuertheless they feele hurt, and complaine of the eating of these *Iuannas*, as hath beene oftentimes proued by experience. Note.

There are found in the firme land certaine birds, so little, that the whole bodie of one of them is no bigger then the top of the biggest finger of a mans hand, and yet is the bare body without the feathers not halfe so bigge: This Bird, beside her littlenesse, is of such velocitie and swiftnesse in flying, that who so seeth her flying in the aire, cannot see her flap or beate her wings after any other sort then doe the Dorres, or humble Bees, or Beetels: so that there is no man that seeth her flye, that would thinke her to be any other then a Dorre: they make their nests according to the proportion of their bignesse, and I haue seene that one of these Birds with her nest put in a paire of gold weights altogether, hath waide no more then 2. *Tomini*, which are in poise 24 graines, with the feathers, without the which she should haue waied somewhat lesse. And doubtlesse, when I consider the finenesse of the clawes and feete of these Birds, I know not whereunto I may better liken them, then to the little birds which the lymners of bookes are accustomed to paint on the margent of Church Bookes, and other Bookes of Diuine Seruice. Their Feathers are of manie faire colours, as golden, yellow, and greene, beside other variable colours: their beake is verie long for the proportion of their bodies, and as fine and subtile as a sowing needle: they are verie hardy, so that when they see a man clime the tree where they haue their nests, they flye at his face, and strike him in the eyes, comming, going, and returning with such swiftnesse, that no man would lightly beleeue it, that hath not seene it: and certainly these birds are so little, that I durst not haue made mention hereof, if it were not that diuers others which haue seene them as well as I, can beare witnesse of my saying: they make their nests of flocks and cotten, whereof there is great plentie in these regions, and serueth well for their purpose. But as touching the Birds, Foules, and Beasts of these *Indies*, because they are innumerable, both little and great, I intend not to speake much here, because I haue spoken more largely hereof in my generall Historie of the *Indies*. There is another kinde of Beasts seene in the firme Land, which seemeth very strange and marueilous to the Christian men to behold, and much differing from all other Beasts which haue beene seene in other parts of the world: these Beasts are called *Bardati*, and are foure footed, hauing their taile and all the rest of their bodies couered onely with a skin like the coperture of a barbed horse, or the checkered skin of a Lisart or Crocodile, of colour betweene white and russet, inclining somewhat more to white. This Beast is of forme and shape much like to a barbed horse, with his barbes and flankets in all points, and from vnder that which is the barbe and coperture, the taile commeth forth, and the feete in their place, the necke also and the eares in their parts, and in fine all things in like sort as in a barbed courser: they are of the bigneſse of one of these common Dogges, they are not hurtfull, they are filthie, and haue their habitation in certaine hillockes of the earth, where digging with their feete, they make their dens verie deepe, and the holes thereof, in like manner as doe Connies: they are very excellent to be eaten, and are taken with nets, and some also killed with Crosbowes: they are likewise taken oftentimes when the Husbandmen burne the stubble in sowing time, or to renew the herbage for Kine and other Beasts. I haue oftentimes eaten of their flesh, which seemeth to me of better taste then Kiddes flesh, and holesome to be eaten. And if these Beasts had euer beene seene in these parts of the world, where the first barbed Horses had their originall, no man would iudge but that the forme and fashion of the coperture of Horses furnished for the warres, was first deuised by the sight of these Beasts. Small Birds. *Tomineios.* *Bardati* or *Armadillos*; a kinde of Mole.

There is also in the firme Land another beast, called *Orso Formigaro*, that is, the *Ante-beare*. This beast in haire and colour, is much like to the Beare of *Spaine*, and in manner of the same making, saue that he hath a much longer snout, and is of euill sight: they are oftentimes taken only with staues, without any other weapon, and are not hurtfull, they are also taken with Dogges, because they are not naturally armed, although they bite somewhat, they are found for the most part about and neere to the hillockes where are great abundance of Antes. For in these Regions is ingendred a certaine kind of Antes, very little and blacke, in the Fields and Plaines whereas grow no Trees, where by the instinct of Nature these Antes separate themselues to ingender farre from the Woods for feare of these Beares, the which because they are fearefull, vile, and vnarmed (as I haue said) they keepe euer in places full of Trees, vntill very famine and necessitie, or the great desire that they haue to feede on these Antes, cause them to come out of the Woods to hunt for them: these Antes make a hillocke of earth to the height of a man, or somewhat more or lesse, and as bigge as a great Chest, and sometimes as bigge as a But or a Hogshead, and as hard as a stone, so that they seeme as though they were stones, set vp to limit the ends and confines of certaine Lands. Within these hillockes, made of most hard earth, Beares. Antes.

are

are innumerable and infinite little Ants, the which may be gathered by buſhels when the hillock is broken: the which when it is ſometimes moyſted by raine, and then dried againe by the heat of the Sunne, it breaketh, and hath certaine ſmall rifts, as little and ſubtill as the edge of a Knife, and it ſeemeth that Nature hath giuen ſenſe to theſe Antes to find ſuch a matter of earth, where-

Iohſon mentions the like neere *Gambra*.

with they may make the ſaid hillocke of ſuch hardneſſe, that it may ſeeme a ſtrong pauement made of lime and ſtone: and whereas I haue prooued and cauſed ſome of them to be broken, I haue found them of ſuch hardneſſe, as if I had not ſeene, I could not haue beleeued, inſomuch that they could ſcarſly be broken with Pikes of Iron, ſo ſtrong Fortreſſes doe theſe little beaſts make for their ſafegard againſt their aduerſarie the Beare, who is chiefly nouriſhed by them, and giuen them as an enemie, according to the common Prouerbe which ſaith, *Non è alcuna perſona ſi libera, a chi manchi il ſuo Bargello*, that is, There is no man ſo free, that hath not his Perſecutor or priue Enemie. And here when I conſider the maruellous prouidence which Nature hath giuen to theſe little bodies, I call to remembrance the wittie Sentence of *Plinie*, where ſpeaking of ſuch little beaſts, he ſaith thus, *Why doe we maruell at the Towre-bearing ſhoulders of Elephants, and not rather where Nature hath placed ſo many ſenſes and ſuch induſtry in ſuch little bodies? Where is Hearing, Smelling, Seeing, and Feeling, yea, where are the Veines and Arteries (without which no beaſt can liue or moue) in theſe ſo little bodies, wherof ſome are ſo ſmall that their whole bodies can ſcarſly bee ſeene of our eyes: What ſhall we then ſay of the parts of the ſame? Yet euen among theſe there are many of ſuch ſagacitie and induſtry, as the like is not ſeene in beaſts of greater quantitie, no nor yet in man, &c.*

Great wonders in leaſt creatures.

But to returne to the Hiſtorie. This Enemy which nature hath giuen to theſe little Beaſts, vſeth this manner to aſſaile them: When he reſorteth to the Hillocke where the Antes lye hid as in their fortreſſe, he putteth his tongue to one of the rifts whereof we haue ſpoken, beeing as ſubtill as the edge of a Sword, and therewith continuall licking, maketh the place moiſt, the foame and froth of his mouth being of ſuch propertie, that by continuall licking the place, it inlargeth the rift in ſuch ſort by little and little, that at the length he eaſily putteth in his tongue, which he hath very long and thinne, and much diſproportionate to his bodie, and when he hath thus made free paſſage for his tongue in the hillocke, to put it eaſily in and out at his pleaſure, then he thruſteth it into the hole as farre as he can reach, and ſo letteth it reſt a good ſpace, vntill a great quantitie of the Antes (whoſe nature reioyceth in heat and moyſture) haue laden his tongue, and as many as he can containe in the hollowneſſe thereof, at which time hee ſuddenly draweth it into his mouth, and eateth them, and returneth againe to the ſame practice immediatly, vntill hee haue eaten as many as him liſteth, or as long as hee can reach any with his tongue. The fleſh of this Beaſt, is filthy and vnſauourie, but by reaſon of the extreame ſhifts and neceſſitie that the Chriſtian men were put to at their firſt comming into theſe parts, they were inforced to prooue all things, and ſo fell to the eating of theſe Beaſts: but when they had found more delicate meates, they fell into hatred with this. Theſe Antes haue the appearance of the place of their entrance into the hillocke, vnder the ground, and this at ſo little a hole, that it could hardly bee found, if certaine of them were not ſeene to paſſe in and out: but by this way the Beares could haue no ſuch power to hurt them as aboue at the ſaid rifts, as I haue ſaid.

A ſtrange beaſt which ſeemeth a kind of Camelion.

There is anoother ſtrange beaſt, which by a name of contrary effect, the *Spaniards* call *Cagnuolo leggiero*, that is, *The Light Dogge*, whereas it is one of the ſloweſt beaſts in the World, and ſo heauie and dull in mooving, that it can ſcarſly goe fiftie paſes in a whole day: theſe beaſts are in the firme Land, and are very ſtrange to behold for the diſproportion that they haue to all other beaſts: they are about two ſpans in length when they are growne to their full bigneſſe, but when they are very young, they are ſomewhat more groſſe then long: they haue foure ſubtill feet, and in euery of them foure clawes like vnto Birds, and ioyned together, yet are neither their clawes or their feet able to ſuſteine their bodies from the ground, by reaſon whereof, and by the heauineſſe of their bodies, they draw their bellies on the ground: their neckes are high and ſtreight, and all equall like the peſtle of a Morter, which is altogether equall euen vnto the top, without making any proportion or ſimilitude of a head, or any difference except in the noddle, and in the tops of their neckes: they haue very round faces much like vnto Owles, and haue a marke of their owne haire after the manner of a Circle, which maketh their faces ſeeme ſomewhat more long then large: they haue ſmall eyes and round, & noſtrils like vnto Monkeyes: they haue little mouthes, and mooue their neckes from one ſide to another, as though they were aſtoniſhed: their chiefe deſire and delight is to cleaue and ſticke faſt vnto Trees, or ſome other thing whereby they may climbe aloft, and therefore for the moſt part, theſe beaſts are found vpon Trees, whereunto cleauing faſt, they mount vp by little and little, ſtaying themſelues by their long clawes: the colour of their haire is betweene ruſſet and white, and of the proper colour of the haire of a Weſell: they haue no tayles, and their voice is much differing from other beaſts, for they ſing onely in the night, and that continually from time to time, ſinging euer ſixe notes one higher then another, ſo falling with the ſame, that the firſt note is the higheſt, and the other in a baſer tune, as if a man ſhould ſay, *La, ſol, fa, mi, re, vt*, ſo this beaſt ſaith, *Ha, ha, ha, ha, ha, ha.*

And

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And doubtleſſe, it ſeemeth to me, that as I haue ſaid in the Chapter of the beaſt called *Bardati*, that thoſe beaſts might be the originall and document to imbarbe Horſes: euen ſo, the firſt inuention of Muſicke might ſeeme by the hearing of this beaſt, to haue the firſt principles of that Science, rather then by any other thing in the World. But now to returne to the Hiſtorie. I ſay that in a ſhort ſpace after this Beaſt hath ſung, and hath pauſed a while, ſhee returneth againe to the ſelfe-ſame Song, and doth this onely in the night, and not in the day: By reaſon whereof, and alſo becauſe of her euill ſight, I thinke her to be a night Beaſt, and the friend of darkneſſe. Sometimes the Chriſtian men find theſe Beaſts, and bring them home to their houſes, where alſo they creepe all about with their naturall ſlowneſſe, inſomuch that neither for threatning or pricking they will mooue any faſter then their naturall and accuſtomed pace. And if they finde any Trees, they creepe thither immediately, and mount to the top of the higheſt branch thereof, where they remayne continually for the ſpace of eight, or ten, or twentie dayes, without eating of any thing, as farre as any man can iudge. And whereas I my ſelfe haue kept them in my houſe, I could neuer perceiue other but that they liue onely of Aire: and of the ſame opinion, are in manner all men of thoſe Regions, becauſe they haue neuer ſeene them eate any thing, but euer turne their heads and mouthes toward that part where the wind bloweth moſt, whereby may be conſidered that they take moſt pleaſure in the Ayre. They bite not, nor yet can bite, hauing very little mouthes: they are not venemous or noyous any way, but altogether brutiſh, and vtterly vnprofitable, and without commoditie yet knowne to men, ſauing onely to mooue their minds to contemplate the infinite power of God, who delighteth in the varietie of creatures, whereby appeareth the power of his incomprehenſible wiſdome and maieſtie, ſo farre to exceed the capacitie of mans vnderſtanding.

In theſe Regions there are likewiſe found certaine Fowles or Birds, which the *Indians* call *Alcatraz*: theſe are much bigger then Geeſe, the greateſt part of their feathers are of ruſſet colour, and in ſome parts yellow, their bils or beakes are of two ſpannes in length, and very large neere to the head, and growing ſmall toward the point, they haue great and large throates, and are much like to a Fowle which I ſaw in *Flanders*, in *Bruſſels* in your Maieſties Palace, which the *Flemmings* call *Haina*: And I remember that when your Maieſtie dined one day in your great Hall, there was brought to your Maieſties preſence a Caldron of water with certaine fiſhes aliue, which the ſaid fowle did eat vp whole, and I think verily that that fowle was a fowle of the Sea, becauſe ſhe had feet like fowles of the water, as haue alſo theſe *Alcatrazi*, which are likewiſe fowles of the Sea, and of ſuch greatneſſe, that I haue ſeene a whole coate of a man put into the throats of one of them in *Panama*, in the yeere 1521. And foraſmuch as in that Coaſt of *Panama*, there paſſeth and flyeth a great multitude of theſe *Alcatrazi*, being a thing very notable, I will declare the manner hereof, as not onely I, but alſo diuers other now preſent in your Maieſties Court haue oftentimes ſeene. Your Maieſtie ſhall therefore vnderſtand, that in this place (as I haue ſaid before) the Sea of *Sur* riſeth and falleth two leagues and more from ſixe houres to ſixe houre: ſo that when it increaſeth, the water of the Sea arriueth ſo neere to the houſes of *Panama*, as doth our Sea (called *Mare Mediterraneum*) in *Barzalona*, or in *Naples*: and when the ſaid increaſing of the Sea commeth, there commeth alſo therewith ſuch a multitude of ſmall fiſhes called *Sardines*, that it is ſo maruellous a thing to behold, that no man would beleeue it that hath not ſeene it. Inſomuch that the *Cacique* (that is) the King of that Land, at ſuch time as I dwelt there, was bound daily, as he was commanded by your Maieſties Gouernour, to bring ordinarily three Canoas or Barkes full of the ſaid *Sardines*, and to vnlade the ſame in the Market place, which were afterward by the Ruler of the Citie diuided among the Chriſtian men, without any coſt or charge to any of them: Inſomuch that if the people had beene a much greater multitude then they were, and as many as are at this preſent in *Toledo*, or more, and had none other thing to liue by, they might haue beene ſufficiently ſuſteined by theſe *Sardines*, beſide the ouerplus which ſhould haue remayned. But to returne to the fowles, whereof wee haue ſpoken. As the Sea commeth, and the *Sardines* with the ſame, euen ſo likewiſe come the ſaid *Alcatrazzi* therewith, and flye continually ouer it in ſuch a multitude, that they appeare to couer the vpper part or floore of the water, and thus continue in mounting and falling from the ayre to the water, and from the water to the ayre, during all the time of their fiſhing: and aſſoone as they haue taken any of theſe *Sardines*, they flye aboue the waters, and eate them incontinently, and ſuddenly returne againe to the water for more, continuing thus courſe by courſe without ceaſing: in like manner when the Sea falleth, they follow their fiſhing as I haue ſaid. There goeth alſo in the company of theſe fowles another kind of fowles, called *Coda inforcata*, (that is) the *forked tayle*, whereof I haue made mention before, and aſſoone as the *Alcatraz* mounteth from the water with her prey of the *Sardines*, ſuddenly this *Coda inforcata* giueth her ſo many ſtrokes, and ſo perſecuteth her, that ſhee cauſeth her to let fall the *Sardines* which ſhee hath in her mouth: the which aſſoone as they are fallen, and before they yet touch the water, the *Coda inforcata* catcheth them euen in the fall, in ſuch ſort, that it is a great pleaſure to behold the combat betweene them all the day long. The number of theſe *Alcatrazzi* is ſuch, that the Chriſtian men are accuſtomed to ſend to certaine Ilands and Rockes which are neere about *Panama*,

Foules and Birds.

Alcatraz.

Panama.

Pilchards.

nama, with their Boates or Barkes to take these *Alcatrazzi*, while they are yet young, and cannot flie, and kill as many of them with staues as they will, vntill they haue therewith laden their Barkes or Canoas: these young ones are so fat and well fed, that they cannot bee eaten, and are taken for none other intent, but onely to make Grease for Candles to burne in the night, for the which purpose it serueth very well, and giueth a cleere light, and burneth easily. After this manner, and for this purpose, innumerable of them are killed: and yet it seemeth that the number of them that fish for *Sardines* doe daily increase. There are other fowles called *Passere sempie*, that is, simple Sparowes: these are somewhat lesse then Seamewes, and haue their feet like vnto great Malards, and stand in the water sometimes, and when the ships saile fiftie or a hundred leagues about the Ilands, these fowles beholding the ships comming toward them, breake their flight, and fall downe vpon the Saile yards, Masts, and Cables thereof, and are so simple and foolish, that they tarrie vntill they may easily bee taken with mens hands, and were therefore called of the Mariners simple Sparrowes: they are blacke, and vpon their blacke, haue their head and shoulders of feathers of a darke russet colour: they are not good to bee eaten, although the Mariners haue sometimes beene inforced to eate them. There is another kind of Birds in the firme Land, which the *Christians* call *Picuti*, because they haue very great beakes, in respect of the littlenesse of their bodies, for their beakes are very heauie, and weigh more then their whole bodies beside: these Birds are no bigger then Quailes, but haue a much greater bushment of feathers insomuch that their feathers are more then their bodies: their feathers are very faire, and of many variable colours; their beakes are a quarter of a yard in length or more, and bending downe toward the Earth, and three fingers broad neere vnto the head: their tongues are very quils, wherewith they make a great hissing: they make holes in Trees with their beakes, in the which they make their Nests. And surely these Birds are maruellous to behold, for the great difference which they haue from all other Birds that I haue seene, aswell for their tongues (which are quils as I haue said) as also for the strangenesse of their sight and disproportion of their great beakes, in respect of the rest of their bodies. There are no Birds found that prouide better for the safegard of their young in the time of their breeding, to be without danger of wilde Cats, that they enter not into their Nests to destroy their Egges or young, and this aswell by the strange manner of building their Nests, as also by their owne defence: and therefore when they perceiue that the Cats approach toward them, they enter into their Nests, and holding their beakes toward the entrance of the same, stand at their defence, and so vexe the Cats, that they cause them to leaue their enterprize.

Passere sempie.

Picuti, Birds with bils heauier then bodies.

There are also other Birds or Sparrowes, which the *Christians* by contrary effect call *Matti*, that is *Fooles*: Whereas neuertheless there is no Bird that sheweth more wit and craft in defending her young from perill. These Birds are little, and in manner blacke, and somewhat bigger then our Thrushes: they haue certaine white feathers in their neckes, and the like sagacitie or sharpnesse of sense as haue the Birds or Pyes called *Gazzuole*: they seldome times light vpon the earth: they make their Nests in Trees separated from other, because the Monkeyes are accustomed to leape from Tree to Tree, not descending to the ground for feare of other beasts, except when they are enforced by thirst to come downe to drinke, at such times as they are sure not to be molested, and for this cause doe not these Birds make their Nests but in Trees farre diuided from other, they make them of a Cubit in length, or more, after the manner of bagges or little sackes, large at the bottome, and growing narrower and narrower toward the mouth, whereby they are fastened, hauing the hole whereat they enter into the sacke, of such bignesse as may onely suffice to receiue them. And to the end that the Monkeyes may not deuoure their young, if they chance to mount vpon the Trees where they haue their Nests, they vse another craft, which is, to make their Nests in thicke branches of Trees, and to defend the same with sharpe and strong thornes, implicate and set in such order, that no man is able to make the like, so that the Monkeyes can by no meanes put their legges into the hole of the Nest to take out the young Birds, aswell for the sharpnesse of the thornes, as also for the depth of the Nests, in the bottome whereof, the young Birds rest without danger of their enemie: for some of their Nests being three or foure spans in length, the leg of the Monkey cannot reach to the bottome thereof. They vse also another policie, which is, to make many of their Nests in one Tree, the which they doe for one of these two causes: that is, that either of their owne naturall disposition they are accustomed to goe in great multitudes, and reioyce in the company of their owne generation, as doe the Birds which we call Stares, or else to the intent that if it should so chance that the Monkeyes should climbe the Trees where they make their Nests, they might bee a greater company to resist and molest the Monkeyes, at whose approach they make a fearefull and terrible cry, whereby the Monkeyes are put to flight. Furthermore, in the firme Land, and in the Ilands, there are certaine Birds called *Piche*, or *Gazzuole*, somewhat like vnto those which we call Wood-wals, or Wood-peckes, being lesse then ours of *Spaine*: these are altogether blacke, and goe hopping and leaping, their beakes are also blacke, and of the same fashion as are the Popingiayes beakes, they haue long tayles, and are somewhat bigger then Stares.

Foolish Sparowes, wisely prouident.

Gazzuole.

There

There are other Birds called *Pintadelli*, which are like vnto certaine greene Birds, which the *Itrlians* call *Fringuelli*, and are of seuen colours: these Birds for feare of the Monkeyes, are euer wont to make their Nests ouer the bankes of Riuers, or the Sea, where the branches of Trees so reach ouer the water, that with a little weight they may bow downe to the water: their Nests are made so neere the tops of the branches, that when the Monkeyes come thereon, the branches bend toward the water, and the Monkeyes turne backe againe for feare of falling: For although no beast in the World be more malicious then this, yet whereas the most part of beasts are naturally inclined to swimme, this Monkey hath no manner of aptnesse thereunto, and is therefore soone drowned or strangled in the water, and by a priuie sense of Nature feareth the danger which he cannot escape. These Birds make their Nests in such sort, that although they bee wet and filled with water, yet doe they so suddenly rise vp againe, that the young Birds are not thereby hurt or drowned. There are also many Nightingales, and other Birds which sing maruellously with great melodie and difference in singing: these Birds are of maruellous diuers colours the one from the other, some are altogether yellow, and some other of so excellent, delectable, and high a colour, as it were a Rubie, other are also of diuers and variable colours, some of few colours, and other some all of one colour, being all so faire and beautifull, that in brightnesse and shining they excell all that are in *Spaine*, or *Italie*, or other Prouinces of *Europe*. Many of these are taken with Nets, lime-twigs, and Springes of diuers sorts. Diuers other sorts of great fowles like vnto Eagles, and such other as liue of prey, are found in the firme Land, of such diuersitie, that it is in manner impossible to describe them all particularly: and forasmuch as I haue more largely intreated hereof in my generall Historie of the *Indies*, I thinke it not requisite heere to make any further mention of the same.

Pintadelli.

Great Fowles.

Of Trees, Fruits, and Plants.

THere is both in the firme Land and the Ilands a certaine Tree called *Coco*, being a kind of Date Trees, and hauing their leaues of the selfesame greatnesse, as haue the Date Trees which beare Dates, but differ much in their growing, for the leaues of this *Coco* grow out of the trunkes of the Tree, as doe the fingers out of the hand, wreathing themselues one within another, and so spreading abroad: these Trees are high, and are found in great plentie in the Coast of the Sea of *Sur*, in the Prouince of *Cacique Chiman*. These Date Trees bring forth a Fruit after this sort: being altogether vnite as it groweth on the Tree, it is of greater circumference then the head of a man, and from the superficiall part to the middest, which is the fruit, it is inuolued and couered with many Webs much like vnto those Hirds of Towe which they vse in *Andalusia*. Of this Towe or Web, the East *Indians* make a certaine kind of Cloth, of three or foure sorts, and Cordes for the Sayles of Ships: but in these *Indies* of your Maiestie, they passe not for these Coards, or this Cloth that may be made of the Fruit of *Coco*, by reason of the great plentie that they haue of the Bombage or Cotton of Gossampine Trees. The Fruit which is in the middest of the said Tow, is (as I haue said) as bigge as a mans fist, and sometimes twice as bigge, and more: It in forme like vnto a Walnut, or some other round thing, somewhat more long then large, and very hard, the rinde or barke hereof, is as thicke as the circle of Letters of a Riall of Plate, and within, there cleaueth fast to the rinde of the Nut a carnositie or substance of coornell, of the thicknesse of halfe a finger, or of the least finger of the hand, and is very white, like vnto a faire Almond, and of better taste and more pleasant. When this Fruit is chewed, there remayne certaine crummes, as doe the like of Almonds: Yet if it be swallowed downe, it is not vnpleasant. For although that after the iuyce or moysture be gone downe the throat before the said crummes be swallowed, the rest which is eaten, seeme somewhat sharpe or sowre, yet doth it not so greatly offend the taste, as to be cast away. While this *Cocus* is yet fresh and newly taken from the Tree, they vse not to eate of the said carnositie and Fruit, but first beating it very much, and then strayning it, they draw a Milke thereof, much better and sweeter then is the Milke of Beasts, and of much substance, the which the Christian men of those Regions put in the Tartes or Cakes which they make of the grain of *Maiz* whereof they make their Bread, or in other Bread as we put Bread in Pottage: so that by reason of the said Milke of *Cocus*, the Tartes are more excellent to be eaten without offence to the stomacke: they are so pleasant to the taste, and leaue it aswell satisfied as though it had beene delighted with many delicate Dishes. But to proceed further, your Maiestie shall vnderstand, that in the place of the stone or coornell, there is in the middest of the said carnositie a void place, which neuertheless is full of a most cleere and excellent water, in such quantitie as may fill a great Egge shell, or more, or lesse, according to the bignesse of the *Cocos*, the which water surely, is the most substantiall, excellent and precious to bee drunke, that may be found in the World: insomuch that in the moment when it passeth the palate of the mouth, and beginneth to goe downe the throate, it seemeth that from the sole of the foot, to the crowne of the head, there is no part of the bodie but that feeleth great comfort thereby: as it is doubtlesse one of the most excellent things that may bee tasted vpon the earth, and such as I am not able by writing or tongue to expresse. And to proceed yet further, I say that

Cocos.

I haue seene one of these Fruits opened, the which when it was whole, if it were shaken the water was hard shogge therein as it were in a Bottle, but in time it consumed & was partly congealed into a salt substance

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when the meate of this fruit is taken from the Vessell thereof, the vessell remayneth as faire and neate as though it were polished, and is without of colour inclining toward black, and shineth or glistereth very faire, and is within of no lesse delicatenesse. Such as haue accustomed to drinke in these Vessels, and haue beene troubled with the Disease called the fretting of the guts, say that they haue by experience found it a maruellous remedie against that Disease, and that it breaketh the stone, and prouoketh vrine. This fruit was called *Coca*, for this cause, that when it is taken from the place where it cleaueth fast to the Tree, there are seene two holes, and aboue them two other naturall holes, which altogether doe represent the gesture and figure of the Cattes called *Mummons*, that is, Monkeyes, when they cry, which cry the *Indians* call *Coca*, but in very deed, this Tree is a kind of Date Tree, and hath the same effect to beale fretting of the guts, that *Plinie* describeth all kinde of Date trees to haue. There are furthermore in the firme Land, Trees of such bignesse that I dare not speake thereof, but in place where I haue so many witnesses which haue seene the same as well as I. I say therefore, that a league from *Dariena* or the Citie of *Sancta Maria Antiqua*, there passeth a Riuer very large and deepe, which is called *Cuti*, ouer the which the *Indians* laid a great Tree, so trauersing the same, that it was in the stead of a bridge, the which I my selfe with diuers other that are at this present in your Maiesties Court, haue oftentimes passed ouer. And forasmuch as the said Tree had lyen long there, and by the great weight thereof was so shrunke downeward, and partly couered with water, that none could passe ouer it, but were wet to the knee, I being then in the yeere 1522. the officiall or Iustice in that Citie at your Maiesties appointment, caused another great Tree to bee laid in that place, which in like manner trauersed the Riuer, and reached more then fiftie foote ouer the further side: This Tree was exceeding great, and rested aboue the water more then two Cubits, in the fall, it cast downe all such other Trees as were within the reach thereof, and discouered certaine bynes, which were so laden with blacke Grapes of pleasant taste, that they satisfied more then fiftie persons which ate their fill thereof. This Tree, in the thickest part thereof, was more then sixteene spannes thicke, and was neuertheless but little in respect of many other trees which are found in this Prouince. For the *Indians* of the Coast and Prouince of *Cartagenia*, make Barkes or Boates thereof (which they call *Canoas*) of such bignesse, beeing all one whole Tree, that some containe a hundred men, some a hundred and thirtie, and some more, hauing neuertheless such void space within the same, that there is left sufficient roome to passe to and fro throughout all the *Canoas*. Some of these are so large, beside the length, that they conteine more then tenne or twelue spannes in breadth, and saile with two sailes, as with the Master saile and the trincket, which they make of very good Cotton. The greatest Trees that I haue seene in these parts, or in any other Regions, was in the Prouince of *Guaturo*, the King whereof rebelling from the obedience of your Maiestie, was pursued by me, and taken Prisoner: at which time I with my company, passed ouer a very high Mountaine, full of great Trees, in the top whereof, we found one Tree, which had three roots, or rather diuisions of the roote aboue the Earth, in forme of a Triangle, or Treuet, so that betweene euery foot of this Triangle or three feet, there was a space of twentie foot betweene euery foot, and this of such height aboue the Earth, that a laden Cart of those wherewith they are accustomed to bring home Corne in time of Haruest in the Kingdome of *Toledo* in *Spaine*, might easily haue passed through euery of those partitions or windoores which were betweene the three feet of the said Tree. From the Earth vpward to the trunke of the Tree, the open places of the diuisions betweene these three feete, were of such height from the ground, that a Footman with a Iauelin was not able to reach the place where the said feet ioyned together in the trunke or bodie of the Tree, which grew of great height in one piece, and one whole bodie, or euer it spread in branches, which it did not before it exceeded in height the Towre of Saint *Romane* in the Citie of *Toledo*: from which height and vpward, it spread very great and strong branches. Among certaine *Spaniards* which climbed this Tree, I my selfe was one, and when I was ascended to the place where it begunne to spread the branches, it was a maruellous thing to behold a great Countrey of such Trees toward the Prouince of *Abrayme*. This Tree was easie to climbe, by reason of certaine *Besuchi*, (whereof I haue spoken before) which grew wreathed about the Tree, in such sort that they seemed to make a scaling Ladder. Euery of the foresaid three feet which bore the bodie of the Tree, was twentie spannes in thickenesse, and where they ioyned altogether about the Trunke or bodie of the Tree, the principall Trunke was more then fortie and fiue spannes in circuite. I named the Mountaine where these Trees grow, the Mountaine of *three footed Trees*. And this which I haue now declared, was seene of all the company that was there with mee when (as I haue said before) I took King *Guaturo* Prisoner in the yeere 1522. Many things more might here be spoken as touching this matter, as also how there are many other excellent Trees found of diuers sorts and difference, as sweet Cedar Trees, blacke Date Trees, and many other, of the which some are so heauie that they cannot float about the water, but sinke immediately to the bottome, and other againe as light as a Corke. As touching all which things I haue written more largely in my generall Historie of the *Indies*.

Good against the wind and stone Collick.

Great Trees.

Great Canoas

A maruellous Tree.

And for as much as at this present I haue entred to entreate of Trees, before I passe any fur-

ther

ther to other things, I will declare the manner how the *Indians* kindle fire, onely with Wood and without fire, the manner whereof is this. They take a peece of wood, of two ſpannes in length, as biggeas the leaſt finger of a mans hand, or as an arrow well pulliſhed, and of a ſtrong kinde of wood which they keepe onely for this purpoſe: and where they intend to kindle any fire, they take two other peeces of wood, of the drieſt and lighteſt that they can finde, and binde them faſt together one with another, as cloſe as two fingers ioyned: in the middeſt or between theſe, they put the point of the firſt little ſtaffe made of hard and ſtrong wood, which they hold in their hands by the top thereof, and turne or rubbe it round about continually in one place betweene the two peeces of wood which lye bound together vpon the earth, which by that vnceſſant rubbing and chafing, are in ſhort ſpace kindled, and take fire. I haue alſo thought good here to ſpeake ſomewhat of ſuch things as come to my remembrance of certaine Trees which are found in this Land, and ſometime alſo the like haue beene ſeene in *Spaine*. Theſe are certaine putrified trunkes, which haue lien ſo long rotting on the earth, that they are very white, and ſhine in the night like burning firebrands, and when the *Spaniards* finde any of this wood, and intend priuily in the night to make warre and inuade any Prouince, when caſe ſo requireth that it ſhall be neceſſarie to goe in the night, in ſuch places where they know not the way, the formoſt Chriſtian man which guideth the way, aſſociate with an *Indian* to direct him therein, taketh a little ſtarre of the ſaid wood, which he putteth in his cap, hanging behinde on his ſhoulders, by the light whereof he that followeth next to him, directeth his iourney, who alſo in like manner beareth another ſtarre behinde him, by the ſhining whereof the third followeth the ſame way, and in like manner doe all the reſt, ſo that by this meanes none are loſt or ſtragle out of the way. And for as much as this light is not ſeene very farre, it is the better policie for the *Chriſtians*, becauſe they are not thereby diſcloſed before they inuade their enemies. Furthermore, as touching the natures of Trees, one particular thing ſeemeth worthy to be noted, whereof *Plinie* maketh mention in his naturall Hiſtorie, where he ſaith that there are certaine Trees which continue euer greene, and neuer looſe their leaues, as the Bay-tree, the Cedar, the Orange-tree, and the Oliue-tree, with ſuch other, of the which in altogether he nameth not paſt fiue or ſix. To this purpoſe, I ſay, that in the Ilands of theſe *Indies*, and alſo in the firme land, it is a thing of much difficultie to finde two Trees that loſe or caſt their leaues at any time: for although I haue diligently ſearched to know the truth hereof, yet haue I not ſeene any that loſe their leaues, either of them which we haue brought out of *Spaine* into theſe regions, as Orange-trees, Limons, Cedars, Palmes, or Date-trees, and Pomegranate-trees, or of any other in theſe regions, except onely *Caſſia*, which loſeth his leaues, and hath a greater thing appropriate to it ſelfe onely: which is, that whereas all other Trees and Plants of *India* ſpread their rootes no deeper in the earth then the depth of a mans height, or ſomewhat more, not deſcending any further into the ground, by reaſon of the great heate which is found beneath that depth, yet doth *Caſſia* pearle further into the ground, vntill it finde water: which by the Philoſophers opinion ſhould be the cauſe of a thinne and watery radicall moiſture to ſuch things as draw their nouriſhment thereof, as fat and vnctuous grounds with temperate heate, yeelde a faſt and firme moiſture to ſuch things as grow in them, which is the cauſe that ſuch Trees loſe not their leaues, as the ſaid thinne and wateriſh moiſture is cauſe of the contrarie, as appeareth by the ſaid effect which is ſeene onely in *Caſſia*, and none other Tree or Plant in all theſe partes.

Kindling of fire without fire.

Putrified wood ſhining in the night.

Plinie.

Almoſt all *Indian* trees continue euer greene.

Caſſia.

Earth hot lower then a fadome.

A ſecret thing.

Radicall moiſture.

Of Reedes or Canes.

IN the firme land there are many ſorts of Reedes, ſo that in many places they make their houſes thereof, couering them with the tops of the ſame, and making their wals of them in like manner, as I haue ſaid before: and among theſe kindes of Reedes, there is one ſo great, that the Canes thereof are as bigge as a mans legge in the knee, and three ſpans in length from ioynt to ioynt, or more, in ſo much that euery of them is of capacitie to containe a little bucket of water. In this kinde, there are found ſome greater, and ſome leſſe, of the which ſome they vſe to make quiuers for arrowes. There is found another kinde, which ſurely is marueilous, being little bigger then a Iauelin, the Canes whereof are longer then two ſpannes: theſe Reedes grow one farre from another, as ſometimes twenty or thirty paces, and ſometimes alſo two or three leagues: they grow in manner in all Prouinces in the *Indies*, and grow neere to very high Trees, whereunto they leane, and creepe vp to the top of their branches, which they imbrace, and deſcend againe downe to the earth. Their Canes are full of moſt cleare water, without any manner of taſte or ſauour, either of the Canes, or of any other thing, and ſuch as if it were taken out of the freſheſt Spring in the world, nor yet is it knowne that euer it hurt any that drunke thereof. For it hath oftentimes ſo chanced, that as the *Chriſtian* men haue trauailed in theſe regions in deſolate waies, where for lacke of water they haue beene in great danger to dye with thirſt, they haue eſcaped that perill by reaſon that they found the ſaid Reedes, of the water of whoſe Canes they haue drunke a great quantity, without any hurt thereof enſuing. Therefore when they finde theſe in any place, they make water veſſels of the Canes thereof, and carry

Reed-ſprings or fountaines of water.

as many of them full of water as may ſuffice for one dayes iourney: and ſometime they carrie ſo many, that they take for euery man two or three quarts of water, which may ſerue them for many daies, becauſe it doth not corrupt, but remaineth ſtill freſh and good.

Platani, or Plantans.

There are alſo certaine Plants, which the Chriſtians call *Platani*. They are as high as trees, and become as bigge in the trunke as the knee of a man, or more. From the foote to the top, they beare certaine long and large leaues, being more then three ſpans in largeneſſe, and about ten or twelue in length: the which when they are broken of the winde, the ſtalke remaineth whole in the middeſt. In the middeſt of this Plant, in the higheſt part thereof, there groweth a cluſter with fortie or fiftie Plantans about it, euery of them being a ſpan and a halfe in length, and as bigge as a mans arme in the ſmall, or more, or leſſe, according to the goodneſſe of the ſoile where they grow: they haue a rinde not very thicke, and eaſie to be broken, being within altogether full of a ſubſtance like vnto the marie of the bone of an Oxe, as it appeareth when the rinde or barke is taken from the ſame. This cluſter ought to be taken from the Plant, when any one of the Plantans begin to appeare yellow, at which time they take it, and hang it in their houſes, where all the cluſter waxeth ripe, with all his Plantans. This cluſter is a very good fruite, and when it is opened, and the rinde taken off, there are found within it many good drie Figges, which being roſted, or ſtewed in an Ouen, in a cloſe pot, or ſome ſuch other thing, are of pleaſant taſte, much like to the conſerue of Hony: they putrifie not on the Sea ſo ſoone as ſome other fruites doe, but continue fifteene daies and more, if they be gathered ſomewhat greene: they ſeeme more delicate on the Sea then on the Land, not for that they any thing encreaſe in goodnes on the Sea, but becauſe that wheras on the Sea other things are lacking, whereof is plentie on the Land, thoſe meates ſeeme of beſt taſte, which ſatisfie preſent neceſſitie. This trunke or ſprig which bringeth forth the ſaid cluſter, is a whole yeare in growing and bringing forth fruite, in which time it hath put forth round about in ten or twelue ſprigges, as bigge as the firſt or principal, and multiplieth no leſſe then the principall in bringing forth of cluſters, with fruits likewiſe at their time, and alſo in bringing forth other and many ſprigges, as is ſaid before. From the which ſprigges or trunkes, as ſoone as the cluſter of the fruite is taken away, the Plant beginneth to drie and wither, which then they take out of the ground, becauſe it doth none other then occupie it in vaine, and without profit. They are ſo many, and doe ſo marueilouſly encreaſe and multiplie, that it is a thing in manner incredible. They are exceeding moiſt, in ſo much that when they are plucked vp from the place where they grow, there iſſueth forth a great quantity of water, as well out of the Plant, as out of the place where it grew, in ſuch ſort, that all the moiſture of the earth farre about, might ſeeme to be gathered together about the trunke or blocke of the ſaid Plant, with the fruites whereof, the Antes are ſo farre in loue, that they are ſeene in great multitudes in the branches of the Plants: ſo that for the multitude thereof, it ſometime ſo chanceth, that men are enforced to take away the Plants from their poſſeſſion: theſe fruites are found at all times of the yeere. There is alſo another kinde of wilde Plants that groweth in the fieldes, which I haue not ſeene but in the Iland of *Hiſpaniola*, although they be found in other Ilands of the *Indies*: theſe they call *Tunas*. They grow of a Thiſtle full of thornes, and bring forth a fruite much like vnto great Figges, which haue a crowne like Medlers, and are within of a high colour, with graines and the rinde like vnto a Figge: they are of good taſte, and grow abundantly in the fields in many places: They worke a ſtrange effect in ſuch as eate them, for if a man eate two, or three, or more, they cauſe his vrine to be of the very colour of bloud, which thing chanced once to my ſelfe. For on a time as I made water, and ſaw the colour of my Vrine, I entred into a great ſuſpition of my life, being ſo aſtoniſhed for feare, that I thought the ſame had chanſed to me vpon ſome other cauſe, in ſo much that ſurely my imagination might haue done me hurt, but that they which were with me did comfort me immediately, declaring the cauſe thereof, as they knew by experience, being auncient inhabitours in thoſe regions. There groweth alſo another Plant, which the people of the Countrie call *Bihaos*: this putteth forth certaine ſtraight branches, and very broade leaues, which the *Indians* vſe for diuers purpoſes: for in ſome places they couer their houſes with the leaues thereof, couched and laid after the manner of thatch, whereunto it ſerueth very well: Sometimes alſo when it raineth, they caſt theſe ouer their heads, to defend them from the water. They make alſo certaine cheſts, which they call *Hauas*, weaued after a ſtrange ſort, and intermixt with the leaues of this *Bihaos*. Theſe Cheſts are wrought in ſuch ſort, that although it raine vpon them, or they chance to fall into the water, yet are not ſuch things wet as are within them: they are made of the branches of the ſaid *Bihaos*, with the leaues weaued together therewith. In theſe they keepe ſalt, and other ſubtile things. They vſe them alſo for another purpoſe, which is this: that finding them in the fields at ſuch time as they haue ſcarſeneſſe of victuals, they digge vp the rootes of theſe Plants while they are yet yong, or eate the Plant it ſelfe, in that part where it is moſt tender, which is from a foote vnder the ground, where it is as tender and white as a Reede or Bulruſh. And for as much as we are now come to the end of this narration, it commeth to my remembrance to make mention of

Tunas.

Bihaos.

Hauas.

of another thing, which is not farre from my purpose: and this is, how the *Indians* doe staine or dye cloath of bombage cotton, or any other thing which they intend to dye, of diuers colours, as Blacke, Tawny, Greene, Blew, Yellow, and Red, which they doe with the Barkes, or Rindes, and Leaues of certaine Trees, which they know by experience to be good for this practise: and by this art they make colours in such perfection and excellency, that no better can be deuised. But this seemeth a strange thing, that they doe all this in one selfe same Vessell: so that when they haue caused the said Rindes and Leaues to boile together, they make in the same Vessell without any change (as I haue said) as many colours as them listeth. Which thing I suppose to come to passe, by the disposition of the colour which they haue first giuen to the thing that they intend to dye or colour, whether it be Thred, Web, or Cloth, or any thing that they intend to colour.

Dying of Cotton.

A strange thing.

Of venemous Apples, wherewith they poyson their Arrowes.

THe Apples wherewith the *Indian Canibals* inuenome their arrowes, grow on certaine Trees couered with many Branches and Leaues, being very greene, and growing thicke. They are laden with abundance of these euill fruites, and haue their Leaues like the Leaues of a Peare-tree, but that they are lesse and rounder: the fruite is much like the muscadell Peares of the Iland of *Sicilie* or *Naples* in forme and bignesse, and are in some parts stained with red spots, and of very sweet sauour: these trees for the most part, grow euer by the Sea Coasts, and neere vnto the water, and are so faire and of pleasant sauour, that there is no man that seeth them, but will desire to eate thereof, insomuch that if it may bee spoken of any fruit yet growing on the earth, I would say that this was the vnhappy fruit whereof our first parents * *Adam* and *Eue* tasted, whereby they both lost their felicitie, and procured death to them and their posteritie. Of these fruits, and of the great Ants whose byting causeth swelling (whereof I haue spoken elsewhere) and of the *Eutes*, or *Lysarts*, and *Vipers*, and such other venomous things, the *Canibals* which are the chiefe Archers among the *Indians*, are accustomed to poyson their Arrowes, wherewith they kill all that they wound: These venomes they mingle together, and make thereof a blacke Masse or composition, which appeareth like vnto very blacke Pitch. Of this poyson I caused a great quantitie to bee burnt, in *Sancta Maria Antiqua*, in a place two leagues and more within the Land, with a great multitude of their inuenomed Arrowes and other munition, with also the house wherein they were reserued: This was in the yeere 1514. at such time as the Armie arriued there with Captaine *Pedrarias de Villa*, at the commaundement of the Catholike King *Don Ferdinando*. But to returne to the Historie. These Apples (as I haue sayde,) grow neere vnto the Sea: the Christians which serue your Maiestie in these patties, suppose that there is no remedie so profitable for such as are wounded with these Arrowes, as is the water of the Sea, if the wound bee much washed therewith, by which meanes some haue escaped, although but few: yet to say the truth, albeit the water of the Sea, haue a certaine caustike qualitie against poyson, it is not sufficient remedie in this case, nor yet to this day haue the Christians perceiued that of fiftie that haue beene wounded, three haue recouered. But that your Maiestie may the better consider the force of the venome of these trees, you shall further vnderstand, that if a man doe but repose himselfe to sleepe a little while vnder the shadow of the same, he hath his head and eyes so swolne when he riseth, that the eye lids are ioyned with the cheekes, and if it chance one drop or more of the deaw of the said tree to fall into the eye, it vtterly destroyeth the sight. The pestilent nature of this tree is such, that it cannot be declared in few words. Of these, there groweth great plentie in the gulfe of *Vraba*, toward the North coast, on the West and East side. The wood of these trees when it burneth, maketh so great a stinke, that no man is able to abide it, by reason it causeth so great a paine in the head.

* It was not a venemous iuice of the fruit, but spirituall disobedience in eating contrarie to Gods commandement, which poysoned *Adams* soule with sinne, the wages whereof is death.

Canibals inuenome their Arrowes.

Petrus Martir.

The water of the Sea.

The gulfe of *Vraba*.

Among other trees which are in these *Indies*, as well in the Ilands, as in the firme land, there is another kind which they call *Xagua*, whereof there is great plentie: they are very high, and streight, and faire to behold. Of these they vse to make Pikes, and Iauelins of diuers lengths and bignesse: they are of a faire colour, betweene russet and white: this tree bringeth forth a great fruit as big as *Papaner* or *Poppie*, and much like thereunto, it is very good to be eaten when it is ripe. Out of this they get a very cleare water, wherewith they wash their legs, and sometimes all their bodies, when they feele their flesh weary, faint, or loose: the which water, beside that it hath a binding qualitie, it hath also this propertie, that whatsoeuer it toucheth, it staineth it blacke by little and little, vntill it be as blacke as Iet, which colour cannot bee taken away in lesse space then tenne or twelue dayes: And if the nayle bee but touched therewith, it is so stained, that it can by no meanes be taken away, vntill it either fall of, or grow out, and be clipped away by little and little, as I my selfe haue oftentimes seene by experience.

Xagua.

Blacke staines.

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Hohi. Some thinke these to be mirobalanes.

There is another kinde of Trees which they call *Hohi*: these are very great and faire, and cause wholesome aire where they grow, and a pleasant shadow, and are found in great abundance: their fruit is very good, and of good taste and sauour, and much like vnto certaine Damsons or Prunes being little and yellow, but their stone is very great, by reason whereof they haue but little meate: their Barke or Rinde boyled in water, maketh a wholesome Bathe for the legges, because it bindeth and stayeth the loosenesse of the flesh, so sensibly that it is a maruell to consider. It is surely a wholesome and excellent Bathe against such faintnesse, and is the best Tree that may be found in those parts to sleepe vnder: For it causeth no heauinesse of the head, as doe diuers other Trees, which thing I speake, because the Christians are much accustomed in those Regions to lie in the fields. It is therefore a common practice among them, that whersoeuer they finde these Trees, there they spreade their Mattresses and Beds wherein they sleepe.

Date trees.

The Inhabitans of the Sea of *Sur*.

There are also a kinde of high Date trees, and full of thornes: the wood of these is most excellent, being very blacke and shining, and so heauie that no part thereof can swim aboue the water, but sinketh immediatly to the bottom. Of this wood they make their Arrowes and Darts, also Iauelins, Speares, and Pikes: and I say Pikes, because that in the coasts of the Sea of *Sur*, beyond *Esquegua* and *Uracha*, the *Indians* vse great and long Pikes, made of the wood of these Date trees. Of the same likewise they make Clubs, and Swords, and diuers other weapons: Also vessels and houshold stuffe of diuers sorts, very faire and commodious. Furthermore, of this wood the Christians vse to make diuers musicall instruments, as Claricymbals, Lutes, Gitterns, and such other, the which beside their faire shining colour like vnto jeat, are also of a good sound, and very durable, by reason of the hardnesse of the wood.

An herbe that beareth cordes.

Cabuia and *Henequen.*

A strange thing.

After that I haue said thus much of Trees and Plants, I haue thought good also to speake somewhat of Herbs. You shall therefore vnderstand, that in these *Indies* there is an herbe much like vnto a yellow Lilly, about whose leaues there grow and creepe certaine Cordes or Laces, as the like is partly seene in the herbe which we call *Laced sauory*, but these of the *Indies* are much bigger, and longer, and so strong that they tie their hanging beds thereby, which they cell *Hamacas*, whereof we haue spoken elsewhere: these Cordes they call *Cabuia*, and *Henequen*, which are all one thing, sauing that *Henequen* is lesse and of a finer substance, as it were Line, and the other is grosser, like the wike or twist of Hempe, and is imperfect in comparison to the other: they are of colour betweene white and yellow, like vnto abarne, and some also white. With *Henequen*, which is the most subtile and fine threed, the *Indians* saw in sunder Fetters, Chaines, or barres of Iron, in this manner: They moysten the threed of *Henequen* vpon the Iron which they intend to saw or cut, drawing the one hand after the other as doe they that saw, putting euer now and then a portion of fine Sand vpon the threed, or on the place or part of the Iron, where they continue rubbing the said threed, so that if the threed be worne, they take another, and continue in their worke as before, vntill they haue cut in sunder the Iron, although it bee neuer so bigge, and cut it as if it were a tender thing, and easie to be sawen.

Leaues.

Thistle trees.

A leafe of great vertue.

And forasmuch as the leaues of Trees may be counted among Herbs, I will here speake somewhat of the qualitie of the leaues of certaine Trees which are found in the Iland of *Hispaniola*. These trees are so full of thornes, that there is no tree or plant that seemeth more wilde and deformed: so that I cannot well determine whether they bee Trees or Plants: they haue certaine branches full of large and deformed leaues, which branches were first leaues like vnto the other. As the branches made of these leaues grow forth in length, there commeth other leaues of them: so that in fine it is a difficult thing to describe the forme of these trees, except the same should be done by a Painter, whereby the Eye might conceiue that wherein the Tongue faileth in this behalfe. The leaues of this tree are of such vertue, that being well beaten and spred vpon a cloth, after the manner of a plaister, and so laid to a legge or arme that is broken in many pieces, it healeth it in fifteene dayes, and maketh it as whole as though it had neuer beene broken: During the time of this operation, it cleaueth so fast to the flesh, that it cannot without much difficultie be taken away, but assoone as it hath healed the sore, and wrought his operation, it looseth it selfe from the place where it was laid, as I my selfe, and diuers other which haue proued it, know by experience.

Of Fishes, and of the manner of fishing.

IN the Sea coasts of the firme Land, there are diuers and sundrie kindes of fishes, much differing in shape and forme. And although it be impossible to speake of all, yet will I make mention of some. And first to begin at *Sardines*, you shall vnderstand that there is found a kinde of these fishes very large and with red tailes, being a very delicate fish. The best kindes of other fishes are these, *Moxarre*, *Diahace*, *Brettes*, *Dahaos*, *Thornbacks*, and *Salmons*: All these, and diuers other which I doe not now remember, are taken in great quantitie in Riuers. There are likewise taken very good *Creuishes*. There are also found in the Sea, certaine other fishes, as *Soles*, *Mackerels*, *Turbuts*, *Palamite*, *Lizze*, *Polpi*, *Chieppe*, *Xaibas*, *Locusts*, *Oisters*, exceeding great *Tortoises*, and *Tiburoni* of maruellous bigneste: also *Manates*, and *Murene*, and many other fishes, which

Tiburoni. *Manates.*

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which haue no names in our language, and theſe of ſuch diuerſitie and quantitie, as cannot bee expreſſed without large writing and long time. But to let paſſe to intreate particularly of the multitude of fiſhes, I intend to ſpeake chiefly, and ſomewhat largely, of three ſorts of moſt notable fiſhes: whereof the firſt is, the great *Tortoiſes*, the ſecond is called *Tiburon*, and the third *Manate*. And to begin at the firſt, I ſay that in the Iland of *Cuba*, are found great *Tortoiſes* (which are certaine ſhell fiſhes) of ſuch bigneſſe that ten or fifteene men are ſcarſly able to lift one of them out of the water, as I haue beene informed of credible perſons dwelling in the ſame Iland. But of that which I my ſelfe haue ſeene, I can teſtifie, that in the firme Land, in the village of *Acla*, there are of this ſort ſome taken and killed of ſuch bigneſſe, that ſixe men with much difficultie could ſcarſly draw them out of the water, and commonly the leaſt ſort of them are as much as two men may carry at a burden: that which I ſaw lifted vp by ſixe men, had her ſhell a yard and a quarter in length, and in breadth more then fiue yards. The manner of taking them, is this: It ſometimes chanceth that in their great nets (which they call ſhoote nets) there are found certaine *Tortoiſes* of the common ſort, in great quantities, and when they come out of the Sea, and bring forth their egges, and goe together by companies from the Sea, to feede on the Land, the *Chriſtians* or *Indians* follow their ſteps which they finde in the Sand, and ſoone ouertake them, becauſe they are very heauie and ſlow in going, although they make all the haſte they can to returne to the Sea, aſſoone as they eſpy any body. When they that purſue them haue ouertaken them, they put a ſtake or ſtaffe vnder their legs, and ouerturne them on their backs as they are yet running, ſo that they can goe no further, nor yet riſe againe or turne, and thus they ſuffer them to lye ſtill while they follow after the reſt, which they ouerturne in like manner: and by this meanes take very many, at ſuch times as they come forth of the Sea, as I haue ſaid: This fiſh is very excellent and wholeſome to be eaten, and of good taſte. *Great Tortoiſes.*

The ſecond of the three fiſhes whereof I haue ſpoken, is the *Tiburon*: this is a very great fiſh, and very quick and ſwift in the water, and a cruell Deuourer: theſe are oftentimes taken, aſwell when the ſhips are vnder ſaile in the Ocean, as alſo when they lye at anker, or at any other time, and eſpecially the leaſt kinde of theſe fiſhes. When the ſhips are vnder ſaile, the biggeſt ſort are taken after this manner. When the *Tiburon* ſeeth the ſhip ſayling, hee followeth it ſwimming behind, the which things the Mariners ſeeing, caſt forth all the filth of the ſhip into the Sea for the fiſh to eate, who neuertheleſſe followeth them with equall paſe, although they make neuer ſuch haſte with full winde and ſailes, and walloweth on euery ſide and about the ſhip, and thus followeth it ſometime for the ſpace of a hundred and fiftie leagues, and more, and when the Mariners are diſpoſed to take them, they caſt downe by the ſterne of the ſhip a hooke of Iron, as bigge as the biggeſt finger of a mans hand, of three ſpans in length, and crooked like a fiſh-hooke, with beards according to the bigneſſe thereof, and faſtned to an Iron chaine of fiue or ſixe linkes neere vnto the end, and from thence tyed with a great rope, faſtning alſo on the hooke for a bait, a piece of ſome fiſh, or hogs fleſh, or ſome other fleſh, or the bowels and intrals of another *Tiburon* which they haue taken before, which may eaſily be done, for I haue ſeene nine taken in one day, and if they would haue taken more, they might alſo. Thus when the *Tiburon* hath pleaſantly followed the ſhip a long voyage, at the length he ſwalloweth the bait with the hooke, and aſwell by his ſtriuing to flee or eſcape, as alſo by the ſwift paſſage of the ſhip, the hooke ouerthwarteth and catcheth hold of his chaps: the which fiſh when it is taken, it is of ſuch huge bigneſſe, that twelue or fifteene men are ſcarſly able to draw it out of the water, and lift it into the ſhip, where one of the Mariners giueth it many knocks on the head with a club or beetle, vntill he haue ſlaine it: they are ſometimes found of ten or twelue foote long, and of fiue, ſixe, or ſeuen ſpans in breadth, where they are broadeſt: they haue very great and wide mouthes, to the proportion of the reſt of their bodies, and haue two rowes of teeth, the one ſomewhat ſeparate from the other, of cruell ſhape, and ſtanding very thicke. When they haue ſlaine this fiſh, they cut the body thereof in ſmall pieces, and put it to drie, hanging it three or foure dayes at the Cordes of the ſaile clothes to drie in the winde, and then eate it: It is doubtleſſe a good fiſh, and of great commoditie to ſerue the ſhips for victualls for many dayes: the leaſt of theſe fiſhes are moſt wholeſome and tender, it hath a skin much like to the skin of a *Sole* whereunto the ſaid *Tiburon* is like in ſhape: Which I ſay, becauſe *Plinie* hath made mention of none of theſe three fiſhes, among the number of them whereof he writeth in his Naturall hiſtorie. Theſe *Tiburons* come forth of the Sea, and enter into the Riuers, where they are no leſſe perillous then great *Lizards* or *Crocodiles*, whereof I haue ſpoken largely before: For they deuoure Men, Kine, and Horſes, euen as doe the *Crocodiles*: they are very dangerous in certaine waſhing places or Pooles by the Riuers ſides, and where they haue deuoured at other times. Diuers other fiſhes both great and ſmall, of ſundrie ſorts and kindes, are accuſtomed to follow the ſhips going vnder ſaile, of the which I will ſpeake ſomewhat when I haue written of *Manate*, which is the third of the three whereof I haue promiſed to entreat. *Manate* therefore, is a fiſh of the Sea, of the biggeſt ſort, and much greater then the *Tiburon* in length and breadth, and is very brutiſh and vile, ſo that it appeareth in forme like vnto one of thoſe great veſſels made of Goats skins, wherein they vſe to carry new wine in *Medina de Campo*, or in *Arenalo*: the head of this beaſt is like the head of an *Tiburons of Sharkes.* *Plinie.* *Crocodiles.* *Manates.*

Oxe,

Oxe, with also like eyes, and hath in the place of armes, two great stumps wherwith he swimmeth: It is a very gentle and tame beast, and commeth oftentimes out of the water to the next shoare, where if he finde any herbes or grasse, he feedeth thereof. Our men are accustomed to kill many of these, and diuers other good fishes, with their Crosse-bowes, pursuing them in Barkes or Canoas, because they swim in manner aboue the water: the which thing when they see, they draw them with a hooke tyed at a small corde, but somewhat strong: As the fish fleeth away, the Archer letteth goe, and prolongeth the corde by little and little, vntill he haue let it goe many fathoms: at the end of the corde, there is tyed a corke, or a piece of light wood, and when the fish is gone a little way, and hath coloured the water with his bloud, and feeleth himselfe to faint and draw toward the end of his life, he resorteth to the shoare, and the Archer followeth, gathering vp his corde, whereof while there yet remaine sixe or eight fathoms, or somewhat more or lesse, he draweth it toward the Land, and draweth the fish therewith by little and little, as the waues of the Sea helpe him to doe it the more easily: then, with the helpe of the rest of his companie, he lifteth this great beast out of the Water to the Land, being of such bignesse, that to conuey it from thence to the Citie, it shall be requisite to haue a Cart with a good yoke of Oxen, and sometimes more, according as these fishes are of bignesse, some being much greater then other some in the same kinde, as is seene of other beasts: Sometimes they lift these fishes into the Canoa or Barke, without drawing them to the Land as before, for as soone as they are slaine, they flote aboue the water: And I beleeue verily that this fish is one of the best in the world to the taste, and the likest vnto flesh, especially so like vnto beefe, that who so hath not seene it whole, can iudge it to be none other when hee seeth it in pieces then very Beefe or Veale, and is certainly so like vnto flesh, that all the men in the world may herein be deceiued: the taste likewise, is like vnto the taste of very good Veale, and lasteth long, if it be powdred: so that in fine, the Beefe of these parts, is by no meanes like vnto this. This *Manate* hath a certaine stone, or rather bone in his head within the braine, which is of qualitie greatly appropriate against the disease of the stone, if it be burnt and ground into small powder, and taken fasting in the morning when the paine is felt, in such quantitie as may lye vpon a peny, with a draught of good white wine: For being thus taken three or foure mornings, it acquieteth the griefe, as diuers haue told me which haue proued it true, and I my selfe by testimonie of sight, doe witnesse that I haue seen this stone sought of diuers for this effect.

The fish *Manate.*

A remedie against the stone.

There are also diuers other fishes as bigge as this *Manate*, among the which there is one called *Vihuella*. This fish beareth in the top of his head a sword, being on euery side full of many sharp teeth: this sword is naturally very hard and strong, of foure or fiue spans in length, and of proportion according to the same bignesse: and for this cause is this fish called *Spada*, that is, the *Sword fish*. Of this kinde some are found as little as *Sardines*, and other so great, that two yokes of Oxen are scarsly able to draw them on a Cart. But whereas before I haue promised to speake of other fishes, which are taken in these Seas while the ships are vnder saile, I will not forget to speake of the *Tunny*, which is a great and good fish, and is oftentimes taken and kild with Trout speares, and hookes, cast in the water, when they play and swim about the ships. In like manner also are taken many *Turbuts*, which are very good fishes as are lightly in all the Sea. And here is to be noted, that in the great Ocean Sea, there is a strange thing to be considered, which all that haue beene in the *Indies* affirme to bee true: And this is, that like as on the Land there are some Prouinces fertile and fruitfull, and some barren, euen so doth the like chance in the Sea: So that at some windes the ships saile fiftie, or a hundred, or two hundred leagues and more, without taking or seeing of one fish: and againe, in the selfe same Ocean in some places, all the water is seen tremble by the mouing of the fishes, where they are taken abundantly. It commeth further to my remembrance to speake somewhat of the flying of fishes, which is doubtlesse a strange thing to behold, and is after this manner. When the ships saile by the great Ocean, following their viage, there riseth sometimes on the one side or on the other, many companies of certaine little fishes, of the which the biggest is no greater then a *Sardine*, and so diminish lesse and lesse from that quantitie, that some of them are very little: these are called *Volatori*, that is, *flying fishes:* they rise by great companies and flocks, in such multitudes that it is an astonishment to behold them: Sometimes they rise but little from the water, and (as it chanceth) continue one flight for the space of an hundred paces, and sometimes more, or lesse, before they fall againe into the Sea, sometimes also they fall into the ships. And I remember, that on an euening when all the companie in the ship were on their knees, singing *Salue Regina*, in the highest part of the Castle of the poope, and sailed with a full winde, there passed by vs a flocke of these flying fishes, and came so neere vs, that many of them fell into the ship, among the which, two or three fell hard by mee, which I tooke aliue in my hand, so that I might well perceiue that they were as bigge as *Sardines*, and of the same quantitie, hauing two wings or quils growing out of their finnes, like vnto those wherewith all fishes swim in Riuers: these wings are as long as the fishes themselues. As long as their wings are moist, they beare them vp in the aire, but assoone as they are drie, they can continue their flight no further then as I haue said before, but fall immediatly into the Sea, and so rise againe, and flie as before from place to place. In the yeere 1515. when I came first to enforme your

The Sword fish.

Tunny.

Turbut.

Note.

The Sea somewhere fertile, somewhere barren.

Flying fishes.

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your Maieſtie of the ſtate of the things in *India*, and was the yeere following in *Flanders* in the time of your moſt fortunate ſucceſſe in theſe your Kingdomes of *Arragon* and *Caſtile*, whereas at that voyage I ſayled aboue the Iland *Bermuda*, otherwiſe called *Garza*, being the furtheſt of all the Ilands that are found at this day in the world, and arriuing there at the depth of eight yards of water, and diſtant from the Land as farre as the ſhot of a piece of Ordinance, I determined to ſend ſome of the ſhip to Land, aſwell to make ſearch of ſuch things as were there, as alſo to leaue in the Iland certaine Hogs for increaſe. But the time not ſeruing my purpoſe by reaſon of contrarie winde, I could bring my ſhip no neerer the Iland, being twelue leagues in length, and ſixe in breadth, and about thirtie in circuit, lying in the three and thirtieth degree of the North ſide. The Iland of *Bermuda.*

While I remayned here, I ſaw a ſtrife and combat betweene theſe flying fiſhes, and the fiſhes named *Gilt heads*, and the fowles called *Sea-mewes*, and *Cormorants*, which ſurely ſeemed vnto me a thing of as great pleaſure and ſolace as could be deuiſed, while the *Gilt heads* ſwam on the brim of the water, and ſometimes lifted their ſhoulders aboue the ſame, to raiſe the flying fiſhes out of the water to driue them to flight, and follow them ſwimming to the place where they fall, to take and eate them ſuddenly. Againe on the other ſide, the *Sea-mewes* and *Cormorants*, take many of theſe flying fiſhes, ſo that by this meanes they are neither ſafe in the Aire, nor in the Water. In the ſelfe ſame perill and danger doe men liue in this mortall life, wherein is no certaine ſecuritie, neither in high eſtate, nor in lowe. Which thing ſurely ought to put vs in remembrance of that bleſſed and ſafe reſting place which God hath prepared for ſuch as loue him, who ſhall acquiet and finiſh the trauailes of this troubleſome world, wherein are ſo many dangers, and bring them to that eternall life where they ſhall finde eternall ſecuritie and reſt. Not too hie for the Pie, Nor too low for the Crow.

Of the increaſe and decreaſe (that is) riſing and falling of our Ocean Sea, and South Sea, called the Sea of Sur.

I Will now ſpeake of certaine things which are ſeene in the Prouince, or at the leaſt in the Citie of *Golden Caſtile*, otherwiſe called *Beragua*, and in the coaſts of the North Sea, and of the South Sea, called the Sea of *Sur*, not omitting to note one ſingular and maruellous thing which I haue conſidered of the Ocean Sea, whereof hitherto no Coſmographer, Pilot, or Mariner, or any other, haue ſatisfied me. I ſay therefore, as it is well knowne to your Maieſtie, and all ſuch as haue knowledge of the Ocean Sea, that this great Ocean caſteth from it ſelfe the Sea *Mediterraneum* by the mouth of the Straight of *Gibralterra*; in the which the water, from the end and furtheſt part of that Sea, euen vnto the mouth of the ſaid Straight, either in the Eaſt toward the coaſt commonly called *Leuante*, or in any other part of the ſaid Sea *Mediterraneum*, the Sea doth not ſo fall nor increaſe, as reaſon would iudge for ſo great a Sea, but increaſeth very little, and a ſmall ſpace: Neuertheleſſe, without the mouth of the Straight in the mayne Ocean, it increaſeth and falleth very much, and a great ſpace of ground, from ſixe houres to ſixe houres, as in all the coaſts of *Spaine*, *Britaine*, *Flanders*, *Germanie*, and *England*. The ſelfe ſame Ocean Sea in the firme Land newly found, in the coaſts of the ſame lying toward the North, doth neither riſe nor fall, nor likewiſe in the Ilands of *Hiſpaniola* and *Cuba*, and all the other Ilands of the ſame lying toward the North, for the ſpace of three thouſand leagues, but onely in like manner as doth the Sea *Mediterraneum* in *Italie*, which is in manner nothing, in reſpect to that increaſe and decreaſe which the ſaid Ocean hath in the coaſts of *Spaine* and *Flanders*. But this is yet a greater thing, that alſo the ſelfe ſame Ocean in the coaſts of the ſaid firme Land lying toward the South, in the Citie of *Panama*, and alſo in the coaſt of that Land which lyeth toward the Eaſt and Weſt from that Citie, as in the Iland of *Pearles* or *Margarita*, which the *Indians* call *Tarrarequi*, and alſo in *Taboga* and *Oteque*, and in all other Ilands of the South Sea of *Sur*, the water riſeth and falleth ſo much, that when it falleth, it goeth in manner out of ſight, which thing I my ſelfe haue ſeene oftentimes. And here your Maieſtie may note another thing, that from the North Sea to the South Sea, being of ſuch difference the one from the other in riſing and falling, yet is the Land that diuideth them not paſt eighteene or twentie leagues in breadth from Coaſt to Coaſt: So that both the ſaid Seas, being all one Ocean, this ſtrange effect is a thing worthy greatly to bee conſidered of all ſuch as haue inclination and deſire to know the ſecret workes of Nature, wherein the infinite power and wiſedome of God is ſeene to be ſuch, as may allure all good Natures to reuerence and loue ſo diuine a Majeſtie. *Beragua.* The Weſt Ocean. The Sea *Mediterraneum.* *Hiſpaniola.* *Cuba.* Ocean without ebbing and flowing. The ebbe at *Panama* falleth two leagues or ſixe miles. The South Sea.

Of the ſtraight or narrow paſſage of the Land lying betweene the North and South Sea, by the which Spices may much ſooner and eaſilier be brought from the Ilands of Molucca *into* Spaine *by the Weſt Ocean, then by that way whereby the* Portugals *ſaile into the Eaſt* India.

THe firme Land in ſome parts thereof is ſo ſtraight and narrow, that the *Indians* ſay, that from the Mountaines of the Prouince of *Eſquegua* or *Vraca* (which are betweene the one Sea and the other) if a man aſcend to the top of the Mountaines, and looke toward the North, he *Eſquegua* and *Vraca.*

he may ſee the Water of the North Sea of the Prouince of *Beragua:* and againe looking the contrarie way, may on the other ſide (towards the South) ſee the Sea of *Sur*, and the Prouinces which confine with it, as doe the Territories of the two Lords or Kings of the ſaid Prouinces of *Vraca* and *Eſquegua*. Some meaſure this way in this part, to bee from Sea to Sea eighteene leagues, which I ſuppoſe to bee rather twentie, not for that it is any more by meaſure, but becauſe it is rough and difficult, as I haue ſaid, and as I haue found it by experience, hauing now twiſe paſſed that way by foote, counting from the Port and Village of *Nombre de Dios*, vnto the Dominion of the *Cacique* of *Iuanaga*, otherwiſe called *Capira*, eight leagues, and from thence to the Riuer of *Chagre*, other eight leagues. So that at this Riuer, being ſixteene leagues from the ſaid Port, endeth the roughneſſe of the way: then from hence to the maruellous Bridge are two leagues, and beyond that, other two, vnto the Port of *Panama*: So that all together, in my iudgement, make twentie leagues. It is a maruellous facilitie to bring Spices by this way which I will now declare. From *Panama* to the Riuer of *Chagre*, are foure leagues of good and faire way, by the which Carts may paſſe at pleaſure, by reaſon that the Mountaines are but few and little, and that the greateſt part of theſe foure leagues is a plaine ground void of Trees: and when the Carts are come to the ſaid Riuer, the Spices may be carried in Barkes and Pinaſes. For this Riuer entreth into the North Sea fiue or ſixe leagues lower then the Port of *Nomen Dei*, and emptieth it ſelfe in the Sea neere vnto an Iland called *Baſtimento*, where is a very good and ſafe Port. Your Maieſtie may now therefore conſider, how great a thing, and what commoditie it may be to conuey Spices this way, foraſmuch as the Riuer of *Chagre*, hauing his originall onely two leagues from the South Sea, continueth his courſe, and emptieth it ſelfe into the other North Sea. This Riuer runneth faſt, and is very great, and ſo commodious for this purpoſe as may bee thought or deſired: the *maruellous Bridge* made by the worke of Nature, being two leagues beyond the ſaid Riuer, and other two leagues on this ſide the Port of *Panama*, ſo lying in the mid way betweene them both, as framed naturally in ſuch ſort, that none which paſſe by this voyage doth ſee any ſuch Bridge, or thinke that there is any ſuch building in that place, vntill they be in the top thereof, in the way toward *Panama:* But aſſoone as they are on the Bridge, looking toward the right hand, they ſee a little Riuer vnder them, which hath his Channell diſtant from the feete of them that walke ouer it, the ſpace of two ſpeares length or more. The water of this Riuer is very ſhallow, not paſſing the depth of a mans legge to the knee, and is in breadth betweene thirtie and fortie paces, and falleth into the Riuer of *Chagre*. Toward the right hand, ſtanding on this Bridge, there is nothing ſeene but great Trees. The largeneſſe of the Bridge contayneth fifteene paces, and the length thereof about threeſcore or fourſcore paces: The Arch is ſo made of moſt hard ſtone, that no man can behold it without admiration, being made by the High and Omnipotent Creator of all things.

The Riuer of *Chagre*.

The Iland *Baſtimento*.

The maruellous Bridge.

Naturall ſtone Bridge.

How things that are of one kinde, differ in forme and qualitie, according to the nature of the place where they are engendred or grow, and of the beaſts called Tigres.

IN the firme Land are found many terrible beaſts, which ſome thinke to be Tigres. Which thing neuertheleſſe I dare not affirme, conſidering what Authors doe write of the lightneſſe and agilitie of the Tigre, whereas this beaſt, being otherwiſe in ſhape very like vnto a Tigre, is notwithſtanding very ſlow. Yet true it is, that according to the maruailes of the World, and differences which naturall things haue in diuers Regions vnder Heauen, and diuers conſtellations of the ſame, vnder the which they are created, wee ſee that ſome ſuch Plants and Herbes as are hurtfull in one Countrie, are harmleſſe and wholeſome in other Regions. And Birds which in one Prouince are of good taſte, are in other ſo vnſauourie that they may not bee eaten. Men likewiſe which in ſome Countries are blacke, are in other places white: and yet are both theſe and they, men. Euen ſo may it be, that Tigres are light in ſome Region, as they write, and may neuertheleſſe be ſlow and heauie in theſe *Indies* of your Maieſtie, whereof wee ſpeake. The Sheepe of *Arabia* draw their tailes long and bigge on the ground, and the Bulls of *Egypt* haue their haire growing toward their heads: yet are thoſe Sheepe, and theſe Bulls. Men in ſome Countries are hardie and of good courage, and in other naturally fearfull and bruitiſh. All theſe things, and many more, which may be ſaid to this purpoſe, are eaſie to bee prooued, and worthy to bee beleeued, of ſuch as haue read of the like in Authors, or trauelled the World, whereby their owne ſight may teach them the experience of theſe things whereof I ſpeake. It is alſo manifeſt that *Iucca*, whereof they make their bread in the Iland of *Hiſpaniola*, is deadly poiſon if it be eaten greene with the juyce: and yet hath it no ſuch propertie in the firme Land, where I haue eaten it many times, and found it to be a good fruit. The Bats of *Spaine*, although they bite, yet are they not venemous: but in the firme Land, many die that are bitten of them. And in this forme may ſo many things be ſaid, that time ſhall not ſuffice to write, whereas my intent is onely to proue that this beaſt may be a Tigre, or of the kinde of Tigres, although it

Tigres.

Plants and herbes.

Birds.

Men.

Sheepe.

Bulls.

Iucca.

Bats.

be

bee not of such lightnesse and swiftnesse, as are they whereof *Plinie* and other authors speake, describing it to bee one of the swiftest beasts of the Land, and that the Riuer of *Tygris* for the swift course thereof was called by that name. The first *Spaniards*, which saw this Tyger in the firme land, did so name it. Of the kind of these, was that which *Don Diego Columbo*, the Admiral sent your Maiesty out of New *Spaine* to *Toledo*. Their heads are like to the heads of Lions, or Lionesses, but greater: the rest of all their bodies, and their legs, are full of black spots one neere vnto another, & diuided with a circumference, or fringe of red colour, shewing (as it were) a faire work and correspondent picture, about their croopes or hinder parts, they haue these spots biggest and lesse & lesse toward their bellies, legs, & heads. I haue seen some of three spans in height, and more then fiue in length. They are beasts of great force, with strong legs, and well armed with nayles and fanges, which we call Dog-teeth: they are so fierce, that in my iudgement, no reall Lyon of the biggest sort is so strong or fierce. Of these, there are many found in the firme Land, which deuoure many of the *Indians*, and doe much hurt otherwise: but since the comming of the *Christians*, many haue beene killed with Crosse-bowes after this manner. Assoone as the Archer hath knowledge of the haunt of any of these Tygers, hee goeth searching their trace, with his Crosse-bow, and with a little Hound or Begle, & not with a grey-hound; because this Beast would soon kill any Dogge that would venter on him: When the Hound hath found the Tigre, he runneth about him baying continually, and approacheth so neere him, snapping and grinning, with so quicke flying and returning, that he hereby so molesteth this fierce Beast, that hee driueth him to take the next Tree, at the foot whereof he remayneth still baying, and the Tigre grinning and shewing his teeth, while in the meane time the Archer commeth neere, and twelue or fourteene paces off, striketh him with the querell of his Crosse-brow in the brest, and flyeth incontinent, leauing the Tigre in his trauell for life and death, byting the Tree and eating earth for fiercenesse: then within the space of two or three houres, or the day following, the Archer returneth thither, and with his Dogge findeth the place where hee lyeth dead. The *Indians* (and especially they of the firme Land in the Prouince which the Catholike King *Don Ferdinando* commanded to bee called Golden *Castile*) call this Beast *Ochi*. This thing is strange that chanced of late: that whereas the Tigre whereof we haue made mention before, would haue killed his keeper that then kept him in a Cage, was in few daies after made so tame, that he led her tyed only with a small coard, and plaid with her so familiarly, that I maruelled greatly to see it, yet not without certaine beliefe that this friendshipwill not last long, without danger of life to the Keeper, forasmuch as surely these Beasts are not meet to be among men, for their fiercenesse and cruell nature that cannot be tamed.

Plinie.

The Tigre.

The hunting of Tigres.

A Tigre made tame.

Of the manners and customes of the Indians *of the Firme Land, and of their women.*

THe manners and customes of these *Indians*, are diuers in diuers Prouinces. Some of them take as many Wiues as them list, and other liue with one Wife, whom they forsake not without consent of both parties, which chanceth especially when they haue no children. The Nobilitie aswel men as women, repute it infamous to ioyne with any of base Parentage or Strangers, except Christians, whom they count Noblemen, by reason of their valiantnesse, although they put a difference betweene the common sort and the other to whom they shew obedience, counting it for a great matter and an honorable thing, if they bee beloued of any of them; insomuch that if they know any Christian man carnally, they keepe their faith to him, so that hee be not long absent farre from them, for their intent is not to be Widdowes, or to liue chaste like religious women. Many of them haue this custome, that when they perceiue that they are with childe, they take an Hearbe wherewith they destroy that is conceiued: for they say that only well aged women should beare children, and that they will not forbeare their pleasures, and deforme their bodies with bearing of children, whereby their Teates become loose and hanging, which thing they greatly dispraise. When they are deliuered of their children, they goe to the Riuer and wash them, which done, their bloud and purgation ceasseth immediately: And when after this they haue a few dayes abstained from the company of men, they become so streight, as they say which haue had carnal familiaritie with them, that such as vse them, cannot without much difficultie satisfie their appetite: They also which neuer had children, are euer as Virgins. In some parts they weare certaine little Aprons round about them before and behind, as low as to their knees and hammes, wherewith they couer their priuy parts, and are naked all their bodie beside. The principall men beare their Priuities in a hollow Pipe of Gold, but the common sort haue them inclosed in the shells of certaine great Welkes, and are beside vtterly naked: For they thinke it no more shame to haue their Cods seene, then any other part of their bodies: and in many Prouinces both the men and women goe vtterly naked, without any such couerture at all. In the Prouince of *Cueua* they call a man *Chuy*, and a woman *Ira*, which name is not greatly disagreeable to many both of their women and of ours.

The *Indian* women.

Vnnaturall abortions.

Large-breasts.

Child-birth.

The men of *India*.

These *Indians* giue great honor and reuerence to their *Caciques* (that is) their Kings and Rulers.

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The King is borne on mens backes.

lers. The principall *Cacique*, hath twelue of his moſt ſtrong *Indians* appointed to beare him, when he remoueth to any place, or goeth abroad for his pleaſure. Two of them carrie him ſitting vpon a long peece of wood, which is naturally as light as they can finde, the other ten follow next vnto him as footemen: they keepe continually a trotting paſe with him on their ſhoulders. When the two that carrie him are wearie, other two come in their places, without any diſturbance or ſtay. And thus if the way be plaine, they carry him in this manner for the ſpace of fifteene or twenty leagues in one day. The *Indians* that are aſſigned to this office, are for the moſt part ſlaues, or *Naborias*, that is, ſuch as are bound to continuall ſeruice.

Letting of bloud.

I haue alſo noted that when the *Indians* perceiue themſelues to be troubled with too much bloud, they let themſelues bloud in the calfe of their legges, and brawnes of their armes: this doe they with a very ſharpe ſtone, and ſometimes with the ſmall tooth of a Viper, or with a ſharpe reede or thorne.

They haue no beards.

All the *Indians* are commonly without Beards, in ſo much that it is in a manner a maruell to ſee any of them either men or women to haue any downe or haire on their faces, or other parts of their bodies: Albeit I ſaw the *Cacique* of the Prouince of *Caparapa*, who had haire on his face and other parts of his body, as had alſo his wife in ſuch places as women are accuſtomed to haue.

They paint their bodies.

This *Cacique* had a great part of his body painted with a blacke colour, which neuer fadeth, and is much like vnto that wherewith the *Moores* paint themſelues in *Barbarie* in token of Nobilitie. But the *Moores* are painted ſpecially on their viſage and throate, and certaine other parts. Likewiſe the principall *Indians* vſe theſe paintings on their armes and breaſts, but not on their viſages, becauſe among them the ſlaues are ſo marked.

The Canibals Trumpets.

When the *Indians* of certaine Prouinces goe to the battaile (eſpecially the *Canibal* Archers) they carrie certaine ſhels of great welkes of the Sea, which they blow, and make therewith great ſound, much like the noiſe of Hornes: they carrie alſo certaine Timbrels, which they vſe in the ſtead of Drummes:

Armor of gold.

alſo very faire Plumes of Feathers, and certaine armour of gold, eſpecially great and round peeces on their breaſts, and ſplints on their armes. Likewiſe other peeces, which they put on their heads and other parts of their bodies:

Their gallantneſſe in the warres. Their Iewels.

For they eſteeme nothing ſo much as to appeare gallant in the warres, and to goe in moſt comely order that they can deuiſe, gliſtering with precious Stones, Iewels, Gold, and Feathers. Of the leaſt of theſe welkes or perewincles, they make certaine little Beades, of diuers ſorts and colours: they make alſo little Bracelets, which they mingle with gaudes of Gold, theſe they roule about their armes from the elbow to the wreſt of the hand. The like alſo doe they on their legges from the knees to the ſoles of their feete, in token of Nobilitie, eſpecially their Noble Women in diuers Prouinces are accuſtomed to weare ſuch Iewels, and haue their neckes in manner laden therewith: theſe Beades and Iewels, and ſuch other trinkets, they call *Caquiras*. Beſide theſe alſo, they weare certaine Rings of Gold at their eares and noſtrels, which they bore full of holes on both ſides, ſo that the Rings hang vpon their lippes. Some of theſe *Indians* are poulde and rounded; albeit commonly both the Men and Women take it for a decent thing to weare long haire, which the women weare to the middeſt of their ſhoulders, and cut it equally, eſpecially aboue their browes: this doe they with certaine hard Stones, which they keepe for the ſame purpoſe.

How the women beare vp their teates with bars of Gold.

The principall Women, when their teates fall, or become looſe, beare them vp with barres of Gold, of the length of a ſpanne and a halfe, well wrought, and of ſuch bigneſſe that ſome of them weigh more then two hundred Caſtelans or Ducades of Gold: theſe barres haue holes at both the ends, whereat they tye two ſmall cords made of Cotton at euery end of the barres: one of theſe cords goeth ouer the ſhoulder, and the other vnder the arme holes, where they tye both together, ſo that by this meanes the barre beareth vp their teates. Some of theſe chiefe Women goe to the battaile with their Husbands, or when they themſelues are regents in any Prouinces, in the which they haue all things at commandement, and execute the office of generall Captaines, and cauſe themſelues to be carried on mens backs, in like manner as doe the *Caciques*, of whom I haue ſpoken before.

The ſtature & colour of the *Indians*.

Theſe *Indians* of the firme Land are much of the ſame ſtature and colour as are they of the Ilands: they are for the moſt part of the colour of an Oliue: if there be any other difference, it is more in bigneſſe then otherwiſe, and eſpecially they that are called *Coronati*, are ſtronger and bigger then any other that I haue ſeene in theſe parts, except thoſe of the Iland of Giants, which are on the South ſide of the Iland of *Hiſpaniola*, neere vnto the coaſts of the firme Land, and likewiſe certain other which they call *Iucates*, which are on the North ſide. All which chiefly, although they be no Giants, yet are they doubtleſſe the biggeſt of the *Indians* that are known to this day, and commonly bigger then the *Flemings*; and eſpecially many of them, as well women as men, are of very high ſtature, and are all archers both men and women.

The *Indians* called *Coronati*.

The Iland of Giants.

Iucates.

Theſe *Coronati* inhabit thirtie leagues in length by theſe coaſts, from the point of *Canoa* to the great riuer which they call *Guadalchiber*, neere vnto *Santta Maria de gratia*. As I trauerſed by thoſe coaſts, I filled a butt of freſh water of that riuer, ſix leagues in the Sea from the mouth thereof where it falleth into the Sea. They are called *Coronati* (that is *Crowned*) becauſe their haire is cut round by their eares, and poulde lower a great compaſſe about the Crowne, much like the Friers of Saint *Auguſtines* Order. And becauſe I haue ſpoken of their manner of wearing their

theſt haire, here commeth to my remembrance a thing which I haue oftentimes noted in theſe *Indians*: and this is, that they haue the bones of the ſculs of their heads foure times thicker, and much ſtronger then ours, ſo that in comming to handſtroakes with them, it ſhall be requiſite not to ſtrike them on the heads with ſwords, for ſo haue many ſwords beene broken on their heads, with little hurt done. The ſculs of *Indians* heads.

Of the thiefe Ilands, Hiſpaniola *and* Cuba.

THe *Indians* which at this preſent inhabit the Iland of *Hiſpaniola*, are but few in number; and the *Chriſtians* not ſo many as they ought to be, for as much as many of them that were in this Iland, are gone to other Ilands, and to the firme Land. For being for the moſt part yong men vnmarried, and deſirous daily to ſee new things, wherein mans nature delighteth, they were not willing to continue long in one place, eſpecially ſeeing daily other new Lands diſcouered, where they thought they might ſooner fill their Purſes, by being preſent at the firſt ſpoile: Wherein neuertheleſſe their hope deceiued many of them, and eſpecially ſuch as had houſes and habitations in this Iland: For I certainely beleeue, confirming my ſelfe herein with the iudgement of many other, that if any one Prince had no more ſeignories then onely this Iland, it ſhould in ſhort time be ſuch, as not to giue place either to *Sicilie* or *England*, whereas euen at this preſent there is nothing wherefore it would malice their proſperity, not being inferiour to them in any felicity, that in manner the heauens can grant to any Land: being furthermore ſuch as may inrich many Prouinces and Kingdomes, by reaſon of many rich Gold Mines that are in it, of the beſt Gold that is found to this day in the world, and in greateſt quantitie. In this Iland, nature of her ſelfe bringeth forth ſuch abundance of Cotton, that if it were wrought and maintained, there ſhould be more and better then in any part of the world. There is ſo great plentie of excellent *Caſſia*, that a great quantitie is brought from thence into *Spaine*, from whencee it is carried to diuers parts of the world, &c. Men are deſirous of new things. The commodities of *Hiſpaniola*, *England*, and *Sicilie*. Gold Mines. Cotton. *Caſſia.*

In this Iland furthermore are many Sheepe, and a great number of Hogges, of the which (as alſo of the Kine) many are become wilde, and likewiſe many Dogges and Cats, of thoſe which were brought out of *Spaine*: Theſe (and eſpecially the Dogs) doe much hurt among the Cattell, by reaſon of the negligence of the Heard-men. There are alſo many Horſes, Mares, and Mules, and ſuch other Beaſts as ſerue the vſe of men in *Spaine*, and are much greater then they of the firſt broode brought thither out of *Spaine*. Sheepe and Hogs. Dogs and Cats become wilde. The ſcituation of *Hiſpaniola*.

Saint *Domingo* was built by line and rule: the Houſes of Stone very faire. There is alſo a Cathedrall Church builded of late, where as well the Biſhop according to his dignity, as alſo the Canons are well endowed. This Church is well builded of Stone and Lime, and of good workmanſhip. There are furthermore three Monaſteries, bearing the name of S. *Dominicke*, S. *Francis*, and S. *Marie* of *Mercedes*, the which are al wel builded, although not ſo curiouſly as they of *Spain*. There is alſo a very good Hoſpital for the aid & ſuccor of poore people, which was found by *Michael Paſſamont*, treaſurer to your Maieſtie. The people of this Iland are commonly of ſomewhat leſſe ſtature then are the *Spaniards*, & of a ſhining or cleare brown color: they haue Wines of their own, and abſtaine from their Daughters, Siſters & Mothers: they haue large foreheads, long black haire, and no beards or haire in any other parts of their bodies, as well Men as Women, except very few, as perhaps ſcarſly one among a thouſand. They goe as naked as they were borne, except that on the parts which may not with honeſtie be ſeene, they weare a certaine leaſe as broad as a mans hand, which neuertheleſſe is not kept cloſe with ſuch diligence, but that ſometimes a man may ſee that they thinke ſufficiently hid. In this Iland are certaine Glowormes, that ſhine in the night as doe ours, but are much bigger, and giue a greater light: In ſo much that when the men of the Iland goe any iournies in the night, they beare ſome of theſe wormes made faſt about their feete and head, in ſuch ſort that he that ſhould ſee them a farre, and ignorant of the thing, would be greatly aſtoniſhed thereat. By the light of theſe alſo, the women worke in their houſes in the night. Theſe wormes they call *Cucuas*. Their light laſteth for the ſpace of three dayes, and diminiſheth as they begin to drie vp. There is alſo a kinde of Crowes, whoſe breath ſtinketh in the morning, and is ſweete in the afternoone: the excrement which they auoide, is a liuing worme. A Cathedrall Church and Monaſteries in *Hiſpaniola*. An Hoſpitall. The people. *Cucuas* a kinde of Gloworme. Crowes ſtinking and ſweete.

In *Cuba*, is a certaine kinde of Partridges, being very little, with their feathers much of the colour of Turtle Doues, but are of much better taſte to be eaten: they are taken in great number, and being brought wilde into the houſes, they become as tame within the ſpace of three or foure dayes as though they had beene hatched there: they become exceeding fat in ſhort ſpace, and are doubtleſſe the moſt delicate and pleaſant meate that euer I haue eaten. But to let paſſe many other things that might be here ſaid, and to ſpeake of two marueilous things which are in this Iland of *Cuba*: whereof the one is, that a Valley containing two or three leagues in length betweene two Mountaines, is full of a kinde of very hard Stones, of ſuch perfect roundneſſe, and like vnto Pellets of Gunnes, that no art can make better or more exactly poliſhed. Of theſe, ſome are as ſmall as Pellets for Handgunnes, and partridges. Bullets for Guns wrought by nature.

other ſo encreaſing bigger and bigger from that quantitie, that they may ſerue for all ſorts of Artillerie, although they be of bigneſſe to receiue one or two or more Quintales of powder, euery Quintale containing one hundred weight, or of what other quantitie ſoeuer they be. Theſe Pellets are found throughout all the Valley within the earth, as in a Mine, which they digge, and take out ſuch as they neede of all ſorts. The other marueilous thing of this Iland is this: That farre from the Sea, there iſſueth out of a Mountaine a certaine liquor, much like the Clay of Babylon, called *Bitumen*, or like vnto Pitch, in great quantitie, and ſuch as is very commodious for the calking of Shippes: this falleth continually from the Rocke, and runneth into Sea, in ſuch abundance that it is ſeene floting aboue the water on euery ſide of the Sea thereabout, as it is driuen from place to place by the winde, or courſe of the water.

A Fountaine of the Pitch of *Bitumen*.

Quintus Curtius writeth in his Hiſtorie, that great *Alexander* came to the Citie of *Memi*, where is a great Caue or Denne, in the which is a Spring or Fountaine that continually auoideth a great quantitie of *Bitumen*, in ſuch ſort, that it is an eaſie thing to beleeue that the ſtones of the wals of *Babylon* might be laid therewith, according as the ſaid Author writeth. I haue ſeene this Mine of *Bitumen*, not onely in the Iland of *Cuba*, but alſo ſuch another in new *Spaine*, in the Prouince of *Panuco*.

Quintus Curtius

Bitumen of *Babylon*.

Thus farre I haue giuen you from Maſter Eden *his Edition, wherein becauſe many things neceſſary to the naturall Hiſtory of the* Indies *are in the Authors Summarie, and in his* 20. *Books of a larger Hiſtorie, I haue added hither ſuch things as I thought fitteſt.*

The *Vtias* are like great Rats, and the *Cories* like Conies, of which the people in *Hiſpaniola* eate, as alſo of the *Tuanas*. *Chemi* and *Mohui* are little creatures alſo in that Iland: which and their little mute Dogges were all the foure footed Beaſts they had, ſaue that of Rats there is ſome queſtion. The *Indians* of *Iamaica* and *Cuba* vſe to catch fiſh with the fiſh *Reuerſo*, as Huntſmen or Falconers vſe Hounds or Haukes in their game. The *Indians* take it ſometimes in their Nets, of which I haue eaten: and when they will bring vp one of them they feede it in the Sea and carrie it tied to their Canoa by a ſtrong line, which when they ſee a fiſh fit for pray, they looſen and vſe words to excite courage and valour in this fiſh; which preſently flies like an arrow at that fiſh and faſtens thereon, and the *Indian* lets the line runne out at length (being oiled, of many fadomes, and hauing a peece of wood at the end to buoy it,) till the fiſh be wearied: this little fiſh (little aboue a ſpanne long, vnſightly to looke on) ſtill holding faſt, till the *Indian* gathering in his cord, prepares to ſhoare to take the greater fiſh, with much commendation and words of encouragement to this chaſe-fiſh, perſwading him to let goe his hold, which otherwiſe ſhould ſooner by violence breake in peeces this Huntſman, then force him to vnfaſten. Thus will he faſten on the belly of a Tortoiſe ſo great that two *Indians* and ſometimes ſixe haue enough to doe to carrie the ſame to their houſes. This fiſh *Reuerſo* hath ſcailes Starre faſhioned, or like the roofe of a mans mouth, and on them certain prickles very ſharpe and ſtrong, whereby he faſtens himſelfe to what fiſh him pleaſeth: and theſe prickly ſcales he hath on the moſt part of his body.

The *Reuerſo* a ſtrange fiſh to hunt with.

Perhaps this *Reuerſo* is the little fiſh which cleaueth to the Sharke and is by him carried in all his Chaſes, feeding on the ſcraps.

They haue likewiſe a cunning wild-gooſe-chaſe, in a great Lake caſting in certaine great emptie Pompons in the ſeaſon when Geeſe reſort thither, wherewith they being accuſtomed grow out of feare and will ſit on them to bee carried. Being thus acquainted, the *Indian* puts one of theſe emptie Pompons on his head, and with much dexteritie of ſwimming enters amongſt the Geeſe, and when one hath made him his Porter, no part of his body being ſeene, he ſwimmes from the reſt, and then with his hand pulls her in, and hangs her thus ſtrangled at his girdle, and begins a freſh game.

When their *Caciques* are dead they lay them on a piece of wood or ſtone, and make a fire about the ſame which may not burne them, but by degrees draw forth all the moyſture in ſweat, leauing onely the skin and bones, and then in a place ſeparate repoſe the ſame with the Anceſtors which before had beene ſo dealt with; this being their beſt Booke of Heraldrie to recount the Names and ſeuerall Deſcents in that Pedegree. If any die in battell, or ſo that they cannot recouer his body, they compoſe Songs which the Children learne touching him, and the manner of his death, to ſupply that memoriall. Theſe Songs they call *Areytos*. As for Letters they were ſo ignorant, that ſeeing the intercourſe of *Spaniards* by Letters, they thought that Letters could ſpeake, and were very cautelous in their carriage of them, leſt the Letters might accuſe them of ill demeanor by the way. When they will diſport themſelues, the Men and Women meet and take each other by the hand, and one goeth before which is called *Tequina* or their Maſter, with certaine paces meaſured to his ſinging in a low voice what commeth in his minde, and after him all the multitude anſwereth in a higher voice with like meaſures proportioned to the tune, and ſo continue they three or foure houres, with *Chicha* or Mayz-wine among; ſometimes alſo changing the *Tequina* and taking another with a new tune and ſong. Their Houſes are commonly round like a Tent, and ſometimes with a double water paſſage (which they call *Bubio*) of good Timber, thatched with Straw or long Graſſe, the Walls of Reed pitched into the ground. In the Prouince of *Abrayne* in *Golden Caſtile* and thereabouts, there are many Villages of *Indians* which dwell on the tops of Trees in Houſes or Roomes there made, to which they aſcend

Memorials of the dead.

Ignorance of Letters.

Areytos, ſongs and dances.

Houſes of three ſorts.

by

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by certaine haires of *Besuco*, which growes about * Trees, and is vsed to binde their Walls and Timbers in their houses before mentioned. Beneath, the ground is fenny and couered with water not so high as a man: and where it is deeper, they vse Canoas, and therewith passe to drie Land to sow their Mays and *Iucca*, *Battatas* and *Aies*. In those houses they are secured from wild Beasts, Enemies and Fire. They are not Archers, and vse Clubs. In the Gulfe of *Vraba* where *Rio Grande* enters the Sea, are many Palme trees in the middest of the Riuer growing neere together, on the tops whereof are houses made as the former and much bigger, in which many Inhabitants dwell together, and haue their beds tyed to the lower parts of the said Palme trees: These beds they call *Hamacas*, being couerlets of Cotten of good threed and well wouen, of two or three braces long, but narrower, with cordes at the ends. The cordes are of Cotton, or of *Henequen* or *Cabuya*, this the courser threed, that the finer and able to cut Iron; made of the leafe of a certaine herbe. These *Indians* fight also with Clubs, and did much harme to Captaine *Vasco Nunes di Balboa* his men, which returned with losse not able to ouer-come them. I haue also obserued that these *Indians* haue the bones of their skulls foure times as thicke as those of the *Christians*, so that to strike them with a Sword must be warily done, the Swords being thereby often broken.

* *Besuco* seemes to be as bind-weed or luie, but stronger and more pliant.

Besides the *Tigre* and other beasts before mentioned, in the firme Land are the *Beori*, (the Christians call them *Dants*, not that they are such, but for some resemblance, as is also said of the *Tigre*) of the bignesse of a meane Mule, without hornes, ash-coloured: they know not to dresse and tanne their hides. They take them with Dogs, but if they take water, they are fierce and cruell. The *Gatto Ceruiero* is as bigge as the *Tigre* and very fierce, more dreadfull to the *Christians*, the swiftest beast yet found in those parts. The *Lions* are a little lesse then those of *Barbarie* and not so full of courage, but fearfull and fugitiue, and hurt none but such as assault them. The *Leopards* are like those of *Barbarie*, and are swift and fierce, but neither these nor the *Lions* haue yet done *Christians* any harme, nor dor they eate the *Indians* as the *Tigres* doe. The *Foxes* are like those of *Spaine*, but in colour blacker then blacke veluet, and somewhat lesse then of *Spaine*. The *Red Deere* are as those of *Spaine*, but not so swift. Their *Fallow Deere* are like those of *Spaine*, but both Red and Fallow exceed the *Spanish* in taste. Their *Conies* or *Hares* are somewhat like ours, but liker *Hares* then *Conies*, yet lesse then the *Conies* of *Spaine*. The *Marterns* are like to those of *Spaine* in bignesse, biting and otherwise: some of them are kept tame and are as full of sport and lesse filthy then the *Monkeys*. The *Monkeys* are of innumerable sorts and shapes: some of them so suttle as they imitate the actions of men, as breaking of Pine-apples and Almonds with stones: some will throw stones at passengers, or breake boughs to fall on them as they passe by to breake their heads, and retort the arrowes shot at them, and doe other things incredible. Some are as little or lesser then a mans hand, and some as great as a meane Mastiffe. The *Indian Dogs* are little and barke not, some hayrie and some bare, but wagge the taile and leape on those which feede them, and are not so tame as ours. The *Churchin* is as bigge as a small *Conie*, tawnie, sharpe-snowted, dog-toothed, long-tayled and eared like a *Rat*. They doe great harme to their Hennes, killing sometimes twentie or more at once to sucke their bloud: And if they then haue young, shee carrieth them with her in a bagge of skin vnder her belly, running alongst the same like a Satchell, which shee opens and shuts at pleasure to let them in and out: and if any come with light when the Damme and young are at their Hen-bloud dainties, shee receiues them into this bagge, and runneth away with them: and if shee finde the way stopped, shee climbeth vp aboue the Hen-roost, and is sometimes taken aliue or dead in this manner, as I haue seene. Her Teats are within her bagge. It is a stinking creature.

The beasts of those parts. *Dants.* *Gatto Ceruiero.* *Leopards.* *Foxes.* Red and fallow Deere. *Marterns.* *Monkeys.* *Dogs.* *Churchin.*

Of Fowles, they haue *Eagles*, *Hawkes*, *Buzzards*, *Rauens*, &c. as in *Spaine*. Other differing sorts they haue so many that they need rather a Painter then Relator to describe them. Of *Parrots* I carried ten or twelue sorts at once to King *Ferdinand*. They flie by couples, a Male and Female together: and doe much harme to their Corne grounds. There are *Night-sparrowes* which flie by night onely, and strike at the *Bats*, holding a pleasant pursute after them. They are bigger and swifter then *Swallowes*, hauing a row of white feathers ouerthwart the wing. The *Bats* draw much bloud by their bitings; and if they bite one man amongst an hundred persons, the same *Bat* will in the nights following still single the same person. They stanch the bloud with hot ashes, or water as hot as may be endured, and so I haue beene cured. There are *Peacocks*, some yellow, some blacke, with tailes like those of *Spaine*: they are better meat: some are wilde, and some tame, which are brought home young. Other *Peacocks* they haue, of which the Hens are ill shaped, the Males haue not so great a taile as ours: their necke also is bare of feathers, but couered with a skin which they change after their phantasie into diuers colours. They haue a horne as it were on their front, and haires on the breast *(the last seeme Turkeys.)*

Fowles. *Parrots.* *Night-sparrowes.* *Bats.* *Peacocks* and *Turkeys.*

The *Sea-Crowes* are so many which on the coast of *Panama* follow the *Pilchards* or *Sardines* (as is before said of the *Alcatrazzi*) that lighting or houering on the Sea, they seeme to couer the same with a blacke carpet of cloth or veluet, going and comming with the Sea. There are *Wilde Hens* as great as *Peacocks*, blacke, the head part of the necke gray skins, and not feathered: they eate Carrion and are of vnsauourie taste to be eaten; smell like muske whiles they are

Sea-crowes. *Wilde Hennes.*

aliue, but that ſent dyeth with them: neither are they good for any thing, except their quills to feather arrowes. They are deſirous to liue about places inhabited to feede on Carrion. The *Partriches* are gray, as ſauourie as thoſe of *Spaine*, and as great as the *Spaniſh* Hens: they haue their brawnes or fleſh double, one ouer the other. Their egges are as bigge as Hens egges, but rounder, and coloured like a fine Turkeſſe ſtone. The *Indians* making a ſound like theirs, draw them to theirs nets. There are alſo a leſſe kinde. The *Pheaſants* are not in feathers like thoſe of *Spaine*, nor ſo goodly, but very ſauourie meate like the great *Partriches*, but are not ſo great; they are gray, haue long legs and tailes, make a loud whiſtling noiſe, and are eaſily ſhot.

Partriches.

Pheaſants.

Flies are not there ſo many as in theſe parts of *Europe*. Their *Waſpes* are greater and ſting more dangerouſly. Their *Bees* are almoſt as ſmall as flies, and ſting not. They haue great Hiues and Combes which hold foure times as much Honie as ours: their Honie is white. *Ants* are great, many, and doe much damage to the Trees, Sugars, and other prouiſions. There are of many ſorts, ſome little and black (of which and the Ant-beare is ſpoken before) ſome called *Conixen* halfe Ant, halfe Worme, very hurtfull; they carry earth on their heads, and therewith on trees, walls, or where they pleaſe build their neſts, three or foure ſpans large, and are as hurtfull to houſes as Moths to clothes. There are others greater of diuers ſorts, ſome as bigge as Bees with vs, ſo poyſonfull that herewith the *Indians* infect their arrowes ſo remedileſſe, that not foure of an hundred which are wounded eſcape: and if this Ant bite a Man he preſently falls into a grieuous feauer, and the place ſwelleth much. There are others red, yellow, and ſome winged. Of *Hornets* or *Horſe-flies (Tafani)* are many ſorts, tedious to expreſſe. There are alſo *Scorpions* in the firme Land. *An.* 1519. and two yeeres after the Ants deſtroyed in *Hiſpaniola* their *Cannafiſtola*, Oranges, and fruit Trees, neither in their houſes could they keepe victualls for their multitudes, deſtroying all like the *African* Graſſe-hoppers, in ſo much that Saint *Domingo* was nigh diſpeopled by them.

Flies, and Waſps, Bees, Ants, &c.

Hiſt. G. l. 15. c. 1. vid. inf. Hiſtoria Gen. l. 2. c. 14.

They laugh in *India* to heare the diſeaſe called *French* by the *Italians*, and *Neapolitan* by the *French*, which may indeed be called *Indian*, where the beſt remedie *Lignum Sanctum*, and *Guaiacan* grow; God ſo in iudgement remembring mercy, that where our ſinnes produce a puniſhment, he alſo ſends a remedie. I had acquaintance with diuers which went in the firſt and ſecond voyages of *Columbus*: of which was *Peter Margarite* Commendator in the ſecond voyage, of moſt reſpect with the King and Queene, who complayned of thoſe paines. Soone after, in the yeere 1496. began the diſeaſe to arreſt ſome Courtiers; but in thoſe beginnings, it was onely amongſt baſer perſons of ſmall authoritie: and it was thought that they got it with hauing to doe with common women. But afterwards it extended to principall Perſons, and the Phyſicians could not tell what to thinke of it, ſo that many dyed. When after this *Gonzalo Fernandes di Cordoua* was ſent with a great Armie by the Catholike Kings, in behalfe of *Ferdinand* the ſecond King of *Naples*, againſt *Charles* the *French* King, ſome diſeaſed perſons went with that Armie, and by dealing with the women, and by conuerſing, ſpread the diſeaſe to the *Italians* and *French*-men, which thence got the names aforeſaid, but indeed came from *Hiſpaniola*: where it is ordinarie, and the remedie alſo. *Our Author* l. 17. c. 4. *and* Ramuſio *in his Preface to his third Tome ſay, That the Souldiers of* Pamfilo de Nauaz *hauing the ſmall pocks infected the* Indians, *which neuer before had heard of that diſeaſe: in ſo much that of* 1600000. *ſoules in that Iland there are ſo few left, as by and by you ſhall heare.* The *Niguas* alſo, creatures leſſe then Fleas, which eate in the fleſh very dangerouſly, are rife in that Iland. The people of that Iland when firſt they were diuided amongſt the *Spaniſh* Planters, were deemed a Million or more (ſome ſay 1600000. of which and of their poſteritie in the yeere 1535. were not aboue fiue hundred left, little and great, the reſt which then were there being Slaues brought thither from other parts. The couetouſneſſe of the Myne-workers, neglect of Diet, change of Gouernours growing worſe and worſe, cauſed them to poyſon, kill, and hang themſelues, beſides thoſe which were conſumed by infectious or peſtilentiall pocks * and other diſeaſes: Their owne vices, alſo Sodomitrie, Idolatrie, &c. prouoked diuine Iuſtice againſt them. No prouiſion could hinder their conſumption. The King ſent Religious men of diuers Orders, but this I know that the *Dominicans* and *Franciſcans* contradicted each other, and what one approued the other diſallowed, although after the other had left that opinion, the Contradictors would embrace it, ſtill agreeing in diſagreeing: which cauſed much danger not onely to new Conuerts, but alſo to old Chriſtians: whiles one Order would not abſolue them except they franchiſed the *Indians*, and the other abſolued them neuertheleſſe. Much diſputation hath beene about the *Indians* ſeruice amongſt the Thomiſts, Canoniſts, and famous Lawyers and Diuines, but their differences haue done little good to the *Indians* or the plantation; and in a ſhort time both this Iland and the three adioyning, Saint *Iohn*, *Iamaica*, and *Cuba*, remayned deſolate, being by the Friars meanes (which I thinke, meant well) diſperſed thorow the Iland, to leſſen their labours, which the Gentlemen impoſed on them. I am of opinion that if a Chriſtian Prince had this Iland of *Hiſpaniola* onely, hee might make it as good as either *England* or *Sicily*: ſuch is the ſtore of Gold, the proſperous ſucceſſe of things carried from *Spaine*, the Beeues (which I knew firſt carried thither from *Spaine*) being alreadie ſo multiplyed that they kill them for the Hides, leauing the fleſh in the fields of fiue hundred at once: and

Lib. 3. c. 6.

* Thoſe before mentioned out of *Ramuſio.*

Friars quarrels.

Lib. 4. c. 2.

Lib. 3. c. 11.

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and *Roderigo di Bastidas* Bishop of *Venesuela* hath therein 16000. Beeues, and the Treasurer *Passamonte* as many; others 8000. or more, likewise in other Beasts, Seeds, Oranges, Limons, Figs, Pomegranets, &c.

Of their Zemes, Idols, Sepulchres, and other things concerning their Religion, the Reader may see enough in the ninth Booke and fourteenth Chapter of my Pilgrimage; and of the Spanish first voyages thither in the beginning of this worke, which Oviedo *handleth in his former Bookes.* *Oviedos* fift Booke is of their religion, &c.

Their *Huracans* (so they call tempests of winde and raine together) are very excessiue. *An.* 1508. on the third of August, all the thatched houses in Saint *Domingo* were throwne to the ground, and some also of stone; all the houses also in the Towne *Bonauentura*, which might thence be named *Malauentura*: in the Hauen were sunke twentie Ships and Caruels, a North-wind first and after a South-wind playing their furious prizes, one carrying out the Vessels in despight of all prouisions to Sea, and the other as terribly forcing them againe to the Hauen (if the losse of ships and men may permit that name) yea on Land many men were carried in the streets and fields diuers bow-shots before they could stay themselues. Hell seemed to haue beene opened, and the Deuils to haue carried things to and fro. Yet in Iuly following was a worse, which now are allayed and not so violent since the Blessed Sacrament hath beene placed in Churches. I haue seene the space of a Crosse-bow shot or two, all the ground couered with Trees plucked vp by the Windes from the Rootes, and ours haue sometime by dangers of the way beene forced to climbe from tree to tree ouer such a passage, with rents and perills enough. *Lib.6. c.3.* Superstitious conceit of the Sacrament. It was ordayned against the *Huracans* of the conscience, not of the weather.

The Cocks in *Spaine* crow at mid-night and towards day: but here in the shutting in of the euening, or two houres within night, and two houres before day, and not at all at mid-night: some crow in the first watch and not else all night. Their Cats also vse their lusts all the yeere and without walling noise, which in *Spaine*, *France*, *Sicily*, and other places in *Europe* and *Afrike* which I haue seene goe on Catter-walling onely about Februarie. In the Ile of *Nauaza* Westward from *Hispaniola* in the way thence to *Iamaica*, the Rocks are seene vnder the water: and amongst them a fathome and fiue foote vnder the salt water there ariseth a spring of good fresh water vpon the Sea, spowting vp bigger then a mans arme, higher then the salt water that it may easily be taken in. I haue not seene it, but *Stephen Rocca* a person of credit testifieth this of his owne sight and taste. But I haue seene in the Iland *Dominica* at the Riuer *Acquiata*, twentie paces wide, and not deeper then the arme pits, there is a hot spring, that if one take vp the Sands they seeme like embers in his fist, and so is the water a span deepe aboue the Sands, which on the top is fresh and like other water. *Lib.10. c.10.* Cocks & Cats differing from the *Spanish*: wherein our *English* doe much agree with the *Indians*. Strange water-spous.

Oviedos 8. 9. 10. *and* 11. *Bookes are of Plants and Trees in those parts. The* 12. *of Creatures before mentioned: the* 13. *of Fishes, in which he telleth that An.* 1529. going from the Gulfe of *Orotigua* to *Panama* two hundred leagues Eastward, neere the mouth of the Gulfe, wee saw a Fish or great Water-monster, which at times lifted it selfe right vp aboue the Water so farre that the head and both the armes might bee seene, which seemed higher then our Caruell and all her Masts. Thus did shee rise and fall diuers times beating the water strongly, not casting any water out of the mouth. A younger or lesse of the same kinde did likewise, swimme a little distant from the greater. Some iudged it to bee a Whale with her young one, which others denyed, saying, a Whale had no armes. To my iudgement each arme might be fiue and twentie foote long, and as bigge as a Butt or Pipe: the head fourteene or fifteene foote high and much more in breadth; and the rest of the body larger. That of her which appeared aboue water, was aboue fiue times the height of a meane man, which make fiue and twentie paces. * *Lorenzo Martino* Canon of the Church of *Golden Castile*, *Sancio di Tudela*, &c. were with me: and we were all afraid when shee came neere our small Caruell. Shee seemed to disport her selfe at a tempest approching, which suddenly arose much to our purpose, from the West, and brought vs in few dayes to *Panama*. *Lib.13. c.2.* Sea Monster stupendious. * 25. *passa*, which sometimes signifieth fathoms.

In *Hispaniola* and the neighbouring Ilands is a strange bird of prey, as bigge as a great * *Gaula* and much like it: shee preyeth on the Land on birds, &c. and on fish in the Water, shee is footed like water-fowles and goeth like a Goose, but hath talons like Hawkes, and fastens therewith on the fishes which shee eates (so taken) either in the Water or on the Rocks, or as shee flyeth in the Aire holding it betweene her feete. The Christians call them *Astori di aqua*. *Lib.14. c.7.* * An *Italian* fowle. Water hawkes.

What scath the Ants did in *Hispaniola*, is before mentioned, in the yeere 1519. and the next following, and the Citie of Saint *Domingo*, was almost dishabited by this great Armie of little creatures, as in *Spaine* a Citie was dispeopled by Conies, and which lately happened to the Ile *Porto Santo*; in *Thessalia* (which almost fell out to the *English* Colonie in *Bermuda*) to another Citie by Rats, to the *Atariotes* by Frogges, to the *Mountines* by Fleas, to *Amucle* in *Italie* by Serpents, and to another part thereof by Sparrowes; to diuers places of *Africa* often by Locusts: so can the Great God arme the least creatures to the destruction of proud vainglorious men. And this miserie so perplexed the *Spaniards*, that they sought as strange a remedie as was the disease, which *L.15. c.1.* Greatest harme by least creatures.

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Vncertainty of Superstition.

which was to chuse some Saint for their Patron against the Antes. *Alexander Giraldine*, the Bishop hauing sung a solemne and Pontificall Masse, after the Consecration and Eleuation of the Sacrament, and deuout Prayers made by him and the people, opened a Booke in which was a Catalogue of the Saints, by lot to chuse some he or she Saint, whom God should please to appoint their Aduocate against that Calamitie. And the Lot fell vpon Saint *Saturnine* whose Feast is on the nine and twentieth of Nouember: after which the Ant-damage became more tolerable and by little and little diminished, by Gods mercie and intercession of that Saint: I note it the rather, becausse the Bishop and that Saint were both *Romanes*, and as that Martyr had made mute the Idols in *Toledo*, (as is written in the Historie of his Martyrdome) so now was Idolatry (and I pray what was this?) destroyed in *Hispaniola?* Hee might haue said exchanged! a pitifull case that when *God hath sent his owne Sonne made of a woman, made vnder the Law, &c.* Who hath *dyed for our* (yea, that Martyrs) *sinnes, risen for our Iustification, ascended on high to giue gifts to men*; and is *there, and therefore, set downe at Gods right hand to make intercession for vs sinners, to take possession for vs mortals*, to accomplish, as our *Amen, all the promises of this life, and that which is to come*, whether against Ants or Deuils; and in him it hath *pleased the Father that all fulnesse should dwell*; yea (beyond and *it pleased*) in him *dwelleth the fulnesse of the Godhead bodily, and we are compleate in him, and he is all in all, yesterday, to day, the same for euer*; which *hath loued vs, and giuen himselfe for vs*, which *is loue*, which hath inuited vs, *Come to me all ye that labour*, which hath incited vs by all attractiues: that after all this, men, Christian men should goe cast Lots for an Intercessor, and neglecting Christ, dreame of *Romane* carnall phancies, or runne mad with *Romish* superstitious phrensies; wherein if the bodie be deliuered, as happened to the *lusting Israelites*, with their *Quaile-store*, the burthen is made double to the soule, when God heareth in his anger. Such Cisternes doe they digge which forsake the *Fountaine of liuing waters, euen broken Cisternes which can hold no waters*: the best of Saints like the wise Virgins, hauing no *more Oile then will suffice their owne Lampes*, and that also receiued out *of anothers fulnesse, of whose fulnesse wee all haue receiued grace for grace*; said a principall Saint.

Gal.4. Rom.4. Eph.4. Rom.8. Iob.14. 1.Tim.4. Col.1. Col.2. Col.3. Heb.13. Eph.5. 1.Iob.4. Mat.11. Num.11. Ier.2.13. Mat.25. Iob.1.

There are Caterpillers, which shine in the night fiftie or a hundred paces off, only from that part of the bodie whence the legges issue: others only haue their head shining. I haue seene some a spanne long very fearefull, but for any thing I haue heard, harmelesse. Flies are lesse, but more hurtfull then in *Spaine*: but these in kindes and colours are so diuersified that it is impossible to write them: and so may be said of other small creatures in those parts.

L.16.c.15.

In his sixteenth Booke he declareth the Conquest of the Ile *Boriehen*, or Saint *Iohn* and the quarrels betwixt the *Spaniards*, the learning of some breeding such dissentions, that not without cause (saith our Author) in Golden *Castile* and in other parts, the King forbad Law-learned men and Proctors should passe thither, as men infectious by sowing strife where they ought not. In this Ile, the people and other things are as before is said of *Hispaniola*; there are more Birds in Saint *Iohn*, rich Mineralls of Gold, certaine Battes which the people eate; and *Lignum Sanctum* groweth there, more excellent then the *Guaiacum* for the *French* Disease and others.

Lawyers dangerous in the *Spanish Indies.*

L.17.c.4.

In his seuenteenth Booke he writeth of *Cuba*. The people and other things are much like to *Hispaniola*. In their Mariages, all the guests of the Bridegroomes tanke (as *Caciques*, if hee bee a *Cacique* or Principall, or Plebeians as he is) lye with the Spouse before he himselfe may doe it: after which she with her fist bent comes crying with a loud voyce, *Manicato*, *Manicato*, that is *forced* and *full of force*, as glorying in her shame. They are in vices like those of *Hispaniola*, and will be no better *Christians* then other *Indians*, whatsoeuer *Peter Martyr* writeth from *Encises* Relations. For I haue seene more *Indians* then they both, and by experience of those Nations know, that none or very few of them are *Christians* of their owne will and accord: and when any are baptized being of age, he doth it more for some by-purpose then for zeale of the faith: for there remaines to him nothing but the name, which also soone after he forgets. Perhaps there are some faithfull, but I beleeue they are very rare.

Filthy Mariages.

Ouiedos testimony of *Indian* Christianity. He thinkes it a Fable that is told of Crosses found in *Iucatan.*

The Creatures and Plants of *Spaine* prosper well there, as doe the naturall which are the same which are in *Hispaniola*. The people were exhausted when they first went into New *Spaine*, and with the second Armie of *Grigialua*, and with the third of *Cortese*, and with the fourth of *Pamphilo di Narbaez*, all by order of Lieutenant *Velasco*: whereby *Cuba* was in manner dispeopled, and by the former causes mentioned of *Hispaniola*, and by the contagion of the small Pockes which was vniuersall in all these Ilands: So that the Great God hath in manner wholly extinguished them for their *(not without others)* sinnes. They haue much Gold and Brasse: vse to fish much with the *Rouerso* before mentioned, as also that Wild-goose chase. There are innumerable Cranes, such as are in *Spaine*; the Boyes take infinite Egges and young ones. There are Turtles greater then in *Spaine*. Euery yeare there passe from the end of *Cuba* infinite numbers of diuers sorts of Birds, which come from the North of the firme Land, and crosse ouer the *Alacrain* Ilands and *Cuba*, and flye ouer the Gulfe Southwards. I haue seene them passe ouer *Darien* and *Nombre de dios* and *Panama* in diuers yeeres, in the *Firme Land*; so many that they couer

Strange passages of Fowles.

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uer the Skie: and this passage or march continueth a moneth or more about the moneth of March. I thinke they flie round about the World; for they neuer are seene to returne toward the West or North: and we see them not euery yeere one after another; from morning to night the aire is couered, and some flie so high that they cannot bee seene, others lower yet higher then the Mountaines tops. They come from the North-west and North to the Southwards, and then turne South-west, occupying in length more then the eye can discerne, and a great space in breadth. The lowest are Eaglets and Eagles, and all seeme Birds of prey of many kinds and plumes: The higher cannot bee discerned in their plumes, but in manner of flying and quantitie appeare of diuers sorts. L.17.c.15.

There haue beene Serpents killed in *Cuba*, as bigge as a mans thigh, and fiue and twentie, or thirtie foot long and more. They are tame, and the *Indians* eate them, and find sometimes in their bellies sixe or seuen creatures bigger then Conies, which they swallow whole.

I am loth to lead you with this Author along with *Grigalua*, in his long Expedition from hence to *Iucatan* and other parts. Neere to *Porto de termini*, he found two Trees seeming set by hand, standing alone, and fifteene paces off diuers Idols of Chalke. They saw two Images made of the wood *Copei*, in manner of *Sodomiticall* villenie ioyned together; and another of Chalke with his circumcised member betwixt his hands. L.17.c.18. Abominable deuotions.

Iamaica was in people, vices, creatures and other things like the former: they were the Inuentors of the *reuerso*-fishing and Goose-catching with Gourds or Pompions aforesaid, which sometimes they practised also with leaues and greene boughes on their heads, and vsed that Garland, as is before said of the Pompions. Of *Cubagua* the Pearle Iland and of the Pearle-fishing is spoken before. In *Cubagua* is a bituminous Fountayne, hauing otherwise no water to drinke, nor Hearbes, nor Trees but a few of *Guaiacan*, nor any liuing creatures, though at first comming of the Christians there were a few Conies. At the East point is the Fountayne running into the Sea with an Oily substance floating on it, profitable for Medicine there called *Deuils Dung*. They that liue there, fetch their water seuen leagues off from *Cumana*, on the firme Land, and wood from *Margarita*. The Kings fifth of the Pearle-fishing hath yeelded 15000. Duckets yeerly: a thing not knowne that so many Pearles haue beene taken from so small a space, the Iland of *Cubagua* not compassing aboue three leagues. In the Gulfe of *Orotigna*, and the Ilands therein in the Prouince of *Nicaragua* on the South Sea, are many shel-fishes of a long forme, some a Cubit long, some lesse, crealed, growing broader and broader to the end when they are opened: they haue a fishie substance within them, and shine within as the Pearle-oysters doe, halfe their length, thence by degrees loosing that shining toward the broader end. The Pearles within them are not so fine as the other. The *Indians* vse the shels to digge their loose ground, fastning the shell to a handle of wood, binding it fast and making a kind of Spade thereof. L.18.c.2. L.19.c.2. Pitch Fountaine. c.9. Two shel-fishes which yeeld Pearles.

In the yeare 1517. An *Englishman* * vnder colour of Discouery came with a great ship towards *Brasil* on the Firme Land, and thence trauersed to *Hispaniola*, and came neere the Hauen of Saint *Domingo*, and sent his Boat full of people on shoare, and desired Trade. But the Captaine of the Fort shot from the Castle at the Boate, because shee came directly to the Port; and thereupon they returned to their ship. The *English* seeing this entertainment, tooke their course towards the Iland of Saint *Iohn*, and entred the Port of Saint *German*, and there demanded victuals and prouisions for their ship, complaining of the wrong done them at Saint *Domingo*, comming thither for Trade, to buy with their Mony, and to barter Commodities. There they got some victuals for which they paid in wrought pieces of Pewter and other things: and so returned towards *Europe*, where it is likely they came not; for there was neuer any more heard of them. *English* voyage to the West *Indies*, A.1517. L.10.c.13. * He cals him a Pirate, but sheweth no reason of that name. Pewter.

The next yeare a *French* Pirat guided by a *Spanish* Pilot, came to trade in the Iland of Pearles and a *Portugall* Carauell which he had taken on the Coast of *Brasil*, and would haue landed his Boats full of men, but was resisted, and a Battel betwixt both parts followed, in which thirteene *Frenchmen* were slaine, and two of ours. Three or foure *Nauarrois* and *Biskainers* fled from them and said the *French* were Theeues and came to take the Iland: whereupon they went with all their strength, and tooke her Boat, and the ship fled out of sight, &c. L.20.

Ouiedos twentieth Booke is of shipwrackes and disaduentures which haue happened to the *Spaniards* in those parts. One which happened 1514. is admirable, the ship sinking and fiue and twentie persons escaping in the Boat, hast forbidding prouision of Card, Compasse or victuall, to saue their liues. Thus liued they twelue dayes at Sea; neither had they any thing to eate or drinke: only a young man had saued two pounds of Bisket, which beeing diuided amongst them, he which had most had not aboue an ounce and halfe. Vrine, or the Sea was their drinke. In this case they made Vowes to our Ladie of *Antica* in *Siuill*: and on the twelfth day hauing made a Saile of their shirts, they came to *Siluer-port* in *Hispaniola*. Their Pilot *Anto Calio* told me the Storie. The same yeare in the Fleet of *Pedrarias de Auilla* a *Portugal* youth, being scoffed at, and flouted by the *Spaniards*, leaped into the Sea in a fresh gale, and not without the wonder of all men was taken vp by another ship aliue, whom after I saw vaunting of this folly, and saying that no *Castilian* durst haue done it; which I easily beleeue, as hauing more wit then this Foole.

* *Ouiedo* writ other Bookes of the firme Land, which are not extant.

Foole. Yet will I imitate a little this fooliſh *Portugall*, and leape out of *Ouiedos Spaniſh* ſhip (for who will not feare ſuch dreadfull ſhipwrackes as this Booke, the laſt which hath come * to our hands, is full of?) and ſwim aſhoare, or ſeeke other paſſage with *Acoſta*, in a new or rather an old Voyage for Diſcouerie of the *Mexican* Antiquities.

CHAP. IIII.

Mexican *Antiquities gathered out of the Writings of* IOSEPHVS ACOSTA *a learned Ieſuite.*

L.7. Eccleſ.1.

EVery Hiſtorie well written is profitable to the Reader: For as the Wiſeman ſaith, That which hath beene, is, and that which ſhall bee, is that which hath beene: *Humane things haue much reſemblance in themſelues, and ſome grow wiſe by that which happeneth to others. There is no Nation, how barbarous ſoeuer, that haue not ſomething in them, good, and worthy of commendation; nor Common-weale ſo well ordered, that hath not ſomething blame-worthy, and to bee controlled. If therefore there were no other fruit in the Hiſtorie and Narration of the Deeds and Geſts of the* Indians, *but this common vtilitie, to be a Relation or Hiſtorie of things, the which in the effect of truth haue happened, it deſerueth to bee receiued as a profitable thing, neither ought it to bee reiected, for that it concernes the* Indians. *As wee ſee that thoſe Authors that treate of naturall things, write not onely of generous Beaſts, notable and rare Plants, and of Precious Stones, but alſo of wilde Beaſts, common Hearbes, and baſe and vulgar Stones, for that there is alwayes in them ſome properties worthy obſeruation. If therefore there were nothing elſe in this Diſcourſe, but that it is a Hiſtorie, and no fables nor fictions, it were no vnworthy Subiect to be written, or read. There is yet another more particular reaſon, which is, that we ought herein to eſteeme that which is worthy of memorie, both for that it is a Nation little eſteemed, and alſo a Subiect different from that of our* Europe, *as theſe Nations bee, wherein wee ſhould take moſt pleaſure and content, to vnderſtand the ground of their beginning, their manner of life, with their happie and vnhappie Aduentures. And this ſubiect is not onely pleaſant and agreeable, but alſo profitable, eſpecially to ſuch as haue the charge to rule and gouerne them; for the knowledge of their Acts inuites vs to giue credit, and doth partly teach how they ought to be intreated: yea, it takes away much of that common and fooliſh contempt wherein they of* Europe *hold them, ſuppoſing that thoſe Nations haue no feeling of reaſon. For in truth wee cannot cleere this errour better, than by the true report of the Acts and deeds of this people. I will therefore as briefly as I can, intreat of the beginning, proceedings and notable deeds of the* Mexicanes, *whereby wee may know the time and the diſpoſition that the high God would chooſe, to ſend vnto theſe Nations the Light of the Goſpell of Ieſus Chriſt his only Sonne our Lord, whom I beſeech to ſecond our ſmall labour, that it may bee to the glorie of his Diuine greatneſſe, and ſome profit to theſe people, to whom he hath imparted the Law of his holy Goſpell.*

§. I

Of the ancient Inhabitants of New Spaine, *and of the ſixe Linages of the* Nauatlacas. *Of the* Mexican Exodus, *and Aduentures by the way: the foundation of* Mexico, *their firſt King and Tribute.*

L.7.c.2.

Chichimecas. Their ſauage courſe of life.

THe aneient and firſt Inhabitants of thoſe Prouinces, which wee call New *Spaine*, were men very barbarous and ſauage, which liued onely by hunting, for this reaſon they were called *Chichimecas*. They did neither ſow nor till the ground, neither liued they together; for all their exercile was to hunt, wherein they were very expert. They liued in the rougheſt parts of the Monntaynes beaſt-like, without any policie, and they went all naked. They hunted wilde Beaſts, Hares, Conies, Weezels, Mowles, wild Cats, and Birds, yea vncleane beaſts, as Snakes, Lizards, Locuſts and Wormes, whereon they fed, with ſome hearbs and roots. They ſlept in the Mountaynes, in caues and in buſhes, and the wiues likewiſe went a hunting with their husbands, leauing their young children in a little panier of Reeds, tyed to the boughes of a Tree, which deſired not to ſucke vntill they were returned from hunting. They had no Superiours, nor did acknowledge or worſhip any gods, neither had any manner of Ceremonies or Religion.

There is yet to this day in New *Spaine* of this kind of people, which liue by their Bowes and Arrowes, the which are very hurtfull, for that they gather together in troopes to doe miſchiefe,

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chiefe, and to rob: neither can the *Spaniards* by force or cunning reduce them to any policie or obedience: for hauing no Townes nor places of residence, to fight with them, were properly to hunt after sauage beasts, which scatter and hide themselues in the most rough and couered places of the Mountaynes. Such is their manner of liuing euen to this day, in many Prouinces of the *Indies*. Those in New *Spaine*, which they call *Ottomies*, were of this sort, beeing commonly poore *Indians*, inhabiting a rough and barren Land, and yet they are in good numbers, and liue together with some order, and such as doe know them, find them no lesse apt and capeable of matters of Christian Religion, then others which are held to be more rich and better gouerned. Comming therefore to our subiect, the *Chichimecas* and *Ottomies* which were the first Inhabitants of New *Spaine*, for that they did neither till nor sowe the Land, left the best and most fertile of the Countrey vnpeopled, which, Nations that came from farre did possesse, whom they called *Nauatalcas*, for that it was a more ciuill and politicke Nation; this word signifies a *people that speakes well*, in respect of other barbarous Nations without reason. These second peoplers *Nauatalcas*, came from other farre Countreyes, which lye toward the North, where now they haue discouered a Kingdome they call *New Mexico*. *Ottomies.* *New Mexico.*

There are two Prouinces in this Countrey, the one called *Aztlan*, which is to say a *place of Herons*: the other *Tuculhuacan*, which signifies a *Land of such, whose Grandfathers were diuine*. The Inhabitants of these Prouinces haue their houses, their Lands tilled, Gods, Customes, and Ceremonies, with like order and gouernment to the *Nauatalcas*, and are diuided into *seuen Tribes* or Nations: and for that they haue a custome in this Prouince, that euery one of these Linages hath his place and priuate Territorie, the *Nauatalcas* paint their beginning and first Territorie in figure of a Caue, and say that they came forth of *seuen Caues* to come and people the Land of *Mexico*, whereof they make mention in their Historie, where they paint seuen Caues and men comming forth of them. By the supputation of their Bookes, it is aboue *eight hundred yeeres* since these *Nauatalcas* came forth of their Countrey, reducing which to our accompt, was about the yeere of our Lord 720. When they left their Countrey to come to *Mexico*, they stayed fourescore yeeres vpon the way; and the cause of this their long stay in their Voyage, was, that their Gods (which without doubt were Deuils, and spake visibly vnto them) had perswaded them to seeke new Lands that had certaine signes. And therefore they came discouering the whole Land, to search for these tokens which their Idols had giuen them; and in places where they found any good dwellings, they peopled it, and laboured the Land, and as they discouered better Countreyes, they left those which they had first peopled; leauing still some, especially the aged, sicke folkes, and the wearie; yea, they did plant and build there, whereof wee see the remainders at this day. In the way where they passed, they spent fourescore yeeres in this manner of leisurely trauell, the which they might haue done in a moneth. By this meanes they entred the Land of *Mexico*, in the yeere 902. after our computation. *Aztlan.* *Tuculhuacan.* Their beginnings 900. yeeres agoe, *A.D.720.*

These seuen Linages I haue spoken of, came not forth altogether; the first were the *Suchimilcos*, which signifie a *Nation of the seeds of flowres*. Those peopled the bankes of the great Lake of *Mexico* towards the South, and did build a Citie of their name, and many Villages. Long time after came they of the second Linage called *Chalcas*, which signifies *people of mouthes*, who also built a Citie of their name, diuiding their limits and Territories with the *Suchimilcos*. The third were the *Tepanecans*, which signifies people of the bridge: they did inhabite vpon the banke of the Lake towards the West, and they increased so, as they called the chiefe and Metropolitane of their Prouince, *Azcapuzalco*, which is to say, an *Ants Nest*, and they continued long time mightie. After them came those that peopled *Tescuco*, which be those of *Culhua*, which is to say, *a crooked people*: for that in their Countrey there was a Mountaine much bending. And in this sort this Lake was enuironed with these foure Nations, these inhabiting on the East, and the *Tepanecas* on the North. These of *Tescuco*, were held for great Courtiers, for their tongue and pronunciation is very sweet and pleasant. Then arriued the *Tlalhuicans*, which signifies men of the *Sierre* or Mountaine. Those were the most rude and grosse of all the rest, who finding all the Plaines about the Lake possessed euen vnto the *Sierre*, they passed to the other side of the Mountaine, where they found a very fertile, spacious and warme Countrey, where they built many great Villages, calling the Metropolitane of their Prouince *Quahunachua*, which is as much to say, as *a place that sounds the voice of an Eagle*, which our common people call by corruption, *Quernauaca*, and at this day they call this Prouince, the *Marquisate*. Those of the sixt Generation, which are the *Tlascaltecans*, which is to say, *Men of bread*, passed the Mountaine towards the East, crossing all the *Sierre*, or Mountaine of *Menade*, where that famous *Vulcan* is betwixt *Mexico* and the *Citie of Angels*, where they did find a good Countrey, making many buildings. They built many Townes and Cities, whereof the Metropolitane was called by their name *Tlascala*. This is the Nation which fauoured the *Spaniards* at their entrie, by whose helpe they did winne this Countrey, and therefore to this day they pay no Tribute, but enioy a generall exemption. When all these Nations peopled these Countreyes, the *Chinchimecans* being the ancient Inhabitants, made no resistance, but fled, and as people amazed, they hid themselues in the most obscure of the Rockes. But those that inhabited on the other side of the How the six Linages of *Nauatalcas* peopled the Land of *Mexico*. *Chap. 3.* *Suchimilcos.* *Chalchas.* *Tepanecans.* *Azcapuzalco.* *Tescuco.* *Culhua.* *Tlalhuicans.* *Quahunachuas* *Tlascaltecans.*

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Mountaine where the *Tlaſcaltecans* had planted themſelues, did not ſuffer them in quiet, as the reſt of the *Chichimecans* had done, but they put themſelues in defence to preſerue their Country,
Giants. and being Giants as the Hiſtories report, they ſought to expell the laſt Commers, but they were vanquiſht by the policy of the *Tlaſcaltecans*, who counterfeiting a peace with them, inuited them to a great banquet, and when they were buſieſt in their drunkenneſſe, there were ſome laid in ambuſh, who ſecretly ſtole away their weapons, which were great Clubs, Targets, Swords of wood, and other ſuch armes. Then did they ſuddenly ſet vpon them, and the *Chichimecans* ſeeking to defend themſelues, they did want their armes, ſo as they fled to the Mountaines and Foreſts adioyning, where they pulled downe Trees, as if they had beene ſtalkes of Lettuces. But in the end, the *Tlaſcaltecans* being armed, and marching in order, they defeated all the Giants, not
Note of Giants. leauing one aliue. We muſt not hold this of the Giants to be ſtrange, or a fable; for at this day we finde dead mens bones of an incredible bigneſſe.

When I was in *Mexico*, in the yeere 1586. they found one of thoſe Giants buried in one of our Farmes, which we call *Ieſus du Mont*, of whom they brought a tooth to bee ſeene, which (without augmenting) was as bigge as the fiſt of a man, and according to this, all the reſt was proportionable, which I ſaw and admired at his deformed greatneſſe. The *Tlaſcaltecans* by this victorie remayned peaceable, and ſo did the reſt of the Linages. Theſe ſixe Linages did alwayes entertaine amitie together, marrying their children one with another, and diuiding their limits quietly: then they ſtudied with an emulation to encreaſe and beautifie their Commonweale. The barbarous *Chichimecans*, ſeeing what paſſed, began to vſe ſome gouernment, and to apparell
Beginnings of amitie. themſelues, being aſhamed of what had paſſed: for till then they had no ſhame. And hauing abandoned feare by their communication with theſe other people, they began to learne many things of them, building ſmall Cottages, hauing ſome policy and gouernment. They did alſo chooſe Lords, whom they did acknowledge for their Superiors, by meanes whereof they did in a manner quite abandon this bruitiſh life, yet did they alwayes continue in the Mountaines diuided from the reſt.

Of the *Mexicans* departure, or their iourney and peopling the Prouince of *Mechoacan*. *ch.* 4. Three hundred and two yeeres after the former two Linages had left their Country, to inhabite New *Spaine*, the Country being now well peopled, and reduced to ſome forme of gouernment, Thoſe of the ſeuenth Caue or Line arriued, which is the *Mexicane* Nation, the which like vnto the reſt, left the Prouince of *Aztlan*, and *Teuculhuacan*, a politike, courtlike, and warlike Nation. They did worſhip the Idoll *Vitzliputzli*, the Deuill that was in this Idoll ſpake, and gouerned this Nation eaſily. This Idoll commanded them to leaue their Country, promiſing to make them Princes and Lords ouer all the Prouinces which the other ſixe Nations did poſſeſſe, that he would giue them a Land abounding with gold, ſiluer, precious ſtones, feathers, and rich mantels: whereupon they went forth, carrying their Idoll with them in a Coffer of Reedes, ſupported by foure of their principall Prieſts, with whom he did talke and reueale vnto them in ſecret, the ſucceſſe of their way and voyage, aduiſing them of what ſhould happen. He likewiſe gaue them Lawes, and taught them the cuſtomes, ceremonies, and ſacrifices they ſhould obſerue. They did not aduance nor mooue without commandement from this Idoll. He gaue them notice when to march, and when to ſtay in any place, wherein they wholly obeyed him. The firſt thing they did whereſoeuer they came, was to build a Houſe or Tabernacle for their falſe god, which they ſet alwayes in the middeſt of their Campe, and there placed the Arke vpon an Altar, in the ſame manner as they haue vſed in the holy Chriſtian Church. This done, they ſowed their land for bread and pulſes, which they vſed: and they were ſo addicted to the obedience of their god, that if he commanded them to gather, they gathered, but if he commanded them to raiſe their Campe, all was left there for the nouriſhment of the aged, ſicke, and wearie, which they left purpoſely from place to place, that they might people it, pretending by this meanes, that all the Land ſhould remaine inhabited by their Nation.

Deuills emulation of that worke of God in bringing *Iſrael* out of *Egypt*, and paſſing thorow the deſert to *Canaan*. Tabernacle. Arke.

We may well iudge what this *Vitzliputzli* was, for that there was neuer ſeene nor heard ſpeake of cuſtomes more ſuperſtitious, nor ſacrifices more cruell and inhumane, then thoſe which hee taught them. To conclude, they were inuented by the enemie of mankinde. The Chiefe and
Mexi their *Moſes*. Captaine whom they followed, was called *Mexi*, whence came the name of *Mexico*, and of the *Mexican* Nation. This people marching thus at leiſure, as the other ſixe Nations had done, peopling and tilling the Land in diuers parts, whereof there is yet ſome ſhewes and ruines: and after they had endured many trauels and dangers, in the end they came to the Prouince of
Mechoacan. *Mechoacan*, which is as much to ſay, as *a land of fiſh*, for there is great abundance in goodly great Lakes, where contenting themſelues with the ſituation and temperature of the ground, they reſolued to ſtay there. Yet hauing conſulted with their Idoll vpon this point, and finding him vnwilling, they demanded licenſe to leaue ſome of their men to people ſo good a Land, the which he granted, teaching them the meanes how to doe it, which was, that when the Men and Wo-
Paſcuaro. men ſhould be entred into a goodly Lake called *Paſcuaro*, to bathe themſelues, thoſe which remayned on Land, ſhould ſteale away all their clothes, and then ſecretly raiſe their Campe, and depart without any bruit, the which was effected, and the reſt which dreamt not of this deceit (for the pleaſure they tooke in bathing) comming forth and finding themſelues ſpoyled of their garments,

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garments, and thus mocked and left by their Companions, they remayned discontented and vexed therewith: so as to make shew of the hatred they had conceiued against them, they say that they changed their manner of life and their language. At the least it is most certaine, that the *Mechoacans* haue beene alwayes enemies to the *Mexicans*, and therefore they came to congratulate the Marqueſſe *De Valle*, after his victorie obtayned when he had conquered *Mexico*.

From *Mechoacan* to *Mexico*, are aboue fiftie leagues, and vpon the way is *Malinalco*, where it happened, that complayning to their Idoll of a woman that was a notable witch, which came in their company carrying the name of their ſiſter to their god, for that with her wicked artes ſhee did them much harme, pretending by certaine meanes to bee worſhipped of them as their goddeſſe: the Idoll ſpake in a dreame to one of thoſe old men that carried the Arke, commanding him to comfort the people, making them new and great promiſes, and that they ſhould leaue this his ſiſter with her family, being cruell and bad, rayſing their Campe at mid-night in great ſilence, leauing no ſhew what way they paſſed. So they did, and the Witch remayning alone with her family in this ſort, peopled a Towne which they call *Malinalco*, the Inhabitants whereof, are held for great Sorcerers, being iſſued from ſuch a mother. The *Mexicans* for that they were greatly diminiſhed by theſe diuiſions, and by the number of ſicke and wearied perſons, which they had left behinde, meant to repayre themſelues, and to ſtay in a place called *Tula*, which ſignifies *a place of Reedes*. There their Idoll commanded them to ſtop a great Riuer, that it might couer a great Playne, and by the meanes he taught them, they did inuiron a little Hill called *Coatepec*, making a great Lake, the which they did plant round about with Willowes, Elmes, Sapines, and other Trees. There began to breede much fiſh, and many birds came thither: ſo as it became a very pleaſant place. The ſituation of this place, ſeeming pleaſant vnto them, and being wearied with trauell, many talked of peopling there, and to paſſe no farther: wherewith the Deuill was much diſpleaſed, threatning the Prieſts with death, commanding them to returne the Riuer to her courſe, ſaying, that hee would that night chaſtiſe thoſe which had beene diſobedient as they had deſerued. And as to doe ill is proper to the Deuill, and that the diuine Iuſtice doth often ſuffer ſuch to be deliuered into the hands of ſuch a Tormentor, that chooſe him for their god; It chanced that about mid-night they heard a great noyſe in one part of the Campe, and in the morning going thither, they found thoſe dead that had talked of ſtaying there. The manner of their death, was, that their ſtomacks were opened, and their hearts pulled out. And by that meanes, this good god taught theſe poore miſerable Creatures, the kindes of ſacrifices that pleaſed him, *which was, in opening the ſtomacke, to pull out the heart*, as they haue ſince practiſed in their horrible ſacrifices. Seeing this puniſhment, and that the Playne was dryed, the Lake being emptied, they asked counſell of their god what to doe, who commanded them to paſſe on, the which they did by little and little, vntill they came to *Chapultepec*, a league from *Mexico*, famous for the pleaſantneſſe thereof. They did fortifie themſelues in theſe Mountaines, fearing the Nations which inhabited that Country, the which were oppoſite vnto them, eſpecially for that one named *Copil*, ſonne to this Sorcereſſe, left in *Malinalco*, had blamed and ſpoken ill of the *Mexicans*: for this *Copil* by the commandement of his mother, awhile after followed the *Mexicans* courſe, labouring to incenſe the *Tapanecas*, and other neighbours againſt them, euen vnto the *Chalcas*: ſo as they came with a ſtrong Armie to deſtroy the *Mexicans*. *Copil* in the meane ſpace ſtood vpon a little Hill in the middeſt of a Lake, called *Acopilco*, attending the deſtruction of his Enemies, and they by the aduice of their Idoll, went againſt him, tooke him ſuddenly, and ſlue him, carrying his heart to their god, who commanded them to caſt it into the Lake, fayning that thereof did grow a plant called *Tunal*, where ſince *Mexico* was built. They came to fight with the *Chalcas*, and other Nations, hauing choſen for their Captaine, a valiant man, called *Vitzilonilti*, who in an encounter, was taken and ſlaine by the Enemies. But for all this, they were not diſcouraged, but fought valiantly; and in deſpight of their Enemies they brake the ſquadrons, and carrying their Aged, their Women, and young Children in the midſt of their battaile, they paſſed on to *Atlacuyanaya*, a Towne of the *Culhuans*, whom they found ſolemniſing of a Feaſt, in which place they fortified. The *Chalcas*, nor the other Nations did not follow them, but grieued to be defeated by ſo ſmall a number of men; they being in ſo great multitudes retyred to their Townes.

Of that which happened in *Malinalco*, *Tula*, and in *Chapultepec*. *Chap.* 5.

Witch forſaken.

Deuils proud emulation in puniſhing diſobedience, and teaching murtherous ſacrifices.

Chapultepec.

Metamorphoſis.

Atlacuyanaya.

The *Mexicans*, by the aduice of their Idoll, ſent their Meſſengers to the Lord of *Culhuacan*, to demand a place to dwell in, who after hee had imparted it to his people, granted them the place of *Tizaapan*, which ſignifies *white waters*, to the end they ſhould all periſh there, being full of Vipers, Snakes, and other venemous beaſts which bred in a Hill neere adioyning. But being perſwaded and taught by their Deuill, they accepted willingly what was offered, and by their deuilliſh arte, tamed theſe beaſts, ſo as they did them no harme; yea, they vſed them as meate, eating them with delight and appetite. The which the Lord of *Culhuacan* ſeeing, and that they had tilled and ſowed the Land, he reſolued to receiue them into the Citie, and to contract amitie with them. But the god whom the *Mexicans* did worſhip (as he is accuſtomed to do no good, but ill) ſaid vnto his Prieſts, that this was not the place where hee would haue them ſtay, and that they muſt go forth making warres. Therefore they muſt ſeeke forth a Woman, and name her

Of the warres the *Mexicans* had againſt them of *Culhuacan*. *Chap.* 6. *Tizaapan.*

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Queene of Diſcord made by the King of Pride.

the *Goddeſſe of Diſcord.* Whereupon they reſolued to ſend to the King of *Culhuacan*, to demand his daughter to be Queene of the *Mexicans*, and mother to their god, who receiued this ambaſſage willingly, ſending his daughter preſently gorgeouſly attired and well accompanied. The ſame night thee arriued, by order of the murtherer whom they worſhipped, they killed her cruelly; and hauing flayed her artificially as they could doe; they did clothe a young man with her skin, and thereupon her apparell, placing him neere their Idoll, dedicating him for a *Goddeſſe and the mother of their god*, and euer after did worſhip it, making an Idoll which they called *Teccy*, which is to ſay, *our grand mother*. Not content with this crueltie, they did maliciouſly inuite the King of *Culhuacan*, the father of the young Maid, to come and worſhip his daughter, who was now conſecrated a goddeſſe, who comming with great Preſents, and well accompanied with his people, he was led into a very darke Chappell where their Idoll was, that he might offer ſacrifice to his daughter that was in that place. But it chanced that the Incenſe that was vpon the harth, according to their cuſtome, kindled in ſuch ſort, as he might diſcerne his daughters haire, and hauing by this meanes diſcouered the crueltie and deceit, he went forth crying aloud, and with all his men he fell vpon the *Mexicans*, forcing them to retyre to the Lake, ſo as they were almoſt drowned. The *Mexicans* defended themſelues, caſting certaine little darts, which they vſed in the warres, wherewith they much galled their enemies. But in the end they got Land, and leauing that place, they coaſted along the Lake, very weary and wet; the Women and little Children crying and making great exclamations againſt them and their god that had brought them into this diſtreſſe. They were inforced to paſſe a Riuer that could not bee waded thorow, and therefore they aduiſed to make ſmall Boates of their Targets and of Reedes, wherein they paſſed. Then afterwards, hauing left *Culhuacan*, they arriued at *Iztacalco*, and finally to the place where the Hermitage of Saint *Anthony* now is, at the entrie of *Mexico*, and to that quarter which they now call Saint *Paul*. During which time their Idoll did comfort them in their trauels, and incouraged them, promiſing great matters.

Teccy.

Of the foundation of *Mexico. Chap. 7.*

The time being now come, that the Father of lyes ſhould accompliſh his promiſe made to his people, who could no longer ſuffer ſo many turnings, trauels, and dangers, it happened that ſome old Prieſts or Sorcerers, being entred into a place full of water-lillies, they met with a very faire and cleere current of water, which ſeemed to be ſiluer, and looking about, they found the Trees, Meadowes, Fiſh, and all that they beheld to be very white: wondering hereat, they remembred a propheſie of their god, whereby he had giuen them that for a token of their place of reſt, and to make them Lords of other Nations. Then weeping for ioy, they returned to the people with theſe good newes. The night following, *Vitzliputzli* appeared in a dreame to an ancient Prieſt, ſaying, that they ſhould ſeeke out a *Tunal* in the Lake, which grew out of a ſtone (which as hee told them, was the ſame place where by his commandement they had caſt the heart of *Copil*, ſonne to the Sorcereſſe their enemie) and vpon this *Tunal* they ſhould ſee a goodly Eagle, which fed on certaine ſmall birds. When they ſhould ſee this, they ſhould beleeue it was the place where their Citie ſhould be built, the which ſhould ſurmount all others, and be famous throughout the World. Morning being come, the old man aſſembled the whole people, from the greateſt to the leaſt, making a long ſpeech vnto them, how much they were bound vnto their god; and of the reuelation, which (although vnworthy) he had receiued that night, concluding that all muſt ſeeke out that happy place which was promiſed them; which bred ſuch deuotion and ioy in them all, that preſently they vndertooke the enterpriſe, and diuiding themſelues into Bands, they began to ſearch, following the ſignes of the reuelation of the deſired place. Amiddeſt the thickeſt of theſe water-lillies in the Lake, they met with the ſame courſe of water they had ſeene the day before, but much differing, being not white, but red, like bloud, the which diuided it ſelfe into two ſtreames, whereof the one was of a very obſcure azure, the which bred admiration in them, noting ſome great myſterie, as they ſaid. After much ſearch here and there, the *Tunal* appeared growing on a ſtone, whereon was a Royall Eagle, with the wings diſplayed towards the Sunne, receiuing his heat. About this Eagle were many rich feathers, white, red, yellow, blue, and greene, of the ſame ſort as they make their Images, which Eagle held in his tallants a goodly bird. Thoſe which ſaw it and knew it to bee the place foretold by the Oracle, fell on their knees, doing great worſhip to the Eagle, which bowed the head looking on euery ſide. Then was there great cryes, demonſtrations, and thankes vnto the Creator, and to their great god *Vitzliputzli*, who was their father, and had alwayes told them truth. For this reaſon they called the Citie which they founded there, *Tenoxtitan*, which ſignifies *Tunal on a ſtone*, and to this day they carry in their Armes, an Eagle vpon a *Tunal*, with a bird in his tallant, and ſtanding with the other vpon the *Tunal*. The day following, by common conſent they made an Hermitage adioyning to the *Tunal* of the Eagle, that the Arke of their god might reſt there, till they might haue meanes to build him a ſumptuous Temple: and ſo they made this Hermitage of Flagges and Turfes couered with ſtraw. Then hauing conſulted with their god, they reſolued to buy of their Neighbours, Stone, Timber, Lime, in exchange of Fiſh, Frogs, and young Kids, and for Ducks, Water-hens, Courlieus, and diuers other kindes of Sea fowles. All which things they did fiſh and hunt for in this Lake, whereof there is great abundance. They went with

Eagle glorious adored.

Tenoxtitan.

Tabernacle for their Deuils Arke.

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with these things to the Markets of the Townes and Cities of the *Tapanecans*, and of them of *Tescuco* their neighbours, and with policy they gathered together by little and little, what was necessarie for the building of their Citie: so as they built a better Chappell for their Idoll of lime and stone, and laboured to fill vp a great part of the Lake with rubbish. This done, the Idoll spake one night to one of his Priests, in these termes; *Say vnto the* Mexicans, *that the Noblemen diuide themselues euery one with their Kinsfolks and Friends, and that they diuide themselues into foure principall quarters, about the house which you haue built for my rest, and let euery quarter build in his quarter at his pleasure.* The which was put in execution: and those be the foure principall quarters of *Mexico*, which are called at this day Saint *Iean*, Saint *Mary the round*, Saint *Paul*, and Saint *Sebastian*. After this, the *Mexicans* being thus diuided into these foure quarters, their god commanded them to diuide amongst them the gods he should name to them, and that they should giue notice to euery quarter, principall of the other foure particall quarters, where their gods should bee worshipped. So as vnder euery one of these foure principall quarters, there vvere many lesse comprehended, according to the number of the Idols which their god commanded them to worship, which they called *Calpulteco*, which is as much to say, as *God of the quarters*. In this manner the Citie of *Mexico Tenoxtitlan* was founded, and grew great.

Stone Chappell.

Oracle.

God of the quarters.

This diuision being made as aforesaid, some old Men and Ancients held opinion, that in the diuision, they had not respected them as they deserued: for this cause, they and their Kinsfolke did mutinie, and went to seeke another residence: and as they went through the Lake, they found a small piece of Ground or Terrasse, which they call *Tloteloli*, where they inhabited, calling it *Tlatellulco*, which signifies *Place of a Terrasse*. This was the third diuision of the *Mexicans*, since they left their Country. That of *Mechonacan* being the first, and that of *Malinalco* the second. Those which separated themselues and went to *Tlatellulco*, were famous men, but of bad disposition: and therefore they practised against the *Mexicans* their neighbours, all the ill neighbourhood they could. They had alwayes quarrels against them, and to this day continues their hatred and old leagues. They of *Tenoxtitlan*, seeing them of *Tlatellulco* thus opposite vnto them, and that they multiplyed, feared that in time they might surmount them: hereupon they assembled in counsell, where they thought it good to choose a King, whom they should obey, and strike terrour into their Enemies, that by this meanes they should bee more vnited and stronger among themselues, and their Enemies not presume too much against them. Being thus resolued to choose a King, they tooke another aduice very profitable and assured, to choose none among themselues, for the auoyding of dissentions, and to gayne (by their new King) some other neighbour Nations, by whom they were inuironed, being destitute of all succours. All well considered, both to pacifie the King of *Culhuacan*, whom they had greatly offended, hauing slaine and flayed the daughter of his predecessor, and done him so great a scorne, as also to haue a King of the *Mexican* bloud, of which generation there were many in *Culhuacan*, which continued there since the time they liued in peace amongst them; they resolued to choose for their King, a young man called *Acamapixtli*, sonne to a great *Mexican* Prince, and of a Lady, daughter to the King of *Culhuacan*. Presently they sent Ambassadors with a great Present to demand this man, who deliuered their Ambassage in these termes; *Great Lord, wee your Vassals and Seruants, placed and shut vp in the Weedes and Reedes of the Lake, alone, and abandoned of all the Nations of the World, led onely and guided by our god to the place where wee are, which falls in the iurisdiction of your limits of* Ascapusalco, *and of* Tescuco: *Although you haue suffered vs to liue and remayne there, yet will wee not, neither is it reason to liue without a Head and Lord to command, correct, and gouerne vs, instructing vs in the course of our life, and defending vs from our Enemies: Therefore wee come to you, knowing that in your Court and House, there are Children of our generation, linckt and allied with yours, issued from our entrailes, and yours, of our blond and yours, among the which wee haue knowledge of a Grand-child of yours and ours, called* Acamapixtli. *Wee beseech you therefore, to giue him vs for Lord, wee will esteeme him as hee deserues, seeing hee is of the Linage of the Lords of* Mexico, *and the Kings of* Culhuacan.

Of the sedition of those of *Tlatelulco*, and of the first Kings the *Mexicans* did choose: *chap. 8.*

Acamapixtli first King of the *Mexicans*.

The King hauing consulted vpon this point, and finding it nothing inconuenient to bee allied to the *Mexicans*, who were valiant men, made them answere, That they should take his grand-child in good time, adding thereunto, that if he had beene a woman, hee would not haue giuen her, noting the foule fact before spoken of, ending his discourse with these wordes, *Let my grand-child goe to serue your god, and be his Lieutenant, to rule and gouerne his Creatures, by whom we liue, who is the Lord of Night, Day, and Windes: Let him goe and be Lord of the Water and Land, and possesse the* Mexican *Nation, take him in good time, and vse him as my sonne and grand-child.* The *Mexicans* gaue him thankes, all ioyntly desiring him to marry him with his owne hand, so as hee gaue him to wife, one of the noblest Ladies amongst them. They conducted the new King and Queene with all honor possible, and made him a solemne reception, going all in generall forth to see the King, whom they led into Palaces which were then but meane, and hauing seated them in Royall Thrones, presently one of the Ancients and an Orator

much eſteemed amongſt them, did riſe vp, ſpeaking in this manner, *My ſonne, our Lord and King, thou art welcome to this poore Houſe and Citie, amongſt theſe weeds and mud, where thy poore fathers, Grand-fathers, and Kinſfolks, endure what it pleaſeth the Lord of things created. Remember Lord thou commeſt hither to be the defence and ſupport of the* Mexican *Nation, and to be the reſemblance of our god* Vitzliputzli, *whereupon the charge and gouernment is giuen thee. Thou knoweſt wee are not in our Country, ſeeing the Land we poſſeſſe at this day is anothers, neither know we what ſhall become of vs to morrow, or another day: Conſider therefore that thou commeſt not to reſt or recreate thy ſelfe, but rather to indure a new charge vnder ſo heauy a burden: wherein thou muſt continually labour, being ſlaue to this multitude, which is fallen to thy lot, and to all this neighbour people, whom thou muſt ſtriue to gratifie, and giue them contentment, ſeeing thou knoweſt we liue vpon their Lands, and within their limits.* And ending, he repeated theſe wordes; *Thou art welcome, Thou and the Queene our Miſtris, to this your Realme.* This was the ſpeech of the old man, which with other Orations (which the *Mexican* Hiſtories doe celebrate) the Children did vſe to learne by heart, and ſo they were kept by *Tradition*, ſome of them deſerue well to bee reported in their proper termes. The King anſwering, thanked them, and offered them his care and diligence in their defence and aide in all he could. After they gaue him the Oath, and after their manner ſet the Royall Crowne vpon his head, the which is like to the Crowne of the Dukes of *Venice:* the name of *Acamapixtli* their firſt King, ſignifies a *handfull of Reedes*, and therefore they carry in their Armouries a hand holding many arrowes of Reedes.

How Orations were kept in memorie.

Crowne and coronation.

Of the ſtrange tribute the *Mexicans* payed to them of *Azcapuzalco. Chap. 9.*

The *Mexicans* hapned ſo well in the election of their new King, that in ſhort time they grew to haue ſome forme of a Commonweale, and to bee famous among ſtrangers; whereupon their neighbours mooued with feare, practiſed to ſubdue them, eſpecially the *Tapanecans*, who had *Azcapuzalco* for their Metropolitane Citie, to whom the *Mexicans* payed tribute, as ſtrangers dwelling in their Land. For the King of *Azcapuzalco* fearing their power which increaſed, ſought to oppreſſe the *Mexicans*, and hauing conſulted with his ſubiects, he ſent to tell King *Acamapixtli*, that the ordinarie tribute they payed was too little, and that from thenceforth they ſhould bring Firre trees, Sapines, and Willowes for the building of the Citie; and moreouer, they ſhould make him a Garden in the water, planted with diuers kindes of Herbes and Pulſes, which they ſhould bring vnto him yeerly by water, dreſſed in this manner, without fayling; which if they did not, he declared them his enemies, and would roote them out. The *Mexicans* were much troubled at this commandement, holding it impoſſible: and that this demand was to no other end, but to ſeeke occaſion to ruine them. But their god *Vitzliputzli* comforted them, appearing that night to an old man, cõmanding him to ſay to the King his ſonne in his name, that he ſhould make no difficultie to accept of this tribute, he would helpe them and make the meanes eaſie, which after happened: for the time of tribute being come, the *Mexicans* carried the Trees that were required, and moreouer, a Garden made and floating in the water, and in it much *Mays* (which is their Corne) alreadie grayned and in the eare: there was alſo *Indian* Pepper, Beetes, *Tomates*, which is a great ſappy and ſauourie graine, *French* Peaſe, Figs, Gourds, and many other things, all ripe, and in their ſeaſon. Such as haue not ſeene the Gardens in the Lake of *Mexico*, in the middeſt of the water, will not beleeue it, but will ſay it is an inchantment of the Deuill whom they worſhip: But in truth it is a matter to bee done, and there hath beene often ſeene of theſe Gardens floating in the water; for they caſt earth vpon Reeds and Graſſe, in ſuch ſort as it neuer waſtes in the water; they ſow and plant this ground, ſo as the graine growes and ripens very well, and then they remoue it from place to place. But it is true, that to make this great Garden eaſily, and to haue the fruits grow well, is a thing that makes men iudge there was the worke of *Vitzliputzli*, whom otherwiſe they call *Patillas*, ſpecially hauing neuer made nor ſeene the like. The King of *Azcapuzalco* wondred much when he ſaw that accompliſhed which he held impoſſible, ſaying vnto his ſubiects, that this people had a great god that made all eaſie vnto them, and he ſaid vnto the *Mexicans*, that ſeeing their god gaue them all things perfect, he would the yeere following, at the time of tribute, they ſhould bring in their Garden a *wilde Ducke, and a Heron, ſitting on their egges*, in ſuch ſort, that they ſhould hatch their young ones as they ſhould arriue, without fayling of a minute, vpon paine of his indignation. The *Mexicans* were much troubled and heauie with this proud and ſtrict command: but their god, as he was accuſtomed, comforted them in the night, by one of his Prieſts, ſaying, that he would take all that charge vpon him, willing them not to feare, but beleeue that the day would come, when as the *Azcapuzalcos* ſhould pay with their liues this deſire of new Tributes. The time being come, as the *Mexicans* carried all that was demanded of their Gardens, among the Reedes and Weedes of the Garden, they found a Ducke and a Heron hatching their egges, and at the ſame inſtant when they arriued at *Azcapuzalco* their young ones were diſcloſed. Whereat the King of *Azcapuzalco* wondring beyond meaſure, hee ſaid againe to his people, that theſe were more then humane things, and that the *Mexicans* began as if they would make themſelues Lords ouer all thoſe Prouinces. Yet did hee not diminiſh the order of this tribute, and the *Mexicans* finding not themſelues mightie enough, endured this ſubiection and ſlauerie the ſpace of fiftie yeeres. In this time the King *Acamapixtli* died, hauing beautified the Citie of *Mexico* with many goodly buildings, ſtreets, Conduits of water,

Garden in the water.

How made.

New *Pharaonicall* taxes.

Acamapixtli dyeth.

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water, and great abundance of munition. He raigned in peace and rest fortie yeeres, hauing beene alwayes zealous for the good and increase of the Commonweale.

As he drew neere his end, he did one memorable thing, that hauing lawfull children to whom he might leaue the succession of the Realme, yet would he not doe it, but contrariwise hee spake freely to the Common-weale, that as they had made a free Election of him, so they should choose him that should seeme fittest for their good Gouernment, aduising them therein to haue a care to the good of the Common-weale, and seeming grieued that he left them not freed from Tribute and subiection, he dyed, hauing recommended his wife and children vnto them, he left all his people sorrowfull for his death.

§. II.

Of the second King VITZILOVITLI; *and of his Successours and their Acts vntill the Reigne of* MOTEZVMA *their last King.*

THe Obsequies of the dead King performed, the Ancients, the chiefe of the Realme, and some part of the people assembled together, to choose a King, where the Ancients propounded the necessitie wherein they were, *and that it was needfull to choose for chiefe of their Citie, a man that had pitie of age, of Widdowes, and Orphans, and to be a Father of the Common-weale: for in very deed they should be the feathers of his wings, the eye-browes of his eyes, and the beard of his face, that it was necessary hee were valiant, being needfull shortly to vse their forces, as their God had propheſied.* Their resolution in the end was to choose a sonne of the Predecessor, vsing the like good office in accepting his sonne for Successor, as hee had done to the Common-weale, relying thereon.

This young man was called *Vitzilouitli*, which signifieth a rich feather. They set the Royall Crowne vpon his head, and anointed him, as they haue beene accustomed to do to all their Kings, with an Ointment they call *Diume*, being the same vnction wherewith they did anoint their Idoll. Presently an Orator made an eloquent speech, exhorting him to arme *himselfe with courage, and free them from the trauels, slauerie and miserie they suffered, being oppressed by the Azcapuzalcos:* which done, all did him homage. This King was not married, and his Counsell held opinion, that it was good to marry him with the Daughter of the King of *Azcapuzalco*, to haue him a friend by this alliance, and to obtaine some diminution of their heauie burthen of Tributes imposed vpon them, and yet they feared lest he should disdaine to giue them his Daughter; by reason they were his Vassals: yet the King of *Azcapuzalco* yeelded thereunto, hauing humbly required him, who with courteous words gaue them his Daughter, called *Ayanchiguall*, whom they led with great pompe and ioy to *Mexico*, and performed the Ceremonie and Solemnitie of Marriage, which was to tie a corner of the mans Cloake to a part of the womans Veile, in signe of the band of Marriage. This Queene brought forth a sonne, of whose name they demanded aduice of the King of *Azcapuzalco*, and casting Lots as they had accustomed (being greatly giuen to Southsayings, especially vpon the names of their children) hee would haue his Grand-childe called *Chimalpopoca*, which signifies *A Target casting smoke*. The Queene his Daughter seeing the contentment the King of *Azcapuzalco* had of his Grand-childe, tooke occasion to intreate him to relieue the *Mexicans*, of the heauie burthen of their Tributes, seeing hee had now a Grand-childe *Mexican*, the which the King willingly yeelded vnto, by the aduice of his Counsell, granting (for the Tribute which they paid) to bring yeerely a couple of Duckes and some fish, in signe of subiection, and that they dwelt in his Land. The *Mexicans* by this meanes remained much eased and content, but it lasted little. For the Queene their Protectrix died soone after: and the yeere following likewise *Vitzilouitli* the King of *Mexico* died, leauing his sonne *Chimalpopoca* tenne yeeres old; he reigned thirteene yeeres, and died thirtie yeeres old, or little more. He was held for a good King, and carefull in the seruice of his Gods, whose Images hee held Kings to be; and that the honour done to their God, was done to the King who was his Image. For this cause the Kings haue been so affectionate to the seruice of their Gods. This King was carefull to winne the loue of his neighbours, and to trafficke with them, whereby hee augmented his Citie, exercising his men in Warrelike actions in the Lake, disposing them to that which he pretended, as you shall see presently.

Vitzilouitli elected King.

Marriage ceremonie.

Lots and Southsayings.

Kings death.

The *Mexicans* for successor to their deceased King did choose his sonne *Chimalpopoca*, by common consent, although he were a child of ten yeeres old, being of opinion that it was alwayes necessary to keepe the fauour of the King of *Azcapuzalco*, making his Grand-childe King. They then set him in his Throne, giuing him the Ensignes of warre, with a *Bow and Arrowes* in one hand, and a *Sword with Rasors* (which they commonly vse) in the right, signifying thereby

Of *Chimalpopoca* the third King, and his cruell death, & the occasion of warre which the *Mexicans* made. *Chap. 11.*

(as they doe say) that they pretended by Armes to set themselues at libertie. The *Mexicans* had great want of water, that of the Lake being very thicke and muddie, and therefore ill to drinke, so as they caused their infant King to desire of his Grand-father the King of *Azcapuzalco*, the water of the Mountaine of *Chapultepec*, which is from *Mexico* a league, as is said before, which they easily obtained, and by their industrie made an Aquaduct of faggots, weeds and flagges, by the which they brought water to their Citie. But because the City was built within the Lake, and the Aquaduct did crosse it, it did breake forth in many places, so as they could not enioy the water, as they desired, and had great scarcitie: whereupon, whether they did expressly seeke it, to quarrel with the *Tapanecans*, or that they were moued vpon small occasion, in the end they sent a resolute Ambassage to the King *Azcapuzalco*, saying, they could not vse the water which he had graciously granted them, and therefore they required him to prouide them wood, lime, and stone, and to send his Workmen, that by their meanes they might make a Pipe of stone and lime that should not breake. This message nothing pleased the King, and much lesse his subiects, seeming to be too presumptuous a message, and purposely insolent, for Vassals to their Lord. The chiefe of the Counsell disswayning thereat, said *It was too bold, that not content with permission to*

Quarrell with the *Tapanecans*.

liue in anothers Land, and to haue water giuen them, but they would haue them goe to serue them: what a matter was that? And whereon presumed this fugitiue Nation, shut vp in the mud? They would let them know, how fit they were to worke, and to abate their pride, in taking from them their Land and their liues.

In these tearmes and choller they left the King, whom they did somewhat suspect, by reason of his Grand-childe, and consulted againe anew, what they were to doe, where they resolued to make a generall Proclamation, that no *Tapanecan* should haue any commerce or traffique with any *Mexican*, that they should not goe to their Citie, nor receiue any into theirs, vpon paine of death. Whereby we may vnderstand that the King did not absolutely command ouer his people, and that hee gouerned more like a Consull, or a Duke, then a King; although since with their power, the command of Kings increased, growing absolute Tyrants, as you shall see in the last Kings.

The King of *Azcapuzalco* seeing the resolution of his subiects, which was to kill the *Mexicans*, intreated them first to steale away the young King his Grand-childe, and afterwards doe what they pleased to the *Mexicans*. All in a manner yeelded hereunto, to giue the King contentment, and for pittie they had of the childe; but two of the chiefest were much opposite, inferring, that it was bad counsell, for that *Chimalpopoca*, although hee were of their bloud, yet was it but by the Mothers side, and that the Fathers was to be preferred, and therefore they concluded that the first they must kill was *Chimalpopoca* King of *Mexico*, protesting so to doe. The King of *Azcapuzalco* was so troubled with this contradiction, and the resolution they had taken, that soone after for very griefe he fell sicke, and dyed. By whose death the *Tapanecans* finishing their consultation, committed a notable Treason: for one night the young King of *Mexico* sleeping without guard, or feare of any thing, they of *Azcapuzalco* entred his Palace, and slue him suddenly, returning vnseene. The morning being come, when the Nobles went to salute the King, as they were accustomed, they found him slaine with great and cruell wounds; then they cryed out and filled all their Citie with teares: and transported with choller, they presently fell to Armes, with an intent to reuenge their Kings death. As they ranne vp and downe full of furie and disorder, one of their chiefest Knights stept forth, labouring to appease them, with a graue admonition: *Whither goe yee* (said he) *O yee* Mexicans? *quiet your selues, consider that things done without consideration are not well guided, nor come to good end: suppresse your griefe, considering that although your King be dead, the Noble bloud of the* Mexicans *is not extinct in him. Wee haue children of our Kings deceased, by whose conduct, succeeding to the Realme, you shall the better execute what you pretend, hauing a Leader to guide your enterprise: goe not blindly, surcease, and choose a King first, to guide and encourage you against your enemies: In the meane time dissemble discreetly, performing the Funerals of your deceased King, whose bodie you see heere present, for hereafter you shall find better meanes to take reuenge.* By this meanes the *Mexicans* passed no farther, but stayed to make the Obsequies of their King, whereunto they inuited the Lords of *Tescuco*, and *Culhuacan*, reporting vnto them this foule and cruell fact, which the *Tapanecans* had committed, moouing them to haue pittie on them, and incensing them against their enemies, concluding that their resolution was to die, or to bee reuenged of so great an indignitie, intreating them not to fauour so vniust a fact of their enemies; and that for their part, they desired not their aide of armes or men, but onely to be lookers on of what should passe, and that for their maintenance, they would not stop nor hinder the commerce, as the *Tapanecans* had done. At these speeches they of *Tescuco* and *Culhuacan* made them great shewes of good will, and that they were well satisfied, offering them their Cities, and all the Commerce they desired, that they desired, that they might prouide victuall and Munition at their pleasure, both by land and water. After this, the *Mexicans* intreated them to stay with them, and assist at the election of their King; the which they likewise granted, to giue them contentment.

King murthered.

The

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The Electors being assembled, an old man that was held for a great Orator, rose vp, who (as the Historics report) spake in this manner, *The light of your eyes, O* Mexicans, *is darkened, but not of your hearts: for although you haue lost him that was the light and guide of the* Mexican *Common-weale, yet that of the heart remaines: to consider, that although they haue slaine one man, yet there are others that may supply with aduantage, the want we haue of him: the* Mexican *Nobilitie is not extinguished thereby, nor the blood Royall decayed. Turne your eyes and looke about you, you shall see the Nobilitie of* Mexico *set in order, not one or two, but many and excellent Princes, Sons to* Acamapixtli, *our true and lawfull King and Lord. Here you may choose at your pleasure, saying, I will this man, and not that. If you haue lost a Father, heere you may find both Father and Mother: make account O* Mexicans, *that the Sunne is eclipsed and darkened for a time, and will returne suddenly. If* Mexico *hath beene darkened by the death of your King, the Sunne will soone shew, in choosing another King. Looke to whom, and vpon whom you shall cast your eyes, and towards whom your heart is inclined, and this is he whom your God* Vitzliputzli *hath chosen.* And continuing awhile this discourse, he ended to the satisfaction of all men. In the end, by the consent of this Counsell, *Izcoalt* was chosen King, which signifies a *Snake of Rasors*, who was Sonne to the first King *Acamapixtli*, by a slaue of his: and although he were not legitimate, yet they made choice of him, for that hee exceeded the rest in behauiour, valour, and magnanimitie of courage. All seemed very well satisfied, and aboue all, these of *Tescuco*, for their King was married to a sister of *Izcoalts*. After the King had beene crowned and set in his Royall Seat, another Orator stept vp, discoursing how the King was bound to his Common-weale, and of the courage he ought to shew in trauell, speaking thus, *Behold this day we depend on thee, it may be thou wilt let fall the burthen that lies vpon thy Souldiers, and suffer the old men and woman, the Orphlin and the widdow to perish. Take pittie of the Infants that goe creeping in the Ayre, who must perish if our enemies surmount vs: vnfold then, and stretch forth thy Cloake, my Lord, to beare these Infants vpon thy shoulders, which bee the poore and the common people, who liue assured vnder the shadow of thy wings, and of thy bountie.* Vttering many other words vpon this subiect, the which, (as I haue said) they learne by heart, for the exercise of their children, and after did teach them as a Lesson to those that began to learne the faculties of Orators.

Of the fourth King called *Izcoalt*, and of the warre against the *Tapanecans*. Chap. 12.

In the meane time, the *Tapanecans* were resolute to destroy the *Mexicans*, and to this end they had made great preparations. And therefore the new King tooke counsell for the proclaming of Warre, and to fight with those that had so much wronged them. But the common people, seeing their Aduersaries to exceed them farre in numbers and munition for the warre, they came amazed to their King, pressing him not to vndertake so dangerous a warre, which would destroy their poore Citie and Nation: whereupon being demanded what aduice were fittest to take, they made answere, that the King of *Azcapuzalco* was very pittifull, that they should demand peace, and offer to serue him, drawing them forth those Marshes, and that hee should giue them houses and lands among his subiects, that by this meanes they might depend all vpon one Lord. And for the obtaining hereof, they should carrie their God in his Litter for an Intercessor. The cries of the people were of such force (hauing some Nobles that approoued their opinion) as presently they called for the Priests, preparing the Litter and their God, to performe the Voyage. As this was preparing, and euery one yeelded to this treatie of peace, and to subject themselues to the *Tapanecans*, a gallant young man, and of good sort, stept out among the people, who with a resolute countenance spake thus vnto them, *What meanes this O yee* Mexicans, *are yee mad? How hath so great cowardise crept in among vs? Shall wee goe and yeeld our selues thus to the Azcapuzalcans?* Then turning to the King he said, *How now my Lord, will you endure this? Speake to the people, that they may suffer vs to find out some meanes for our honour and defence, and not yeeld our selues so simply and shamefully into the hands of our enemies.* This young man was called *Tlacaellec*, Nephew to the King, he was the most valiant Captaine and greatest Counsellor that euer the *Mexicans* had, as you shall see hereafter. *Izcoalt* encouraged by that his Nephew had so wisely spoken, retained the people, saying they should first suffer him to try another better meanes. Then turning towards his Nobilitie, he said vnto them, *You are all heere my Kinsmen, and the best of* Mexico, *he that hath the courage to carrie a message to the* Tapanecans, *let him rise vp.* They looked one vpon another, but no man stirred nor offered himselfe to the word. Then this young man *Tlacaellec* rising, offered himselfe to goe, saying, that seeing hee must die, it did import little whether it were to day or to morrow: for what reason should hee so carefully preserue himselfe? he was therefore readie, let him command what he pleased. And although all held this for a rash attempt, yet the King resolued to send him, that he might thereon vnderstand the will and disposition of the King of *Azcapuzalco* and of his people; holding it better to hasten his Nephewes death, then to hazard the honour of his Common-weale. *Tlacaellec* being readie, tooke his way, and being come to the Guards, who had commandement to kill any *Mexicans* that came towards them, by cunning or otherwise: hee perswaded them to suffer him to passe to the King, who wondred to see him, and hearing his Ambassage, which was to demand peace of him vnder honest conditions, answered, that he would impart it to his subiects, willing him to returne the next day for his answere. Then *Tlacaellec* demanded a Pasport,

Tlacaellecs valour.

passport, yet could he not obtaine any, but that he should vse his best skill: with this he returned to *Mexico*, giuing his words to the guards to returne. And although the King nf *Azcapuzalco* desired peace, being of a milde disposition, yet his Subiects did so incense him, as his answer was open warre. The which being heard by the Messenger, he did all his King commanded him, declaring by this ceremony, to giue armes, and annointing the King with the vnction of the dead, that in his Kings behalfe he did defie him. Hauing ended all, the King of *Azcapuzalco* suffering himselfe to be anointed and crowned with Feathers, giuing goodly armes in recompence to the Messenger, wishing him not to returne by the Pallace gate, whereas many attended to cut him in peeces, but to goe out secretly by a little false Posterne that was open in one of the Courts of the Pallace. This yong man did so, and turning by secret waies, got away in safetie in sight of the Guards, and there defied them, saying, Tapanecans *and* Azcapuzalcans, *you doe your office ill, vnderstand you shall all dye, and not one* Tapanecan *shall remaine aliue.* In the meane time the Guards fell vpon him, where he behaued himselfe so valiantly, that he slew some of them: and seeing many more of them come running, he retired himselfe gallantly to the Citie, where he brought newes, that warre was proclaimed with the *Tapanecans*, and that he had defied their King.

Ceremonies of defiance.

The defie being knowne to the Commons of *Mexico*, they came to the King, according to their accustomed cowardise, demanding leaue to depart the Citie, holding their ruine certaine. The King did comfort and incourage them, promising to giue them libertie if they vanquished their enemies, willing them not to feare. The people replied. *And if we be vanquished, what shall wee doe? If wee be ouercome,* (answered the King) *we will be bound presently to yeelde our selues into your hands to suffer death, eate our flesh in your dishes and be reuenged of vs. It shall be so then* (say they) *if you loose the victorie, and if you obtaine the victorie, we doe presently offer our selues to be your Tributaries, to labour in your houses, to sowe your ground, to carrie your armes and baggage when you goe to the warres for euer, wee and our descendants after vs.* These accords made betwixt the People and the Nobilitie (which they did after fully performe, either willingly or by constraint, as they had promised) the King named for his Captaine Generall *Tlacaellec*: the whole Campe was put in order, and into squadrons, giuing the places of Captaines to the most valiant of his kinsfolkes and friends: then did he make them a goodly speech, whereby he did greatly incourage them, being now well prepared, charging all men to obey the commandement of the Generall whom he had appointed: he diuided his men into two parts, commanding the most valiant and hardie, to giue the first charge with him, and that all the rest should remaine with the King *Izcoalt*, vntill they should see the first assaile their enemies. Marching then in order, they were discouered by them of *Azcapuzalco*, who presently came furiously forth the Citie, carrying great riches of Gold, Siluer, and Armes of great value, as those which had the Empire of all that Countrie. *Izcoalt* gaue the signall to battaile, with a little Drumme he carried on his shoulders, and presently they raised a generall showt, crying, *Mexico, Mexico*, they charged the *Tapanecans*, and although they were farre more in number, yet did they defeate them, and force them to retire into their Citie, then aduanced they which remained behinde, crying *Tlacaellec, Victorie, Victorie*, all sodainly entred the Citie, where (by the Kings commandement) they pardoned not any man, no not old men, women, nor children, for they slew them all, and spoiled the Citie being very rich. And not content herewith, they followed them that fled, and were retired into the craggie rockes of the *Sierres* or neere Mountaines, striking and making a great slaughter of them. The *Tapanecans* being retired to a Mountaine cast downe their Armes, demanding their liues, and offering to serue the *Mexicans*, to giue them Lands and Gardens, Stone, Lime and Timber, and to hold them alwayes for their Lords. Vpon this condition *Tlacaellec* retired his men and ceased the battaile, granting them their liues vpon the former conditions, which they did solemnely sweare. Then they returned to *Azcapuzalco*, and so with their rich and victorious spoiles to the Citie of *Mexico*. The day following the King assembled the Nobilitie and the People, to whom hee laid open the accord the Commons had made, demanding of them, if they were content to persist therein: the Commons made answer, that they had promised, and they had well deserued it, and therefore they were content to serue them perpetually. Whereupon they tooke an oath, which since they haue kept without contradiction.

Of the battaile the *Mexicans* gaue to the *Tapanecans*, and of the victorie they obtained. *Chap.* 13.

The Battaile.

Mexicans conquer.

This done, *Izcoalt* returned to *Azcapuzalco* (by the aduise of his Counsell) he diuided all the Lands and Goods of the conquered among the conquerours, the chiefest part fell to the King, then to *Tlacaelles*, and after to the rest of the Nobles, as they best deserued in the Battaile. They also gaue Land to some Plebeans, hauing behaued themselues valiantly; to others they distributed the Pillage, making small account of them as of cowards. They appointed Lands in common for the quarters of *Mexico*, to euery one his part, for the Seruice and Sacrifices of their Gods. This was the order which afterwards they alwayes kept, in the diuision of the Lands and spoiles of those they had vanquished and subdued. By this meanes they of *Azcapuzalco* remained so poore, as they had no Lands left them to labour, and (which was worse) they tooke their King from them, and all power to choose any other then him of *Mexico*.

Diuision of spoyles.

Although

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Although the chiefe Citie of the *Tapanecanes*, was that of *Azcapuzalco*, yet had they others with their priuate Lords, as *Tucuba* and *Cuyoacan*. These seeing the storme passed, would gladly that they of *Azcapuzalco* had renewed the warre against the *Mexicans*, and seeing them danted, as a Nation wholly broken and defeated, they of *Cuyoacan* resolued to make warre by themselues; to the which they laboured to draw the other neighbour Nations, who would not stirre nor quarrell with the *Mexicans*. In the meane time the hatred and malice increasing, they of *Cuyoacan* began to ill intreate the women that went to their Markets, mocking at them, and doing the like to the men ouer whom they had power: for which cause the King of *Mexico* defended, that none of his should goe to *Cuyoacan*, and that they should receiue none of them into *Mexico*, the which made them of *Cuyoacan* resolue wholly to warre: but first they would prouoke them by some shamefull scorne, which was, that hauing inuited them to one of their solemne Feasts, after they had made them a goodly Banquet, and feasted them with a great daunce after their manner, they sent them for their fruite, womens apparell, forcing them to put it on, and so to returne home like women to their Citie, reproaching them, that they were cowards and effeminate, and that they durst not take armes being sufficiently prouoked. Those of *Mexico* say, that for reuenge they did vnto them a foule scorne, laying at the gates of their Citie of *Cuyoacan* certaine things which smoaked, by meanes whereof many women were deliuered before their time, and many fell sicke. In the end, all came to open war, and there was a battaile fought, wherein they imploied all their forces, in the which *Tlacaellec*, by his courage and policie in warre, obtained the victorie. For hauing left King *Izcoalt* in fight with them of *Cuyoacan*, he put himselfe in ambush with some of the most valiant Souldiers, and so turning about, charged them behinde, and forced them to retire into their Citie. But seeing their intent was to flie into a Temple which was very strong, he with three other valiant Souldiors, pursued them eagarly, and got before them, seising on the Temple and firing it, so as he forced them to flie to the fields, where he made a great slaughter of the vanquished, pursuing them two leagues into the Countrie, vnto a little hill, where the vanquished casting away their weapons, and their armes a crosse, yeelded to the *Mexicans*, and with many teares craued pardon of their ouerweening folly, in vsing them like women, offering to be their slaues: so as in the end the *Mexicanes* did pardon them. Of this victory the *Mexicans* did carry away very rich spoiles of Garments, Armes, Gold, Siluer, Iewels, and rich feathers, with a great number of Captiues. In this Battaile there were three of the principals of *Culhuacan* that came to aide the *Mexicans*, to win honour, the which were remarkeable aboue all. And since being knowne to *Tlacaellec*, and hauing made proofe of their fidelity, he gaue them *Mexican* deuises, and had them alwayes by his side, where they fought in all places very valiantly. It was apparant that the whole victory was due to the Generall, and to these three; for among so many captiues taken, two third parts were wonne by these foure, which was easily knowne by a policie they vsed: for taking a Captiue, they presently cut off a little of his haire, and gaue it to others, so as it appeared that those which had their haire cut, amonnted to that number, whereby they wonne great reputation and fame of valiant men. They were honoured as Conquerours, giuing them good portions of the spoiles and Lands, as the *Mexicans* haue alwaies vsed to doe, which gaue occasion to those that did fight, to become famous, and to win reputation by Armes.

Of the warre and victory the *Mexicans* had against the Citie of *Cuyoacan*. *Chap.* 14.

Temple.

The Nation of the *Tapanecans* being subdued, the *Mexicans* had occasion to doe the like to the *Suchimilcos*, who (as it hath beene said) were the first of the seuen Caues or linages that peopled this Land. The *Mexicans* sought not the occasion, although they might presume as Conquerours to extend their limits, but the *Suchimilcos* did moue them, to their owne ruine, as it happens to men of small iudgement that haue no foresight, who not preuenting the mischiefe they imagined, fall into it: The *Suchimilcos* held opinion, that the *Mexicans*, by reason of their victories past, should attempt to subdue them, and consulted hereon among themselues. Some among them thought it good to acknowledge them for superiours, and to applaud their good fortune, but the contrary was allowed, and they went out to giue them battaile: which *Izcoalt* the King of *Mexico* vnderstanding, he sent his Generall *Tlacaellec* against them, with his armie: the battaile was fought in the same field that diuides their limits, which two Armies were equall in men and armes, but very diuers in their order and manner of fighting; for that the *Suchimilcos* charged all together on a heape confusedly, and *Tlacaellec* diuided his men into squadrons with a goodly order, so as he presently brake his enemies, forcing them to retire into their Citie, into the which they entred, following them to the Temple whither they fled, which they fired, and forcing them to flye to the Mountaines: in the end they brought them to this point, that they yeelded with their arme acrosse. The Generall *Tlacaellec* returning in great triumph, the Priests went forth to receiue him, with their musicke of Flutes, and giuing incense. The chiefe Captaines vsed other Ceremonies and shewes of ioy, as they had beene accustomed to doe, and the King with all the troupe went to the Temple to giue thankes to their false god.

Of the warre and victory which the *Mexicans* had against the *Suchimilcos*. *Ch.* 15.

Temple filled.

The day following, the King *Izcoalt* went vnto the Citie of *Suchimilco*, causing himselfe to be

be ſworne King of the *Suchimilcos*: and for their comfort he promiſed to doe them good. In token whereof he commanded them to make a great Cawſey ſtretching from *Mexico* to *Suchimilco*, which is foure leagnes, to the end there might be more commerce and trafficke among them. Which the *Suchimilcos* performed, and in ſhort time the *Mexican* gouernment ſeemed ſo good vnto them, as they held themſelues happy to haue changed their King and Commonweale. Some neighbours pricked forward by enuie, or feare, to their ruines, were not yet made wiſe by others miſeries.

Cauſey made.

Cuitlauaca, *Cuitlauaca* was a Citie within the Lake: which though the name and dwelling be changed, continueth yet. They were actiue to ſwim in the Lake, and therefore they thought they might much indomage and annoy the *Mexicans* by water, which the King vnderſtanding, he reſolued to ſend his Armie preſently to fight againſt them. But *Tlacaellec* little eſteeming this warre, holding it diſhonorable to lead an Armie againſt them, made offer to conquer them with the children onely: which he performed in this manner: he went vnto the Temple and drew out of the Couent ſuch children as he thought fitteſt for the action, from tenne to eighteene yeares of age, who knew how to guide their Boates, or Canoes, teaching them certaine pollicies. The order they held in this warre, was, that he went to *Cuitlauaca* with his children, where by his pollicie he preſſed the enemy in ſuch ſort, that he made them to flye; and as he followed them, the Lord of *Cuitlauaca* met him and yeelded vnto him, himſelfe, his Citie, and his people, and by this meanes he ſtayed the purſuite. The children returned with much ſpoyle, and many Captiues for their Sacrifices, being ſolemnely receiued with a great Proceſſion, Muſicke and Perfumes, and they went to worſhip their gods, in taking of the earth which they did eate, and drawing bloud from the forepart of their legs with the Prieſts Lancets, with other ſuperſtitions which they were accuſtomed to vſe in the like ſolemnities. The children were much honored and encouraged, and the King imbraced and kiſſed them, and his kinſmen and allies accompanied them. The bruite of this victory ranne throughout all the Countrie, how that *Tlacaellec* had ſubdued the Citie of *Cuitlauaca* with children: the news and conſideration whereof opened the eyes of thoſe of *Teſcuco*, a chiefe and very cunning Nation for their manner of life: So as the King of *Teſcuco* was firſt of opinion, that they ſhould ſubiect themſelues to the King of *Mexico*, and inuite him thereunto with his Citie. Therefore by the aduiſe of his Counſell, they ſent Ambaſſadours good Orators with honorable preſents, to offer themſelues vnto the *Mexicans*, as their Subiects, deſiring peace and amity, which was graciouſly accepted; but by the aduiſe of *Tlacaellec* he vſed a Ceremony for the effecting thereof, which was, that thoſe of *Teſcuco* ſhould come forth armed againſt the *Mexicans*, where they ſhould fight, and preſently yeelde, which was an act and ceremony of warre, without any effuſion of bloud on either ſide. Thus the King of *Mexico* became ſoueraigne Lord of *Teſcuco*, but he tooke not their King from them, but made him of his Priuie Counſell; ſo as they haue alwaies maintained themſelues in this manner vntill the time of *Motaçuma* the ſecond, during whoſe raigne the *Spaniards* entred. Hauing ſubdued the Land and Citie of *Teſcuco*, *Mexico* remained Lady and Miſtris of all the Lands and Cities about the Lake, where it is built. *Izcoalt* hauing enioyed this proſperitie, and raigned twelue yeares, dyed, leauing the Realme which had beene giuen him, much augmented by the valour and counſell of his Nephew *Tlacaellec*.

Children in the Couent.

Captiues ſacrificed.

Izcoalts death.

Foraſmuch as the election of the new King, belonged to foure chiefe Electors, and to the King of *Teſcuco*, and the King of *Tacuba*, by eſpeciall priuiledge: *Tlacaellec* aſſembled theſe ſix perſonages, as he that had the ſoueraigne authority, and hauing propounded the matter vnto them, they made choiſe of *Moteçuma*, the firſt of that name, Nephew to the ſame *Tlacaellec*. His election was very pleaſing vnto them all, by reaſon whereof, they made moſt ſolemne feaſts, and more ſtately then the former. Preſently after his election they conducted him to the Temple with a great traine, where before the *diuine harth* (as they call it) *where there is continuall fire*, they ſet him in his royall throane, putting vpon him his royall ornaments. Being there, the King drew bloud from his eares and legs with a Griffons talons, which was the Sacrifice wherein the diuell delighted to be honoured. The Prieſts, Ancients, and Captaines, made their Orations, all congratuling his election. They were accuſtomed in their elections to make great Feaſts and Dances, where they waſted many lights. In this Kings time the cuſtome was brought in, that the King ſhould goe in perſon to make warre in ſome Prouince, and bring Captiues to ſolemnize the feaſt of his Coronation, and for the ſolemne Sacrifices of that day. For this cauſe King *Moteçuma* went into the Prouince of *Chalco*, who had declared themſelues his enemies: from whence (hauing fought valiantly) he brought a great number of Captiues, whereof he did make a notable Sacrifice the day of his Coronation, although at that time he did not ſubdue all the Prouince of *Chalco*, being a verie warlike Nation. Manie came to this Coronation from diuers Prouinces, as well neere as farre off, to ſee the feaſt, at the which all commers were verie bountifully entertained and clad, eſpecially the poore, to whom they gaue new garments. For this cauſe they brought that day into the Citie, the Kings tributes, with a goodly order, which conſiſted in Stuffes to make Garments of all ſorts, in *Cacao*, Gold, Siluer, rich Feathers, great burthens of Cotton, Cucumbers, ſundrie ſorts of Pulſes, many kindes of Sea fiſh, and of the freſh water,

Of the fifth King of *Mexico*, called *Moteçuma*, the firſt of that name. *Chap. 16.*

Griffons talons.

Bloudy and diuelliſh inſtitution.

Pompous ſolemnity.

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ware, great ſtore of Fruits, and Veniſon without number, not reckoning an infinite number of Preſents, which other Kings and Lords ſent to the new King. All this Tribute marched in order according to the Prouinces, and before them the Stewards and receiuers, with diuers markes and Enſignes, in very goodly order: ſo as it was one of the goodlieſt things of the feaſt, to ſee the entrie of the Tribute. The King being crowned, he imploied himſelfe in the conqueſt of many Prouinces, and for that he was both valiant and vertuous, he ſtill increaſed more and more, vſing in all his affaires the counſell and induſtrie of his Generall *Tlacaellec*, whom he did alwaies loue and eſteeme very much, as he had good reaſon. The warre wherein he was moſt troubled and of greateſt difficultie, was that of the Prouince of *Chalco*, wherein there happened great matters, whereof one was very remarkeable; which was, that they of *Chalco*, had taken a brother of *Moteçumaes* in the warres, whom they reſolued to chooſe for their King, asking him verie curteouſly, if he would accept of this charge. He anſwered (after much importunitie, ſtill perſiſting therein) that if they ment plainely to chooſe him for their King, they ſhould plant in the Market-place, a Tree or very high ſtake, on the top whereof, they ſhould make a little ſcaffold, and meanes to mount vnto it. The *Chalcas* ſuppoſing it had beene ſome ceremonie to make himſelfe more apparant, preſently effected it: then aſſembling all his *Mexicans* about the ſtake, he went to the top with a garland of flowers in his hand, ſpeaking to his men in this manner, *O valiant* Mexicans, *theſe men will chooſe me for their King, but the gods will not permit, that to be a King I ſhould commit any treaſon againſt my Countrie, but contrariwiſe, I will that you learne by me, that it behoueth vs rather, to indure death, then to aide our enemies.* Saying theſe words, he caſt himſelfe downe, and was broken in a thouſand peeces, at which ſpectacle, the *Chalcas* had ſo great horror and deſpite, that preſently they fell vpon the *Mexicans* and ſlew them all with their Lances, as men whom they held too proud and inexorable, ſaying, they had diuelliſh hearts. It chanced the night following, they heard two Owles making a mournfull cry, which they did interpret as an vnfortunate ſigne, and a preſage of their neere deſtruction, as it ſucceeded: for King *Moteçuma* went againſt them in perſon with all his power, where he vanquiſhed them, and ruined all their kingdome: and paſſing beyond the Mountaine *Menade*, he conquered ſtill euen vnto the North Sea. Then returning towards the South Sea, he ſubdued many Prouinces; ſo as he became a mighty King: all by the helpe and counſell of *Tlacaellec*, who in a manner conquered all the *Mexican* Nation. Yet he held an opinion (the which was confirmed) that it was not behoouefull to conquer the Prouince of *Tlaſcalla*, that the *Mexicans* might haue a frontier enemy, to keepe the youth of *Mexico* in exerciſe and allarme: and that they might haue numbers of Captiues to Sacrifice to their Idols, wherein they did waſte (as hath beene ſaid) infinite numbers of men, which ſhould be taken by force in the wars. The honor muſt be giuen to *Moteçuma*, or to ſpeak truly, to *Tlacaellec* his Generall, for the good order and pollicy ſetled in the Realme of *Mexico*, as alſo for the Counſels and goodly enterpriſes, which they did execute: and likewiſe for the number of Iudges and Magiſtrates, being as well ordered there, as in any Common-weale; yea, were it in the moſt flouriſhing of *Europe*. This King did alſo greatly increaſe the Kings houſe, giuing it great authoritie, and appointing many and ſundry Officers, which ſerued him with great pompe and ceremony. He was no leſſe remarkable touching the deuotion and ſeruice of his Idols, increaſing the number of his Miniſters, and inſtituting new ceremonies, whereunto he carried a great reſpect.

Horrible courage.

Tlaſcalla to *Mexico*, as *Carthage* to *Rome*.

He built that great Temple dedicated to their god *Vitziliputzli*, whereof is ſpoken in the other Booke. He did Sacrifice at the dedication of this Temple, a great number of men, taken in ſundry victories: finally, inioying his Empire in great proſperitie, he fell ſicke, and died, hauing raigned twentie eight yeares, vnlike to his ſucceſſor *Ticocic*, who did not reſemble him, neither in valour, nor in good fortune.

Great Temple built. Deuilliſh deuotions.

The foure Deputies aſſembled in counſell, with the Lords of *Teſcuco* and *Tacuba*, where *Tlacaellec* was Preſident in the election, where by all their voices *Tlacaellec* was choſen, as deſeruing this charge better then any other. Yet he refuſed it, perſwading them by pertinent reaſons, that they ſhould chooſe another, ſaying, that it was better, and more expedient to haue another King, and he to be his inſtrument and aſſiſtant, as he had beene till then, and not to lay the whole burthen vpon him, for that he held himſelfe no leſſe bound for the Common-weale, then if he were King; ſeeming to him, though he were not King, yet in a manner, that he commanded Kings, ſuffering him to carry certaine markes, as a *Tiara* or ornament for the head, which belonged onely to themſelues: as in a Comedie he deſerues moſt commendation, that repreſents the perſonage that imports moſt. In recompence of his modeſty, and for the reſpect which the *Mexican* Electors bare him, they demanded of *Tlacaellec* (that ſeeing he would not raigne) whom hee thought moſt fit: Whereupon he gaue his voyce to a Sonne of the deceaſed King, who was then very young, called *Ticocic*: but they replied, that his ſhoulders were very weake to beare ſo heauie a burthen. *Tlacaellec* anſwered, that his was there to helpe him to beare the burthen, as he had done to the deceaſed: by meanes whereof, they tooke their reſolution, and *Ticocic* was choſen, to whom were done all the accuſtomed ceremonies.

How *Tlacaellec* refuſed to be King, and of the election and deedes of *Ticocic*. *Chap.* 17

Fit ſimilitude.

They

Noſthrils pierced.

They pierced his noſthrils, and for an ornament put an Emerald therein: and for this reaſon, in the *Mexican* Bookes, this King is noted by his noſthrils pierced. Hee differed much from his Father and Predeceſſor, being noted for a coward, and not valiant. He went to make warre for his Coronation, in a Prouince that had rebelled, where hee loſt more of his owne men then hee tooke captiues; yet he returned ſaying, that he brought the number of captiues required for the

King poyſoned

Sacrifice of his Coronation, and ſo hee was crowned with great ſolemnitie. But the *Mexicans* diſcontented to haue a King ſo little diſpoſed to warre, practiſed to haſten his death by poiſon. For this cauſe he continued not aboue foure yeeres in the Kingdome. But this loſſe was well repaired by a Brother of the deceaſed, who was alſo ſonne to great *Moteçuma*, called *Axaya-ca*, who was likewiſe choſen by the aduice of *Tlacaellec*, wherein hee happened better then before.

Of the death of *Tlacaellec*, & the deeds of *Axayaca* the ſeuenth King of the *Mexicans*. *Chap.* 18.

Now was *Tlacaellec* very old, who by reaſon of his age, was carried in a chaire vpon mens ſhoulders, to aſſiſt in counſell when buſineſſe required. In the end he fell ſicke, when as the King (who was not yet crowned) did viſit him often, ſhedding many teares, ſeeming to looſe in him his Father, and the Father of his Countrey. *Tlacaellec* did moſt affectionately recommend his children vnto him, eſpecially the eldeſt, who had ſhewed himſelfe valiant in the former warres. The King promiſed to haue regard vnto him, and the more to comfort the old man, in his preſence hee gaue him the charge and enſignes of Captaine Generall, with all the preheminences of his Father; wherewith the old man remained ſo well ſatisfied, as with this content he ended his dayes.

The *Mexicans* made his Funerall as the Founder of that Empire, more ſumptuous and ſtately, then they had done to any of their former Kings. And preſently after *Axayaca* (to appeaſe the ſorrow which all the people of *Mexico* ſhewed for the death of their Captaine) reſolued to make the voyage neceſſary for his Coronation. He therefore led his Armie with great expedition into the Prouince of *Tequantepec*, two hundred leagues from *Mexico*, where he gaue battell to a mighty Army, and an infinite number of men aſſembled together, as well out of that Prouince, as from their Neighbours, to oppoſe themſelues againſt the *Mexicans*. The firſt of his Campe that aduanced himſelfe, to the combate was the King himſelfe, defying his enemies, from whom he made ſhew to flye when they charged him, vntill hee had drawne them into an Ambuſcadoe, where many Souldiers lay hidden vnder ſtraw, who ſuddenly iſſued forth, and they

Tiquantepec razed.

which fled, turned head: ſo as they of *Tiquantepec* remayned in the midſt of them, whom they charged furiouſly, making a great ſlaughter of them: and following their victorie, they razed their Citie and Temple, puniſhing all their Neighbours rigorouſly. Then went they on farther,

Guatulco.

and without any ſtay, conquered to *Guatulco*, the which is a Port at this day well knowne in the South Sea. *Axayaca* returned to *Mexico* with great and rich ſpoiles, where he was honourably crowned, with ſumptuous and ſtately preparation of Sacrifices, Tributes, and other things, whither many came to ſee his Coronation. The Kings of *Mexico* receiued the Crowne from the hands of the King of *Teſcuco*, who had the preheminence. Hee made many other Enterpriſes, where he obtained great victories, being alwayes the firſt to leade the Armie, and to charge the enemie; by the which he purchaſed the name of a moſt valiant Captaine: and not content to ſubdue ſtrangers, he alſo ſuppreſſed his Subjects which had rebelled, which neuer any of his Predeceſſors euer could doe, or durſt attempt. Wee haue alreadie ſhewed how ſome ſeditions of *Mexico* had diuided themſelues from that Common-weale, and built a Citie neere vnto them, which they called *Tlatelulco*, whereas now Saint *Iaques* is.

Theſe being reuolted, held a faction apart, and encreaſed and multiplyed much, refuſing to acknowledge the Kings of *Mexico*, nor to yeeld them obedience. The King *Axayaca* ſent to aduiſe them, not to liue diuided, but being of one bloud, and one people, to joyne together, and acknowledge the King of *Mexico*: wherupon the Lord of *Tlatelulco* made an anſwer ful of pride and diſdaine, defying the King of *Mexico*, to ſingle combate with himſelfe: and preſently muſtred his men, commanding ſome of them to hide themſelues in the weeds of the Lake; and the better to deceiue the *Mexicans*, he commanded them to take the ſhapes of Rauens, Geeſe, and other Beaſts, as Frogges, and ſuch like, ſuppoſing by this meanes to ſurprize the *Mexicans* as they ſhould paſſe by the wayes and cawſies of the Lake. Hauing knowledge of this deſie, and of his Aduerſaries policie, he diuided his Armie, giuing a part to his Generall, the ſonnne of *Tlacaellec*, commanding him to charge this Ambuſcadoe, in the Lake; and hee with the reſt of his people, by an vnfrequented way, went and incamped before *Tlatelulco*. Preſently he called him who had defied him, to performe his promiſe, and as the two Lords of *Mexico*, and *Tlatelulco* aduanced, they commanded their Subjects not to mooue, vntill they had ſeene who ſhould bee

Royall combate.

Conquerour, which was done, aud preſently the two Lords encountred valiantly, where hauing fought long, in the end the Lord of *Tlatelulco* was forced to turne his backe, being vnable to indure the furious charge of the King of *Mexico*. Thoſe of *Tlatelulco* ſeeing their Captaine flye, fainted, and fled likewiſe, but the *Mexicans* following them at the heeles, charged them furiouſly; yet the Lord of *Tlatelulco* eſcaped not the hands of *Axayaca*; for thinking to ſaue himſelfe, hee fled to the top of the Temple, but *Axayaca* followed him ſo neere, as hee ſeized on him with great

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great force, and threw him from the top to the bottome, and after set fire on the Temple, and the Citie.

Whilest this passed at *Tlatelulco*, the *Mexican* Generall was very hote in the reuenge of those that pretended to defeat him by policie, and after hee had forced them to yeeld, and to cry for mercy, the Generall said he would not pardon them, vntill they had first performed the Offices of those figures they represented, and therefore hee would haue them cry like Frogges and Rauens, euery one according to the figure which he had vndertaken, else they had no composition: which thing he did to mocke them with their owne policie. Feare and Necessitie bee perfect Teachers, so as they did sing and cry with all the differences of voices that were commanded them, to saue their liues, although they were much grieued at the sport their enemies made at them. They say that vnto this day, the *Mexicans* vse to jeast at the *Tlatelulcans*, which they beare impatiently, when they put them in minde of this singing and crying of beasts. King *Azayaca* tooke pleasure at this scorne and disgrace, and presently after they returned to *Mexico* with great joy. This King was esteemed for one of the best that had commanded in *Mexico*. Hee reigned eleuen yeeres. *Tlatelulco* fired.

Among the foure Electors that had power to choose whom they pleased to be King, there was one endued with many perfections, named *Autzol*. This man was chosen by the rest, and this election was very pleasing to all the people: for besides that he was valiant, all held him courteous and affable to euery man, which is one of the chiefe qualities required in them that command, to purchase loue and respect. To celebrate the Feast of his Coronation, hee resolued to make a Voyage, and to punish the pride of those of *Quaxulatlan*, a very rich and plentifull Prouince, and at this day the chiefe of New *Spaine*. They had robbed his Officers and Stewards, that carried the Tribute to *Mexico*, and therewithall were rebelled. There was great difficultie to reduce this Nation to obedience, lying in such sort, as an arme of the Sea stopt the *Mexicans* passage: to passe the which *Autzol* (with a strange deuice and industry) caused an Iland to be made in the water, of faggots, earth, and other matter; by meanes whereof, both hee and his men might passe to the enemie, where giuing them battell, he conquered them, and punished them at his pleasure. Then returned he vnto *Mexico* in triumph, and with great riches, to bee crowned King, according to their custome. *Autzol* extended the limits of his Kingdome farre, by many Conquests, euen vnto *Guatimalia*, which is three hundred leagues from *Mexico*. Hee was no lesse liberall then valiant: for when as the Tributes arriued which (as I haue said) came in great abundance, hee went forth of his Palace, gathering together all the people into one place, then commanded he to bring all the Tributes, which he diuided to those that had need. To the poore he gaue Stuffes to make them apparell, and meate, and whatsoeuer they had need of in great abundance, and things of value, as Gold, Siluer, Iewels, and Feathers, were diuided amongst the the Captaines, Souldiers, and Seruants of his House according to euery mans merit. This *Autzol* was likewise a great Politician, hee pulled downe the houses ill built, and built others very sumptuous. Of the deeds of *Autzol* the eight King of *Mexico*. *Chap.* 19 The Picture story cals him *Tigocicatzi*. *Quaxulatlan*.

It seemed vnto him that the Citie of *Mexico* had too little water, and that the Lake was very muddie, and therefore hee resolued to let in a great course of water, which they of *Cuyoacan* vied. For this cause hee called the chiefe man of the Citie vnto him, beeing a famous Sorcerer, hauing propounded his meaning vnto him: the Sorcerer wished him to bee well aduised what he did, being a matter of great difficultie, and that he vnderstood, if hee drew the Riuer out of her ordinary course, making it passe to *Mexico*, hee would drowne the Citie. The King supposed these excuses were but to frustrate the effect of his Designe, being therefore in choler, he dismissed him home, and a few dayes after he sent a Prouost to *Cuyoacan*, to take this Sorcerer: who hauing vnderstanding for what intent the Kings Officers came, he caused them to enter his house, and then he presented himselfe vnto them in the forme of a terrible *Eagle*, wherewith the Prouost and his companions being terrified, they returned without taking him. *Autzol* incensed herewith sent others, to whom he presented himselfe in forme of a furious *Tigre*, so as they durst not touch him. The third came, and they found him in the forme of a horrible *Serpent*, whereat they were much afraid. The King mooued the more with these doings, sent to tell them of *Cuyoacan*, that if they brought not the Sorcerer bound vnto him, hee would raze their Citie. For feare whereof, or whether it were of his owne free will, or being forced by the people, he suffered himselfe to be led to the King, who presently caused him to bee strangled, and then then did he put his resolution in practice, forcing a channell whereby the water might passe to *Mexico*, whereby he brought a great current of water into the Lake, which they brought with great Ceremonies and Superstitions, hauing Priests casting Incense along the bankes, others sacrificed Quailes, and with the bloud of them sprinkled the channell bankes, others sounding of Cornets, accompanied the water with their Musicke. One of the chiefe went attired in a habit like to their *Goddesse of the water*, and all saluted her, saying, that she was welcome. All which things are painted in the Annalls of *Mexico*: which Booke is now at *Rome* in the holy Library, or Vatican, where a Father of our Company, that was come from *Mexico*, did see it, and other Histories, the which he did expound to the Keeper of his Holinesse Library, taking Famous Sorcerer, or *Indian Prester*. *Mexican Annalls* in the Vatican.

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taking great delight to vnderstand this Booke, which before hee could neuer comprehend. Finally, the water was brought to *Mexico*, but it came in such abundance, that it had welneere drowned the Citie, as was foretold: and in effect it did ruine a great part thereof, but it was presently preuented by the industry of *Autzol*, who caused an issue to bee made to draw forth the water: by meanes whereof hee repayred the buildings that were fallen, with an exquisite worke, being before but poore Cottages. Thus he left the Citie inuironed with water, like another *Venice*, and very well built: he reigned eleuen yeeres, and ended with the last and greatest Successor of all the *Mexicans*.

§. III.

Of the Election of great MOTEZVMA, *the last King of* Mexico: *his pompe and manner of gouernment, prodigious fore-warnings, of his ruine, and the* Spanish *Conquest.*

WHen the *Spaniards* entred New *Spaine*, being in the yeere of our Lord 1518. *Motecuma* second of that name, was the last King of the *Mexicans*, I say the last, although they of *Mexico*, after his death, chose another King, yea, in the life of the same *Motecuma*, whom they declared an enemy to his Countrey, as wee shall see hereafter. But he that succeeded him, and he that fell into the hands of the Marquesse *de Valle*, had but the names and titles of Kings, for that the Kingdome was in a manner all yeelded to the *Spaniards*: so as with reason we account *Motecuma* for the last King, and so hee came to the period of the *Mexicans* power and greatnesse, which is admirable beeing happened among *Barbarians*. For this cause, and for that this was the season, that God had chosen to reueale vnto them the knowledge of his Gospell, and the Kingdome of Iesus Christ, I will relate more at large the *Acts* of *Motecuma*, then of the rest.

Before he came to be King, hee was by disposition, very graue and stayed, and spake little, so as when he gaue his opinion in the priuy Counsell, whereas he assisted, his speeches and discourses made euery one to admire him, so as euen then he was feared and respected. He retyred himselfe vsually into a Chappell, appointed for him in the Temple of *Vitzliputzli*, where they said their Idoll spake vnto him; and for this cause hee was held very religious and deuout. For these perfections then, being most noble and of great courage, his election was short and easie, as a man vpon whom all mens eyes were fixed, as worthy of such a charge. Hauing intelligence of this election, he hid himselfe in this Chappell of the Temple, whether it were by judgement (apprehending so heauy and hard a burthen) as to gouerne such a people, or rather, as I beleeue, through hypocrisie, to shew that hee desired not Empery: In the end they found him, leading him to the place of Councell, whither they accompanied him with all possible joy: he matched with such a grauity, as they all said the name of *Motecuma* agreed very well with his nature, which is as much to say, as *angrey Lord*. The Electors did him great reuerence, giuing him notice, that hee was chosen King: from thence hee was led before the hearth of their Gods, to giue Incense, where he offered Sacrifices in drawing bloud from his eares, and the calues of his legs, according to their custome. They attyred him with the Royall ornaments, and pierced the gristle of his nosthrils, hanging thereat a rich Emerald, a barbarous and troublous custome: but the desire of rule, made all paine light and easie. Being seated in his Throne, hee gaue audience to the Orations and Speeches that were made vnto him, which according vnto their custome were eloquent and artificiall.

King of *Tescucos* Oration.

The first was pronounced by the King of *Tescuco*, which being preferued, for that it was lately deliuered, and very worthy to bee heard, I will set it downe word by word, and thus hee said: *The concordance and vnitie of voyces vpon thy election, is a sufficient testimonie (most noble young man) of the happinesse the Realme shall receiue, as well deserning to be commanded by thee, as also for the generall applause which all doe shew by meanes thereof. Wherein they haue great reason, for the Empire of* Mexico *doth already so farre extend it selfe, that to gouerne a World, as it is, and to beare so heauie a burthen, it requires no lesse dexteritie and courage, then that which is resident in thy firme and valiant heart, nor of lesse wisdome and iudgement then thine. I see and know plainly, that the mightie God loueth this Citie, seeing hee hath giuen vnderstanding to choose what was fit. For who will not beleeue that a Prince, who before his Reigne had pierced the nine Vaults of Heauen, should not likewise now obtaine those things that are earthly to relieue his people, aiding himselfe with his best iudgement, being thereunto bound by the dutie and charge of a King? Who will likewise beleeue that the great courage which thou hast alwayes valiantly shewed in matters of importance, should now faile thee in matters of greatest need? Who will not perswade himselfe but the* Mexican *Empire is come to the height of their Soueraignitie, seeing the Lord of things created hath imparted so great graces vnto thee, that with thy looke onely thou breedest admiration in them that behold thee? Reioyce then, O hap-*

Mexican greatnesse.

Their opinions of God and 9. Heauens.

Elegant *Prosopopœia.*

happie Land, to whom the Creator hath giuen a Prince, as a firme Pillar to support thee, which shall bee thy Father and thy defence, by whom thou shalt be succoured at need, who will bee more then a brother to his subiects, for his pietie and clemencie. Thou hast a King, who in regard of his estate is not inclined to delights, or will lye stretched out vpon his bed, occupied in pleasures and vices, but contrariwise in the middest of his sweet and pleasant sleep he will suddenly wake, for the care he must haue ouer thee, and will not feele the taste of the most sauourie meate, hauing his spirits transported with the imagination of thy good. Tell me then (O happie Realme) if I haue not reason to say that thou ought'est reioyce, hauing found such a King; And thou noble young man, and our most mighty Lord, be confident, and of a good courage, that seeing the Lord of things created hath giuen thee this charge, hee will also giue thee force and courage to manage it: and thou mayest well hope, that hee which in times past hath vsed so great bountie towards thee, will not now deny thee his greater gifts, seeing he hath giuen thee so great a charge, which I wish thee to enioy many yeeres. King *Moteçuma* very attentiue to this Dispurle: which being ended, they say hee was so troubled, that endeauouring thrice to answere him, hee could not speake, being ouercome with teares, which ioy and content doe vsually cause, in signe of great humility. In the end being come to himselfe, he spake briefly, *I were too blind, good King of Tescuco, if I did not know, that what thou hast spoken vnto me, proceeded of meere fauour, in pleasing you to shew me, seeing among so many noble and valiant men within this Realme, you haue made choice of the least sufficient: and in truth, I find my selfe so incapeable of a charge of so great importance, that I know not what to doe, but to beseech the Creator of all created things, that hee will fauour mee, and I intreate you all to pray vnto him for me.* These words vttered, hee beganne a gaine to weepe.

Elegant Prosopœia. Kings Office.

Moteçumas answere.

He that in his election made such shew of humility and mildnesse, seeing himselfe King, began presently to discouer his aspiring thoughts. The first was, hee commanded that no plebeian should serue in his house, nor beare any Royal Office, as his Predecessors had vsed til then; blaming them that would be serued by men of base condition, commanding that all the noble and most famous men of his Realme should liue within his Palace, and exercise the Offices of his Court, and House. Whereunto an old man of great authoritie (who had sometimes bin his Schoolemaster) opposed himselfe, aduising him, to be careful what he did, and not to thrust himselfe into the danger of a great inconuenience, in separating himselfe from the vulgar and common people, so as they should not dare to looke him in the face, seeing themselues so reiected by him. He answered, that it was his resolution, and that he would not allow the Plebeians thus to goe mingled among the Nobles, as they had done, saying, that the seruice they did, was according to their condition, so as the Kings got no reputation, and thus welcommended firme in his resolution. Hee presently commanded his Counsell to dismisse all the Plebeians from their charges and offices, as well those of his Houshold as of his Court, and to prouide Knights: the which was done. After hee went in person to an enterprize necessary for his Coronation. At that time a Prouince lying farre off towards the North Ocean, was reuolted from the Crown, whither he led the flower of his people, well appointed. There he warred with such valour and dexteritie, that in the end hee subdued all the Prouince, and punished the Rebels seuerely, returning with a great number of Captiues for the Sacrifices, and many other spoyles. All the Cities made him solemne receptions at his returne, and the Lords thereof gaue him water to wash, performing the offices of seruants, a thing not vsed by any of his Predecessors. Such was the feare and respect they bare him. In *Mexico*, they made the Feasts of his Coronation with great preparations of Dances, Comedies, Banquets, Lights, and other inuentions for many dayes. And there came so great a wealth of Tributes from all his Countreyes, that strangers vnknowne came to *Mexico*, and their very enemies resorted in great numbers disguised to see these Feasts, as those of *Tlascalla*, and *Mechoacan*: the which *Moteçuma* hauing discouered, he commanded they should be lodged and gently intreated, and honoured as his owne person. He also made them goodly Galleries like vnto his owne, where they might see and behold the Feasts. So they entred by night to those Feasts, as the King himselfe, making their Sports and Maskes. And for that I haue made mention of these Prouinces, it shall not be from the purpose to vnderstand, that the Inhabitants of *Mechoacan*, *Tlascalla*, and *Tapeaca*, would neuer yeeld to the *Mexicans*, but did alwayes fight valiantly against them; yea, sometimes the *Mechoacans* did vanquish the *Mexicans*, as also those of *Tapeaca* did. In which place, the Marquesse *Don Ferrand Cortes*, after that hee and the *Spaniards* were expelled *Mexico*, pretended to build their first Citie, the which hee called (as I well remember) *Segurede la Frontiere*: But this peopling continued little: for hauing afterwards reconquered *Mexico*, all the *Spaniards* went to inhabite there. To conclude, those of *Tapeacu*, *Tlascalla*, and *Mechoacan*, haue beene alwayes enemies to the *Mexicans*; although *Moteçuma* said vnto *Cortes*, that hee did purposely forbeare to subdue them; to haue occasion to exercise his men of warre, and to take numbers of captiues.

How *Moteçuma* ordered the seruice of his house, and of the warre he made for his Coronation. *Chap.* 21. Pride before the fall.

Segurede la Frontiere.

Of the behauiour and greatnesse of *Moteçuma*. *Chap.* 22. His proud state.

This King laboured to bee respected, yea, to be worshipped as a God. No Plebeian might looke him in the face; if he did, he was punished with death: he did neuer let his foot on the ground, but was alwayes carried on the shoulders of Noblemen; and if he lighted, they laid rich Tapistrie whereon hee did goe. When hee made any Voyage, hee and the Noblemen went as it were

* Or betwixt railes.

in a Parke * compaſſed in for the nonce, and the reſt of the people were without the Parke, enuironing it in on euery ſide; hee neuer put on a garment twice, nor did eate or drinke in one veſſell or diſh aboue once; all muſt be new, giuing to his attendants that which had once ſerued him: ſo as commonly they were rich and ſumptuous. Hee was very careſull to haue his Lawes obſerued. And when he returned victor from any warre, hee fained ſometimes to goe and take his pleaſure, then would hee diſguiſe himſelfe, to ſee if his people (ſuppoſing hee were abſent) would omit any thing of the feaſt or reception: If there were any exceſſe or defect, hee then did puniſh it rigorouſly. And alſo to diſcerne how his Miniſters did execute their Offices, hee often diſguiſed himſelfe, offering gifts and preſents to the Iudges, prouoking them to doe in-juſtice. If they offended, they were preſently puniſhed with death, without remiſſion or reſpect, were they Noblemen, or his Kinſmen; yea, his owne Brethren. Hee was little conuerſant with his people, and ſeldome ſeene, retyring himſelfe moſt commonly to care for the gouernment of his Realme. Beſides that, he was a great Iuſticier and very Noble, he was very valiant and happy, by meanes whereof, hee obtayned great victories, and came to this greatneſſe, as is written in the *Spaniſh* Hiſtories, whereon it ſeemes needleſſe to write more. I will onely haue a care hereafter to write what the Books and Hiſtories of the *Indies* make mention of; the which the *Spaniſh* Writers haue not obſerued, hauing not ſufficiently vnderſtood the ſecrets of this Countrey, the which are things very worthy to be knowne, as we ſhall ſee hereafter.

His liberalitie.

His ſeueritie.

His policie to tiſt men.

It chanced that *Moteçuma* hauing reigned many yeeres in great proſperitie, and ſo puft vp in his conceit, as he cauſed himſelfe to be ſerued and feared, yea to be worſhipped as a God, that the Almighty Lord began to chaſtice him, and alſo to admoniſh him, ſuffering euen the very Deuils whom he worſhipped, to tell him theſe heauy tydings of the ruine of his Kingdome, and to torment him by Viſions, which had neuer beene ſeene; wherewith hee remayned ſo melancholy and troubled, as he was void of judgement.

Quetzacoalt.

The Idoll of thoſe of *Cholola*, which they called *Quetzacoalt*, declared, that a ſtrange people came to poſſeſſe his Kingdomes. The King of *Teſcuco* (who was a great Magitian, and had conference with the Deuill) came one day at an extraordinary houre to viſit *Moteçuma*, aſſuring him that his Gods had told him, that there were great loſſes preparing for him, and for his whole Realme: many Witches and Sorcerers went and declared as much, amongſt which there was one, did very particulary foretell him what ſhould happen: and as hee was with him hee told him that the pulſes of his feete and hands failed him. *Moteçuma* troubled with theſe newes, commanded all thoſe Sorcerers to be apprehended: but they vaniſhed preſently in the Priſon, wherewith he grew into ſuch a rage, that he might not kill them, as hee put their wiues and children to death, deſtroying their Houſes and Families. Seeing himſelfe importuned and troubled with theſe aduertiſements, hee ſought to appeaſe the anger of his Gods: and for that cauſe hee laboured to bring a huge ſtone, thereon to make great Sacrifices: For the effecting whereof hee ſent a great number of people with Engins and Inſtruments to bring it: which they could by no meanes mooue, although (being obſtinate) they had broken many Inſtruments. But as they ſtroue ſtill to raiſe it, they heard a voyce joyning to the ſtone, which ſaid they laboured in vaine, and that they ſhould not raiſe it, for that the Lord of things created would no more ſuffer thoſe things to be done there. *Moteçuma* vnderſtanding this, commanded the Sacrifice to be performed in that place, and they ſay the voyce ſpake againe: *Haue I not told you, that it is not the pleaſure of the Lord of things created, that it ſhould bee done? and that you may well know that it is ſo, I will ſuffer my ſelfe to bee tranſported a little, then after you ſhall not mooue me.* Which happened ſo indeed, for preſently they carried it a ſmall diſtance with great facilitie, then afterwards they could not mooue it, till that after many Prayers, it ſuffered it ſelfe to bee tranſported to the entry of the Citie of *Mexico*, where ſuddenly it fell into the Lake, where ſeeking for it, they could not find it, but it was afterwards found in the ſame place from whence they had remooued it, wherewith they remayned amazed and confounded.

His crueltie a true effect of the Deuils foretellings. God forewarneth men to bring them to repentance: the Deuill to fill them with feates, perfidious and cruell iealouſies, ſuperſtious ſhifts, and to maintaine his credit, by his diuining, ſeeking to prooue his diuinity (al which is heere euident) in things which Gods iuſtice lets him know he will doe to puniſh ſuch impious pietie. Prodgies or Deuilliſh Miracles.

At the ſame time there appeared in the Element a great flame of fire, very bright, in the forme of a Pyramide, which beganne to appeare at midnight, and went ſtill mounting vntill the Sunne riſing in the morning, where it ſtayed at the South, and then vaniſhed away. It ſhewed it ſelfe in this ſort the ſpace of a whole yeere, and euer as it appeared the people caſt forth great cryes as they were accuſtomed, beleeuing it was a preſage of great misfortune. It happened alſo that fire tooke the Temple, when as no body was within it, nor neere vnto it, neyther did there fall any lightning or thunder: whereupon the Guards crying out, a number of people ranne with water, but nothing could helpe, ſo as it was all conſumed; and they ſay the fire ſeemed to come forth of pieces of timber, which kindled more by the water that was caſt vpon it.

A Comet by day.

There was a Comet ſeene in the day time, running from the Weſt to the Eaſt, caſting an infinite number of ſparkles, and they ſay the forme was like to a long tayle, hauing three heads.

The great Lake betwixt *Mexico* and *Teſcuco*, without any winde, earthquake, or any other apparant ſigne, began ſudainly to ſwell, and the waues grew in ſuch ſort, as all the buildings neere vnto it fell downe to the ground. They ſay at that time they heard many voices, as of a woman

woman in paine, which said sometimes, *O my children, the time of your destruction is come:* and otherwhiles it said, *O my children, whither shall I carry you that you perish not vtterly?* There appeared likewise many Monsters with two heads, which being carried before the King, sudainly vanished. There were two that exceeded all other Monsters, being very strange; the one was, the Fishers of the Lake tooke a Bird as bigge as a Crane, and of the same colour, but of a strange and vnseene forme. They carried it to *Motecuma*, who at that time was in the pallace of teares and mourning, which was all hanged with blacke; for as he had many Pallaces for his recreation, so had he also others for times of affliction, wherewith he was then heauily charged and tormented, by reason of the threatnings his gods had giuen him by these sorrowfull aduertisements. The Fishers came about noone setting this Bird before him, which had on the top of his head a thing bright and transparent, in forme of a Looking-glasse, wherein he did behold a warlike Nation comming from the East, armed, fighting, and killing. He called his Diuines and Astronomers (whereof there was a great number) who hauing seene these things, and not able to yeelde any reason of what was demanded of them, the Bird vanished away, so as it was neuer more seene: whereupon *Motecuma* remained very heauy and sorrowfull. The other which happened, was a Laborer, who had the report of a very honest man; he came vnto him, telling him, that being the day before at his worke, a great Eagle flew towards him, and tooke him vp in his talents, without hurting him, carrying him into a certaine Caue, where it left him; The Eagle pronouncing these words, *Most mighty Lord, I haue brought him whom thou hast commanded me:* This *Indian* Laborer looked about on euery side, to whom he spake, but he saw no man. Then he heard a voyce which said vnto him; Doost thou not know this man, whom thou seest lying vpon the ground? and looking thereon, he perceiued a man to lye very heauy asleepe, with royall ensignes, flowers in his hand, and a staffe of perfumes burning, as they are accustomed to vse in that Country: whom the Labourer beholding, knew it was the great King *Motecuma*, and answered presently: *Great Lord, this resembles our King* Motezuma. The voice said againe, *Thou sayest true, behold what he is, and how hee lies asleepe, careless of the great miseries and afflictions prepared for him. It is now time that he pay the great number of offences he hath done to God, and that he receiue the punishment of his tyrannies, and great pride, and yet thou seest how careless he lyes, blinde in his owne miseries, and without any feeling. But to the end thou maiest the better see him, take the staffe of perfumes he holds burning in his hand, and put it to his face, thou shalt then finde him without feeling.* The poore laborer durst not approach neere him, nor doe as he was commanded, for the great feare they all had of this King. But the voice said, *Haue no feare, for I am without comparison greater than this King, I can destroy him, and defend him, doe therefore what I command thee.* Whereupon the Laborer tooke the staffe of perfumes out of the Kings hand, and put it burning to his nose, but he moued not, nor shewed any feeling. This done, the voice said vnto him, that seeing he had found the King so sleepie, he should goe awake him, and tell him what he had seene. Then the Eagle by the same commandement, tooke the man in his talents, and set him in the same place where he found him, and for accomplishment of that which he had spoken, he came to aduertise him. They say, that *Motecuma* looking on his face, found that he was burnt, the which he had not felt till then, wherewith he continued exceeding heauie and troubled.

Monsters.

Prodigious Foule.

In the foureteenth yeare of the raigne of *Motecuma*, which was in the yeare of our Lord 1517. there appeared in the North Seas, Shippes, and men landing, whereat the Subiects of *Motecuma* wondred much, and desirous to learne, and to be better satisfied what they were, they went aboord in their Canoes, carrying many refreshings of meates and stuffes to make apparrell, vpon colour to sell them. The *Spaniards* receiued them into their Shippes, and in exchange of their victuals and stuffes, which were acceptable vnto them, they gaue them chaines of false Stones, red, blew, greene, and yellow, which the *Indians* imagined to be precious stones. The *Spaniards* informing themselues, who was their King, and of his great power, dismissed them, willing them to carry those Stones vnto their Lord, saying, that for that time they could not goe to him, but they would presently returne and visite him. Those of the coast went presently to *Mexico* with this message, carrying the representation of what they had seene, painted on a cloath, both of the Shippes, Men, and Stones which they had giuen them. King *Motecuma* remained very pensiue with this message, commanding them not to reueale it to any one. The day following, he assembled his Counsell, and hauing shewed them the painted cloathes and the Chaines, he consulted what was to be done: where it was resolued to set good watches vpon all the Sea coasts, to giue present aduertisement to the King of what they should discouer. The yeare following, which was in the beginning of the yeare 1518. they discouered a Fleete at Sea, in the which was the Marquise of *Valle Don Fernando Cortes*, with his companions, newes which much troubled *Motecuma*, and conferring with his Counsell, they all said, that without doubt, their great and auncient Lord *Quezalcoalt* was come, who had said, that he would returne from the East, whither he was gone. The *Indians* held opinion, that a great Prince had in times past left them, and promised to returne. Of the beginning and ground of which opinion shall be spoken in another place. They therefore sent fiue principall Ambassadors

Of the newes *Motecuma* receiued of the *Spaniards* arrival in his Country, and of the Ambassage he sent them. *Chap. 24.*

Relation or writing by Pictures.

Effects of superstitious legends.

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with rich presents, to congratulate his comming, saying, they knew well that their great Lord *Quezizalcoalt* was come, and that his seruant *Motecuma* sent to visite him, for so he accounted himselfe. The *Spaniards* vnderstood this message by the meanes of *Marina*, an *Indian* woman whom they brought with them which vnderstood the *Mexican* tongue. *Fernando de Cortes* finding this a good occasion for his entry, commanded to decke his Chamber richly, and being set in great state and pompe, he caused the Ambassadors to enter, who omitted no shewes of humilitie, but to worship him as their god.

Cortes admits diuine worship agreeing more with his couetous designes then Christian religion, which thriued there according to these beginnings.

They deliuered their charge, saying, that his seruant *Motecuma* sent to visit him, and that he held the Country in his name as his Lieutenant, that he knew well it was the *Topilcin* which had beene promised them many yeares since, who should returne againe vnto them. And therefore they brought him such Garments as he was wont to weare, when he did conuerse amongst them, beseeching him to accept willingly of them, offering him many presents of great value. *Cortes* receiuing the presents, answered, that he was the same they spake of, wherewith they were greatly satisfied, seeing themselues to be curteously receiued and intreated by him. To conclude, the day after this Ambassage, all the Captaines and Commanders of the Fleete, came vnto the Admirall, where vnderstanding the matter, and that this Realme of *Motecuma* was mighty and rich, it seemed fit to gaine the reputation of braue and valiant men among this people, and that by this meanes (although they were few) they should be feared and receiued into *Mexico*. To this end they discharged all their Artillery from their Shippes, which being a thing the *Indians* had neuer heard, they were amazed, as if heauen had fallen vpon them. Then the *Spaniards* beganne to defie them to fight with them: but the *Indians* not daring to hazard themselues, they did beate them and intreate them ill, shewing their Swords, Lances, Pertuisans, and other armes, wherewith they did terrifie them much. The poore *Indians* were by reason hereof so fearefull and amazed, as they changed their opinion, saying, that their Lord *Topilcin* came not in this troupe, but they were some gods (their enemies) came to destroy them. When as the Ambassadors returned to *Mexico*, *Motecuma* was in the house of audience; but before he would heare them, this miserable man commanded a great number of men to be sacrificed in his presence, and with their bloud to sprinkle the Ambassadors (supposing by this ceremony) which they were accustomed to doe in solemne Ambassages) to receiue a good answer. But vnderstanding the report and information of the manner of their Ships, Men, and Armes, he stood perplexed and confounded: then taking counsell thereon, he found no better meanes, then to labor to stop the entry of these strangers, by Coniurations and Magicke Arts. They had accustomed often to vse this meanes, hauing great conference with the Deuill, by whose helpe they sometimes obtained strange effects. They therefore assembled together all the Sorcerers, Magitians, and Inchanters, who being perswaded by *Motecuma*, they tooke it in charge to force this people to returne vnto their Country. For this consideration, they went to a certaine place which they thought fit for the inuocation of their Deuils, and practising their Arts (a thing worthy of consideration) They wrought all they could; but seeing nothing could preuaile against the *Christians*, they went to the King, telling him that they were more then men, for that nothing might hurt them, notwithstanding, all their Coniurations and Inchantments. Then *Motecuma* aduised him of another policie, that faining to be very well contented with their comming, he commanded all his Countries to serue these celestiall gods that were come into his Land. The whole people was in great heauinesse and amazement, and often newes came that the *Spaniards* inquired for the King, of his manner of life, of his house and meanes. He was exceedingly vexed herewith: some of the people and other Negromanciers aduised him to hide himselfe, offering to place him whereas no creature should euer finde him. This seemed base vnto him, and therefore he resolued to attend them, although it were dying. In the end he left his Houses and royall Pallaces to lodge in others, leauing them for these gods as he said.

Egregiam vero laudem.

Needes must they goe whom Deuill driues.

Protean shifts.

I pretend not to intreate of the acts and deedes of the *Spaniards*, who conquered New *Spaine*, nor the strange aduentures which happened vnto them, nor of the courage and inuincible valour of their Captaine *Don Fernando Cortes*: for that there are many Histories and Relations thereof, as those which *Fernando Cortes* himselfe did write to the Emperour *Charles* the fift, although they be in a plaine stile, and farre from arrogancy, the which doe giue a sufficient testimony of what did passe, wherein he was worthy of eternall memory, but onely to accomplish my intention: I am to relate what the *Indians* report of this action, the which hath not to this day beene written in our vulgar tongue. *Motecuma* therefore, hauing notice of this Captains victories, that he aduanced for his conquest, that he was confederate and ioyned with them of *Tlascalla*, his capitall enemies, and that he had seuerely punished them of *Cholola* his friends, he studied how to deceiue him, or else to try him in sending a principall man vnto him, attyred with the like ornaments and royall ensignes, the which should take vpon him to be *Motecuma*, which fiction being discouered to the Marquise by them of *Tlascalla* (who did accompany him) he sent him backe, after a milde and gentle reprehension, in seeking so to deceiue him: whereupon *Motecuma* was so confounded, that for the feare thereof he returned to his first imaginations and

Of the *Spaniards* entrie into *Mexico*. *Chap.* 25.

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and practises, to force the *Christians* to retire, by the inuocation of Coniurers and Witches. And therfore he assembled a greater number then before, threatning them, that if they returned without effecting what he had giuen them in charge, not any one should escape, whereunto they all promised to obey. And for this cause, all the Deuils officers went to the way of *Chalco*, by the which the *Spaniards* should passe, when mounting to the top of a hill, *Tezcalipuca*, one of their principall gods, appeared vnto them, as comming from the *Spaniards* campe, in the habit of *Chalcas*, who had his paps bound about eight fold with a cord of reedes, he came like a man beside himselfe, out of his wits, and drunke with rage and furie. Being come to this troupe of Witches and Coniurers, he stayed, and spake to them in great choller, *Why come you hither? what doth Motecuma pretend to doe by your meanes? He had aduised himselfe too late: for it is now determined, that his Kingdome and honour shall be taken from him, with all that he possesseth, for punishment of the great tyrannies he hath committed against his Subiects, hauing gouerned not like a Lord, but like a traitour and tyrant.* The Inchanters and Coniurers hearing these words, knew it was their Idoll, and stumbling themselues before him, they presently built him an Altar of Stone in the same place, couering it with flowers which they gathered thereabouts, but he contrariwise, making no account of these things, began againe to chide them, saying: *What come you hither to doe, O ye traitours? Returne presently and behold* Mexico, *that you may vnderstand what shall become thereof.* And they say, that returning towards *Mexico* to behold it, they did see it flaming on fire. Then the Deuill vanished away, and they not daring to passe any farther, gaue notice thereof to *Motezuma*, whereat he remained long without speaking, looking heauily on the ground; then he said, *What shall we doe if god and our friends leaue vs, and contrariwise, they helpe and fauour our enemies? I am now resolute, and we ought all to resolue in this point, that happen what may, wee must not flye nor hide our selues, or shew any signe of cowardise. I onely pitie the aged and infants, who haue neither feete nor hands to defend themselues.* Hauing spoken this, he held his peace, being transported into an extasie. In the end, the Marquesse approaching to *Mexico*, *Motezuma* resolued to make of necessity a vertue, going three or foure leagues out of the Citie to receiue him with a great maiesty, carried vpon the shoulders of foure Noblemen, vnder a rich Canapy of Gold and Feathers. When they met, *Motezuma* descended, and they saluted one another very curteously. *Don Fernando Cortes* said vnto him, that he should not care for any thing, and that he came not to take away his Realme, nor to diminish his authority. *Motezuma* lodged *Cortes*, and his companions in his royall Pallace, the which was very stately, and he himselfe lodged in other priuate houses. This night the Souldiers for ioy discharged their Artillery, wherewith the *Indians* were much troubled, being vnaccustomed to heare such Musicke. The day following, *Cortes* caused *Motezuma* and all the Nobles of his Court to assemble in a great Hall, where being set in a high Chaire, he said vnto them, that he was seruant to a great Prince, who had sent them into these Countries to doe good workes, and that hauing found them of *Tlascalla* to be his friends (who complained of wrongs and greeuances done vnto them daily by them of *Mexico*) he would vnderstand which of them was in the blame, and reconcile them, that hereafter they might no more afflict and warre one against another: and in the meane time, he and his brethren (which were the *Spaniards*) would remaine still there without hurting them: but contrariwise, they would helpe them all they could. He laboured to make them all vnderstand this discourse, vsing his Interpreters and truchmen. The which being vnderstood by the King and the other *Mexican* Lords, they were wonderfully well satisfied, and shewed great signes of loue to *Cortes* and his company. So it is, that by some occasions, many complaints, griefes, and iealousies grew on either side. The which *Cortes* finding, & that the *Indians* mindes began to be distracted from them, he thought it necessary to assure himselfe, in laying hand vpon King *Motecuma*, who was seized on, and his legges fettered. Truely this act was strange vnto all men, and like vnto that other of his, to haue burnt his Shippes, and shut himselfe in the midst of his enemies, there to vanquish or to dye. The mischiefe was, that by reason of the vnexpected arriuall of *Pamphilo Naruaes* at the true crosse, drawing the Country into mutiny, *Cortes* was forced to absent himselfe from *Mexico*, and to leaue poore *Motecuma* in the hands of his companions, who wanted discretion nor had not moderation like vnto him: so as they grew to that dissention, as there was no meanes to pacifie it.

Tezcalipuca a Deuill-god.

Good fishing in troubled waters.

Cortes his two strange attempts.

When as *Cortes* was absent from *Mexico*, he that remayned his Lieutenant, resolued to punish the *Mexicans* seuerely, causing a great number of the Nobilitie to be slaine at a maske, which they made in the Palace, the which did so farre exceed, as all the people mutined, and in a furious rage, tooke Armes to be reuenged and to kill the *Spaniards*. They therefore besieged them in the Palace, pressing them so neere, that all the hurt the *Spaniards* could doe them with their Artillerie and Crosse-bowes, might not terrifie them, not force them to retyre from their enterprise, where they continued many dayes, stopping their victuals, not suffering any one to enter or issue forth. They did fight with stones, and cast Darts after their manner, with a kind of Lances like vnto Arrowes, in the which there are foure or sixe very sharpe Rasors, the which are such (as the Histories report) that in these warres, an *Indian* with one blow of these Rasors, almost cut off the necke of a Horse, and as they did one day fight with this resolution and furie, the

Of the death of *Motezuma*, and the *Spaniards* departure out of *Mexico*, *chap.* 26.

Indian armies.

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the *Spaniards* to make them cease, shewed forth *Moteçuma*, with an other of the chiefe Lords of *Mexico*, vpon the top of a plat-forme of the house, couered with the Targets of two Souldiers that were with them. The *Mexicans* seeing their Lord *Moteçuma*, stayed with great silence. Then *Moteçuma* caused the Lord to aduise them to pacifie themselues, and not to warre against the *Spaniards*, seeing that (he being a prisoner) it could little profit him. The which being vnderstood by a yong man, called *Quicuxtemoc*, whom they now resolued to make their King, hee spake with a loud voyce to *Moteçuma*, willing him to retyre like a Villaine, that seeing he had beene such a Coward, as to suffer himselfe to bee taken, they were no more bound to obey him, but rather should punish him as he deserued, calling him *Woman* for the more reproach, and then he began to draw his Bowe and to shoot at him, and the people began to cast stones at him, and to continue their combate. Many say that *Moteçuma* was then hurt with a stone, whereof hee dyed. The *Indians* of *Mexico* affirme the contrarie, and that hee dyed as I will shew hereafter. *Alnaro*, and the rest of the *Spaniards* seeing themselues thus pressed, gaue intelligence to Captaine *Cortes*, of the great danger they were in: who hauing with an admirable dexteritie and valour, giuen order to *Narnaes* affaires, and assembled the greatest part of his men, hee returned with all speed to succour them of *Mexico*, where obseruing the time the *Indians* rest (for it was their custome in warre, to rest euery fourth day) Hee one day aduanced with great policy and courage, so as both he and his men entred the Palace, where as the *Spaniards* had fortified themselues: they then shewed great signes of ioy, in discharging their Artillerie. But as the *Mexicans* fury increased (being out of hope to defend themselues) *Cortes* resolued to passe away secretly in the night without bruit. Hauing therefore made Bridges to passe two great and dangerous passages, about mid-night they issued forth as secretly as they could, the greatest part of his people hauing passed the first bridge, they were discouered by an *Indian* woman before they could passe the second, who cryed out their enemies fled, at the which voyce all the people ranne together with a horrible furie: so as in passing the second bridge, they were so charged and pursued, as there remayned aboue three hundred men slaine and hurt in one place; where at this day there is a small Hermitage, which they vnproperly call *of Martyrs*. Many *Spaniards* (to preserue the gold and jewels which they had gotten) perished, and others staying to carry it away, were taken by the *Mexicans*, and cruelly sacrificed to their Idols. The *Mexicans* found King *Moteçuma* dead, and wounded as they say with Poniards, and they hold opinion that that night the *Spaniards* slue him with other Noblemen. The Marquesse in his Relation sent to the Emperor, writes the contrary, and that the *Mexicans* killed him that night with a sonne of *Moteçuma*, which he led with him amongst other Noblemen, saying, that all the treasure of gold, stones, and siluer, fell into the Lake and was neuer more seene. But how soeuer, *Moteçuma* dyed miserably, and payed his deserts to the iust iudgement of our Lord of Heauen for his pride and tyrannie: his body falling into the *Indians* power, they would make him no Obsequies of a King, no not of an ordinarie person, but cast it away in great disdaine and rage. A seruant of his hauing pitie of this Kings miserie (who before had beene feared and worshipped as a God) made a fire thereof, and put the ashes in a contemptible place. Returning to the *Spaniards* that escaped, they were greatly tyred and turmoyled, the *Indians* following them two or three dayes very resolutely, giuing them no time of rest, being so distressed for victuals, as a few graines of Mays were diuided amongst them for their meate. The Relations both of the *Spaniards* and *Indians* agree, that God deliuered them here miraculously, the Virgin *Mary* defending them on a little Hill, whereat this day three leagues from *Mexico*, there is a Church built in remembrance thereof, called *our Lady of succour*. They retyred to their ancient friends of *Tlascalla*, whence (by their aide, and the valour and policy of *Cortes*) they returned afterwards to make war against *Mexico*, by Water and Land, with an inuention of Brigantines, which they put into the Lake, where after many combats, and aboue threescore dangerous battailes, they conquered *Mexico*, on Saint *Hippolitus* day, the 13. of August, 1521. The last King of the *Mexicans* (hauing obstinately maintayned the warres) was in the end taken in a great Canoe, whereinto hee fled, who being brought with some other of the chiefest Noblemen before *Fernando Cortes*, this petie King with a strange resolution and courage, drawing his dagger, came neere to *Cortes*, and said vnto him, *Vntill this day I haue done my best indeuour for the defence of my people: now am I no further bound, but to giue thee this dagger to kill me therewith*. *Cortes* answered, that he would not kill him, neither was it his intention to hurt them: but their obstinate folly was guiltie of all the miserie and afflictions they had suffered, neither were they ignorant how often he had required peace and amitie at their hands. Hee then commanded them to be intreated curteously. Many strange and admirable things chanced in this Conquest of *Mexico*: for I neither hold it for an vntruth, nor an addition, which many write, that God fauoured the *Spaniards* by many miracles.

It is most certaine by the Relations of many, and by the Histories which are written, that in diuers battailes which the *Spaniards* had, as well in New *Spaine*, as in *Peru*, the *Indians* their enemies did see a Horseman in the ayre, mounted on a white horse, with a Sword in his hand, fighting for the *Spaniards*, whence comes the great reuerence they beare at the *Indies* to the glorious Apostle Saint *Iames*. Otherwhiles they did see in some battailes, the Image of our Lady, from whom

Fourth dayes rest in warre.

300. *Spaniards* lost.

And can you blame him to write the best of himselfe?

Succession of superstition. Royall courage. You here hear a Iesuit. Gold is a miracle-working God in couetous hearts. *Quid non mortalia pectora cogit Auri sacra fames?* this *sacrima fames* wrought miracles in all the *Spanish Indies*, and still doth at Saints shrines, and in *European* pilgrimages, and Purgatorie visions, &c. *Great is* (cryed the shrine-makers) *Diana of the Ephesians.*

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whom the Christians haue receiued in those parts incomparable fauours and benefits, &c. And therefore we ought not to condemne all these things of the first Conquerors of the *Indies*, as some religious and learned men haue done, doubtlesse with a good zeale, but too much affected: For although for the most part they were couetous men, cruell, and very ignorant in the course that was to be obserued with the *Infidels*, who had neuer offended the *Christians*; yet can we not deny, but on the in part there was much malice against God and our Men, which forced them to vse rigour and chastisement.

Euery one may vnderstand by the Relation and Discourse I haue written in these Bookes, as well at *Peru*, as in *New Spaine*, when as the *Christians* first set footing, that these Kingdomes and Monarchies were come to the height and period of their power. The *Ingas* of *Peru*, possessing from the Realme of *Chille* beyond *Quito*, which are a thousand leagues, being most abundant in gold, siluer, sumptious seruices, and other things: as also in *Mexico*, *Motezuma* commanded from the North Ocean Sea, vnto the South, being feared and worshipped not as a man, but rather as a god. Then was it, that the most high Lord had determined that that stone of *Daniel*, which dissolued the Realmes and Kingdomes of the World, should also dissolue those of this new World. And as the Law of Christ came when as the *Romane* Monarchie was at her greatnesse: so did it happen at the West *Indies*, wherein wee see the iust prouidence of our Lord: For being then in the World, I meane in *Europe*, but one head and temporall Lord, as the holy Doctors doe note, whereby the Gospell might more easily bee imparted to so many People and Nations: Euen so hath it happened at the *Indies*, where hauing giuen the knowledge of Christ to the Monarchs of so many Kingdomes, it was a meanes that afterwards the knowledge of the Gospell was imparted to all the people: yea, there is herein a speciall thing to be obserued, that as the Lords of *Cusco* and *Mexico* conquered new Lands, so they brought in their owne language: for although there were (as at this day) great diuersitie of tongues, yet the Courtly speech of *Cusco*, did and doth at this day runne aboue a thousand leagues, and that of *Mexico* did not extend farre lesse, which hath not beene of small importance, but hath much profited in making the preaching easie, at such a time, when as the Preachers had not the gift of many tongues, as in old times. He that would know what a helpe it hath beene for the conuersion of this people in these two great Empires, and the great difficultie they haue found to reduce those *Indians* to Christ, which acknowledge no Soueraigne Lord, let him goe to *Florida*, *Brésil*, the *Andes*, and many other places, where they haue not preuayled so much by their preaching in fiftie yeeres, as they haue done in *Peru* and new *Spaine* in lesse then fiue. If they will impute the cause to the riches of the Country: I will not altogether denie it. Yet were it impossible to haue so great wealth, and to be able to preserue it, if there had not beene a Monarchie. This is also a worke of God in this age, when as the Preachers of the Gospell are so cold and without zeale, and Merchants with the heat of couetousnesse and desire of command, search and discouer new people whither we passe with our commodities; for as Saint *Augustine* saith, the propheſie of *Esay* is fulfilled, in that the Church of Christ is extended, not onely to the right hand, but also to the left: which is (as hee declareth) by humane and earthly meanes, which they seeke more commonly then Iesus Christ. It was also a great prouidence of our Lord, that when as the first *Spaniards* arriued there, they found aide from the *Indians* themselues, by reason of their partialities and great diuisions.

This is well knowne in *Peru*, that the diuision betwixt the two brothers *Atabualpa* and *Guasca*, the great King *Guanacapa* their father being newly dead, gaue entrie to the Marquesse *Don Francis Pizarro*, and to the *Spaniards*, for that either of them desired his alliance being busied in warre one against the other. The like experience hath beene in new *Spaine*, that the aide of those of the Prouince of *Tlascalla*, by reason of their continuall hatred against the *Mexicans*, gaue the victorie and seigniorie of *Mexico*, to the Marquesse *Fernando Cortes* and his men, and without them it had beene impossible to haue wonne it, yea, to haue maintayned themselues within the Country.

They are much deceiued that so little esteeme the *Indians*, and iudge that (by the aduantage the *Spaniards* haue ouer them in their Persons, Horses, and Armes, both offensiue and defensiue) they might easily conquer any Land or Nation of the *Indies*.

Chille stands yet, or to say better, *Arauco* and *Tucapel*, which are two Cities, where our *Spaniards* could not yet win one foot of ground, although they haue made warre there aboue fiue and twentie yeeres, without sparing of any cost. For this barbarous Nation, hauing once lost the apprehension of horse and shot, and knowing that the *Spaniards* fall as well as other men, with the blow of a stone or of a dart, they hazard themselues desperately, entring the Pikes vpon any enterprise. How many yeeres haue they leuied men in new *Spaine*, to send against the *Chichimecques*, which are a small number of naked *Indians*, armed only with bowes and arrowes? yet to this day they could not be vanquished, but contrariwise, from day to day they grow more desperate and resolute. But what shall we say of the *Chunos*, of the *Chiraguanas*, of the *Pifcocones*, and all the other people of the *Andes*? Hath not all the flower of *Peru* beene there, bringing with them so great prouision of Armes and Men as we haue seene? What did they? With what victories

Si ego (might *America* say) *digna sim hac contumelia maximè; At ille* (Hispane) *indignus qui faceres tamen.*

What difference twixt Words and Swords, twixt Apostles and greedie Souldiers? The Prince of peace sent men not to kill, but to be killed, & came to bee a slaine Lamb, that the World might be saued; not to slay a World that himselfe might be a couetous worldly sauer and conqueror. *Nimrod* or *Alexander* had been fitter Preachers in this kinde then *Peter* and *Paul*: their examples (not of these) did *Cortes* and *Pizarro* follow: and the Christianitie of those parts more smells of the Sword then the Word, as the Iesuit in bookes *de procuranda Ind. sal.* hath shewed, as is shewed *sup. To. 1. l. 2. c. 1.* in bayting the Popes Bull. *August. lib. 2. de com. euang. c. 36.* This was the greatest helpe of the *Spanish* conquest. *Indian* quarrels made that easie which their gold made desirable.

Diuers Nations which the *Spaniards* could neuer conquer to this day.

victories returned they (surely) they returned very happy in saving of their liues, hauing left their baggage and almost all their horses. Let no man thinke (speaking of the *Indians*) that they are men of nothing, but if they thinke so, let them goe and make triall. Wee will beleeue attribute the glorie to whom it appertaynes, that is, principally to God, and to his admirable disposition: for if *Motezuma* in *Mexico*, and the *Ingas* in *Peru*, had beene resolued to resist the *Spaniards*, and to stop their entrie, *Cortes* and *Pizarre* had prouayled little in their landing, although they were excellent Captaines. It hath also beene a great helpe to induce the *Indians* to receiue the Law of Christ, the subiection they were in to their Kings and Lords: and also the seruitude and slauerie they were held in by the Deuils tyrannies and insupportable yoke. This was an excellent disposition of the diuine Wisedome, the which drawes profit from ill to a good end, and receiues this good from an others ill, which hath not sowed. It is most certaine that no people of the West *Indies* haue beene more apt to receiue the Gospell, then those which were most subiect to their Lords, and which haue beene charged with the heauiest burthens, as well of Tributes and Seruices, as of Customes and bloudie Practises. All that which the *Mexican* Kings and those of *Peru* did possesse, is at this day most planted with Christian Religion, and where there is least difficultie in the Gouernment and Ecclesiasticall Discipline. The *Indians* were so wearied with the heauy and insupportable yoke of Satans lawes, his sacrifices and ceremonies, whereof wee haue formerly spoken, that they consulted among themselues, to seeke out a new Law, and an other God to serue. And therefore the Law of Christ seemed vnto them, and doth at this day seeme iust, sweet, cleane, good, and full of happinesse.

Deuill insupportable.

And that which is difficult in our Law, to beleeue so high and soueraigne Mysteries, hath beene easie among them, for that the Deuill had made them comprehend things of greater difficultie, and the selfe-same things which hee had stolen from our Euangelicall Law, as their manner of Communion and Confession, their adoration of Three in One, and such other like, the which against the will of the Enemie, haue holpen for the easie receiuing of the Truth by those who before had embraced Lyes. God is wise and admirable in all his workes, vanquishing the Aduersarie euen with his owne weapon, hee takes him in his owne snare, and kills him with his owne sword. Finally, our God (who had created this People, and who seemed to haue thus long forgot them) when the houre was come, hee would haue the same Deuils, enemies to mankinde, whom they falsly held for gods; should giue a testimonie against their will, of the true Law, the power of Christ, and the triumph of the Crosse, as it plainly appeares by the presages, prophesies, signes, and prodigies, here before mentioned, with many others happened in diuers parts, and that the same ministers of Satan, Sorcerers, Magicians, and other *Indians* haue confessed it. And wee cannot denie it (being most euident and knowne to all the World) that the Deuill dareth not hisse, and that the Practises, Oracles, Answers, and visible Apparitions, which were so ordinarie throughout all this Infidelitie, haue ceased, whereas the Crosse of Christ hath beene planted, where there are Churches, and where the Name of Christ hath beene confessed. And if there be at this day any cursed minister of his, that doth participate thereof, it is in Caues, and on the tops of Mountaines, and in secret places, farre from the name and communion of Christians. The Soueraigne Lord be blessed for his great mercies, and for the glorie of his holy Name: And in truth, if they did gouerne this people temporally and spiritually, in such sort as the Law of Iesus Christ hath set it downe, with a milde yoke and light burthen, and that they would impose no more vpon them then they can well beare, as the Letters Patents of the good Emperour of happy memorie doe command, and that they would imploy halfe the care they haue to make profit of these poore mens sweats and labours, for the health of their soules, it were the most peaceable and happy Christian part of all the World, &c.

CHAP. V.

Of the ancient superstitions of the Mexicans *and* Indians *of* America, *gathered out of the fifth Booke of* IOSEPHVS ACOSTA.

FIrst, although the darkenesse of Infidelitie holdeth these Nations in blindnesse, yet in many things the light of Truth and Reason workes somewhat in them. And they commonly acknowledge a supreme Lord and Author of all things, which they of *Peru* called *Vnachocha*, and gaue him names of great excellence, as *Pachacamac*, or *Pachayachachic*, which is, *the Creator of Heauen and Earth*: and *Vsapu*, which is, *admirable*, and other like names. Him they did worship, as the chiefest of all, whom they did honor in beholding the Heauen. The like wee see amongst them of *Mexico*, and *China*, and all other Infidels. Which accordeth well with that which is said of Saint *Paul*, in the *Acts* of the Apostles, where he did see the Inscription of an Altar; *Ignoto Deo:*

They acknowledge one supreme Deitie.

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to *the vnknowne God*. Whereupon the Apostle tooke occasion to preach vnto them, saying, *Hee whom you worship without knowing, him doe I preach vnto you*. In like sort, those which at this day doe preach the Gospell to the *Indians*, finde no great difficultie to perswade them that there is a High God and Lord ouer all, and that this is the Christians God, and the true God. And yet it hath caused great admiration in mee, that although they had this knowledge, yet had they no proper Name for God; if wee shall seeke into the *Indian* tongue for a word to answere to this Name of God, as in Latin, *Deus*; in Greeke, *Theos*; in Hebrew, *El*; in Arabike, *Alla*; but we shall not finde any in the *Cuscan* or *Mexican* tongues. So as such as preach or write to the *Indians*, vse our *Spanish* name *Dios*, fitting it to the accent or pronunciation of the *Indian* tongues, the which differ much, whereby appeares the small knowledge they had of God, seeing they cannot so much as name him, if it bee not by our very name: yet in truth they had some little knowledge, and therefore in *Peru* they made him a rich Temple, which they called *Pachacamac*, which was the principall Sanctuarie of the Realme. And as it hath beene said, this word of *Pachacamac*, is as much to say, as *the Creator*, yet in this Temple they vsed their Idolatries, worshipping the Deuill and Figures. They likewise made Sacrifices and Offerings to *Viracocha*, which held the chiefe place amongst the worships which the Kings *Ingas* made. Hereof they called the *Spaniards Viracochas*, for that they hold opinion they are the *sonnes of Heauen*, and diuine; euen as others did attribute a Deitie to *Paul* and *Barnabas*, calling the one *Iupiter*, and the other *Mercurie*, so would they offer sacrifices vnto them, as vnto gods: and as the *Barbarians* of *Melite* (which is *Malta*) seeing that the Viper did not hurt the Apostle, they called him God.

Acts 17.

No proper name for God.

Acts 28.

NExt to *Viracocha*, or their supreme God, that which most commonly they haue and doe adore amongst the Infidels, is *the Sunne*; and after, those things which are most remarkeable in the celestiall or elementarie nature, as the *Moone*, *Starres*, *Sea*, and *Land*. The *Guacas*, or *Oratories*, which the *Ingas* Lords of *Peru* had in greatest reuerence, next to *Viracocha* and the *Sunne*, was *the Thunder*, which they called by three diuers names, *Chuquilla*, *Catuilla*, and *Intiillapa*, supposing it to be a man in heauen, with a Sling and a Mace, and that it is in his power to cause Raine, Haile, Thunder, and all the rest that appertaines to the Region of the Aire, where the Cloudes engender. It was a *Guaca* (for so they called their Oratories) generall to all the *Indians* of *Peru*, offering vnto him many sacrifices: and in *Cusco*, which is the Court and Metropolitan Citie, they did sacrifice children vnto him, as to the *Sunne*. They did worship these three, *Viracocha*, the *Sunne*, and *Thunder*, after another manner then all the rest, as *Polo* writes, who had made triall thereof, they did put as it were a Gantlet or Gloue vpon their hands, when they did lift them vp to worship them. They did worship the *Earth*; which they called *Pachamama*, as the Ancients did the goddesse *Tellus*: and the *Sea* likewise, which they call *Mamacocha*, as the Ancients worshipped *Thetis*, or *Neptune*. Moreouer, they did worship the *Raine-bowe*, which were the Armes and Blazons of the *Inga*, with two Snakes stretched out on either side. Amongst the *Starres* they all did commonly worship that which they called *Colca*, and wee here *Cabrille*. They did attribute diuers offices to diuers Starres, and those which had neede of their fauour did worship them, as the Shepherd did sacrifice to a Starre, which they called *Vrcuchillay*, which they hold to be a Sheepe of diuers colours, hauing the care to preserue their Cattell; and they imagine it is that which the Astronomers call *Lyra*. These Shepherds worship two other Starres, which walke neere vnto them, they call them *Catuchillay*, and *Vrcuchillay*; and they fayne them to be an *Ewe* and a *Lambe*. Others worshipped a Starre which they called *Machacuay*, to which they attribute the charge and power ouer Serpents, and Snakes, to keepe them from hurting of them. They ascribe power to another Starre, which they called *Chuquinchinchay* (which is as much as Tigre) ouer Tigres, Beares, and Lions, and they haue generally beleeued, that of all the beasts of the earth, there is one alone in heauen like vnto them, the which hath care of their procreation and increase. And so they did obserue and worship diuers Starres, as those which they called *Chacana*, *Topatarca*, *Mamanan*, *Mirco*, *Mioquiquisay*, and many other. So as it seemed they approched somwhat neere the propositions of *Platoes Idees*. The *Mexicans* almost in the same manner after the supreme God, worshipped the *Sunne*: And therefore they called *Hernando Cortez* (as he hath written in a Letter sent vnto the Emperor *Charles* the fifth) *Sonne of the Sunne*, for his care and courage to compasse the Earth. But they made their greatest adoration to an Idoll, called *Vitziliputzli*, the which in all this Region they called the most puissant, and Lord of all things: for this cause the *Mexicans* built him a Temple, the greatest, the faire st, the highest, and the most sumptuous of all other. The situation and beautie thereof, may well be conjectured by the ruines which yet remaine in the midst of the Citie of *Mexico*. But here the *Mexicans* Idolatrie hath beene more pernicious and hurtfull then that of the *Ingas*, as wee shall see playner hereafter, for that the greatest part of their adoration and Idolatrie, was imployed to Idols, and not to naturall things, although they did attribute naturall effects to these Idols, as *Raine, multiplication of Cattell, Warre, and Generation*, euen as the *Greekes* and *Latines* haue forged Idols of *Phœbus*, *Mercurie*, *Iupiter*, *Minerua*, and of *Mars*. To conclude, who so shall neerly looke into it, shall finde this manner which the Deuill hath vsed to deceiue the *Indians*,

Of the first kinde of Idolatrie, vpon naturall and vniuersall things. *Chap.* 4.

Sunne their second God: and then other heauenly Bodies in their order.

Temples to the *Thunder* their third God.

Iupiters fulmen.

Humane sacrifices.

Earth, Sea, Raine-bow, Starres worshipped.

Mexicans worship the Sunne &c.

Vitziliputzlis Temple.

to

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Idolatrising rite the same to all their Idols with words different.

to be the same wherewith he hath deceiued the *Greekes* and *Romans*, and other ancient *Gentiles*, giuing them to vnderstand that these notable creatures, *the Sunne, Moone, Starres, and Elements*, had power and authority to doe good or harme to men. Their manner to pray to *Viracocha*, to the Sunne, the Starres, and the rest of their Idols, was to open their hands, and to make a certaine sound with their mouthes (like people that kissed) and to aske that which euery one desired in offering his Sacrifices; yet was there great difference betwixt the words they vsed in speaking to the great *Ticuiracocha*, to whom they did attribute the chiefe power and commandement ouer all things, and those they vsed to others, the which euery one did worshippe priuately in his house, as Gods or *particular Lords*, saying, that they were their Intercessors to this great *Ticciuiracocha*. This manner of worship, opening the hands, and as it were *kissing*, hath something like to that which *Iob* had in horrour, as fit for Idolaters, saying, *If I haue kissed my hands with my mouth, beholding the Sunne when it shines, or the Moone when it is light, the which is a great iniquitie, and to deny the most great God.*

Lares: as Popish mediators of Intercession.

* Adoration hid the name of *ad* and *os*: kissing the hand with bowing of the body, &c. See *Min. Fel. Iob* 31.

Of the Idolatry the *Indians* vsed to particular things. *Chap.* 5.

THe Deuill hath not beene contented to make these blinde *Indians* to worshippe the *Sunne, Moone, Starres, Earth, and Sea*, and many other generall things in nature, but he hash passed on further, giuing them for God, and making them subiect to base and abiect things, and for the most part, filthy and infamous: for they worshipped *Riuers, Fountaines, the mouthes of Riuers, entries of Mountaines, Rockes or great Stones, Hils and the tops of Mountaines*, which they call *Apachitas*, and they hold them for matters of great deuotion. To conclude, they did worship *all things in nature*, which seemed to them remarkable and different from the rest, as acknowledging some particular deitie.

These shewed me in *Caxamalca* of *Nasca* a little hill or great mount of Sand, which was the chiefe Idoll or *Guaca* of the Ancients. I demaunded of them what diuinity they found in it? They answered, that they did worship it for the wonder, being a very high mount of Sand, in the midst of very thicke Mountaines of Stone. We had neede in the Citie of *Kings*, of great store of great wood; for the melting of a Bell, and therefore they cut downe a great deformed Tree, which for the greatnesse and antiquity thereof had beene a long time the Oratorie and *Guaca* of the *Indians*. And they beleeued there was a certaine Diuinity in any thing that was extraordinary and strange in his kinde, attributing the like vnto small Stones and Mettals; yea vnto rootes and fruites of the earth, as the rootes they call *Papas*. There is a strange kinde which they call *Lallahuas*, which they kissed and worshipped. They did likewise worship Beares, Lyons, Tygres and Snakes, to thend they should not hurt them: and such as their gods be, such are the things they offer vnto them in their worship. They haue vsed as they goe by the way, to cast, in the crosse wayes, on the hils, and toppes of Mountaines, which they call *Apachittas*, *olde shooes, Feathers, and Coca chewed*, being an hearbe they vse much. And when they haue nothing left, they cast a *Stone* as an offring, that they might passe freely, and haue greater force, the which they say increaseth by this meanes, as it is reported in a prouinciall Counsell of *Peru*. And therefore they finde in the hie-waies great heapes of Stones offred, and such other things. They vsed another offring no lesse pleasant and ridiculous, pulling the haire from the eyebrowes to offer it to the Sunne, Hils, *Apachittas*, to the Windes, or to any other thing they feare. Such is the miseries that many *Indians* haue liued in, and doe to this day, whom the Deuill doth abuse like very Babes, with any foolish illusion whatsoeuer.

Concil. Limens. 2 p. 2. cap. 99.

They report of one of the Kings *Ingnis*, a man of a subtile spirit, who (seeing that all his predecessours had worshipped the Sunne) said, that he did not take the Sunne to be God, neither could it be, for that God was a great Lord, who with great quiet and leasure performed his workes, and that the Sunne doth neuer cease his course, saying, that the thing which laboured so much could not seeme to be God.

Of another kinde of Idolatry vpon the dead. *Chap.* 6. *Wisd.* 14.

They came to the height of Idolatry by the same meanes the Scripture maketh mention of: first they had a care to keepe the bodies of their Kings and Noblemen whole, from any ill scent or corruption aboue two hundred yeeres. In this sort were their Kings *Ingnas* in *Cusco*, euery one in his Chappell and Oratory, so as the Marquesse of *Canette* beeing Viceroy, to root out Idolatry, caused three or foure of their Gods to be drawne out and carried to the Citie of *Kings*, which bred a great admiration, to see these bodies (dead so many yeeres before) remayne so faire and also whole. Euery one of these Kings *Ingnas* left all his Treasure and Reuenues, to entertayne the place of worship where his body was laid, and there were many Ministers with all his Family dedicated to his seruice: for no King Successor did vsurpe the Treasures and Plate of his Peedeceſſor, but he did gather all new for himselfe, and his Palace. They were not content with this Idolatry to dead bodies, but also they made their figures and representations: and euery King in his life time caused a figure to be made wherein he was represented, which they called *Guaoqui*, which signifieth *Brother*, for that they should doe to this Image, during his life and death, as much honour and reuerence as to himselfe. They carried this Image to the warres, and *in procession for raine or faire weather*, making sundry Feasts and Sacrifices vnto them. There haue beene

beene many of these Idols in *Cusco*, and in that Territory, but now they say that this Superstition of worshipping of stones hath altogether ceased, or for the most part, after they had beene discouered by the diligence of the Licentiate *Polo*, and the first was that of the *Inguas Rocha*, chiefe of the faction or race of *Hanans Cusco*. And we find that among other Nations they had in great estimation and reuerence the bodies of their Predecessors, and did likewise worship their Images.

Of Superstitions they vsed to the dead. *Chap.* 7.

THe *Indians* of *Peru* beleeued commonly that the Soules liued after this life, and that the good were in glorie, and the bad in paine; so as there is little difficultie to perswade them to these Articles. But they are not yet come to the knowledge of that point, that the bodies should rise with the Soules. And therefore they did vse a wonderfull care, as it is said, to preserue the bodies which they honoured after death: to this end their Successors gaue them Garments, and made Sacrifices vnto them, especially the Kings *Ingues*, being accompanied at their Funerals, with a great number of seruants and women for his seruice in the other life: and therefore on the day of his decease, they did put to death the woman he had loued best, his Seruants and Officers, that they might serue him in the other life.

Immortality of soules beleeued but not resurrection of the bodies: as *at.* 17.

1000. slaine to attend one dead man.

When as the *Guanticapa* dyed (who was father to *Atagualpa*, at what time the *Spaniards* entred) they put to death aboue a thousand persons of all ages and conditions, for his seruice to accompany him in the other life, after many songs and drunkennesse they slew them; and these that were appointed to death, held themselues happy. They did sacrifice many things vnto them, especially *young children*, and with the bloud they made a stroake on the dead mans face, from one eare to the other. This superstition and inhumanity, to kill both men and women, to accompany and serue the dead in the other life, hath beene followed by others, and is at this day vsed amongst some other barbarous Nations. And as *Polo* writes, it hath beene in a manner generall throughout all the *Indies*. The reuerent *Beda* reports, that before the *Englishmen* were conuerted to the Gospell, they had the same custome, to kill men to accompany and serue the dead. It is written of a *Portugall*, who being captiue among the *Barbarians*, had beene hurt with a dart, so as he lost one eye, and as they would haue sacrificed him to accompany a Nobleman that was dead, he said vnto them, that those that were in the other life, would make small account of the dead, if they gaue him a blinde man for a companion; and that it were better to giue him an attendant that had both his eyes. This reason being found good by the *Barbarians*, they let him goe. Besides this superstition of sacrificing men to the dead, being vsed but to great Personages, there is another farre more generall and common in all the *Indies*, which is, to set meate and drinke vpon the graue of the dead, imagining they did feede thereon: the which hath likewise beene an errour amongst the Auncients, as Saint *Austine* writes, and therefore they gaue them meate and drinke. At this day many *Indian* Infidels, do secretly draw their dead out of the Churchyard, and bury them on hils, or vpon passages of Mountaines, or else in their owne houses. They haue also vsed to put Gold and Siluer in their mouth, hands, and bosome, and to apparell them with new Garments durable, and well lined vnder the herse. They beleeue that the soules of the dead wandred vp and downe and indure cold, thirst, hunger and trauel, and for this cause they make their anniuersaries, carrying them cloathes, meate and drinke.

Superstitions of the old *English*.

Portugall wile.

Purgatory fancies as in Popish legends.

HAuing reported what many Nations of *Peru* haue done with their dead, it shall not be from the purpose, to make particular mention of the *Mexicans* in this point, whose mortuaries were much solemnised, and full of notable follies. It was the office of the Priests and religious of *Mexico* (who liued there with a strange obseruance, as shall be said hereafter) to interre the dead, and doe their obsequies. The places where they buried them, was in their Gardens, and in the Courts of their owne houses: others carried them to the places of sacrifices which were done in the Mountaines: others burnt them, and after buried the ashes in their Temples; and they buried them all, with whatsoeuer they had, of Apparell, Stones and Iewels. They did put the ashes of such as were burnt into pots, and with them, the Iewels, Stones, and Earerings of the dead, how rich and precious soeuer. They did sing the Funerall offices, like to anniuersaries, and did often lift vp the dead bodies, doing many ceremonies. At these mortuaries they did eate and drinke; and if it were a person of quality, they gaue apparell to all such as came to the interment. When any one dyed, they laid him open in a chamber, vntill that all his kinsfolks and friends were come, who brought presents vnto the dead, and saluted him as if he were liuing. And if he were a King or Lord of some towne, they offered him slaues to be put to death with him, to the end they might serue him in the other world. They likewise put to death his Priest, or Chaplaine (for euery Nobleman had a Priest which administred these ceremonies within his house) and then they killed him, that he might execute his office with the dead. They likewise killed his Cook, his Butler, his Dwarfes, and deformed men, by whom he was most serued: neither did they spare the very brothers, of the dead, who had most serued them: for it was a greatnesse amongst the Noblemen, to be serued by their brethren and the rest. Finally, they

Of the manner of burying the dead among the *Mexican* and sundry other Nations. *Chap.* 8.

Places of buriall.

Chaplens and other Officers killed.

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put to death all of his traine, for the entertaining of his house in the other world: and lest pouerty should oppresse them, they buried with them much wealth, as Gold, Siluer, Stones, Curtins of exquisite worke, Bracelets of Gold, and other rich peeces. And if they burned the dead, they vsed the like with all his Seruants, and ornaments they gaue him for the other world. Then tooke they all the ashes they buried with very great solemnity. The obsequies continued tenne dayes with songs of plaints and lamentations, and the Priests carried away the dead with so many ceremonies, and in so great number, as they could scarce accompt them. To the Captaines and Noblemen they gaue trophees and markes of honour, according to their enterprises and valor imployed in the wars and gouernments; for this effect they had armes and particular blazons. They carried these markes or blazons to the place where he desired to be buried or burnt, marching before the body, and accompanying it, as it were in procession, where the Priests and officers of the Temple went with diuers furnitures and ornaments, some casting incense, others singing, and some sounding of mournfull Flutes and Drums, which did much increase the sorrow of his kinsfolkes and subiects. The Priest who did the office was decked with the markes of the Idoll which the Nobleman had represented; for *all Noblemen did represent Idols, and carried the name of some one*; and for this occasion they were esteemed and honoured. The order of *Knighthood* did commonly carry these foresaid markes. He that should be burnt, being brought to the place appointed, they inuironed him with wood of Pine trees, and all his baggage, then set they fire vnto it, increasing it still with goomie wood, vntill that all were conuerted into ashes, then came there forth a Priest attired like a Deuil, hauing mouthes vpon euery ioynt of him, and many eyes of glasse, holding a great staffe, with the which he did mingle all the ashes very boldly, and with so terrible a gesture, as he terrified all the assistants. Sometimes this Minister had other different habits, according to the quality of the dead.

The fourth & last kinde of Idolatry the *Indians* vsed, especially the *Mexicans* to Images and Idols. *Chap. 9.* Images the fourth kinde of *Indian* Idolatry.

There hath beene great curiosity at the *Indies* in making of Idols and Pictures of diuers formes and matters, which they worshipped for Gods, and in *Peru* they called them *Guacas*, being commonly of foule and deformed beasts, at the least, such as I haue seene, were so. I beleeue verily that the Deuill, in whose honour they made these Idols, was pleased to cause himselfe to be worshipped in these deformities, and in truth it was found so, that the Deuill spake and answered many of these *Guacas* or Idols, and his Priests and Ministers came to these Oracles of the father of lies, and such as he is, such were his Counsels and Prophesies. In the Prouinces of New *Spaine, Mexico, Tescuco, Tlascalla, Cholula*, and in the neighbour Countries to this Realme, this kinde of Idolatry hath beene more practised than in any other Realme of the world. And it is a prodigious thing to heare the superstitions rehearsed that they haue vsed in that point, of the which it shall not be vnpleasant to speake something. The chiefest Idoll of *Mexico* was, as I haue said *Vitziliputzli*. It was an image of wood like to a man, set vpon a stoole of the color of azure, in a brankard or litter, at euery corner was a piece of wood in forme of a Serpents head. The stoole signified that he was set in heauen: this Idoll had all the forehead Azure, and had a band of Azure vnder the nose from one eare to another: vpon his head he had a rich plume of Feathers, like to the beake of a small Bird, the which was couered on the top with Gold burnished very browne: he had in his left hand a white Target, with the figures of fiue pine Apples, made of white Feathers, set in a crosse: and from aboue issued forth a creast of gold, and at his sides he had foure darts, which (the *Mexicans* say) had beene sent from heauen to doe those acts and prowesses which shall be spoken of: In his right hand he had an Azured staffe, cut in fashion of a wauing snake. All these ornaments with the rest he had, carried this sence as the *Mexicans* doe shew *the name of* Vitziliputzli *signifies the left hand of a shining Feather.*

I will speake hereafter of the proud Temple, the Sacrifices, Feasts and Ceremonies of this great Idoll, being very notable things. But at this present we will onely shew, that this Idoll thus richly apparelled and deckt, was set vpon an high Altar, in a small peece or boxe, well couered with linnen cloathes, Iewels, Feathers, and ornaments of Gold, with many rundles of Feathers, the faireſt and most exquisite that could be found: he had alwaies a curtaine before him for the greater veneration. Ioyning to the chamber or chappell of this Idoll, there was a peece of lesse worke, and not so well beautified, where there was another Idoll they called *Tlaloc*. These two Idols were alwaies together, for that they held them as companions, and of equall power. There was another Idoll in *Mexico* much esteemed, which was the *god of repentance*, and of *Iubilies and pardons* for their sinnes. They called this Idoll *Tezcallipuca*, he was made of a blacke shining stone like to *Iayet*, being attired with some Gentile deuises after their manner; it had earerings of gold and siluer, and through the nether lip a small canon of Christall, in length halfe a foote: in the which they sometimes put a greene feather, and sometimes an azured, which made it resemble sometimes an Emerald, and sometimes a Turquois: it had the haire broided and bound vp with a haire-lace of gold burnished, at the end whereof did hang an eare of gold, with two firebrands of smoake painted therein, which did signifie the praiers of the afflicted and sinners that he heard, when they recommended themselues vnto him. Betwixt the two eares hanged a number of small herons. He had a Iewell hanging at his necke, so great that it couered all his stomacke: vpon his armes bracelets of Gold; at his nauill a rich greene stone: and in his left hand a

The Deuils Pænitentiary.

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Fanne of precious Feathers, of Greene, Azure, and Yellow, which came forth of a Looking-glasse of Gold, shining and well burnished, and that signified, that within this Looking-glasse he saw whatsoeuer was done in the world. They called this Glasse or Chaston of gold *Irlacheaya* which signifies his Glasse for to looke in. In his right hand he held foure darts, which signified the chastisement he gaue to the wicked for their sinnes. And therefore they feared this Idoll most, least he should discouer their faults and offences. At his feast they had pardon of their sinnes, which was made euery foure yeares, as shall be declared hereafter. They held this Idoll *Tescatlipuca* for the *god of drought, of famine, barrennesse and pestilence*: And therefore they painted him in another forme, being set in great maiesty vpon a stoole compassed in with a red Curtin, painted and wrought with the heads and bones of dead men. In the left hand it had a Target with fiue Pines, like vnto pine Apples of Cotton: and in the right a little dart with a threatning countenance, and the arme stretcht out, as if he would cast it; and from the Target came foure darts. It had the countenance of an angry man, and in choller, the body all painted blacke, and the head full of Quailes feathers. They vsed great superstition to this Idoll, for the feare they had of it. In *Cholula* which is a Commonwealth of *Mexico*, they worshipt a famous Idoll which was the *god of Marchandise*, being to this day greatly giuen to trafficke. They called it *Quetzaalcoalt*.

Their *Nemesis*.

Varro makes this difference betwixt Religion and Superstition. *Qui Deum non verentur vt patrem timebunt vt hostem.*

This Idoll was in a great place in a Temple very high: it had about it, Gold, Siluer, Iewels, very rich Feathers, and habits of diuers colours. It had the forme of a man, but the visage of a little Bird, with a red bill; and aboue a combe full of warts, hauing rankes of teeth, and the tongue hanging out. It carried vpon the head, a pointed myter of painted paper, a sithe in the hand, and many toyes of gold on the legges; with a thousand other foolish inuentions, whereof all had their significations, and they worshipt it, for that he enriched whom he pleased, as *Memnon* and *Plutus*. In truth this name which the *Choluanos* gaue to their god, was very fit, although they vnderstood it not: they called it *Quetzaalcoalt*, signifying *colour of a rich Feather*, for such is the deuill of couetousnesse. These barbarous people contented not themselues to haue gods onely, but they had goddesses also, as the Fables of Poets haue brought in, and the blinde gentility of the *Greekes* and *Romans* worshipt them. The chiefe goddesse they worshipt was called *Tozi*, which is to say, our Grandmother, who as the Histories of *Mexico* report, was daughter to the King of *Culhuacan*, who was the first they flayed by the commandement of *Vitzliputzli*, whom they sacrificed in this sort, being his sister; and then they began to flay men in their sacrifices, and to clothe the liuing with the skins of the sacrificed, hauing learned that their gods were pleased therwith: as also to pul the hearts out of them they sacrificed, which they learned of their god, who pulled out the hearts of such as he punished in *Tulla*, as shall be said in his place. One of these goddesses they worshipt had a son, who was a great hunter, whom they of *Tlascalla* afterwards tooke for a god, and those were enemies to the *Mexicans*, by whose aide the *Spaniards* won *Mexico*. The Prouince of *Tlascalla* is very fit for hunting, and the people are much giuen therunto. They therfore made a great feast vnto this Idoll, whom they painted of such a forme, as it is not now needfull to loose any time in the description thereof. The feast they made was pleasant, and in this sort: They sounded a Trumpet at the breake of day, at the sound whereof they all assembled with their Bowes, Arrows, Nets, and other instruments for hunting: then they went in procession with their Idoll, being followed by a great number of people to a high Monntaine, vpon the top whereof they had made a bower of leaues, and in the middest thereof an Altar richly deckt, where-vpon they placed the Idoll. They marched with a great bruit of Trumpets, Cornets, Flutes & Drums, and being come vnto the place, they inuironed this Mountain on all sides, putting fire to it on all parts: by meanes whereof many beasts flew forth, as Stags, Conies, Hares, Foxes, and Woolues, which went to the top flying from the fire. These hunters followed after with great cries and noise of diuers instruments, hunting them to the top before the Idoll, whither fled such a number of beasts, in so great a presse, that they leaped one vpon another, vpon the people, and vpon the Altar, wherein they tooke great delight. Then tooke they a great number of these beasts, and sacrificed them before the Idoll, as Stagges and other great beasts, pulling out their hearts, as they vse in the sacrifice of men, and with the like ceremony: which done, they tooke all their prey vpon their shoulders, and retired with their Idoll in the same manner as they came, and entered the City laden with all these things, very ioyfull, with great store of musick, Trumpets, and Drums, vntill they came to the Temple, where they placed their Idoll with great reuerence and solemnity. They presently went to prepare their venison, wherewith they made a banquet to all the people; and after dinner they made their playes, representations, and dances before the Idoll. They had a great number of other Idols, of gods and goddesses; but the chiefe were of the *Mexican* Nation, and the neighbour people as is said.

Indian Mercury.

Goddesses.

See former Chap.

They sat down to eate and drinke and rose vp to play.

AS we haue said that the Kings *Ingues* of *Peru* caused Images to be made to their likenesse, which they called their *Guacos* or brothers, causing them for to be honored like themselues: euen so the *Mexicans* haue done of their gods, which was in this sort. They tooke a captiue, such as they thought good, & afore they did sacrifice vnto him their Idols, they gaue him the name of

Of a strange manner of Idolatry practised amongst the *Mexicans*. Ch. 18

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the Idoll, to whom he ſhould be ſacrificed, and apparelled him with the ſame ornaments like their Idoll, ſaying, that he did repreſent the ſame Idoll. And during the time that this repreſentation laſted, which was for a yeare in ſome Feaſts, in others ſix moneths, and in others leſſe: they reuerenced and worſhipped him in the ſame manner, as the proper Idoll; and in the meane time he did eate, drinke, and was merry. When he went through the ſtreetes, the people came forth to worſhip him, and euery one brought him an almes, with children and ſicke folkes, that he might cure them, and bleſſe them, ſuffering him to doe all things at his pleaſure, onely he was accompanied with ten or twelue men leſt he ſhould flye. And he (to the end he might be reuerenced as he paſſed) ſometimes ſounded vpon a ſmall Flute, that the people might prepare to worſhip him. The feaſt being come, and he growne fat, they killed him, opened him, and eate him, making a ſolemne ſacrifice of him. It followes that we treate of their Religion, or rather Superſtition, which they vſe in their Sacrifices, Temples, Ceremonies, and the reſt.

How the Deuil hath laboured to make himſelfe equall vnto God, and to imitate him in his Sacrifices, Religion and Sacraments. *Chap.* 11.

That which God by his wiſedome hath decreed for his honour and ſeruice, and for the good and health of man, the Deuill ſtriues to imitate and to peruert, to be honored, and to cauſe man to be damned: for as we ſee the great God hath Sacrifices, Prieſts, Sacraments, Religious Prophets, and Miniſters, dedicated to his diuine Seruice and holy ceremonies: ſo the Deuill hath his Sacrifices, Prieſts, his kindes of Sacraments, his Miniſters appointed, his ſecluded and fained holineſſe, with a thouſand ſorts of falſe Prophets.

Of the Temples that were found at the *Indies. Chap.* 12.

BEginning then with their Temples, euen as the great God would haue a houſe dedicated, where his holy name might be honoured, and that it ſhould be particularly vowed to his ſeruice; euen ſo the Deuill, by his wicked practiſes, perſwaded Infidels to build him proud Temples, and particular Oratories and Sanctuaries. In euery Prouince of *Peru*, there was one principall *Guaca*, or houſe of adoration; and beſides it, there was one Generall throughout all the Kingdome of the *Ingas*; among the which there hath beene two famous and notable, the one which they called *Pachamama*, is foure leagues from *Lima*, where at this day they ſee the ruines of a moſt auncient and great building, out of the which *Francis Pizarro* and his people drew infinite treaſure, of veſſels and pots of Gold and Siluer, which they brought when they tooke the *Ingua Atagualpa*. There are certaine memories and diſcourſes which ſay, that in this Temple the Deuill did ſpeake viſibly, and gaue anſwers by his Oracle, and that ſometimes they did ſee a ſpotted Snake: and it was a thing very common and approued at the *Indies*, that the Deuill ſpake and anſwered in theſe falſe Sanctuaries deceiuing this miſerable people. But where the Goſpell is entred, and the Croſſe of Chriſt planted, the father of lyes becomes mute, as *Plutarch* writes of his time, *Cur ceſſauerit Pithiae fundere oracula*; and *Iuſtine Martyr* treates amply of the ſilence which Chriſt impoſed to Deuils, which ſpake by Idols, as it had beene before much propheſied of in the holy Scripture. The manner which the Infidell Miniſters and Inchanters had to conſult with their gods, was as the Deuill had taught them. It was commonly in the night, they entred backward to their Idoll, and ſo went bending their bodies and head, after an vgly manner, and ſo they conſulted with him. The anſwere he made, was commonly like vnto a fearefull hiſſing, or to a gnaſhing which did terrifie them; and all that he did aduertiſe or command them, was but the way to their perdition and ruine. There are few of theſe Oracles found now, through the mercy of God, and great power of Ieſus Chriſt. There hath beene in *Peru* another Temple and Oratory, moſt eſteemed, which was in the Citie of *Cuſco*, where at this day is the Monaſtery of Saint *Dominicke*. We may ſee it hath beene a goodly and a ſtately worke, by the pauement and ſtones of the building, which remaine to this day. This Temple was like to the *Pantheon* of the *Romans*, for that it was the houſe and dwelling of *all the gods*; for the Kings *Ingas* did there behold the gods of all the Nations and Prouinces they had conquered, euery Idoll hauing his priuate place, whither they of that Prouince came to worſhip it with an exceſſiue charge of things which they brought for his ſeruice. And thereby they ſuppoſed to keepe ſafely in obedience, thoſe Prouinces which they had conquered, holding their gods, as it were in hoſtage. In this ſame houſe was the *Pinchao*, which was an *Idoll of the Sunne*, of moſt fine Gold, wrought with great riches of Stones; the which was placed to the Eaſt, with ſo great Art, as the Sunne at his riſing did caſt his beames thereon: and as it was of moſt fine mettall, his beames did reflect with ſuch a brightneſſe, that it ſeemed another Sunne. The *Ingas* did worſhip this for their god, and the *Pachayachu*, which ſignifies the *Creator of Heauen*. They ſay, that at the ſpoile of this ſo rich a Temple, a Souldier had for his part this goodly plate of gold of the Sunne. And as play was then in requeſt, he loſt it all in one night at play, whence came the prouerbe they haue in *Peru* for great gameſters, ſaying, that *they play the Sunne before it riſeth.*

Flu. lib. de tract. Iuſt. in apol. pro chriſt.

Of the proud Temples at *Mexico. Cha.* 13.

THe Superſtitions of the *Mexicans*, haue without compariſon beene greater then the reſt, as well in their ceremonies, as in the greatneſſe of their Temples, the which in old time the *Spaniards* called by this word *Cu*, which word might by taken from the Ilanders of Saint *Dominique*, or of *Cuba*, as many other words that are in vſe, the which are neither from *Spaine*,

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nor from any other language now vsuall among the *Indians*, as is *Mays*, *Chico*, *Vaquiano*, *Chapeton*, and other like. There was in *Mexico*, this *Cu*, the famous Temple of *Vitzliputzli*, it had a very great circuit, and within a faire Court. It was built of great stones, in fashion of Snakes tyed one to another, and the circuit was called *Coatepantli*, which is, a circuit of Snakes: vpon the top of euery Chamber and Oratorie where the Idols were, was a fine Pillar wrought with small stones, blacke as jeat, set in goodly order, the ground rayſed vp with white and red, which below gaue a great light. Vpon the top of the Pillar were battlements very artificially made, wrought like Snailes, supported by two *Indians* of stone, sitting, holding Candle-sticks in their hands, the which were like Croisants garnished and enriched at the ends, with yellow and greene feathers and long fringes of the same. Within the circuit of this Court, there were many Chambers of religious men, and others that were appointed for the seruice of the Priests and *Popes*, for so they call the soueraigne Priests which serue the Idoll. This Court is so great and spacious, as eight or ten thousand persons did dance easily in round, holding hands, the which was an vsuall custome in that Realme, although it seeme to many incredible. *Mexican Popes.*

There were foure Gates or Entries, at the East, West, North, and South; at euery one of these Gates began a faire Cawsey of two or three leagues long. There was in the midst of the Lake where the Citie of *Mexico* is built, foure large Cawseys in crosse, which did much beautifie it; vpon euery Portall or Entrie, was a God or Idoll, hauing the visage turned to the Cawsey, right against the Temple gate of *Vitzliputzli*. These were thirtie steps of thirtie fathome long, and they diuided from the circuit of the Court by a street that went betwixt them; vpon the top of these steps there was a walke of thirtie foot broad, all playstered with chalke, in the midst of which walke was a Pallisado artificially made of very high Trees, planted in order a fathome one from another. These Trees were very bigge, and all pierced with small holes from the foote to the top, and there were rods did run from one Tree to another, to the which were chayned or tyed many dead mens heads. Vpon euery rod were twentie Sculls, and these rankes of Sculls continue from the foot to the top of the Tree. This Pallisado was full of dead mens Sculls from one end to the other, the which was a wonderfull mournfull sight and full of horror. These were the heads of such as had beene sacrificed; for after they were dead, and had eaten the flesh, the head was deliuered to the Ministers of the Temple, which tyed them in this sort vntill they fell off by morsels; and then had they a care to set others in their places. Vpon the top of the Temple were two Stones or Chappels, and in them were the two Idols, which I haue spoken of, *Vitzliputzli*, and his companion *Tlaloc*. These Chappels were caued and graued very artificially, and so high, that to ascend vp to it, there was a staire of stone of fiftie score steps. Before these Chambers or Chappels, there was a Court of forty foot square, in the midst whereof, was a high stone of fiue hand breadth, pointed in fashion of a Pyramide; it was placed there for the sacrificing of men; for being laid on their backs, it made their bodies to bend, and so they did open them and pull out their hearts, as I shall shew hereafter. There were in the Citie of *Mexico*, eight or nine other Temples, the which were ioyned one to another within one great circuit, and had their priuate Stayres, their Courts, their Chambers, and their Dortoires. The entries of some were to the East, some to the West, others to the South, and some to the North. All these Temples were curiously wrought, and compassed in with diuers sorts of Battlements and Pictures, with many figures of stones; being accompanyed and fortified with great and large Spurres or Plat-formes. They were dedicated to diuers gods: but next to the Temple of *Vitzliputzli*, was that of *Tezcatlipuca*, which was the god of Penance and of Punishments, very high and well built.

There were fourscore steps to ascend on the top was a Flat or Table of fourscore foot broad, and ioyning vnto it was a Hall hanged with Tapistrie and Curtins of diuers colours and workes. The Doore thereof being low and large, was alwayes couered with a vaile, and none but the Priests might enter in. All this Temple was beautified with diuers Images and Pictures most curiously; for that these two Temples were as the *Cathedrall Churches*; and the rest in respect of them as *Parishes* and *Hermitages*: they were so spacious, and had so many Chambers, that there were in them places for the Ministerie, Colleges, Schooles, and Houses for Priests, whereof wee will intreat hereafter.

The Deuil counterfaiting the vse of the Church of God, hath placed in the order of his Priests, some greater or superiors, and some lesse, the one as *Acolites*, the other as *Leuites*, and that which hath made me most to wonder, was, that the Deuill would vsurpe to himselfe the seruice of God; yea, and vse the same name: for the *Mexicans* in their ancient tongue called their high Priests *Papas*, as they should say *Soueraigne Bishops*, as it appeares now by their Histories. The Priests of *Vitzliputzli* succeeded by Linages of certaine quarters of the Citie, deputed for that purpose, and those of other Idols came by election, or being offered to the Temple in their infancie. The daily exercise of the Priests was to cast Incense on the Idols, which was done foure times in the space of a naturall day. The first at breake of day, the second at noone, the third at Sunne setting, and the fourth at mid-night. At mid-night all the chiefe officers of the Temple did rise, and in stead of Bells, they sounded a long time vpon Trumpets, Cornets, and Flutes very

Of the Priests and their offices *Ch.* 14. The Deuill had his Popes or Vicars at *Mexico* for the new World, as at *Rome* for the old, and now for both. Mid-night Matins.

very heauily, which being ended, he that did the office that weeke, stept forth, attyred in a white Robe after the *Dalmatike* manner, with a Censor in his hand full of coales, which hee tooke from the harth burning continually before the Altar; in the other hand he had a Purse full of Incense, which he cast into the Censor, and as he entred the place where the Idoll was, he incensed it with great reuerence, then tooke he a cloth, with the which he wiped the Altar and the Curtins. This done, they went all into a Chappell, and there did a certaine kinde of rigorous and austere penance, beating themselues, and drawing of bloud, as I shall shew in the Treatise of Penance, which the Deuill hath taught to his Creatures; and hereof they neuer fayled at these Mattins at mid-night. None other but the Priests might entermeddle with their sacrifices, and euery one did imploy himselfe according to his dignitie and degree. They did likewise *preach* to the people at some feasts, as I will shew when wee treat thereof. They had Reuenues, and great Offerings were made vnto them. I will speake hereafter of their Vnction in consecrating their Priests. In *Peru* the Priests were entertayned of the Reuenues and Inheritance of their god, which they called *Chacaras*, which were many, and also very rich.

Of the Monasterie of Virgins which the Deuill hath inuented for his seruice. *Chap.* 15.

There were in *Peru* many Monasteries of Virgins (for there are no other admitted) at the least one in euery Prouince. In these Monasteries there were two sorts of women, one ancient, which they called *Mamacomas*, for the instruction of the young; and the other was of young Maidens, placed there for a certaine time, and after they were drawne forth, either for their gods or for the *Ingua*. They called this House or Monasterie *Aclaguagi*, which is to say, the *House of the Chosen*. Euery Monasterie had his Vicar or Gouernour called *Appopanaca*, who had libertie and power to choose whom he pleased, of what qualitie soeuer, being vnder eight yeeres of age, if they seemed to be of a good stature and constitution.

Vestall Virgins, or Nunns of *Peru*.

These Virgins thus shut vp into these Monasteries, were instructed by the *Momacomas*, in diuers things needfull for the life of man, and in the customes and ceremonies of their gods; and afterwards they tooke them from thence, being aboue fourteene, sending them to the Court with sure guards, whereof some were appointed to serue the *Guacas* and Sanctuaries, keeping their Virginities for euer: some others were for the ordinarie sacrifices that were made of Maidens, and other extraordinarie sacrifices, they made for the health, death, or warres of the *Ingua*; and the rest serued for Wiues and Concubines to the *Ingua*, and vnto other his Kinsfolks and Captains, vnto whom hee gaue them, which was a great and honorable recompence: This distribution was vsed euery yeere. These Monasteries possessed Rents and Reuenues for the maintenance of these Virgins, which were in great numbers. It was not lawfull for any father to refuse his daughters when the *Appopanaca* required them for the seruice of these Monasteries. Yea, many fathers did willingly offer their daughters, supposing it was a great merit to be sacrificed for the *Ingua*. If any of these *Momacomas* or *Aclas* were found to haue trespassed against their honor, it was an inuitable chastisement to burie them aliue, or to put them to death by some other kind of cruell torment.

The Deuill hath euen in *Mexico* had some kinde of religious women, although their possession was but for one yeere; and it was in this sort: Within this great circuit whereof wee haue spoken, which was in the principall Temple, there were two Houses like *Cloysters*, the one opposite to the other, one of Men, the other of Women: In that of women, they were Virgins onely, of twelue or thirteene yeeres of age, which they called the *Maides of Penance*. They were as many as the men, and liued chastely and regularly, as Virgins dedicated to the seruice of their god. Their charge was, to sweep and make cleane the Temple, and euery morning to prepare meat for the Idoll and his Ministers, of the *Almes* the religious gathered. The foode they prepared for the Idoll were small loaues in the forme of hands and feet, as of March-pane: and with this bread they prepared certaine sawces which they cast daily before the Idoll, and his Priests did eate it, as those of *Baal*, that *Daniel* speaketh of. These Virgins had their haire cut, and then they let them grow for a certaine time: they rose at mid-night to the Idolls Mattins, which they daily celebrated, performing the same exercises the Religious did. They and their Abbesses who imployed them to make cloth of diuers fashions for the ornament of their Idolls and Temples. Their ordinarie habit was all white, without any worke or colour. They did their penance at mid-night, sacrificing and wounding themselues, and piercing the top of their eares, they laid the bloud which issued forth vpon their cheekes: and after (to wash off the bloud) they bathed themselues in a Poole which was within their Monasterie. They liued very honestly and discreetly; and if any were found to haue offended, although but lightly, presently they were put to death without remission, saying, she had polluted the House of their god. They held it for an augure and aduertisement, that some one of the Religious, Man or Woman, had committed a fault, when they saw a Rat or a Mowse passe, or a Bat in the Chappell of their Idoll, or that they had gnawed any of the vailes, for that they say, a Rat or a Bat would not aduenture to commit such an indignitie, if some offence had not gone before, and then they began to make search of the fact, and hauing discouered the Offendor or Offendors, of what qualitie soeuer, they presently put them to death.

Dan. 14.

None were receiued into this Monasterie, but the daughters of one of the fiue quarters, named for

for that purpose: and this profession continued, as I haue said, the space of one whole yeere: during the which time, their fathers, and they themselues had made a vow to serue the Idoll in this manner, and from thence they went to be married.

I doe not know that in *Peru* there is any proper houses for men, but for the Priests and Sorcerers, whereof there is an infinite number. But it seemeth, that in *Mexico* the Deuill hath set a due obseruation: for within the circuit of the great Temple there were two Monasteries, as before hath beene said, one of Virgins, whereof I haue spoken, the other of young men secluded of eighteen or twentie yeeres of age, which they called religious. They weare shaued crownes, as the Friars in these parts, their haire a little longer, which fell to the middest of their eare, except the hinder part of the head, which they let grow the breadth of foure fingers down to their shoulders, and which they tyed vp in tresses. These young men that serued in the Temple of *Vitzliputzli* liued poore and chastly, and did the Office of Leuites, ministring to the Priests and chiefe of the Temple, their Incense, Lights, & garments; they swept and made cleane the holy places, bringing Wood for a continuall fire to the harth of their god, which was like a lampe that still burnt before the Altar of their Idoll. Besides these young men, there were other little boyes, as novices, that serued for manuall vses, as to deck the Temple with boughs, roses, & reeds, giue the Priests water to wash with, giue them their rasors to sacrifice, and goe with such as begged almes to carry it. All these had their superiors, who had the gouernment ouer them, they liued so honestly, as when they came in publike, where there were any women, they carried their heads very low, with their eyes to the ground, not daring to behold them: they had linnen garments, and it was lawfull for them to goe into the Citie foure or sixe together, to aske Almes in all quarters: and when they gaue them none, it was lawfull to goe into the Corne fields, and gather the eares of Corne, or clusters of Mays, which they most needed, the Master not daring to speake, nor hinder them. They had this libertie, because they liued poorely, and had no other reuenues, but Almes. There might not be aboue fiftie liue in penance, rising at midnight to sound the Cornets and Trumpets to awake the people. Euery one watched the Idoll in his turne, lest the fire before the Altar should die: they gaue the Censor, with the which the Priest at midnight incensed the Idoll, and also in the morning, at noone, & at night. They were very subiect and obedient to their superiors, and passed not any one point that was commaunded them. And at midnight after the Priest had ended his censing, they retired themselues into a secret place, apart, sacrificing, and drawing blood from the calues of their legs with sharpe bodkins: with this bloud they rubbed their temples, and vndes their eares: and this sacrifice finished, they presently washt themselues in a little poole appointed to that end. These young men did not annoint their heads and bodies with any *Petum*, as the Priests did: their garments were of course white linnen cloth they doe make there. These exercises and strict vse of penance continued a whole yeere, during which time they liued with great austeritie and solitarinesse.

Of the Monasteries of religious men, that the Deuill hath inuented for superstition. *Ch. p. 16.*

Indian shauen Friars, & their show of sanctitie, with pouertie, chastity, &c.

It hath beene said that the Priests and religious of *Mexico*, rose at midnight, and hauing cast Incense before the Idoll, they retired themselues into a large place, where there were many Lighs; and sitting downe, euery one tooke a point of *Mangues*, which is like vnto an awle or sharpe bodkin, with the which, or with some other kindes of Launcets or Rasors, they pierced the calfes of their legs neere to the bone, drawing forth much blood, with the which they anointed their temples, and dipt these bodkins or lancets in the rest of the bloud, then set they them vpon the batelements of the Court, sticke in gloabes or bowles of straw, that all might see and know the penance they did for the people: they doe wash off the bloud in a lake appointed for that purpose, which they call *Exapangue*, which is to say, water of bloud.

Of Penance, & the strictnesse the *Indians* haue vsed at the Deuils perswasion. *Ch. 17.*

There were in the Temple a great number of bodkins or lancets, for that they might not vse one twice. Moreouer, these Priests and Religious men, vsed great Fastings, of fiue or ten dayes together, before any of their great Feasts, and they were vnto them as our foure Ember weekes: they were so strict in continence, that some of them (not to fall into any sensualitie) slit their members in the midst, and did a thousand things to make themselues vnable, lest they should offend their gods. They drunke no Wine, and slept little, for that the greatest part of their exercises were by night; committing great cruelties and martyring themselues for the Deuill, and all to bee reputed great fasters and penitents. They did vse to discipline themselues with cords full of knots, and not they onely, but the people also vsed this punishment and whipping, in the procession and feast they made to the Idoll *Tezcalipuca*, the which (as I haue said before) is the god of penance; for then they all carried in their hands new cordes of the threed of *Mangues*, a fadome long, with a knot at the end, and wherewith they whipped themselues, giuing great lashes ouer their shoulders. The Priests did fast fiue dayes before this Feast, eating but once a day, and they liued apart from their wiues, not going out of the Temple during those fiue dayes, they did whip themselues rigorously in the manner aforesaid.

Their seuere Fasts.

Monsters of Wil-worship.

In *Peru* to solemnize the feast of the *Ina*, which was great, all the people fasted two dayes; during the which, they did not accompanie with their Wiues, neither did they eate any meate with Salt or Garleeke, nor drinke *Chica*. They did much vse this kinde of fasting for some sins, and did penance, whipping themselues with sharpe stinging Nettles, and often they strooke them-

themselues ouer the shoulders with certayne stones. This blind Nation, by the perswasion of the Deuill, did transport themselues into craggie Mountaynes, where sometimes they sacrificed themselues, casting themselues downe from some high Rocke.

Of the Sacrifices the *Indians* made to the Deuill, & whereof. *Chap.* 18.

Wee may draw all the Sacrifices the Infidels vse into three kindes, one of insensible things; another of beasts, and the third of men. They did vse in *Peru* to sacrifice *Coca*, which is an hearbe they esteeme much, of *Mays*, which is their Wheate, of coloured feathers, and of *Chaquira*, which otherwise they call *Mollo*, of shels or Oysters, and sometime Gold and Siluer, being in figures of little beasts. Also of the fine stuffe of *Cumbi*, of carued and sweet wood, and most commonly Tallow burnt. They made these Offerings or Sacrifices for a prosperous winde, and faire weather, or for their health, and to be deliuered from some dangers and mishaps. Of the second kind, their ordinary Sacrifice was of *Cuyes*, which are small beasts like Rabbets, the which the *Indians* eate commonly. And in matters of importance, or when they were rich men, they did offer *Pacos*, or *Indian* sheepe, bare, or with Wooll, obseruing curiously the numbers, colours, and times. The manner of killing their Sacrifices, great or small, which the *Indians* did vse according to their ancient Ceremonies, is the same the *Moores* vse at this day, the which they call *Alquible*, hanging the beast by the right fore-legge, turning his eyes towards the Sunne, speaking certayne words, according to the qualitie of the Sacrifice they slue: for if it were of colour, their words were directed to *Chuquilla*, and to the Thunder, that they might want no water: if it were white and smoothe, they did offer it to the Sunne with certaine words: if it had a fleece, they did likewise offer it him with some others, that he might shine vpon them, and fauour their generation: If it were a *Guanaco*, which is gray, they directed their sacrifice to *Viracocha*. In *Cusco* they did euery yeere kill and sacrifice with this Ceremony, a shorne sheepe to the Sunne, and did burne it, clad in a red Waste-coate, and when they did burne it, they cast certayne small baskets of *Coca* into the fire, which they call *Vilcanuca*; for which Sacrifice, they haue both men and beasts appointed which serue to no other vse. They did likewise sacrifice small Birds, although it were not so vsuall in *Peru* as in *Mexico*, where the sacrificing of Quailes was very ordinary. Those of *Peru* did sacrifice the Birds of *Puna*, (for so they call the Desart when they should goe to the Warres, for to weaken the forces of their aduersaries *Guacas*.) They called these Sacrifices *Cuyuyucca*, or *Cuyuyuca*, or *Hualluca*, or *Sophauicca*, and they did it in this manner: they tooke many kinds of small Birds of the Desart, and gathered a great deale of a thorny wood, which they call *Taulis*, the which beeing kindled, they gathered together these small Birds. This assembly they called *Quico*, then did they cast them into the fire, about the which the Officers of the Sacrifice went with certayne round stones carued, whereon were painted many Snakes, Lions, Toades, and Tygres, vttering this word *Vsachum*, which signifies, *Let the victorie be giuen vnto vs*, with other words, whereby they layd the forces of their enemies *Guacas* were confounded. And they drew forth certayne blacke sheepe, which had beene kept close some dayes without meate, the which they called *Vrac*, and in killing them they spake these words; As the hearts of these beasts bee weakened, so let our enemies be weakned. And if they found in these sheepe that a certayne piece of flesh behind the hear were not consumed by fasting and close keeping, they then held it for an ill Augure. They brought certayne blacke Dogges, which they call *Appuros*, and slue them, casting them into a Playne, with certayne Ceremonies, causing some kinde of men to eate this flesh, the which Sacrifices they did, lest the *Ingua* should bee hurt by poyson: and for this cause they fasted from morning vntill the starres were vp, and then they did glut and defile themselues like to the *Moores*. This Sacrifice was most fit for them to withstand their enemies Gods: and although at this day a great part of these customes haue ceased, the warres being ended, yet remayne there some Reliques, by reason of the priuate or generall quarrels of the *Indians*, or the *Caciques*, or in their Cities. They did likewise offer and sacrifice shels of the Sea, which they call *Mollo*, and they offered them to the Fountaynes and Springs, saying, that these shels were daughters of the Sea, the mother of all waters. They gaue vnto these shels sundry names, according to the colour, and also they vse them to diuers ends. They vsed them in a manner in all kinde of Sacrifices, and yet to this day they put *beaten shels* in their *Chica*, for a superstition. Finally, they thought it conuenient to offer Sacrifices of euery thing they did sow or raise vp. There were *Indians* appointed to doe these Sacrifices to the Fountayne, Springs, and Riuers which passed through the Townes, or by the their *Chacras*, which are their Farmes, which they did after Seed time, that they might not cease running, but alwayes water their grounds. The Sorcerers did conjure, to know what time the Sacrifices should be made, which beeing ended, they did gather of the contribution of the people, what should be sacrificed, and deliuered them to such as had the charge of these Sacrifices. They made them in the beginning of Winter, at such time as the Fountaynes, Springs, and Riuers, did increase by the moysture of the weather, which they did attribute to their Sacrifices. They did not sacrifice to the Fountaynes and Springs of the Desarts. To this day continues the respect they had to Fountaynes, Springs, Pooles, Brookes, or Riuers, which passe by their Cities or *Chacras*, euen vnto the Fountaynes and Riuers of the Desarts. They haue a speciall regard and reuerence to the meeting of two Riuers, and there they

Sacrifices of beasts.

Sacrifices of Birds.

Blacke sheepe.

Exhibicia. Blacke Dogs.

Fasting till stars appeared.

Shel-offerings.

they wash themselues for their health, annoynting themselues first with the flower of *Mays*, or some other things, adding thereunto diuers Ceremonies, the which they doe likewise in their Bathes.

THe most pitifull disaster of this poore people, is their slauery vnto the Deuill, sacrificing men vnto him, which are the Images of God. In many Nations they had vsed to kill (to accompany the dead, as hath beene declared) such persons as had beene agreeable vnto him, and whom they imagined might best serue him in the other World. Besides this, they vsed in *Peru*, to sacrifice young children of foure or sixe yeeres olde vnto ten: and the greatest part of these Sacrifices were for the affaires that did import the *Ingua*, as in sickneſſe for his health: and when he went to the warres for victory, or when they gaue the wreathe to their new *Ingua*, which is the mark of a King, as here *the Scepter and the Crowne be*. In this Solemnitie they sacrificed the number of two hundred children, from foure to ten yeeres of age, which was a cruell and inhumane spectacle. The manner of the Sacrifice was to drowne them and bury them with certayne representations and ceremonies: sometimes they cut off their heads annoynting themselues with the bloud from one eare to another.

Of the Sacrifices they made of men. *Cha.* 19.

Two hundred children sacrificed.

They did likewise sacrifice Virgins, some of them that were brought to the *Ingua* from the Monasteries, as hath beene said. In this case there was a very great and generall abuse: If any *Indian* qualified, or of the common sort, were sicke, and that the Diuine told him confidently that he should dye, they did then sacrifice his *owne sonne* to the Sunne, or to *Viracocha*, desiring them to be satisfied with him, and that they would not deprive the father of life. This crueltie is like to that the holy Scripture speaks of, which the King of *Moab* vsed in sacrificing his first-born Sonne vpon the wall, in the sight of all *Israel*; to whom this act seemed so mournfull, as they would not presse him any further, but returned to their houses.

Parricide.

ALthough they of *Peru* haue surpassed the *Mexicans* in the slaughter and Sacrifice of their Children (for I haue not read nor vnderstood that the *Mexicans* vsed any such Sacrifices) yet they of *Mexico* haue exceeded them, yea all the Nations of the World, in the great number of men which they had sacrificed, and in the horrible manner thereof. And to the end wee may see the great misery wherein the Deuill holds this blind Nation, I will relate particularly the custome and inhumane manner which they haue obserued: First the men they did sacrifice were taken in the warres, neyther did they vse these solemne Sacrifices but of Captiues: so as it seemes therein they haue followed the custome of the Ancients. For as some Authors say, they called the Sacrifice *Victima*, for this reason, because it was of a conquered thing: they also called it *Hostia quasi ab hoste*, for that it was an Offering made of their enemies, although they haue applyed this word to all kinds of Sacrifices. In truth the *Mexicans* did not sacrifice any to their Idols, but Captiues, and the ordinary warres they made, was onely to haue Captiues for their Sacrifices: and therefore when they did fight, they laboured to take their enemies aliue, and not to kill them, to enjoy their Sacrifices. And this was the reason which *Moteguma* gaue to the *Marquise du Val*, when he asked of him, why being so mightie, and hauing conquered so many Kingdomes, he had not subdued the Prouince of *Tlascalla*, which was so neere? *Moteçuma* answered him, that for two reasons he had not conquered that Prouince, although it had bin easie, if he would haue vndertaken it: the one was for the exercise of the youth of *Mexico*, lest they should fall into idlenesse and delight: the other and the chiefe cause why hee had reserued this Prouince, was, to haue Captiues for the Sacrifices of their Gods. The manner they vsed in these Sacrifices, was, they assembled within the Palisadoe of dead mens Sculles (as hath beene said) such as should be sacrificed, vsing a certayne Ceremony at the foot of the Palisadoe, placing a great guard about them. Presently there stept forth a Priest, attyred with a short Surplice full of tassels beneath, who came from the top of the Temple with an Idoll made of Paste of Wheate and Mays mingled with Honey, which had the eyes made of the graines of greene glasse, and the teeth of the graines of Mayz; he descended the steps of the Temple with all the speed he could, and mounted on a great stone planted vpon a high Terrasse in the midst of the Court. This stone was called *Quauxicalli*, which is to say, *the stone of Eagle*, whereon he mounted by a little Ladder, which was in the fore-part of the Terrasse, and descended by another staire on the other side, still imbracing his Idoll. Then did he mount to the place where those were that should be sacrificed, shewing this Idoll to euery one in particular, saying vnto them; *this is your God*. And hauing ended his shew, he descended by the other side of the staires, and all such as should dye, went in procession vnto the place where they should bee sacrificed, where they found the Ministers ready for that Office. The ordinary manner of sacrificing was, to open the stomake of him that was sacrificed, and hauing pulled out his heart halfe aliue, they tumbled the man downe the staires of the Temple, which were all imbrewed and defiled with bloud: And to make it the more plaine, sixe Sacrificers being appointed to this dignitie, came into the place of Sacrifice, foure to hold the hands and feet of him that should be sacrificed, the fift to hold his head, and the sixt to open his stomake, and to pull out the heart of the sacrificed. They called them *Cha-*

Of the horrible Sacrifices of men which the *Mexicans* vsed. *Chap.* 20.

Captiues only sacrificed. *Victima & hostia.*

Manner of inhumane (immane) sacrificing.

Bloudie Rites.

chals

chalmua, which in our Tongue is as much, *as the Miniſters of holy things*. It was a high dignitie, and much eſteemed amongſt them, wherein they did inherit and ſucceed as in a Fee-ſimple. The Miniſter who had the Office to kill, which was the ſixt amongſt them, was eſteemed and honoured as the *Souereigne Prieſt and Biſhop*, whoſe name was different, according to the difference of times and Solemnities. Their habits were likewiſe diuers when they came forth to the Sacrifice, according to the diuerſitie of times. The name of their chiefe dignitie was *Papa* and *Topilzin*, their Habite and Robe was a red Curtayne after the *Dalmatike* faſhion, with taſſels below, a Crowne of rich Feathers, greene, white, and yellow vpon his head, and at his eares like pendants of Gold, wherein were ſet greene ſtones, and vnder the lip vpon the middeſt of the beard he had a Peece like vnto a ſmall Canon of an azured ſtone. Theſe Sacrificers came with their faces and hands coloured with a ſhining blacke. The other fiue had their haire much curled, and tyed vp with Laces of Leather, bound about the middeſt of the head: vpon their forehead they carried ſmall Roundelets of Paper painted with diuers colours, and they were attyred in a *Dalmatike* Robe of white, wrought with blacke. With this attyre they repreſented the very figure of the Deuill, ſo as it did ſtrike feare and terrour into all the people, to ſee them come forth with ſo horrible a repreſentation. The Souereigne Prieſt carried a great Knife in his hand, of a large and ſharpe flint: another Prieſt carried a coller of wood wrought in forme of a Snake: All ſix put themſelues in order, ioyning to this Pyramidall ſtone, wherof I haue ſpoken, being directly againſt the doore of the Chappell of their Idoll. This ſtone was ſo pointed, as the man which was to be ſacrificed, being laid thereon, vpon his backe, did bend in ſuch ſort, as letting the Knife but fall vpon his ſtomack it opened very eaſily in the middeſt. When the Sacrificers were thus in order, they drew forth ſuch as had beene taken in warre, which were to bee ſacrificed at that Feaſt, and being accompanied with a guard of men all naked, they cauſed them to mount vp theſe large ſtaires in ranke, to the place where the Miniſters were prepared: and as euery one of them came in their order, the ſix Sacrificers tooke the Priſoner, one by one foote, another by the other, and one by one hand, another by the other, caſting on his backe vpon this pointed ſtone, where the fift of theſe Miniſters put the coller of wood about his necke, and the High Prieſt opened his ſtomack with the Knife, with a ſtrange dexteritie and nimbleneſſe, pulling out his heart with his hands, the which hee ſhewed ſmoking vnto the Sunne, to whom hee did offer this heate and fume of the heart, and preſently he turned towards the Idoll and did caſt the heart at his face, then did they caſt away the body of the ſacrificed, tumbling it downe the ſtaires of the Temple, the ſtone being ſet ſo neere the ſtaires, as there were not two foote ſpace betwixt the ſtone and the firſt ſtep, ſo as with one ſpurne with their foote, they caſt the bodie from the top to the bottome. In this ſort one after one they did ſacrifice all thoſe that were appointed. Being thus ſlaine, and their bodies caſt downe, their Maſters, or ſuch as had taken them, went to take them vp, and carried them away: then hauing diuided them amongſt them, they did eate them, celebrating their Feaſt and Solemnitie. There were euer fortie or fiftie at the leaſt thus ſacrificed, for that they had men very expert in taking them. The neighbour Nations did the like, imitating the *Mexicans* in the Cuſtomes and Ceremonies of the Seruice of their Gods.

Their *Papa*.

The other fiue Prieſts.

Deuilliſh dexteritie.

Fume of the heart offered to the Sunne.

Of other kinds of Sacrifices of men which the *Mexicans* vſed. *Chap.* 22.

THere was another kind of Sacrifice which they made in diuers feaſts, which they call *Tlacaxipe Velitzli*, which is as much as *the flaying of men*. They call it ſo, for that in ſome Feaſts they tooke one or more ſlaues, as they pleaſed, and after they had flayed him, they with that skinne apparelled a man appointed to that end. This man went dancing and leaping thorow all the houſes and Market places of the Citie, euery one being forced to offer ſomething vnto him: and if any one fayled, he would ſtrike him ouer the face with a corner of the skin, defiling him with the congealed bloud. This inuention continued vntill the skinne did ſtinke; during which time, ſuch as went, gathered together much almes, which they employed in neceſſary things for the Seruice of their Gods. In many of theſe Feaſts they made a Challenge, betwixt him that did ſacrifice, and him that ſhould bee ſacrificed thus: they tyed the ſlaue by one foote to a Wheele of ſtone, giuing him a Sword and Target in his hands to defend himſelfe: then preſently ſtept forth hee that ſacrificed him, armed with another Sword and Target: if hee that ſhould bee ſacrificed defends himſelfe valiantly againſt the other, and reſiſted him, hee then remayned freed from the Sacrifice, winning the name of a famous Captayne, and ſo was reputed: but if hee were vanquiſhed, they then ſacrificed him on the ſtone whereunto hee was tyed. It was another kinde of Sacrifice, when as they appointed any ſlaue to bee the repreſentation of the Idoll, ſaying that it was his Picture: They euery yeere gaue one ſlaue to the Prieſts, that they might neuer want the liuely Image of their Idoll. At his firſt entry into the Office, after he had beene well waſhed, they attyred him with all the ornaments of the Idoll, giuing him the ſame name. Hee was that whole yeere reuerenced and honoured as the Idoll it ſelfe, and had alwayes with him twelue men for his Guard, leſt hee ſhould flye, with which Guard they ſuffered him to goe freely and where he would: and if by chance he fled, the chiefe of the Guard was put in his place to repreſent the Idoll, and after to bee ſacrificed. This *Indian*

Flaying Sacrifices.

Challenge-ſacrifices.

Idols-Idol-ſacrifice.

had

had the most honourable lodging in all the Temple, where hee did eate and drinke, and whither all the chiefe Ministers came to serue and honour him, carrying him meate after the manner of great Personages. When hee went through the streets of the Citie, hee was well accompanied with Noblemen, hee carried a little Flute in his hand, which sometimes hee sounded, to giue them knowledge when he passed: then presently the women came forth with their little children in their armes, which they presented vnto him, saluting him as God. All the rest of the people did the like: at night they put him in a strong Prison or Cage, lest he should flye; and when the Feast came, they sacrificed him, as hath beene said.

Incredible numbers sacrificed.

By these and many other meanes hath the Deuill abused and entertayned these poore wretches, and such was the multitude of those that had beene sacrificed by this infernall crueltie, as it seemes a matter incredible, for they affirme there were some dayes fiue thousand or more, and that there were aboue twentie thousand sacrificed in diuers places. The Deuill to entertaine this murther of men, vsed a pleasant and strange inuention, which was, when it pleased the Priests of Satan they went to their Kings, telling them how their Gods dyed for hunger, and that they should remember them. Presently they prepared themselues, and aduertised one another, that their Gods required meate, and therefore they should command their people to bee readie to goe to the Warres; and thus the people assembled, and the companies appointed went to field, where they mustred their forces; and all their quarrell and fight was to take one another for sacrifice, striuing on either side to take what Captiues they could, so as in these battels they laboured more to take, then to kill, for that all their intention was to take men aliue, to giue them to their Idols to eate, for after that manner brought they their Sacrifice vnto their Gods. And wee must vnderstand, that neuer King was crowned vntill he had subdued some Prouince, from the which he brought a great number of Captiues for the Sacrifices of their Gods, so as it was an infinite thing to see what bloud was spilt in the honour of the Deuill.

Deuill hungry for mans flesh.

MAny of these Barbarians were now wearied and tyred with such an excessiue crueltie, in shedding so much bloud, and with so tedious a Tribute, to bee alwayes troubled to get Captiues, for the feeding of their Gods, seeming vnto them a matter insupportable; yet left they not to follow and execute their rigorous Lawes, for the great awe the Ministers of these Idols kept them in, and the cunning wherewith they abused this poore people. But inwardly they desired to be freed from so heauie a yoke. And it was a great prouidence of God; that the first which gaue them knowledge of the Law of Christ, found them in this disposition: for without doubt it seemed to them a good Law, and a good God, to bee serued in this sort. Heereupon a graue religious man in *New Spaine* told me, that when he was in that Countrey he had demanded of an ancient *Indian*, a man of qualitie, for what reason the *Indians* had so soone receiued the Law of Iesus Christ, and left their owne, without making any other proofe, tryall, or dispute thereon, for it seemed they had changed their Religion, without any sufficient reason to moue them. The *Indian* answered him, *Beleeue not Father, that we haue embraced the Law of Christ so rashly as they say: for I will tell you, that we were alreadie wearie and discontented with such things as the Idols commanded vs, and were determined to leaue it, and to take another Law. But when as wee found that the Religion that you preached had no cruelties in it, and that it was fit for vs, and both iust and good, we vnderstood and beleeued that it was the true Law, and so we receiued it willingly.* Which answere of this *Indian* agrees well with that we reade in the first Discourse, that *Fernand Cortes* sent to the Emperour *Charles* the fift, wherein hee reports, that after he had conquered the Citie of *Mexico*, being in *Cuyoacan*, there came Ambassadours to him from the Prouince and Common-wealth of *Mechoacan* requiring him to send them his Law, and that hee would teach them to vnderstand it, because they intended to leaue their owne, which seemed not good vnto them, which *Cortez* granted, and at this day they are the best *Indians*, and the truest Christians that are in New *Spaine*. The *Spaniards* that saw these cruell Sacrifices, resolued with all their power to abolish so detestable and cursed a butchering of men, and the rather, for that in one night before their eyes they saw threescore or threescore and tenne *Spaniards* sacrificed, which had beene taken in a battaile giuen at the Conquest of *Mexico*: and another time they found written with a Coale in a Chamber in *Tezcusco* these wordes; *Heere such a miserable man was Prisoner with his Companions whom they of* Tezcusco *did sacrifice.*

How the *Indians* grew weary, and could not endure the crueltie of Satan, *Chap. 22.*

Spaniards sacrificed.

There happened a very strange thing vpon this subiect, and yet true, beeing reported by men worthy of credit, which was, that the *Spaniards* beholding these Sacrifices, hauing opened and drawne out the heart of the lustie young man, and cast him from the top of the stayres (as their custome was) when hee came at the bottome, hee said to the *Spaniards* in his Language, *Knights, they haue slaine mee*, the which did greatly moue our men to horrour and pitie. It is no incredible thing, that hauing his heart pulled out, hee might speake, seeing that *Galen* reports that it hath often chanced in the Sacrifice of beasts, after the heart hath beene drawne out, and cast vpon the Altar, the beasts haue breathed, yea, they did bray and cry out aloude, and sometimes did runne.

A man speakes after his heart is out.

Galen. lib. 2. de Hip. & Platon. placit. cap. 4.

In

How the Deuill hath laboured to imitate and counterfait the Sacraments of the holy Church. *Chap.* 25. *Indian* Communion.

In the first moneth, which in *Peru* they called *Raymi*, and answereth to our *December*, they made a most solemne feast, called *Capacraymi*, wherein they made many sacrifices and ceremonies, which continued many dayes: during the which, no stranger was suffered to bee at the Court which was in *Cusco*. These dayes being past, they then gaue libertie to strangers to enter, that they might be partakers of the feasts and sacrifices, ministring to them in this manner. The *Mamacona* of the Sunne, which were a kinde of Nunnes of the Sunne, made little loaues of the flower of Mays, dyed and mingled with the bloud of white Sheepe, which they did sacrifice that day; then presently they commanded that all strangers should enter, who set themselues in order, and the Priests which were of a certaine Linage, descending from *Limaiyupanqui*, gaue to euery one a morsell of these small loaues, saying vnto them, that *they gaue these pieces, to the end they should be vnited and confederate with the* Ingua, *and that they aduised them not to speake nor thinke any ill against the* Ingua, *but alwayes to beare him good affection, for that this piece should bee a witnesse of their intentions and will, and if they did not as they ought, hee would discouer them and bee against them.* They carried these small loaues, in great Platters of gold and siluer appointed for that vse, and all did receiue and eate these pieces, thanking the Sunne infinitely for so great a fauour which hee had done them, speaking wordes and making signes of great contentment and deuotion: protesting that during their liues, they would neither doe nor thinke any thing against the Sunne nor the *Ingua*: and with this condition they receiued *this foode of the Sunne*, the which should remaine in their bodies for a witnesse of their fidelitie which they obserued to the Sunne and to the *Ingua* their King. This manner of deuillish communicating they likewise vsed in the tenth moneth, called *Coyaraymi*, which was *September*; in the solemne feast which they called *Cytua*, doing the like ceremonies. And besides *this Communion* (if it be lawfull to vse this word in so deuillish a matter) which they imparted to all strangers that came, they did likewise send of these loaues to all their *Guacas*, Sanctuaries, or Idols of the whole Realme, and at one instant they found people of all sides, which came expressly to receiue them, to whom they said (in deliuering them) that *the Sunne had sent them that, in signe that hee would haue them all to worship and honor him*, and *likewise did send them in honor of the Caciques*. Some perhaps will hold this for a fable and a fiction: yet is it most true, that since the *Ingua Yupanqui* (the which is hee that hath made most Lawes, Customes, and Ceremonies, as *Numa* did in *Rome*) this manner of Communion hath continued, vntill that the Gospell of our Lord Iesus Christ thrust out all these superstitions, giuing them the right foode of life, which vnites their soules to God: who so would satisfie himselfe more amply, let him reade the Relation which the Licenciate *Polo* did write.

In what manner the Deuill hath laboured in *Mexico* to counterfait the feast of the holy Sacrament vsed in the Popish Church. *Chap.* 24.

IT is a thing more worthy admiration, to heare speake of the Feast and solemnitie of the Communion which the Deuill himselfe, the Prince of Pride, ordained in *Mexico*, the which (although it be somewhat long) yet shall it not be from the purpose to relate as it is written by men of credite. The *Mexicanes* in the moneth of May, made their principall Feast to their god *Vitziliputzli*, and two dayes before this Feast, the Virgins whereof I haue spoken (the which were shut vp and secluded in the same Temple, and were as it were *Religious women*) did mingle a quantitie of the seede of Beetes with roasted Mays, and then they did mould it with honey, making an Idoll of that paste, in bignesse like to that of wood, putting in stead of eyes, graines of greene glasse, of blue, or white; and for teeth, graines of Mays, set forth with all the ornament and furniture that I haue said. This being finished, all the Noblemen came and brought it an exquisite and rich garment, like vnto that of the Idoll, wherewith they did attyre it. Being thus clad and deckt, they did set it in an azured Chaire, and in a Litter to carry it on their shoulders. The morning of this feast being come, an houre before day, all the Maidens came forth attyred in white, with new ornaments, the which that day were called the sisters of their god *Vitziliputzli*, they came crowned with Garlands of Mays roasted and parched, being like vnto Azahar or the flower of Orange, and about their necks they had great chaines of the same, which went bauldrickwise vnder their left arme. Their cheekes were dyed with Vermillion, their armes from the elbow to the wrist, were couered with red Parrots feathers. And thus attyred, they tooke the Idoll on their shoulders, carrying it into the Court, where all the young men were, attyred in garments of an artificiall red, crowned after the same manner, like vnto the women. When as the Maidens came forth with the Idoll, the young men drew neere with much reuerence, taking the Litter wherein the Idoll was, vpon their shoulders, carrying it to the foote of the staires of the Temple, where all the people did humble themselues, laying earth vpon their heads, which was an ordinarie ceremonie which they did obserue at the chiefe feast of their gods. This ceremonie being ended, all the people went in Procession with all the diligence and speede they could, going to a Mountayne which was a league from the Citie of *Mexico*, called *Chapulteper*, and there they made sacrifices. Presently they went from thence with like diligence, to goe to a place neere vnto it, which they called *Atlacuyanaya*, where they made their second station: and from thence they went to another Burgh or Village a league beyond *Cuyoacan*, from whence they parted, returning to the Citie of *Mexico*, not making any other station. They went in this sort aboue foure leagues in three or foure houres, calling this Procession *Ypayna Vitziliputzli*.

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Iputzli. Being come to the foot of the staires, they set downe the Brancard or Litter with the Idoll, tying great Cordes to the armes of the Brancard, then with great obseruance and reuerence, they did draw vp the Litter with the Idoll in it to the top of the Temple, some drawing aboue, and others helping below, in the meane time there was a great noyse of Flutes, Trumpets, Cornets, and Drummes. They did mount it in this manner, for that the stayres of the Temple were very steepe and narrow, so as they could not carry vp the Litter vpon their shoulders, while they mounted vp the Idoll, all the people stood in the Court with much reuerence and feare. Being mounted to the top, and that they had placed it in a little Lodge of Roses, which they held readie, presently came the young men, which strewed many flowers of sundrie kindes, wherewith they filled the Temple both within and without. This done, all the Virgins came out of their Couent, bringing pieces of paste compounded of Beetes, and roasted Mays, which was of the same paste whereof their Idoll was made and compounded, and they were of the fashion of great bones. They deliuered them to the young men, who carried them vp and laid them vp, and laid them at the Idols feete, wherewith they filled the whole place, that it could receiue no more. They called these morsels of paste, the flesh and bones of *Vitziliputzli.* Hauing laid abroad these bones, presently came all the Ancients of the Temple, Priests, Leuites, and all the rest of the Ministers, according to their Dignities and Antiquities, for herein there was a strict order amongst them, one after another, with their vailes of diuers colours and workes, euery one according to his Dignitie and Office, hauing Garlands vpon their heads, and Chaines of flowers about their necks: after them came their gods and goddesses whom they worshipt, of diuers figures, attyred in the same liuerie; then putting themselues in order about those morsels and pieces of paste, they vsed certaine ceremonies with singing and dancing. By meanes whereof they were blessed and consecrated for the flesh and bones of this Idoll.

This ceremonie and blessing (whereby they were taken for the flesh and bones of the Idoll) being ended, they honored those pieces in the same sort as their god. Then came forth the Sacrificers, who began the sacrifice of men, in the manner as hath beene spoken, and that day they did sacrifice a greater number then at any other time, for that it was the most solemne feast they obserued. The sacrifices being ended, all the young Men and Maides came out of the Temple attyred as before, and being placed in order and ranke one directly against another, they danced by Drummes the which sounded in praise of the Feast, and of the Idoll which they did celebrate. To which song all the most ancient and greatest noble-men did answere, dancing about them, making a great circle as their vse is, the young Men and Maides remayning alwayes in the middest. All the Citie came to this goodly spectacle, and there was a commandement very strictly obserued throughout all the Land, that the day of the feast of the Idoll *Vitziliputzli*, they should eate no other meate, but this paste with hony, whereof the Idoll was made. And this should be eaten at the point of day, and they should drinke no water nor any other thing till after noone: they held it for an ill signe, yea for sacrilege, to doe the contrarie: but after the ceremonies ended, it was lawfull for them to eate any thing. During the time of this ceremonie, they hid the water from their little children, admonishing all such as had the vse of reason, not to drinke any water; which if they did, the anger of God would come vpon them, and they should die, which they did obserue very carefully and strictly. The ceremonies, dancing, and sacrifice ended, they went to vnclothe themselues, and the Priests and Superiors of the Temple tooke the Idoll of paste, which they spoyled of all the ornaments it had, and made many pieces, as well of the Idoll it selfe as of the Tronchons which were consecrated, and then they gaue them to the Communion, beginning with the greater, and continuing vnto the rest, both Men, Women, and little Children; who receiued it with such teares, feare, and reuerence, as it was an admirable thing, saying, *that they did eate the flesh and bones of God*, wherewith they were grieued. Such as had any sicke folkes demanded thereof for them, and carried it with great reuerence and veneration.

All such as did communicate, were bound to giue the tenth of this seede, whereof the Idoll was made. The solemnitie of the Idoll being ended, an old man of great authoritie stept vp into a high place, and with a loud voice preached their Law and Ceremonies.

The Deuill liking that vnchristian, Antichristian prodigious opinion of transubstantiation, and the consequents, elcuation, adoration, reseruation, *Corpus christi* mad solemnities and idolatrous processions, with rites beyond any former paganisme, in disgrace of the true Sacrament, falsly calling this their Idoll an *vnbloudy sacrifice*, which hath cost so many thousands their bloud in fire and otherwise (the Papists at once disputing of Christs naturall body and despising and renting his mysticall body) hath found nothing fitter to transport into the *Indies*, nothing more contrarie to sense, reason, religion, humanitie, or wherein more to triumph ouer mankinde in all these, then this brutish opinion and bloudie solemnitie, here described.

Communicating.

Idol-sermon.

Of Confessors and Confession which the *Indians* vsed. *Chap. 25.*

Reserued cases as in Papall penance.

THe father of lyes would likewise counterfait the *(Romish) Sacrament of Confession*, and in his Idolatries seeke to be honored with ceremonies very like to the manner of Christians. In *Peru* they held opinion, that all diseases and aduersities came for the sinnes which they had committed: for remedie whereof they vsed sacrifices: moreouer, they confessed themselues verbally, almost in all Prouinces, and had Confessors appointed by their Superiors to that end, there were some sinnes reserued for the Superiors. They receiued penance, yea sometimes very sharply, especially when the Offendor was a poore man, and had nothing to giue his Confessor. This office of Confessor was likewise exercised by Women. The manner of these Confessors Sorcerers whom they call *Ychuiri* or *Ychuri*, hath beene most generall in the Prouinces of *Collasuio*. They hold opinion, that it is a haynous sinne to conceale any thing in confession. The *Ychuiri* or Con-

feſſors diſcouered by lots, or by the view of ſome beaſt Hides, if any thing were concealed, and puniſhed them with many blowes with a ſtone vpon the ſhoulders, vntill they had reuealed all, then after they gaue him penance, and did ſacrifice. They doe likewiſe vſe this confeſſion, when their children, wiues, husbands, or their *Caciques* be ſicke, or in any great exploit. And when their *Ingua* was ſicke, all the Prouinces confeſſed themſelues, chiefly thoſe of the Prouince of *Collao*. The Confeſſors were bound to hold their Confeſſions ſecret, but in certaine caſes limited. The ſinnes that they chiefly confeſſed, was firſt to kill one another out of warre, then to ſteale, to take another mans wife, to giue poyſon or ſorcerie to doe any harme: and they held it to be a grieuous ſinne, to be forgetfull in the reuerence of their *Guacas*, or Oratories, not to obſerue the Feaſts, or to ſpeake ill of the *Ingua*, and to diſobey him. They accuſed not themſelues of any ſecret acts and ſinnes. But according to the report of ſome Prieſts, after the Chriſtians came into that Country, they accuſed themſelues of their thoughts. The *Ingua* confeſſed himſelfe to no man, but onely to *the Sunne*, that hee might tell them to *Virachoca*, and that hee might forgiue them. After the *Ingua* had beene confeſſed, he made a certaine bath to cleanſe himſelfe in a running Riuer, ſaying theſe wordes: *I haue told my ſinnes to the Sunne, receiue them, O thou Riuer, and carry them to the Sea, where they may neuer appeare more.* Others that confeſſed, vſed likewiſe theſe baths, with certaine ceremonies very like to thoſe the *Moores* vſe at this day, which they call *Guadoy*, and the *Indians* call them *Opacuna*. When it chanced that any mans children dyed, hee was held for a great ſinner, ſaying, that it was for his ſinnes that the ſonne dyed before the father. And therefore thoſe to whom this had chanced, after they were confeſſed, were bathed in this bath called *Opacuna*, as is ſaid before. Then ſome deformed *Indian*, crooke-backt, and counterfait by nature, came to whip them with certaine Nettles. If the Sorcerers or Inchanters by their lots and diuinations, affirmed that any ſicke body ſhould die, the ſicke man makes no difficultie to kill his owne ſonne, though he had no other, hoping by that meanes to eſcape death, ſaying, *that in his place he offered his ſonne in ſacrifice.* And this crueltie hath beene practiſed in ſome places, euen ſince the Chriſtians came into that Country. In truth it is ſtrange, *that* this cuſtome of confeſſing their ſecret ſinnes, hath continued ſo long amongſt them, and to doe ſo ſtrict penances, as, *to faſt, to giue apparell, gold and ſiluer, to remaine in the Mountaynes, and to receiue many ſtripes vpon the ſhoulders.* Our men ſay, that in the Prouince of *Chiquito*, euen at this day they meet with this plague of Confeſſors or *Ychuris*, where as many ſicke perſons repaire vnto them: but now, by the grace of God, this people begins to ſee cleerly the effect and great benefit of our Confeſſion, whereunto they come with great deuotion.

Sinnes of omiſsion.

Wicked effect of deuilliſh diuinations.

Penances.

I will report the manner of a ſtrange confeſſion the Deuill hath inuented at *Iapon*, as appeares by a Letter that came from thence, which ſaith thus: There are in *Ocaca* very great and high and ſteepe Rocks, which haue pricks or points on them, aboue two hundred fathom high. Amongſt theſe Rocks there is one of theſe pikes or points ſo terribly high, that when the *Xamabuſis* (which be *Pilgrimes*) doe but looke vp vnto it, they tremble, and their haire ſtares, ſo fearfull and horrible is the place. Vpon the top of this point there is a great rod of Iron of three fathom long, placed there by a ſtrange deuice, at the end of this rod is a ballance tyed, whereof the ſcales are ſo bigge, as a man may ſit in one of them: and the *Goquis* (which be Deuils in humane ſhape) command theſe Pilgrimes to enter therein one after another, not leauing one of them: then with an engine or inſtrument which mooueth, by meanes of a wheele, they make this rod of Iron whereon the ballance is hanged, to hang in the aire, one of theſe *Xamabuſis* being ſet in one of the ſcales of the ballance. And as that wherein the man is ſet hath no counterpoiſe on the other ſide, it preſently hangeth downe, and the other riſeth vntill it meets with and toucheth the rod: then the *Goquis* telleth them from the Rocke, that they muſt confeſſe themſelues of all the ſinnes they haue committed, to their remembrance, and that with a loud voyce, to the end that all the reſt may heare him. Then preſently hee beginneth to confeſſe, whileſt ſome of the ſtanders by doe laugh at the ſinnes they doe heare; and others ſigh, and at euery ſinne they confeſſe, the other ſcale of the ballance falls a little, vntill that hauing told all his ſinnes, it remaines equall with the other, wherein the ſorrowfull penitent ſits: then the *Goquis* turnes the wheele, and drawes the rod and ballance vnto him, and the Pilgrime comes forth; then enters another, vntill all haue paſſed. A *Iaponois* reported this after he was chriſtned, ſaying, that hee had beene in this pilgrimage, and entred the ballance ſeuen times, where he had confeſſed himſelfe publikely. Hee ſaid moreouer, that if any one did conceale any ſinne, the emptie ſcale yeelded not: and if hee grew obſtinate after inſtance made to confeſſe himſelfe, refuſing to open all his ſinnes, the *Goquis* caſt him downe from the top, where in an inſtant he is broken into a thouſand pieces. Yet this Chriſtian, who was called *Iohn*, told vs, that commonly the feare and terror of this place is ſo great to all ſuch as enter therein, and the danger they ſee with their eyes, to fall out of the ballance, and to be broken in pieces, that ſeldom there is any one but diſcouers all his ſinnes. This place is called by another name *Sangenotosoro*, that is to ſay, *the place of Confeſſion.*

Iapon confeſsion.

Of the abominable Vnction which the *Mexican* Prieſts and other Nations vſed, and of their witchcraftes. *Chap.* 26.

The Prieſts of the Idols in *Mexico* were anointed in this ſort; they anointed the body from the foote to the head, and all the haire likewiſe, which hung like treſſes, or a Horſe mane, for that they applyed this Vnction wet and moiſt. Their haire grew ſo, as in time it hung

hung downe to their hammes, ſo heauily, that it was troubleſome for them to beare it, for they did neuer cut it, vntill they dyed, or that they were diſpenſed with for their great age, or being employed in gouernments or ſome honorable charge in the Commonwealth. They carried their haire in treſſes, of ſixe fingers breadth, which they dyed blacke with the fume of Sapine, of Firre trees, or Roſin; for in all Antiquitie it hath beene an offering they made vnto their Idols, and for this cauſe it was much eſteemed and reuerenced They were alwayes dyed with this tincture from the foot to the head, ſo as they were like vnto ſhining *Negroes*, and that was their ordinary Vnction: yet when as they went to ſacrifice and giue Incenſe in the Mountaines, or on the tops thereof, or in any darke and obſcure Caues, where their Idols were, they vſed an other kinde of vnction very different, doing certaine ceremonies to take away feare, and to giue them courage. This vnction was made with diuers little venemous beaſts, as Spiders, Scorpions, Palmers, Salamanders and Vipers, the which the Boyes in the Colledges tooke and gathered together, wherein they were ſo expert, as they were alwayes furniſhed when the Prieſts called for them. The chiefe care of theſe Boyes was, to hunt after theſe beaſts; if they went any other way, and by chance met with any of theſe beaſts, they ſtayed to take them, with as great paine, as if their liues depended thereon. By the reaſon whereof the *Indians* commonly feared not theſe venemous beaſts, making no more account then if they were not ſo, hauing beene all bred in this exerciſe. To make an ointment of theſe beaſts, they tooke them all together, and burnt them vpon the harth of the Temple, which was before the Altar, vntill they were conſumed to aſhes: then did they put them in Morters with much Tobacco or *Petum* (being an herbe that Nation vſeth much, to benum the fleſh, that they may not feele their trauell) with the which they mingle the aſhes, making them loſe their force; they did likewiſe mingle with theſe aſhes, Scorpions, Spiders, and Palmers aliue, mingling all together, then did they put to it a certaine ſeede being grownd, which they call *Ololuchqui*, whereof the *Indians* make a drinke to ſee viſions, for that the vertue of this herbe is to depriue man of ſenſe. They did likewiſe grinde with theſe aſhes blacke and hayrie wormes, whoſe haire onely is venemous, all which they mingled together with blacke, or the fume of Roſin, putting it in ſmall pots, which they ſet before their god, ſaying it was his meat. And therefore they called it *a diuine meat*. By meanes of this ointment they became Witches, and did ſee and ſpeake with the Deuill. The Prieſts being ſlubbered with this ointment, loſt all feare, putting on a Spirit of crueltie. By reaſon whereof they did very boldly kill men in their ſacrifices, going all alone in the night to the Mountaines, and into obſcure Caues, contemning all wilde beaſts, and holding it for certaine and approued, that both Lions, Tigres, Serpents, and other furious beaſts which breed in the Mountaines, and Foreſts, fled from them, by the vertue of this *Petum* of their god.

Haire-ſuperſtition.

Viſion ointment.

Like lips, like Lettuce.

And in truth, though this *Petum* had no power to make them flie, yet was the Deuils picture ſufficient whereinto they were transformed. This *Petum* did alſo ſerue to cure the ſicke, and for children: and therefore all called it *the diuine Phyſicke*: and ſo they came from all parts to the Superiors and Prieſts, as to their Sauiours, that they might apply this diuine phyſicke, wherewith they anointed thoſe parts that were grieued. They ſaid that they felt hereby a notable eaſe, which might be, for that Tobacco and *Ololuchqui* haue this propertie of themſelues, to benum the fleſh, being applyed in manner of an emplayſter, which muſt bee by a ſtronger reaſon being mingled with poyſons, and for that it did appeaſe and benum the paine, they held it for an effect of health, and a diuine vertue. And therefore ran they to theſe Prieſts as to holy men, who kept the blinde and ignorant in this error, perſwading them what they pleaſed, and making them runne after their inuentions and deuilliſh ceremonies, their authoritie being ſuch, as their wordes were ſufficient to induce beliefe as an article of their Faith. And thus made they a thouſand ſuperſtitions among the vulgar people, in their manner of offering Incenſe, in cutting their haire, tying ſmall flowers about their necks, and ſtrings with ſmall bones of Snakes, commanding them to bathe at a certaine time; and that they ſhould watch all night at the harth, leſt the fire ſhould die, that they ſhould eate no other bread but that which had beene offered to their gods, that they ſhould vpon any occaſion repayre vnto their Witches, who with certaine graines told fortunes, and diuined, looking into Keelers and Pailes full of water. The Sorcerers and Miniſters of the Deuill vſed much to beſmeare themſelues. There were an infinite number of theſe Witches, Diuiners, Enchanters, and other falſe prophets. There remaynes yet at this day of this infection, although they bee ſecret, not daring publikely to exerciſe their ſacrileges, deuilliſh ceremonies and ſuperſtitions, but their abuſes and wickedneſſe are diſcouered more at large and particularly in the confeſſions made by the Prelates of *Peru*.

Benumming force of Tobacco.

Diuinations.

There is a kinde of Sorcerers amongſt the *Indians* allowed by the Kings *Ingas*, which are as it were Sooth-ſayers, they take vpon them what forme and figure they pleaſe, flying far through the aire in a ſhort time, beholding all that was done. They talke with the Deuill, who anſwereth them in certaine ſtones or other things which they reuerence much. They ſerue as Conjurers, to tell what hath paſſed in the fartheſt parts, before any newes can come. As it hath chanced ſince the *Spaniards* arriued there, that in the diſtance of two or three hundred leagues, they haue knowne the Mutinies, Battailes, Rebellions, and Deaths, both of Tyrants, and of

Strange Sorcerers.

thoſe of the Kings partie, and of priuate men, the which haue beene knowne the ſame day they chanced, or the day after, a thing impoſſible by the courſe of nature. To worke this diuination, they ſhut themſelues into a houſe, and became drunke vntill they loſt their ſenſes, a day after they anſwered to that which was demanded. Some affirme they vſe certaine Vnctions. The *Indians* ſay, that the old women doe commonly vſe this office of witchcraft, and ſpecially thoſe of one Prouince, which they call *Coaillo*, and of another Towne called *Manchey*, and of the Prouince of *Guarochiri*. They likewiſe ſhew what is become of things ſtollen and loſt. There are of theſe kindes of Sorcerers in all parts, to whom commonly doe come the *Anaconas*, and *Cyua*, which ſerue the *Spaniards*, and when they haue loſt any thing of their Maſters, or when they deſire to know the ſucceſſe of things paſt or to come, as when they goe to the *Spaniards* Cities for their priuate affaires, or for the publike, they demand if their voyage ſhall bee proſperous, if they ſhall be ſick, if they ſhall die, or returne ſafe, if they ſhall obtaine that which they pretend: and the Witches or Conjurers anſwer, Yea, or No, hauing firſt ſpoken with the Deuill, in an obſcure place: ſo as theſe *Anaconas* do well heare the ſound of the voyce, but they ſee not to whom theſe Conjurers ſpeake, neither doe they vnderſtand what they ſay. They make a thouſand ceremonies and ſacrifices to this effect, with the which they mocke the Deuill and grow exceeding drunke, for the doing whereof, they particularly vſe an herb called *Villca*, the juyce whereof they mingle with their *Chica*, or take it in ſome other ſort.

Of other Ceremonies and Cuſtomes of the *Indians*, which are like vnto ours. *Chap.* 27.

Mexican Baptiſme.

THe *Indians* had an infinite number of other ceremonies and cuſtomes, which reſembled to the ancient Law of *Moſes*, and ſome to thoſe which the *Moores* vſe, and ſome approched neere to the Law of the Goſpell, as their Bathes or *Opacuna*, as they call them: they did waſh themſelues in water, to cleanſe them from their ſinnes. The *Mexicans* had alſo amongſt them a kinde *of Baptiſme*, the which they did with ceremonie, cutting the eares and members of young children new borne, counterfaiting in ſome ſort the Circumciſion of the *Iewes*. This ceremonie was done principally to the ſonnes of Kings and Noblemen: preſently vpon their birth the Prieſts did waſh them, and did put a little Sword in the right hand, and in the left a Target. And to the Children of the vulgar ſort, they put the markes of their offices, and to their Daughters inſtruments to ſpin, knit, and labour. This ceremonie continued foure dayes, being made before

Marriage ceremonies.

ſome Idoll. They contracted marriage after their manner, whereof the Licenciate *Polo* hath written a whole Treatiſe, and I will ſpeake ſomewhat thereof hereafter. In other things their cuſtomes and ceremonies haue ſome ſhew of reaſon. The *Mexicans* were married by the hands of their Prieſts in this ſort. The Bridegroome and the Bride ſtood together before the Prieſt, who tooke them by the hands, asking them if they would marry; then hauing vnderſtood their wills, he tooke a corner of the vaile wherewith the woman had her head couered, and a corner of the mans gowne the which he tyed together on a knot, and ſo led them thus tyed to the Bridegroomes houſe, where there was a harth kindled, and then he cauſed the wife to goe ſeuen times about the harth, and ſo the married couple ſate downe together, and thus was the marriage contracted. The *Mexicans* were very jealous of the integritie of their wiues: ſo as if they found they were not as they ought to bee (the which they knew either by ſignes or diſhoneſt wordes) they preſently gaue notice thereof to their fathers and kinſfolks of their wiues, to their great ſhame and diſhonor, for that they had not kept good guard ouer them. When they went to the houſe they made an Inuentorie of all the man and wife brought together, of prouiſions for the houſe, of land, of jewels and ornaments, which Inuentories euery father kept, for if it chanced they made any diuorce (as it was common amongſt them when they agree not) they diuided their goods according to the portion that euery one brought, euery one hauing libertie in ſuch a caſe, to marry whom they pleaſed: and they gaue the Daughters to the Wife, and the Sonnes to the Husband. It was defended vpon paine of death, not to marry againe together, the which they obſerued very ſtrictly. And although it ſeeme that many of their ceremonies agree with ours, yet differ they much for the great abomination they mingle therewithall. It is common and generall to haue vſually one of theſe three things, either Crueltie, Filthineſſe, or Slouth: for all their ceremonies were cruell and hurtfull, as to kill men and to ſpill bloud; or filthy and beaſtly, as to eate and drinke to the name of their Idols, and alſo to piſſe in the honour of them, carrying them vpon their ſhoulders, to anoint and beſmeare themſelues filthily, and to doe a thouſand ſorts of villanies, which were at the leaſt, vaine, ridiculous, and idle, and more like the actions of children, then of men. Whereas the temporall power was greateſt, there ſuperſtition hath moſt increaſed, as we ſee in the Realmes of *Mexico* and *Cuſco*, where it is incredible to ſee the number of

300. *Mexican* Idols.

Idols they had: for within the Citie of *Mexico* there were aboue three hundred. *Mango Inga Yupangui*, amongſt the Kings of *Cuſco*, was he that moſt augmented the ſeruice of their Idols, inuenting a thouſand kindes of ſacrifices, feaſts, and ceremonies. The like did King *Iſcoalt* in *Mexico*, who was the fourth King. There was alſo a great number of ſuperſtitions and ſacrifices in other Nations of the *Indians*, as in the Prouince of *Guatimala*, at the Ilands in *the new Kingdome*, in the Prouince of *Chille*, and others that were like Commonwealths and Comminalties. But it was nothing in reſpect of *Mexico* and *Cuſco*, where Satan was as *in Rome*, or in his *Ieruſalem*.

Manges mangled deuotions.

The

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The *Ingua* Lords of *Peru*, had two kindes of Feasts. Some were *ordinarie*, which fell out in certayne moneths of the yeere: and others *extraordinarie*, which were for certayne causes of importance, as when they did crowne a new King, when they beganne some warre of importance, when they had any great need of water or droughe; or other like things. For the ordinary Feasts, wee must vnderstand, that euery moneth of the yeere they made Feasts, and diuers Sacrifices, and although all of them had this alike, that they offered a hundred sheepe: yet in colour, and in forme they are very diuers. In the first moneth which they call *Rayme*, which is the moneth of December, they made their first Feast, which was the principall of all others, and for that cause they called it *Capacrayme*, which is to say, *A rich and principall Feast*. In this Feast they offered a great number of sheepe and Lambes in Sacrifice, and they burnt them with sweet wood, then they caused Gold and Siluer to bee brought vpon certayne sheepe, setting vpon them three Images of *the Sunne*, and three of the *Thunder*, *the Father*, *the Sonne*, *and the Brother*. In these Feasts they dedicated the *Inguas* children, putting *Guaras*, or Ensignes vpon them, and they pierced their eares: then some old man did whip them with slings, and annoynted their faces with bloud, all in signe that they should be true Knights to the *Ingua*. No stranger might remayne in *Cusco* during this moneth, and this Feast, but at the end thereof they entred, and they gaue vnto them pieces of the paste of Mays with the bloud of the Sacrifice, which they did eate in signe of confederation with the *Ingua*, as hath beene said before. It is strange that the Deuill after his manner hath brought a *Trinitie* into Idolatry, for the three Images of the Sunne called *Apomti*, *Churunti*, and *Intiquaoqui* which signifieth *Father and Lord Sunne*, *the Sonne Sunne*, and the *Brother Sunne*. In the like manner they named the three Images of *Chuquilla*, which is the God that rules in the Region of the Ayre, where it Thunders, Raines and Snowes. I remember, that beeing in *Cuquisaca*, an honourable Priest shewed me an information, which I had long in my hands, where it was prooued that there was a certayne *Guaca* or Oratory, whereas the *Indians* did worship an Idoll called *Tangatanga*, which they said was *one in three, and three in one*. Comming then to the Feast of the second moneth, which they called *Camey*, besides the Sacrifices which they made, they did cast the ashes into the Riuer, following fiue or sixe leagues after, praying it to carry them into the Sea, for that the *Virochoca* should there receiue this present. In the third, fourth and fift moneth, they offered a hundred blacke sheepe, speckled, and grey, with many other things, which I omit for being too tedious. The sixt moneth is called *Hatuncuzqui Aymorey*, which answereth to May, in the which they sacrificed a hundred sheepe more, of all colours: in this Moone and moneth, which is when they bring May from the fields into the house, they made a Feast, which is yet very vsuall among the *Indians*, and they doe call it *Aymorey*.

Feasts celebrated by them of *Cusco*, and how the Deuill would imitate the mystery of the holy Trinitie. *Chap.* 28.

Rayme-feast.

Indian Trinity.

Camey-feast.

Aymorey-feast.

This Feast is made comming from the *Chacra* or Farme vnto the house, saying certayne Songs, and praying that the Mays may long continue, the which they call *Mamacora*. They take a certayne portion of the most fruitfull of the Mays that growes in their Farmes, the which they put in a certayne Granier which they doe call *Pirua*, with certayne Ceremonies, watching three nights: they put this Mays in the richest garments they haue, and being thus wrapped and dressed, they worship this *Pirua*, and hold it in great veneration, saying it is the Mother of the Mays of their Inheritances, and that by this meanes the Mays augments and is preserued. In this moneth they make a particular Sacrifice, and the Witches demand of this *Pirua*, if it hath strength sufficient to continue vntill the next yeere: and if it answeres No, then they carry this Mays to the Farme to burne, whence they brought it, according to euery mans power; then make they another *Pirua*, with the same Ceremonies, saying, that they renew it, to the end the Seed of Mays may not perish, and if it answers that it hath force sufficient to last longer, they leaue it vntill the next yeere. This foolish vanitie continueth to this day, and it is very common amongst the *Indians* to haue these *Piruas*, and to make the Feast of *Aymorey*. The seuenth moneth answereth to Iune, and is called *Aucaycuzqui Intiraymi*, in it they made the Feast that is called *Intiraymi*, in the which they sacrificed a hundred sheepe called *Guanacos*, and said it was the Feast of the Sunne. In this moneth they made many Images of *Quinua* wood carued, all attired with rich garments, and they made their dancings which they doe call *Cayo*. At this Feast they cast flowers in the high wayes, and thither the *Indians* came painted, and their Noblemen had small places of Gold vpon their beards, and all did sing; we must vnderstand that this Feast falleth almost at the same time, when as the Christians obserue *the Solemnitie of the holy Sacrament*, which doth resemble it in some sort, as in dancing, singing and representations. And for this cause there hath beene, and is yet among the *Indians* (which celebrated a Feast somewhat like to ours of the holy Sacrament) many Superstitions in celebrating this ancient Feast of *Intiraymi*. The eight moneth is called *Chahua Huarqui*, in the which they did burne a hundred sheep more, all grey, of the colour of *Viscacha*, according to the former order, which moneth doth answere to our Iuly. The ninth moneth was called *Tapaquis*, in which they burnt an hundred sheepe more, of a Chesnut colour; and they doe likewise kill and burne a thousand *Cuyes*, to the end that neither the Frost, the Ayre, the water, nor the Sunne should hurt their Farmes: and this moneth doth answere vnto August. The tenth moneth was called *Coyarami*, in the which they

Intiraymi-feast.

Corpus Christi day resembled

Situa-feast.

they burnt a hundred white sheepe that had fleeces. In this moneth which answereth to September, they made the Feast called *Situa*, in this manner. They assembled together the first day of the Moone before the rising thereof: and in seeing it they cryed aloude, carrying Torches in their hands, and saying, Let all harme goe away, striking one another with their Torches. They that did this, were called *Panconcos*: which being done, they went to the common Bath, to the Riuers and Fountaines, and euery one to his owne Bath, setting themselues to drinke foure dayes together. In this moneth the *Mamacomas* of the Sunne made a great number of small Loaues with the bloud of the Sacrifices, and gaue a piece to euery stranger; yea, they sent to euery *Guaca* throughout the Realme, and to many *Curacas*, in signe of confederation and loyaltie to the Sun and the *Ingua*, as hath beene said.

The Bathes, drunkennesse and some Relickes of this Feast *Situa*, remayne euen vnto this day, in some places, with the Ceremonies a little different, but yet very secretly, for that these chiefe and principall Feasts haue ceased. The eleuenth moneth *Homaraymi Punchaquis*, wherein they sacrificed a hundred sheepe more. And if they wanted water, to procure raine, they set a blacke sheepe tyed in the middest of a Plaine, powring much *Chica* about it, and giuing it nothing to eate vntill it rayned, which is practised at this day in many places, in the time of our October. The twelfth and last moneth was called *Aymara*, wherein they did likewise sacrifice a hundred sheepe, and made the Feast called *Raymicantara Raquis*. In this moneth which answered to our Nouember, they prepared what was necessary for the Children that should bee made Nouices, the moneth following, the Children with the old men made a certayne shew, with rounds and turnings: and this Feast was called *Ituraymi*, which commonly they make when it raines too much, or too little, or when there is a plague.

Among the extraordinary Feasts which were very many, the most famous was that which they called *Itu*. This Feast *Itu* hath no prefixed time nor season, but in time of necessitie. To prepare themselues thereunto, all the people fasted two dayes, during the which they did neither company with their wiues, nor eate any meate with Salt or Garlicke, nor drinke any *Chica*. All did assemble together in one place, where no stranger was admitted, nor any beast: they had Garments and Ornaments, which serued onely for this Feast. They marched very quietly in Procession, their heads couered with their Veiles, sounding of Drummes, without speaking one to another. This continued a day and a night; then the day following they danced and made good cheere for two dayes and two nights together, saying, that their Prayer was accepted. And although that this Feast is not vsed at this day, with all this ancient Ceremony, yet commonly they make another which is very like, which they call *Ayma*, with Garments that serue onely to that end, and they make this kinde of Procession with their Drummes, hauing fasted before, then after they make good cheere, which they vsually doe in their vrgent necessities. And although the *Indians* forbeare to sacrifice beasts, or other things publikely, which cannot be hidden from the *Spaniards*, yet doe they still vse many Ceremonies that haue their beginnings from these Feasts and ancient Superstitions: for at this day they doe couertly make this Feast of *Itu*, at the dances of the Feast of the Sacrament, in making the dances of *Lyamallama*, and of *Guacon*, and of others, according to their ancient Ceremonies.

Of the feast of Iubilee which the Mexicans celebrated. Chap. 29.

THe *Mexicans* haue beene no lesse curious in their Feasts and Solemnities, which were of small charge, but of great effusion of mans bloud. We haue before spoken of the principall Feast of *Vitzliputzli*, after the which the Feast of *Tezcalipuca* was most solemnized. This Feast fell in May, and in their Kalender they called it *Toxcolt*: it fell euery foure yeere with the feast of Penance, where there was giuen full indulgence and remission of sinnes. In this day they did sacrifice a Captiue which resembled the Idoll *Tezcalipuca*, it was the nineteenth day of May: vpon the Euen of this Feast, the Noblemen came to the Temple, bringing a new Garment like vnto that of the Idoll, the which the Priest put vpon him, hauing first taken off his other Garments, which they kept with as much, or more reuerence then wee doe our Ornaments. There were in the Coffers of the Idoll many Ornaments, Iewels, Earerings, and other Riches, as Bracelets, and precious Feathers which serued to no other vse, but to be there, and was worshipped as their God it selfe. Besides the Garment wherewith they worshipped the Idoll that day, they put vpon him certayne enfignes of Feathers, with fannes, shadowes and other things, being thus attired and furnished, they drew the Curtayn or Veile from before the doore, to the end he might be seene of all men: then came forth one of the chiefe of the Temple, attyred like to the Idoll, carrying flowres in his hand, and a Flute of earth, hauing a very sharpe sound, and turning towards the East, he sounded it, and then looking to the West, North and South he did the like. And after he had thus sounded towards the foure parts of the World (shewing that both they that were present and absent did heare him) he put his finger into the Aire, and then gathered vp earth, which hee put in his mouth, and did eate it in signe of adoration. The like did all they that were present, and weeping, they fell flat to the ground, inuocating the *darkenesse of the night, and the winds*, intreating them not to leaue them, nor to forget them, or else to take away

their

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their liues, and free them from the labours they endured therein. Theeues, Adulterers, and Murtherers, and all other offenders had great feare and heauineſſe, whileſt this Flute ſounded; ſo as ſome could not diſſemble nor hide their offences. By this meanes they all demanded no other thing of their God, but to haue their offences concealed, powring forth many teares, with great repentance and ſorrow, offering great ſtore of Incenſe to appeale their Gods. The couragious and valiant men, and all the old Souldiers, that followed the art of Warre, hearing this Flute, demanded with great deuotion of *God the Creator*, of the *Lord for whom we liue*, *of the Sun*, and of other theſe Gods, that they would giue them victory againſt their enemies, & ſtrength to take many Captiues, therewith to honour their Sacrifices. This Ceremony was done ten dayes before the Feaſt: During which ten dayes the Prieſt did ſound this Flute, to the end that all might doe this worſhip in eating of earth, and demand of their Idoll what they pleaſed; they euery day made their Prayers, with their eyes lift vp to Heauen, and with ſighs and groanings, as men that were grieued for their ſinnes and offences. Although this contrition was onely for feare of the corporall puniſhment that was giuen them, and not for any feare of the eternall, for they certainly beleeued there was no ſuch ſeuere puniſhment in the other life. And therefore they offered themſelues voluntarily to death, holding opinion that it is to all men an aſſured reſt.

No feare but of temporall puniſhment.

The firſt day of the Feaſt of this Idoll *Tezcalipuca* beeing come, all they of the Citie aſſembled together in a Court, to celebrate likewiſe the Feaſt of the Kalender, whereof we haue already ſpoken, which was called *Toxcoatlh*, which ſignifies *A dry thing*: which Feaſt was not made to any other end, but to demand raine, in the ſame manner that wee ſolemnize the *Rogations*: and this Feaſt was alwayes in May, which is the time that they haue moſt need of raine in thoſe Countreyes. They beganne to celebrate it the ninth of May, ending the nineteenth. The laſt day of the Feaſt the Prieſts drew forth a Litter well furniſhed with Curtaynes and Pendants of diuers faſhions. This Litter had ſo many armes to hold by as there were Miniſters to carrie it. All which came forth beſmeered with blacke and long haire, halfe in treſſes with white ſtrings, and attyred in the ſiuery of the Idoll. Vpon this Litter they ſet the perſonage of the Idoll, appointed for this Feaſt, which they called the reſemblance of their God *Tezcalipuca*, and taking it vpon their ſhoulders, they brought it openly to the foot of the ſtaires: then came forth the young men and Maydens of the Temple, carrying a great coard wreathed of chaines of roaſted Mays, with the which they enuironed the Litter, and putting a chaine of the ſame about the Idols necke, and a Garland vpon his head. They called the coard *Toxcalt*, ſignifying the drought and barrenneſſe of the time. The young men came wrapped in red Curtaines, with Garlands and chaines of roaſted Mays. The Maydes were clothed in new Garments, wearing chaines about theirs neckes of roaſted Mays; and vpon their heads Mytres made of rods couered with this Mays, they had their feet couered with feathers, and their armes and cheekes painted. They brought much of this roaſted Mays, and the chiefe men put it vpon their heads, and about their neckes, taking flowres in their hands. The Idoll being placed in his Litter, they ſtrewed round about a great quantitie of the boughes of Manguey, the leaues whereof are large and pricking.

This Litter being ſet vpon the religious mens ſhoulders, they carried it in Proceſſion within the circuit of the Court, two Prieſts marching before with Cenſors, giuing often Incenſe to the Idoll; and euery time they gaue Incenſe, they lifted vp their armes as high as they could to the Idoll, and to the Sunne, ſaying, that they lifted vp their Prayers to Heauen, euen as the ſmoke aſcended on high. Then all the people in the Court turned round to the place whither the Idoll went, euery one carrying in his hand new coards of the threed of the *Manguey*., a fadome long, with a knot at the end, and with them they whipped themſelues vpon the ſhoulders; euen as they doe here vpon holy Thurſday. All the wals of the Court and Battlements were full of boughes and flowres, ſo freſh and pleaſant, as it did giue a great contentment. This Proceſſion being ended, they brought the Idoll to his vſuall place of abode. Then came a great multitude of people with flowres, dreſſed in diuers ſorts, wherewith they filled the Temple and all the Court, ſo as it ſeemed the ornament of an Oratory. All this was put in order by the Prieſts, the young men adminiſtring theſe things vnto them from without. The Chappell or Chamber where the Idoll remayned was all this day open without any Veile.

This done, euery one came and offered Curtines, and pendants of *Sandaly*, precious Stones, Iewels, Incence, ſweet wood, Grapes, or eares of Mays, Quailes: and finally, all they were accuſtomed to offer in ſuch ſolemnities. When as they offered Quailes (which was the poore mans offering) they vſed this ceremonie, they deliuered them to the Prieſts, who taking them, pulled off their heads, and caſt them at the foote of the Altar, where they loſt their bloud, and ſo they did of all other things which were offered. Euery one did offer meate and fruite according to their power, the which was laid at the foote of the Altar, and the Miniſters gathered them vp, and carried them to their Chambers. This ſolemne offering done, the people went to dinner, euery one to his village or houſe, leauing the feaſt ſuſpended vntill after dinner. In the meane time, the yong Men and Maidens of the Temple, with their ornaments, were buſied to ſerue the Idoll, with all that was appointed for him to eate: which meate was prepared by

other

other women, who had made a vow that day to serue the Idoll. And therefore such as had made this vow, came by the point of day, offering themselues to the Deputies of the Temple, that they might command them what they would haue done, the which they did carefully performe. They did prepare such variety of meates, as it was admirable. This meate being ready, and the houre of dinner come, all these Virgins went out of the Temple in procession, euery one carrying a little basket of bread in her hand, and in the other, a dish of these meates: before them marched an old man, like to a steward, with a pleasant habit, he was cloathed in a white Surples downe to the calues of his legges, vpon a doublet without sleeues of red leather, like to a iacket, he carried wings instead of sleeues, from the which hung broad ribbands, at the which did hang a small *Calibasse* or pumpion, which was couered with flowers, by little holes that were made in it, and within it were many superstitious things. This old man thus attyred, marched very humbly and heauily before the preparation, with his head declining: and comming neere the foote of the staires, he made a great obeisance and reuerence. Then going on the one side, the Virgins drew neere with the meate, presenting it in order one after another, with great reuerence. This seruice presented, the old man returned as before, leading the Virgins into their conuent. This done, the yong men and ministers of the Temple, came forth and gathered vp this meate, the which they carried to the Chambers of the chiefe Priests of the Temple, who had fasted fiue dayes, eating onely once a day, and they had also abstained from their wiues, not once going out of the Temple in these fiue dayes. During the which they did whip themselues rigorously with cords; they did eate of this diuine meate (for so they called it) what they could, was it lawfull for any other to eate thereof. All the people hauing dined, they assembled againe in the court to see the end of the feast, whither they brought a captiue, which by the space of a whole yeare, had represented the Idoll, being attired, decked, and honoured, as the Idoll it selfe, and doing all reuerence vnto him, they deliuered him into the hands of the sacrificers, who at that instant presented themselues, taking him by the feete and hands. The Pope did open his stomacke, and pull out his heart, then did he lift vp his hand as high as he could, shewing it to the Sunne, and to the Idoll, as hath beene said. Hauing thus sacrificed him that represented the Idoll, they went into a holy place appointed for this purpose, whither came the yong Men and Virgins of the Temple, with their ornaments, the which being put in order, they danced and sung with Drummes and other instruments, on the which the chiefe Priests did play and sound. Then came all the Noblemen with ensignes and ornaments like to the yong men, who danced round about them. They did not vsually kill any other men that day, but him that was sacrificed, yet euery fourth yeare they had others with him, which was in the yeare of Iubile and full pardons. After Sunne set, euery one being satisfied with sounding, eating, and drinking, the Virgins went all to their conuent, they tooke great dishes of earth full of bread mixt with hony, couered with small panniers, wrought and fashioned with dead mens heads and bones, and they carried the collation to the Idoll, mounting vp to the Court, which was before the doore of the Oratorie: and hauing set them downe, they retired in the same order as they came, the steward going still before. Presently came forth all the yong men in order, with canes or reedes in their hands, who began to runne as fast as they could to the top of the staires of the Temple, who should come first to the dishes of the collation. The Elders or chiefe Priests obserued him that came first, second, third, and fourth, without regarding the rest. This collation was likewise all carried away by the yong men, as great Relicks. This done, the foure that arriued first were placed in the midst of the Ancients of the Temple, bringing them to their chambers with much honour, praising them, and giuing them ornaments; and from thence forth they were respected and reuerenced as men of marke. The taking of this collation being ended, and the feast celebrated with much ioy and noise, they dismissed all the yong men and maides which had serued the Idoll; by meanes whereof they went one after another, as they came forth. All the small children of the Colledges and Schooles, were at the gate of the court, with bottomes of rushes and hearbs in their hands, which they cast at them, mocking and laughing, as of them that came from the seruice of the Idoll: they had liberty then to dispose of themselues at their pleasure, and thus the Feast ended.

Of the Feast of Marchants, which those of *Cholutecas* did celebrate. *Ch.* 30

ALthough I haue spoken sufficiently of the seruice the *Mexicans* did vnto their gods; yet will I speake something of the feast they called *Quetzaceoalt*, which was the god of riches, the which was solemnised in this manner. Fortie dayes before the Marchants bought a slaue well proportioned, without any fault or blemish, either of sickneſſe or of hurt, which they did attire with the ornaments of the Idoll, that he might represent it forty dayes. Before his cloathing they did clense him, washing him twice in a lake, which they called the lake of the gods; and being purified, they attired him like the Idoll. During these forty dayes, he was much respected for his sake whom he represented. By night they did imprison him (as hath beene said) least he should flye, and in the morning they tooke him out of prison, setting him vpon an eminent place, where they serued him, giuing him exquisite meates to eate. After he had eaten, they put a chaine of flowers about his necke, and many nosegaies in his hand. He had

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had a well appointed guard, with much people to accompany him. When he went through the Citie, he went dancing and ſinging through all the ſtreetes, that he might be knowne for the reſemblance of their god, and when he beganne to ſing, the women and little children came forth of their houſes to ſalute him, and to offer vnto him as to their god. Two old men of the Ancients of the Temple, came vnto him nine dayes before the feaſt, and humbling themſelues before him, they ſaid with a low and ſubmiſſe voyce, *Sir, you muſt vnderſtand that nine dayes hence the exerciſe of dancing and ſinging doth end, and thou muſt then dye*; and then he muſt anſwer, *In a good houre.* They call this ceremony, *Neyola Maxiltlextli*, which is to ſay, *the aduertiſement*: and when they did thus aduertiſe him, they tooke very carefull heede whither he were ſaid, or if he danced as ioyfully as he was accuſtomed, the which if he did not as cheerefully as they deſired, they made a fooliſh ſuperſtition in this manner. They preſently tooke the ſacrificing raſors, the which they waſhed and clenſed from the bloud of men, which remained of the former ſacrifices. Of this waſhing they made a drinke mingled with another liquor made of *Cacao*, giuing it him to drinke; they ſaid that this would make him forget what had beene ſaid vnto him, and would make him in a manner inſenſible, returning to his former dancing and mirth. They ſaid moreouer, that he would offer himſelfe cheerefully to death, being inchanted with this drinke. The cauſe why they ſought to take from him this heanineſſe, was, for that they held it for an ill augure, and a fore-telling of ſome great harme. The day of the Feaſt being come, after they had done him much honour, ſung, and giuen him incenſe, the ſacrificers tooke him about midnight and did ſacrifice him, as hath beene ſaid, offering his heart vnto the Moone, the which they did afterwards caſt againſt the Idoll, letting the body fall to the bottome of the ſtaires of the Temple, where ſuch as had offered him tooke him vp, which were the Marchants, whoſe feaſt it was. Then hauing carried him into the chiefeſt mans houſe amongſt them, the body was dreſt with diuers ſawces, to celebrate (at the breake of day) the banquet and dinner of the feaſt, hauing firſt bid the Idoll good morrow, with a ſmall dance, which they made whilſt the day did breake, and that they prepared the ſacrifice. Then did all the Marchants aſſemble at this banket, eſpecially thoſe which made it a trafficke to buy and ſell ſlaues, who were bound euery yeere to offer one, for the reſemblance of their god. This Idoll was one of the moſt honored in all the Land: and therefore the Temple where he was, was of a great authoritie. There were threeſcore ſtaires to aſcend vp vnto it, and on the top was a Court of an indifferent largeneſſe, very finely dreſt and plaſtered, in the midſt whereof, was a great round thing like vnto an Ouen, hauing the entrie low and narrow: ſo as they muſt ſtoope very low that ſhould enter into it. This Temple had Chambers and Chappels as the reſt, where there were conuents of Prieſts, yong Men, Maides, and Children, as hath beene ſaid: and there was one Prieſt alone reſident continually, the which they changed weekely: For although there were in euery one of theſe Temples, three or foure Curates or Ancients, yet did euery one ſerue his weeke without parting. His charge that weeke (after he had inſtructed the children) was to ſtrike vp a Drum euery day at the Sunne-ſetting, to the ſame end that we are accuſtomed to ring to Euenſong. This Drum was ſuch as they might heare the houſe ſound thereof throughout all the parts of the Citie, then euery man ſhut vp his merchandiſe, and retired vnto his houſe, and there was ſo great a ſilence, as there ſeemed to be no liuing creature in the Towne. In the morning when as the day began to breake, they began to ſound the Drum, which was a ſigne of the day beginning, ſo as trauellers and ſtrangers attended this ſignall to begin their iournies, for till that time it was not lawfull to goe out of the Citie.

Stately Temple.

Drums vſed in ſtead of Bels.

There was in this Temple a Court of reaſonable greatneſſe, in the which they made great dances, and paſtimes, with games or comedies the day of the Idols feaſt; for which purpoſe there was in the middeſt of this court a Theatre of thirty foote ſquare very finely decked and trimmed, the which they decked with flowers that day, with all the art and inuention that might be, being inuironed round with Arches of diues flowers and feathers, and in ſome places there were tied many ſmall Birds, Conies, and other tame beaſts. After dinner all the people aſſembled in this place, and the Players preſented themſelues, and plaied Comedies, ſome counterfeit the deafe, and the rheumatike, others the lame, ſome the blinde, and without hands, which came to ſeeke for cure of the Idoll, the deafe anſwered confuſedly, the rheumaticke did cough, the lame halted, telling their miſeries and griefes, wherewith they made the people to laugh; others come forth in the forme of little beaſts, ſome were attired like Snailes, others like Toades, and ſome like Lizards: then meeting together, they told their offices, and euery one retyring to his place, they ſounded on ſmall flutes, which was pleaſant to heare. They likewiſe counterfeited Butterflies and ſmall Birds of diuers colours, and the children of the Temple repreſented theſe formes, then they went into a little Forreſt planted there for the nonce, where the Prieſts of the Temple drew them forth with inſtruments of muſicke. In the meane time they vſed many pleaſant ſpeeches, ſome in propounding, others in defending, wherewith the aſſiſtants were pleaſantly intertained. This done, they made a Maske or Mummerie with all theſe perſonages, and ſo the Feaſt ended: the which were vſually done in their principall Feaſts.

Comedies.

CHAP.

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CHAP. VI.

Ciuill Customes and Arts of the INDIANS *taken out of* ACOSTAS *6. Booke.*

Of the supputation of times and the Kalende th *Mexicans* vsed. *Cha.* 2.

Mexican yeare & 18. moneths.

I Will first shew in what sort the *Mexicans* counted and diuided their yeere, their moneths, their Kalender, their computations, their worlds and ages. They diuided the yeare into eighteene moneths, to which they gaue twentie dayes, wherein the three hundred and threescore dayes are accomplished, not comprehending in any of these Moneths the fiue daies that remaine, and make the yeare perfect. But they did reckon them apart, and called them *the dayes of nothing:* during the which, the people did not any thing, neither went they to their Temples, but occupied themselues onely in visiting one another, and so spent the time: the sacrificers of the Temple did likewise cease their sacrifices. These fiue dayes being past, they began the computation of the yeare, whereof the first moneth and beginning was in *March*, when the leaues began to grow greene, although they tooke three dayes of the moneth of February; for the first day of their yeare was, as it were, the six and twentieth day of February, as appeareth by their Kalender, within the which ours is likewise comprehended and contained with a very ingenious Art, which was made by the ancient *Indians* that knew the first *Spaniards*. I haue seene this Kalender, and haue it yet in my custodie, which well deserueth the sight, to vnderstand the discourse and industrie the *Mexican Indians* had. Euerie one of these eighteene moneths had his proper name, and his proper picture, the which was commonly taken of the principall Feast that was made in that moneth, or from the diuersitie of times, which the yeare caused in that moneth. They had in this Kalender certaine daies marked and distinguished for their feasts. And they accounted their weekes by thirteene dayes, marking the daies with a *Zero* or cipher, which they multiplied vnto thirteene, and then began to count, one, two, &c. They did likewise marke the yeares of these wheeles, with foure signes or figures, attributing to euerie yeare a peculiar signe, whereof one was of a House, another of a Conie, the third of a Reede, and the fourth of a Flint. They painted them in this sort, noting by those figures the yeare that did runne, saying *of so many Houses, of so many Flints, of such a Wheele, happened such a thing*. For we must vnderstand that their wheele, which was an age, contained foure weekes of yeares, euerie weeke containing thirteene yeares, which in all made fiftie two yeares. In the midst of this wheele they painted a Sun, from the which went foure beames or lines in crosse to the circumference of the wheele, and they made their course, euen as the circumference was diuided into foure equall parts, euerie one with his line, hauing a distinct colour from the rest, and the foure colours were, Greene, Blew, Red, and Yellow: euery portion of these foure had thirteene separations which had all their signes or particular figures, of a House, a Conie, a Reede, or a Flint, noting by euery signe a yeare, and vpon the head of this signe they painted what had happened that yeare.

New yeares day. Their Kalender.

Weeke of 13. daies, or years. See this in the *Mexican* Chronicle in their owne figures.

And therefore I did see in the Kalender mentioned the yeare when the *Spaniards* entered *Mexico*, marked by the picture of a man clad in red, after our manner, for such was the habit of the first *Spaniard*, whom *Fernando Cortes* sent, at the end of the two and fiftie yeares, which finished the wheele. They vsed a pleasant ceremonie, which was, the last night they did breake all their vessels and stuffe, and put out their fire, and all the lights, saying, that the world should end at the finishing of one of these wheeles, and it might be at that time: for (said they) seeing the world must then end, what neede is there to prouide meate to eate, and therefore they had no further neede of Vessels nor fire. Vpon this conceit they passed the night in great feare, saying, it might happen there would be no more day, and they watched verie carefully for the day; when they saw the day begin to breake, they presently beat many Drums, and sounded Cornets, Flutes, and other instruments of ioy and gladnesse, saying, that God did yet prolong the time with another age, which were fiftie two yeares. And then began another wheele. The first day and beginning of this age they tooke new fire, and bought new Vessels to dresse their meate, and all went to the high Priest for this new fire, hauing first made a solemne Sacrifice, and giuen thanks for the comming of the day, and prolongation of another age. This was their manner of accounting their yeares, moneths, weekes, and ages.

New Age.

How the Kings *Ingas* accounted the yeares and moneths.

ALthough this supputation of times practised amongst the *Mexicans*, be ingenious enough and certaine, for men that had no learning; yet in my opinion they wanted discourse and consideration, hauing not grounded their computation according vnto the course of the Moone, nor distributed their months accordingly, wherein those of *Peru* haue farre surpassed them: for they diuided their yeare into as manie daies, perfectly accomplished as we doe here, and into twelue moneths or Moones, in the which they imploied and consumed the eleuen daies that remaind of the Moone, as *Pola* writes. To make the computation of their yeare sure and certaine, they vsed this industrie; vpon the Mountaines which are about the Citie of *Cuseo* (where the

Better computation of times in *Peru*.

Kings

Kings *Ingas* held their Court, being the greatest sanctuarie of those Realms, and as we would say another *Rome*) there were twelue Pillars set in order, and in such distance the one from the other, as euerie moneth one of these Pillars did note the rising and setting of the Sunne. They called them *Succanga*, by meanes whereof they taught and shewed, the Feasts, and the seasons fit to sowe and reape, and to doe other things. They did certaine sacrifices to these Pillars of the Sunne. Euery moneth had his proper name, and peculiar Feasts. They began the yeare by Ianuarie as we doe. But since, a King *Ingas* called *Pachacuto*, which signifies *a reformer of the Temple*, began their yeare by December, by reason (as I coniecture) that then the Sunne returneth from the last point of Capricorne, which is the tropike neerest vnto them. I know not whether the one or the other haue obserued any Bisexte, although some hold the contrarie. The weekes which the *Mexicans* did reckon, were not properly weekes, being not of seuen daies: the *Ingas* likewise made no mention thereof which is no wonder, seeing the count of the weeke is not grounded vpon the course of the Sunne, as that of the yeare, nor of the Moone, as that of the moneth; but among the *Hebrewes* it is grounded vpon the creation of the world, as *Moyses* reporteth; and amongst the *Greekes* and *Latins* vpon the number of the seuen Planets, of whose names the daies of the weeke haue taken their denomination; yet was it much for those *Indians*, being men without bookes and learning, to haue a yeare, seasons, and feasts, so well appointed as I haue said.

12. Pillars of the Sunne.

LEtters were inuented to signifie properly the words we doe pronounce, euen as words (according to the Philosopher) are the signes and demonstrations of mans thoughts and conceptions. And both the one and the other (I say the letters and words) were ordained to make things knowne. The voice of such as are present, and letters for the absent, and such as are to come. Signes and markes which are not properly to signifie words, but things, cannot be called, neither in truth are they letters, although they be written, for we cannot say that the picture of the Sunne is a writing of the Sunne, but onely a picture; and the like may be said of other signes and characters, which haue no resemblance to the thing, but serue onely for memorie: for he that inuented them, did not ordaine them to signifie words, but onely to noate the thing: neither doe they call those characters, letters, or writings, as indeede they are not, but rather ciphers, or remembrances, as those be which the Spherists or Astronomers doe vse, to signifie diuers signes or planets of *Mars*, *Venus*, *Iupiter*, *&c.*

That no Nation of the *Indies* hath beene found to haue had the vse of Letters. *Chap.* 4

Such characters are ciphers, and no letters: for what name soeuer *Mart* may haue in *Italian*, *France*, or *Spanish*, this character doth alwaies signifie it, the which is not found in letters: for although they signifie the thing, yet is it by meanes of words. So as they which know not the thing, vnderstand them not: as for example, the *Greekes* nor the *Hebrews*, cannot conceiue what this word *Sal* doth signifie, although they see it written; for that they vnderstand not the Latine word: so as writing and letters are onely practised by them, which signifie words therewith. For if they signifie things mediately, they are no more letters nor writings, but ciphers and pictures: whereby we may obserue two notable things. The one, that the memorie of Histories and Antiquities may be preserued by one of these three meanes, either by letters and writings, as hath beene vsed amongst the *Latines*, *Greekes*, *Hebrewes*, and manie other Nations; or by painting, as hath beene vsed almost throughout all the world, for it is said in the second *Nicene* Counsell, *Painting is a Booke for fooles which cannot reade*: or by ciphers and characters, as the cipher signifies the number of a hundred, a thousand and others, without noting the word of a hundred, or a thousand. The other thing we may obserue thereby, is that which is propounded in this Chapter, which is, that no Nation of the *Indies* discouered in our time, hath had the vse of letters, and writings, but of the other two sorts, Images, and figures. The which I obserue, not onely of the *Indies* of *Peru*, and New *Spaine*, but also of *Iappon*, and *China*.

Three wayes of remembrance to posterity; letters, as we haue: pictures, as the *Mexicans*; characters, as in *China*.

Such fooles did that wise counsell make the *Christian* Church, in decreeing Images not onely to be bookes for such as can not reade, but obiects of worship to learned and vnlearned.

It is difficult to vnderstand how the *Chinois* can write proper names in their tongue, especially of strangers, being things they haue neuer seene, and not able to inuent figures proper vnto them. I haue made triall thereof being in *Mexico* with the *Chinois*, willing them to write this proposition in their language, *Ioseph Acosta is come from Peru*, and such like: whereupon the *Chinese* was long pensiue, but in the end hee did write it, the which other *Chinois* did after reade, although they did vary a little in the pronuntiation of the proper name. For they vse this deuise to write a proper name: they seeke out some thing in their tongue, that hath resemblance to that name, and set downe the figure of this thing. And as it is difficult among so many proper names, to finde things to resemble them in the prolation, so is it very difficult and troublesome to write such names. Vpon this purpose, Father *Alonso Sanchez* told vs, that when hee was in *China*, being led into diuers Tribunall Seates, from *Mandarin* to *Mandarin*, they were long in putting his name in writing in their *Capha*, yet in the end they did write it after their manner, and so ridiculously, that they scarce came neere to the name: and this is the fashion of Letters and Writings which the *Chinois* vsed. That of the *Iapponois* approached very neere, although they affirme that the Noblemen of *Iappon* that came into *Europe*, did write all things

verie

very easily in their Language, were they of our proper names: yea, I haue had some of their Writing shewed me, whereby it seemes they should haue some kinde of Letters, although the greatest part of their Writings, bee by the Characters and figures, as hath beene said of the *Chinois.*

An *Indian* of *Peru* or *Mexico*, that hath learned to read & write, knowes more then the wisest *Mandarin* that is amongst them: for that the *Indian* with foure and twentie Letters which hee hath learned, will write all the words in the World: and a *Mandarin* with his hundred thousand Letters, will be troubled to write some proper name, as of *Martin*, or *Alonso*, and with greater reason he shall bee lesse able to write the names of things hee knowes not. So as the writing in *China*, is no other thing but a manner of painting or ciphering.

Of the fashion of Letters and writings which the *Mexicans* vsed. *chap.7.*

WE find among the Nations of New *Spaine* a great knowledge and memorie of antiquitie; and therefore searching by what meanes the *Indians* had preserued their Histories, and so many particularities, I learned, that although they were not so subtill and curious as the *Chinois*, and those of *Iappon*, yet had they some kind of Letters and Bookes amongst them, whereby they preserued (after their manner) the deeds of their Predecessors. In the Prouince of *Yucatan*, where the Bishopricke is, which they call *de Honduras*, there were Bookes of the leaues of Trees, folded and squared, after their manner, in the which the wise *Indians* contained the distribution of their times, the knowledge of the Planets, of beasts and other naturall things, with their Antiquities, a thing full of great curiositie and diligence. It seemed to some Pendant that all this was an Inchantment and Magicke Arte, who did obstinately maintayne, that they ought to be burnt, so as they were committed to the fire. Which since not onely the *Indians* found to be ill done, but also the curious *Spaniards*, who desired to know the secrets of the Countrey. The like hath happened in other things: for our men thinking that all was but Superstition, haue lost many memorials of ancient and holy things, which might haue profited much. This proceedeth of a fooliſh and ignorant zeale, who not knowing, nor seeking to know what concerned the *Indians*, say preiudicately, that they are all but Witch-crafts, and that all the *Indians* are but Drunkards, incapable to know or learne any thing. For such as would be curiously informed of them, haue found many things worthy of consideration. One of our company of Iesuits, a man very wittie and well experienced, did assemble in the Prouince of *Mexico*, the Ancients of *Tescuco*, of *Talla*, and of *Mexico*, conferring at large with them, who shewed vnto him their Bookes, Histories and Kalenders, things very worthy the sight, because they had their figures and Hierogliphicks, whereby they represented things in this manner: Such as had forme or figure, were represented by their proper Images, and such as had not any, were represented by Characters that signified them, and by this meanes they figured and writ what they would. And to obserue the time when any thing did happen, they had those painted Wheeles, for euery one of them contayned an Age, which was two and fiftie yeeres, as hath beene said; and of the side of those Wheeles, they did paint with figures and Characters right against the yeere, the memorable things that happensd therein. As they noted the yeere when as the *Spaniards* entred their Countrey, they painted a man with a Hat and a red Ierkin, vpon the signe of a Reed, which did rule then, and so of other accidents. But for that their Writings and Characters were not sufficient as our Letters and Writings be, they could not so plainly expresse the words, but onely the substance of their conceptions. And forasmuch as they were accustomed to rehearse Discourses and Dialogues by heart, compounded by their Oratours and ancient Rhethoricians, and many *Caphas* made by their Poets (which were impossible to learne by their Hierogliphickes and Characters) the *Mexicans* were very curious to haue their Children learne these Dialogues and compositions by heart. For the which cause they had Schooles, and as it were, Colledges or Seminaries, where the Ancients taught Children these Orations, and many other things, which they preserued amongst them by tradition from one to another, as perfectly, as if they had beene written; especially the most famous Nations had a care to haue their children (which had any inclination to be Rhetoritians, and to practise the Office of Orators) to learne these Orations by heart: So as when the *Spaniards* came into their Countrey, and had taught them to reade and write our Letters, many of the *Indians* then wrote these Orations, as some graue men doe witnesse that had read them. Which I say, for that some which shall happily reade these long and eloquent Discourses in the *Mexican* History, will easily beleeue they haue beene inuented by the *Spaniards*, and not really taken and reported from the *Indians*. But hauing knowne the certaine truth, they will giue credit (as reason is) to their Histories. They did also write these Discourses after their manner, by Characters and Images: and I haue seene for my better satisfaction, the *Pater noster*, *Aue Maria*, and *Symboll*, or generall Confession of our Faith, written in this manner by the *Indians*.

Bookes of leaues of trees heere *folium & liber*, or *codex*, from the rinde in which the Ancients writ.

Blind zeale.

Confession by picture.

And in truth whosoeuer shall see them, will wonder thereat. For, to signifie these words, *I a Sinner doe confesse my selfe*, they painted an *Indian* vpon his knees, at a religious mans feet, as one that confesseth himselfe: and for this, *To God most mightie*, they painted three faces with their Crownes, like to the Trinitie, and *To the glorious Virgin Maria*, they painted the face of

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our Lady, and halfe the bodie of a little childe: and for Saint *Peter* and Saint *Paul*, heads with crownes, and a Key with a Sword: and whereas Images failed, they did set Characters, as *Wherein I haue sinned, &c.* whereby we may conceiue the quickneſſe of ſpirit of theſe *Indians*, ſeeing this manner of writing of our Prayers and matters of Faith hath not beene taught them by the *Spaniards*, neither could they haue done it, if they had not had an excellent conception of that was taught them. And I haue ſeene in *Peru*, a confeſſion of ſinnes brought by an *Indian*, written in the ſame ſort with Pictures and Characters, painting euery one of the tenne Commandements, after a certayne manner, where there were certayne markes like Ciphers, which were the ſinnes hee had committed againſt the Commandements. I nothing doubt but if any of the moſt ſufficient *Spaniards* were imployed to make memorials of the like things by by their Images and markes, they would not attayne vnto it in a whole yeere, no not in tenne.

Of Regiſters and the manner of reckoning which the *Indians* of *Peru* vſed. *Chap.* 8.

BEfore the *Spaniards* came to the *Indies*, they of *Peru* had no kind of writing, either Letters, Characters, Ciphers, or Figures, like to thoſe of *China* and *Mexico*: yet preſerued they the memory of their Antiquities, and maynteine an order in all their affaires, of Peace, Warre, and Policie, for that they were carefull obſeruers of Traditions from one to another, and the young ones learned, and carefully kept, as a holy thing, what their Superiors had told them, and taught it with the like care to their Poſteritie. Beſides this diligence, they ſupplied the want of Letters and Writings, partly by painting, as thoſe of *Mexico*, (although they of *Peru* were very groſſe and blockiſh) and partly, and moſt commonly by *Quippos*. Theſe *Quippos* are Memorials or Regiſters, made of Bowes, in the which there are diuers knots and colours, which doe ſignifie diuers things, and it is ſtrange to ſee what they haue expreſſed and repreſented by this meanes: for their *Quippos* ſerue them inſteed of *Bookes of Hiſtories, of Lawes, Ceremonies, and accounts of their affaires.* There were Officers appointed to keepe theſe *Quippos*, the which at this day they call *Quipocamayos*, the which were bound to giue an account of euery thing, as *Notaries and Regiſters* doe heere. Therefore they fully beleeued them in all things, for according to the varietie of buſineſſe, as Warres, Policies, Tributes, Ceremonies and Lands, there were ſundry *Quippos* or branches, in euery one of the which there were ſo many knots little and great, and ſtrings tyed vnto them, ſome Red, ſome Greene, ſome Blue, ſome White, and finally, ſuch diuerſitie, that euen as wee deriue an infinite number of words from the foure and twentie Letters, applying them in diuers ſorts, ſo doe they draw innumerable words from their knots, and diuerſitie of colours. Which thing they doe in ſuch a manner, that if at this day in *Peru*, any Commiſſary come at the end of two or three yeeres, to take information vpon the life of any Officer, the *Indians* come with their ſmall reckonings verified, ſaying, that in ſuch a Village they giuen him ſo many Egges which he hath not payed for, in ſuch a houſe a Henne, in another, two burthens of graſſe for his Horſe, and that he hath payed but ſo much mony, and remaineth debtor ſo much. The proofe being preſently made with theſe numbers of knots and handfuls of coards, it remaynes for a certaine teſtimonie and regiſter. I did ſee a handfull of theſe ſtrings, wherein an *Indian* woman carried written a generall confeſſion of all her life, and thereby confeſſed her ſelfe, as well as I could haue done it in written Paper. I asked her what thoſe ſtrings meant that differed from the reſt: ſhe anſwered me, they were certaine circumſtances which the ſinne required to be fully confeſſed. Beſide theſe *Quippos* of threed, they haue another, as it were a kind of writing with ſmall ſtones, by meanes whereof, they learne punctually the words they deſire to know by heart. It is a pleaſant thing to ſee the old and the impotent (with a Wheele made of ſmall ſtones) learne the *Paternoſter*, with another the *Aue Maria*, with another the Creed; and to remember what ſtone ſignifies, *Which was conceiued by the Holy Ghoſt*, and which, *Suffered vnder Pontius Pilate.*

Quippos.

Writing with ſmall ſtones.

It is a pleaſant thing to ſee them correct themſelues when they doe erre; for all their correction conſiſteth onely in beholding of their ſmall ſtones. One of theſe Wheeles were ſufficient to make me forget all that I doe know by heart. There are a great number of theſe Wheeles in the Church-yards for this purpoſe. But it ſeemes a kind of Witch-craft, to ſee another kinde of *Quippos*, which they make of graines of Mays, for to caſt vp a hard account, wherein a good Arithmetician would bee troubled with his Penne to make a diuiſion: to ſee how much euery one muſt contribute: they doe draw ſo many graines from one ſide, and adde ſo many to another, with a thouſand other inuentions. Theſe *Indians* will take their graines, and place fiue of one ſide, three of another, and eight of another, and will change one graine of one ſide, and three of another: So as they finiſh a certaine account, without erring in any point: and they ſooner ſubmit themſelues to reaſon by theſe *Quippos*, what euery one ought to pay, then wee can doe with the Penne. Heereby wee may judge if they haue any vnderſtanding, or bee brutiſh: for my part, I thinke they paſſe vs in thoſe things, whereunto they doe apply themſelues.

Accounts by graines of Mays.

Of the order the *Indians* hold in their Writings. *Ch.* 9.

IT shall be good to adde hereunto what we haue obserued, touching the *Indians* Writings: for their manner was not to write with a continued line, but from the top to the bottome, or in circle-wise. The *Latines* and *Greekes* doe write from the left hand vnto the right, which is the vulgar and common manner wee doe vse. The *Hebrewes* contrariwise beganne at the right to the left, and therefore their Bookes began where ours did end. The *Chinois* write neither like the *Greekes* nor like the *Hebrewes*, but from the top to the bottome, for as they bee no Letters but whole words, and that euery figure and Character signifieth a thing, they haue no neede to assemble the parts one with another, and therefore they may well write from the toppe to the bottome. Those of *Mexico*, for the same cause did not write in line, from one side to another, but contrary to the *Chinois*, beginning below, they mounted vpward. They vsed this manner of writing, in the account of their dayes, and other things which they obserued: Yet when they did write in their Wheeles or Signes, they began from the middest where the Sunne was figured, and so mounted by their yeeres vnto the round and circumference of the Wheele.

Diuers manners of writing.

By words, Pictures, and these Memorialls, the Kings were often aduertised of that which passed. For this cause there were men of great agilitie, which serued as Curriers, to goe and come, whom they did nourish in this exercise of Running from their youth, labouring to haue them well breathed, that they might runne to the top of a high Hill without wearinesse. And therefore in *Mexico* they gaue the Prize to three or foure that first mounted vp the stayres of the Temple, as hath beene said in the former Booke. And in *Cusco*, when they made their Solemne Feast of *Capacraymi*, the Nouices did runne who could fastest vp the Rocke of *Tnacaui*. And the exercise of running is generall; much vsed among the *Indians*. When as there chanced any matter of importance, they sent vnto the Lords of *Mexico*, the thing painted, whereof they would aduertise them, as they did when the first *Spanish* ships appeared to their sight, and when they tooke *Topancban*. In *Peru* they were very curious of Footmen, and the *Ingua* had them in all parts of the Realme, as ordinary Posts called *Chasquis*, whereof shall bee spoken in his place.

Diuers formes of gouernment.

Many Nations of the *Indies* haue not indured any Kings, or absolute and souereigne Lords, but liue in Comminalties, creating and appointing Captaynes and Princes, for certayne occasions onely, to whom they obey during the time of their charge; then after they returne to their former estates. The greatest part of this New World (where there are no setled Kingdomes, nor established Common-weales, neither Princes nor succeeding Kings) they gouerne themselues in this manner, although there bee some Lords and principall men raised aboue the common sort. In this sort the whole Countrey of *Chille* is gouerned, where the *Auracanes*, those of *Teucapell* and others, haue so many yeeres resisted the *Spaniards*. And in like sort all the new Kingdome of *Granado*, that of *Guatimalla*, the Ilands, all *Florida*, *Brefil*, *Luson*, and other Countreyes of great circuit: but that in some places they are yet more barbarous, scarcely acknowledging any head, but all command and gouerne in common, hauing no other thing, but will, violence, industry and disorder, so as hee that most may most commands.

Whether the *Mexican* or *Peru* Kingdome was greater.

They haue onely found two Kingdomes or setled Empires, that of the *Mexicans* in New *Spaine*, and of the *Inguas* in *Peru*. It is not easie to be said, which of the two was the mightiest Kingdome, for that *Motezuma*, exceeded them of *Peru*, in Buildings, and in the greatnesse of his Court: but the *Inguas*, did likewise exceed the *Mexicans*, in treasure, riches, and greatnesse of Prouinces. In regard of Antiquitie, the Monarchie of the *Inguas*, hath the aduantage, although it be not much, and in my opinion, they haue beene equall in feats of Armes and Victories. It is most certaine, that these two Kingdomes haue much exceeded all the *Indian* Prouinces, discouered in this New World, as well in good order and gouernment, as in power and wealth, and much more in Superstition and Seruice of their Idols, hauing many things like one to another But in one thing they differed much, for among the *Mexicans*, the succession of the Kingdome, was by election, as the Empire of the *Romanes*, and that of *Peru*, was hereditary, and they succeeded in bloud, as the Kingdomes of *France* and *Spaine*.

Of the gouernment of the Kings and *Inguas* of *Peru*. *Chap.* 12.

THe *Ingua* which ruled in *Peru*, being dead, his lawfull Sonne succeeded him, and so they held him that was borne of his chiefe Wife, whom they called *Coya*. The which they haue alwayes obserued since the time of an *Ingua*, called *Tupangui*, who married his sister: for these Kings held it an honour to marrie their Sisters. And although they had other Wiues and Concubines, yet the succession of the Kingdome appertayned to the Sonne of *Coya*. It is true, that when the King had a legitimate Brother, he succeeded before the Sonne, and after him his Nephew, and Sonne to the first. The *Curacas*, and Noblemen, held the same order of succession in their goods and Offices. And after their manner they made excessiue Ceremonies, and obsequies for the dead. Being dead, they presently held him for a God, making Sacrifices vnto him, Images and such like. By this meanes, there was infinite Treasure in *Peru*: for euery one of the *Inguas*, had laboured to haue his Oratorie and Treasure surpasse that of his Predecessors. The marke or ensigne, whereby they tooke possession of the Realme, was a *red roll of Woell*, more then fine silke, the which hung in the middest of his forehead: and none but the *Ingua* alone might

Incestuous Marriages.

Diadem.

weare

weare it, for that it was as a Crowne and Royall Diademe: yet they might lawfully weare a Roll hanging on the one ſide, neere vnto the eare, as ſome Noblemen did, but onely the *Ingua* might carrie it in the middeſt of his forehead. At ſuch time as they tooke this Roll or Wreathe, they made ſolemne Feaſts, and many Sacrifices, with a great quantitie of veſſell of Gold, and Siluer, a great number of ſmall formes or Images of ſheepe, made of Gold and Siluer, great abundance of the ſtuffes of *Cumby*, well wrought, both fine and courſer, many ſhels of the Sea of all ſorts, many feathers, and a thouſand ſheepe, which muſt bee of diuers colours. Then the chiefe Prieſt tooke a young Childe in his hands, of the age of ſixe or eight yeeres, pronouncing theſe words with the other Miniſters ſpeaking to the Image of *Vtracocha*, *Lord we offer this vnto thee, that thou mayeſt mayntayne vs in quiet, and helpe vs in our warres, mayntaine our Lord the* Ingua *in his greatneſſe and eſtate, that hee may alwayes increaſe, giuing him much knowledge to gouerne vs.*

There were preſent at this Ceremonie and Oath, men of all parts of the Realme, and of all *Guacas* and Sanctuaries. And without doubt, the affection and reuerence which this people bare to their Kings *Ingas*, was very great, for it is neuer found that any one of his ſubiects committed Treaſon againſt him, for that they proceeded in their gouernments, not only with an abſolute power, but alſo with good order and Iuſtice, ſuffering no man to bee oppreſſed: The *Ingua* placed Gouernours in diuers Prouinces, amongſt the which, ſome were Superiours, and did acknowledge none but himſelfe, others were of leſſe command, and others more particular, with ſo goodly an order, and ſuch grauitie, as no man durſt be drunke, nor take an eare of Mays from his Neighbour. Theſe *Ingas* held it for a Maxime, that it was neceſſary to keepe the *Indians* alwayes in action: and therefore we ſee it to this day, long cawſies and workes of great labour, the which they ſay were made to exerciſe the *Indians*, leſt they ſhould remayne idle. When hee conquered any new Prouince, hee was accuſtomed preſently to ſend the greateſt part, and the chiefe of that Countrey into other Prouinces, or elſe to his Court, and they call them at this day in *Peru*, *Mitimas*, and in their places he ſent others of the Nation of *Cuſco*, eſpecially the *Orejones*, which were as Knights of an ancient houſe. They puniſhed faults rigorouſly. And therefore ſuch as haue any vnderſtanding hereof, hold opinion, that there can be no better gouernment for the *Indians*, nor more aſſured, then that of the *Ingas*.

Exact Iuſtice.

No idleneſſe permitted.

Tranſmigration.

TO relate more particularly what I haue ſpoken before, you muſt vnderſtand, that the diſtribution which the *Ingas* made of their vaſſals, was ſo exact and diſtinct, as hee might gouerne them all with great facilitie, although his Realme were a thouſand leagues long: for hauing conquered a Prouince, he preſently reduced the *Indians* into Townes and Comminalties, the which he diuided into bands, he appointed one to haue the charge ouer euery ten *Indians*, ouer euery hundred another, ouer euery thouſand another, and ouer ten thouſand another, whom they called *Hunos*, the which was one of the greateſt charges. Yet aboue all in euery Prouince, there was a Gouernour of the houſe of the *Ingas*, whom all the reſt obeyed, giuing vnto him euery yeere particular account of what had paſſed, that is, of ſuch as were borne, of thoſe that were dead and of their troupes and graine. The Gouernours went euery yeere out of *Cuſco*, where they remayned, and returned to the great Feaſt of *Raymi*, at the which, they brought the tribute of the whole Realme to the Court; neither might they enter but with this condition. All the Kingdome was diuided into foure parts, which they called *Tahuantinſuyo*, that is, *Chinchaſuyo*, *Collaſuyo*, *Andeſuyo*, and *Condeſuyo*, according to the foure wayes which went from *Cuſco*, where the Court was reſident, and where the generall aſſemblies of the Realme were made. Theſe waies and Prouinces being anſwerable vnto them, were towards the foure quarters of the world; *Collaſuyo* to the South, *Chinchaſuyo* to the North, *Condeſuyo* to the Weſt, and *Andeſuyo* to the Eaſt. In euery Towne and Village, there were two ſorts of people, which were of *Hanaunſaya*, and *Vrinſaya*, which is as much to ſay, as *thoſe aboue*, and *thoſe below*. When they commanded any worke to be done, or to furniſh any thing to the *Ingua*, the Officers knew preſently how much euery Prouince, Towne, and Family, ought to furniſh: ſo as the diuiſion was not made by equall portions, but by Cottization, according to the qualities and wealth of the Countrey. So as for example, if they were to gather a hundred thouſand *Fanegues* of Mays, they knew preſently how much euery Prouince was to contribute, were it a tenth, a ſeuenth, or a fift part. The like was of Townes and Villages, *Aillos*, or Linages. The *Quipocamayos*, which were the Officers and Intendants, kept the account of all with their ſtrings and knottes, without fayling, ſetting downe what euery one had payed, euen to a Henne, or a burthen of wood, and in a moment they did ſee by diuers Regiſters what euery one ought to pay.

Of the diſtribution the *Ingas* made of their Vaſſals. *Chap.* 13.

Gouernours.

Tribute yeerely paid at *Cuſco*.

Fourefold prouinciall partition.

THe Edifices and Buildings which the *Ingas* made in Temples, Fortreſſes, wayes, Countrey houſes, and ſuch like, were many in number, and of an exceſſius labour, as doth appeare at this day by their ruines and remaynders, both in *Cuſco*, *Tyaguanaco*, *Tambo*, and other places, where there are ſtones of an vnmeaſurable greatneſſe: as men cannot conceiue how they were

Of the Edifices and manner of building of the *Ingas*. *Chap.* 14.

cut, brought and ſet in their places. There came great numbers of people from all Prouinces, to worke in theſe Buildings and Fortreſſes, which the *Ingua* cauſed to bee made in *Cuſco*, or other parts of the Realme. As theſe Workes were ſtrange, and to amaze the beholders, wherein they vſed no Morter nor Ciment, neither any Iron, or Steele, to cut, and ſet the ſtones in worke. They had no Engines or other Inſtruments to carrie them, and yet were they ſo artificially wrought, that in many places they could not ſee the ioynts: and many of theſe ſtones are ſo bigge, that it were an incredible thing, if one ſhould not ſee them. At *Tiaguanaco*, I did meaſure a ſtone of thirtie eight foot long, of eighteene broad, and ſixe thicke. And in the wall of the Fortreſſe of *Cuſco*, which is of *Moallon*, there are ſtones of a greater bigneſſe. And that which is moſt ſtrange, theſe ſtones being not cut nor ſquared to ioyne, but contrariwiſe, very vnequall one with another in forme and greatneſſe, yet did they ioyne them together without Ciment, after an incredible manner. All this was done by the force of men, who endured their labour with an inuincible patience. For to ioyne one ſtone with another, they were forced to handle and trie many of them often, being vneuen. The *Ingua* appointed euery yeere what numbers of people ſhould labour in theſe ſtones and buildings, and the *Indians* made a diuiſion amongſt them, as of other things, ſo as no man was oppreſſed. Although theſe Buildings were great, yet were they commonly ill appointed and vnfit, almoſt like to the Moſquites or Buildings of the Barbarians.

Neat art in ioyning huge ſtones.

Arches.

They could make no Arches in their Edifices, nor Morter or Ciment to build them withall: when they ſaw Arches of wood built vpon the Riuer of *Xaura*, the Bridge being finiſhed, and the wood broken downe, they all began to runne away, ſuppoſing that the Bridge which was of ſtone ſhould preſently fall; but when they found it to ſtand firme, and that the *Spaniards* went on it, the *Cacique* ſaid to his companions; *It is reaſon we ſhould ſerue theſe men, who in truth ſeeme to be the children of the Sunne.* The Bridges they made were of Reedes pleited, which they tyed the bankes with great ſtakes, for that they could not make any Bridges of ſtone or wood. The Bridge which is at this day vpon the current of the great Lake *Chiquitto* in *Collao* is admirable; for the courſe of that water is ſo deepe, as they cannot ſettle any foundation, and ſo broad, that it is impoſſible to make an Arch to paſſe it: ſo as it was altogether impoſſible to make a Bridge either of wood or ſtone. But the wit and induſtry of the *Indians* inuented a meanes to make a firme and aſſured Bridge being only of ſtraw, which ſeemeth fabulous, yet is it very true: For as we haue ſaid before, they did binde together certaine bundles of Reeds, and Weeds, which doe grow in the Lake that they call *Totora*, and being a light matter that ſinkes not in the water, they caſt it vpon a great quantitie of Reeds, then hauing tyed thoſe bundles of Weedes to either ſide of the Riuer, both men and beaſts goe ouer it with eaſe: paſſing ouer this Bridge I haue wondred, that of ſo common and eaſie a thing, they had made a Bridge, better, and more aſſured then the Bridge of Boates from *Seuille* to *Triane*. I haue meaſured the length of this Bridge, and as I remember, it was aboue three hundred foote; and they ſay that the depth of this Current is very great: and it ſeemes aboue, that the water hath no motion, yet they ſay, that at the bottome it hath a violent and very furious courſe. And this ſhall ſuffice for Buildings.

Bridges.

Straw Bridge.

Of the *Inguas* reuenues, and the order of Tributes they impoſed vpon the *Indians*. *Chap.* 15.

THe *Inguas* riches was incomparable, for although no King did inherit the riches and treaſure of his Predeceſſor, yet had he at command, all the riches of his Realmes, aſwell Siuer and Gold, as the ſtuffe of *Cumbi*, and cattell, wherein they abounded, and their greateſt riches of all, was their innumerable number of vaſſals, which were all imployed as it pleaſed the King. They brought out of euery Prouince what he had choſen for tribute. The *Chicas* ſent him ſweet and rich woods; the *Lucanas* ſent Brancars to carry his Litter; The *Chumbiluicas*, Dancers; and ſo the other Prouinces ſent him what they had of abundance, beſides their generall Tribute, whereunto euery one contributed. The *Indians* that were noted to that end, laboured in the Mynes of Gold and Siluer, which did abound in *Peru*, whom the *Ingua* entertained with all they needed for their expences: and whatſoeuer they drew of Gold and Siluer, was for him. By this meanes there were ſo great treaſures in this Kingdome, as it is the opinion of many, that what fell in the hands of the *Spaniards*, (although it were very much, as wee know) was not the tenth part of that which they hid and buried in the ground, the which they could neuer diſcouer, notwithſtanding all the ſearch couetouſneſſe had taught them. But the greateſt wealth of theſe barbarous people, was, that their vaſſals were all ſlaues, whoſe labour they vſed at their pleaſure: and that which is admirable, they employed them in ſuch ſort, as it was no ſeruitude vnto them, but rather a pleaſing life. But to vnderſtand the order of Tributes which the *Indians* payed vnto their Lord, you muſt know, that when the *Ingua* conquered any Cities, he diuided all the Land into three parts, the firſt was, for Religion and Ceremonies, ſo as the *Pachayachaqui*, which is the *Creator*, and the *Sunne*, the *Chuquilla*, which is the *Thunder*, the *Pachamama*, and the dead, and other *Guacas* and Sanctuaries, had euery one their proper Lands, the fruits whereof were ſpoyled and conſumed in Sacrifices, and in the nouriſhing of Miniſters and Prieſts; for there were *Indians* appointed for euery *Guaca*, and Sanctuarie, and the

All ſlaues and none.

Lands ſacred.

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the greatest part of this reuenue was spent in *Cusco*, where was *the vniuersall and generall sanctuarie*, and the rest in that Citie, where it was gathered: for that after the imitation of *Cusco*, there were in euery Citie, *Guacas*, and Oratories of the same, order, and with the same functions, which were serued after the same manner and ceremonies to that of *Cusco*, which is an admirable thing, and they haue found it by proofe in aboue a hundred Townes, some of them distant aboue two hundred leagues from *Cusco*. Order in their Religion.

That which they sowed or reapt vpon their Land, was put into houses, as Granaries or storehouses, built for that effect, and this was a great part of the Tribute which the *Indians* paied. I cannot say how much this part amounted vnto, for that it was greater in some parts then in other, and in some places it was in a manner all: and this part was the first they put to profit. The second part of these Lands and inheritances was for the *Ingua*, wherewith he and his household were entertained, with his kinsfolks, Noblemen, Garrisons and Souldiers. And therefore it was the greatest portion of these tributes, as it appeareth by the quantity of Gold, Siluer, and other Tributes, which were in houses appointed for that purpose, being longer and larger then those where they keepe the reuenues of the *Guacas*. They brought this Tribute verie carefully to *Cusco*, or vnto such places where it was needefull for the Souldiers, and when there was store, they kept it ten or twelue yeares, vntill a time of necessitie. The *Indians* tilled and put to profit the *Inguas* Lands, next to those of the *Guacas*; during which time they liued and were nourished at the charges of the *Ingua*, of the Sunne, or of the *Guacas*, according to the Land they laboured. But the old men, women, and sicke folkes were reserued and exempt from this Tribute, and although whatsoeuer they gathered vpon those Lands were for the *Ingua*, the Sunne, or the *Guacas*, yet the propertie appertained vnto the *Indians* and their successours. The third part of these Lands were giuen by the *Ingua* for the Comminaltie, and they haue not yet discouered, whither this portion were greater, or lesse, then that of the *Ingua* or *Guacas*. It is most certaine they had a care and regard, it might be sufficient for the nourishment of the people. No particular man possessed any thing proper to himselfe of this third portion, neither did the *Indians* euer possesse any, if it were not by speciall grace from the *Ingua*: and yet might it not be engaged nor diuided amongst his heires. They euerie yeare diuided these Lands of the comminaltie, in giuing to euery one, that which was needefull for the nourishment of their persons and families. And as the familie increased or diminished, so did they encrease or decrease his portion, for there were measures appointed for euerie person. The *Indians* paied no tribute of that which was apportioned vnto them: For all their tribute was to till and keepe in good order the Lands of the *Ingua*, and the *Guacas*, and to lay the fruits thereof in their store-houses. When the yeare was barren, they gaue of these frnits thus reserued to the needie, for that there is alwaies superabundance. The *Ingua* did likewise make destribution of the cattell as of the Lands, which was to number and diuide them; then to appoint the pastures and limits, for the cattell belonging to the *Guacas*, and to the *Ingua*, and to euerie Town: and therefore one portion of their reuenues was for religion, another for the *Ingua*, and the third for the *Indians* themselues. The like order was obserued among the hunters, being forbidden to take or kill any females. The troupes of the *Inguas* and *Guacas*, were in great numbers and verie fruitfull; for this cause they called them *Kapaellama*, but those of the common and publike, were few in number and of small value, and therefore they called them *Bacchallama*. The *Ingua* tooke great care for the preseruation of Cattell, for that it hath beene, and is yet, all the wealth of the Countrie, and as it is said, they did neither sacrifice any females, nor kill them, neither did they take them when they hunted. If the mangie or the scuruie which they call *Carache* take anie beast, they were presently commanded to burie it quicke, lest it should infect others. They did sheare their cattell in their season, and distributed to euerie one to spinne and weaue Stuffes for the seruice of his Family. They had *searchers* to examine if they did employ themselues in these workes, and to punish the negligent. They made Stuffes of the wooll of the *Inguas* cattell, for him and for his family, one sort very fine, which they called *Cumbi*, and another grosser, which they likewise called *Abasca*. There was no certaine number of these Stuffes and garment, appointed, but what was deliuered to euery one. The wooll that remained was put into the storehouses, whereof the *Spaniards* found them full, and with all other things necessary for the life of man. There are few men of iudgement but doe admire at so excellent & well setled a gouernment, seeing the *Indians* (being neither religious, nor Christians) maintained after their manner, this perfection, nor to hold any thing proper, and to prouide for all their necessities, entertaining with such abūdance matters of Religion, & that which concerned their King & Lord.

Royall demesnes.

Lands of the comminaltie in common.

No propriety of Lands.

Their Tribute, what.

Cattell distributed.

Hunters lawes

Prouisions for cattell.

Negligence punished.

THe *Indians* of *Peru* had one perfection, which was, to teach their children all arts and occupations necessary for the life of man; for that there were no particular Trades-men, as amongst vs, Taylers, Shoomakers, Weauers, and the rest, but euery one learned what was needefull for their persons and houses, and prouided for themselues. All could weaue and make their garments, and therefore the *Ingua* furnishing them with wooll, gaue them cloathes. Euery man could till the ground, and put it to profit, without hyring of any labourers. All built their own houses

Of Arts and offices which the *Indians* did exercise. *Ch.* 16.

All men of all trades.

houses, and the women, which vnderstood most were not brought vp in delights, but serued their Husbands carefully. Other Arts and Trades which were not ordinary and common for the life of man, had their proper Companies and workemen, as *Goldsmiths*, *Painters*, *Potters*, *Watermen*, and *players of Instruments*. There were also *Weauers* and workemen for exquisite workes, which the Noblemen vsed: but the common people, as hath beene said, had in their houses all things necessary, hauing no neede to buy. This continues to this day, so as they haue no neede one of another for things necessary: touching his person and family, as shooes and garments, and for their house, to sowe and reape, and to make Iron workes, and necessarie instruments. It is worthy obseruation, although the *Indians* be simple in their manner and habits, yet doe we see great diuersitie amongst the Prouinces, especially in the attire of their head, for in some places they carried a long peece of cloath, which went often about, in some places a large peece of cloath, which went but once about, in some parts as it were little morters or hats, in some others as it were high and round Bonets, and some like the bottome of sacks, with a thousand other differences. They had a straight and inuiolable law, that no man might change the fashion of the garments of his Prouince, although he went to liue in another. This the *Ingua* held to be of great importance for the order and good gouernment of his Realme, and they doe obserue it to this day, though not with so great a care as they were accustomed.

Diuersitie of head-tire.

Vniformity of habit.

THere were many Posts and couriers which the *Ingua* maintained throughout his Realme, whom they called *Chasquis*, and they carried commandements to the Gouernours, and returned their aduises and aduertisements to the Court. These *Chasquis* were placed at euery course, which was a league and a halfe one from another in two small houses, where were foure *Indians* of euery Country, and they were changed monthly. Hauing receiued the packet or message, they ranne with all their force vntill they had deliuered it to the other *Chasquis*, such as were ao runne, being ready and watchfull. They ran fiftie leagnes in a day and night, although the greatest part of that Countrie be very rough. They serued also to carry such things as the *Ingua* desired to haue with speede. Therefore they had alwaies Sea-fish in *Cusco*, of two daies old or little more, although it were aboue a hundred leagues off. Since the *Spaniards* entred, they haue vsed of these *Chasquis*, in time of seditions, whereof there was great neede. *Don Martin* the Viceroy appointed ordinary Posts at euery foure leagues, to carry and recarry dispatches, which were very necessary in this Realme, though they run not so swiftly as the ancients did, neither are there so many, yet they are well paied, and serue as the ordinaries of *Spaine*, to whom they giue Letters which they carry foure or fiue leagues.

Of the Posts and *Chasquis* the *Indians* did vse. *Chap.* 17.

EVen as such as had done any good seruice in warre, or in the gouernment of the Commonweale were honoured and recompensed with publike charges, with Lands giuen them in proper, with armes and titles of honour, and in marrying wiues of the *Inguas* linage: Euen so they gaue seuere punishments to such as were disobedient and offenders. They punished murther, theft, and adultery, with death, and such as committed incest with ascendants or descendants in direct line, were likewise punished with death. But they held it no adultery to haue many wiues or concubines, neither were the women subiect to the punishment of death, being found with any other, but onely she that was the true and lawfull wife, with whom they contracted marriage; for they had but one whom they did wedde and receiue with a particular solemnitie and ceremonie, which was in this manner: The Bridegroome went to the Brides house, and led her from thence with him, hauing first put an *Ottoya* vpon her foote. They call the shooe which they vse in those parts *Ottoya*, being open like the *Franciscan* Friars. If the Bride were a maide, her *Ottoya* was of Wooll, but if she were not, it was of Reedes. All his other wiues and concubines did honour and serue this as the lawfull wife, who alone after the decease of her husband carried a mourning weede of blacke, for the space of a yeare; neither did she marry vntill that time were past; and commonly she was yonger then her husband. The *Ingua* himselfe with his owne hand gaue this woman to his Gouernours and Captaines; and the Gouernours or *Caciques*, assembled all the yong men and maides, in one place of the Citie, where they gaue to euerie one his wife with the aforesaid ceremonie, in putting on the *Ottoya*, and in this manner they contracted their marriages. If this woman were found with any other then her husband, she was punished with death, and the adulterer likewise: and although the husband pardoned them, yet were they punished, although dispensed withall from death. They inflicted the like punishment on him that did commit incest with his Mother, Grandmother, Daughter, or Grandchilde: for it was not prohibited for them to marrie together, or to haue of their other kinsfolke for concubines; onely the first degree was defended, neither did they allow the brother to haue the company of his sister, wherein they of *Peru* were very much deceiued, beleeuing that their *Inguas* and Noblemen might lawfully contract marriage with their sisters, yea by father and mother: for in truth it hath beene alwaies held vnlawfull among the *Indians*, and defended to contract in the first degree; which continued vntill the time of *Topa Ingua Yupangui* father to *Guaynacapa*, and grandfather to *Atabualpa*, at such time as the *Spaniards* entred

Of the Iustice, Lawes, and punishments which the *Inguas* haue established, and of their mariages *Chap.* 18.

Adultery.

Marriage solemnitie.

Incest forbidden.

entred *Peru*; for that *Topa Ingua Yupangui*, was the first that brake this custome, marrying with *Mamaoello*, his sister by the fathers side, decreeing that the *Inguas* might marrie with their sisters by the fathurs side, and no other.

This he did, and by that marriage he had *Guaynacapa*, and a daughter called *Coya Cussillimay*: finding himselfe at the point of death, he commanded his children by father and mother to marrie together, and gaue permission to the Noblemen of his Countrie, to marrie with their sisters by the fathers side. And for that this marriage was vnlawfull, and against the law of nature, God would bring to an end this Kingdome of the *Inguas*, during the raigne of *Guascar Ingua*, and *Atabualpa Ingua*, which was the fruite that sprang from this marriage. Who so will more exactly vnderstand the mannor of marriages among the *Indians* in *Peru*, let him reade the Treatise *Polo* hath written at the request of *Don Ieronimo Loaisa* Archbishop of *Kings*: which *Polo* made a very curious search, as he hath done of diuers other things at the *Indies*.

Of the Originall of the *Inguas* Lords of *Peru*, with their Conquests and Victories. *Chap.* 19.

BY the commandement of *Don Phillip* the Catholike King, they haue made the most diligent and exact search that could be, of the beginning, customes, and priuiledges of the *Inguas*, the which was not so perfectly done as was desired: for that the *Indians* had no written Records: yet the haue recouered that which I shall write, by meanes of their *Quippos* and Registers. First there was not in *Peru* in old time, any King or Lord to whom all obeyed, but they were Comminalties, as at this day there is in the Realme of *Chille*, and in a manner, in all the Prouinces which the *Spaniards* haue conquered in those Westerne *Indies*, except the Realme of *Mexico*. You must therefore vnderstand, that they haue found three manner of Gouernements at the *Indies*. The first and best, was a Monarchie, as that of the *Inguas*, and of *Motecuma*, although for the most part they were tyrannous. The second was of Comminalties, where they were gouerned by the aduise and authority of many, which are as it were Counsellors. These in time of warre, made choise of a Captaine, to whom a whole Nation or Prouince did obey, and in time of peace, euery Towne or Comminalty did rule and gouerne themselues, hauing some chiefe men whom the vulgar did respect, and sometime (though not often) some of them assemble together about matters of importance, to consult what they should thinke necessary. The third kinde of Gouernment, is altogether barbarous, composed of *Indians* without Law, without King, and without any certaine place of abode, but goe in troopes like sauage beasts. As farre as I can conceiue, the first Inhabitants of the *Indies*, were of this kinde, as at this day a great part of the *Brasilians*, *Chiraguanas*, *Chunchos*, *Tscycingas*, *Pilcocones*, and the greatest part of the *Floridians*, and all the *Chichimaquas* in new *Spaine*. Of this kinde the other sort of gouernment by Comminalties was framed, by the industry and wisdome of some amongst them, in which there is some more order, holding a more staied place, as at this day those of *Auracano*, and of *Teucapell* in *Chille*, and in the new Kingdome of *Grenado*, the *Moscas*, and the *Ottomittes* in new *Spaine*: and in all these there is lesse fiercenesse and inciuilitie, & much more quiet then in the rest. Of this kinde, by the valor & knowledg of some excellent men, grew the other gouernment more mighty and potent, which did institute a Kingdome and Monarchy.

Continuance of their Monarchy.

It appeares by their Registers, that their Gouernment hath continued aboue three hundred yeares, but not fully foure, although their Seigniorie for a long time, was not aboue fiue or six leagues compasse about the Citie of *Cusco*: their originall and beginning was in the valley of *Cusco*: where by little and little they conquered the Lands which we call *Peru*, passing beyond *Quitto*, vnto the riuer of *Pasto* towards the North, stretching euen vnto *Chille*, towards the South, which is almost a thousand leagues in length. It extended in breadth vnto the South Sea towards the West, and vnto the great champains which are on the other side of the *Andes*, where at this day is to be seene the Castell which is called the *Pucara* of the *Ingua*, the which is a fortresse built for the defence of the frontire towards the East. The *Inguas* aduanced no farther on that side, for the abundance of water, Marshes, Lakes, and Riuers, which runne in those parts.

Strife twixt *Inguas* and *Canaries*.

These *Inguas* passed all other Nations of *America*, in pollicie and gouernment, and much more in valour and armes, although the *Canaries* which were their mortall enemies, and fauoured the *Spaniards*, would neuer confesse it, nor yeelde them this aduantage: so as euen at this day, if they fall into any discourse or comparisons, and that they be a little chased and incensed, they kill one another by thousands vpon this quarrell, which are the most valiant, as it hath happened in *Cusco*. The practise and meanes which the *Inguas* had to make themselues Lords of all this Countrie, was in faining that since the generall deluge (whereof all the *Indians* haue knowledge) the world had beene preserued, restored, and peopled by these *Inguas*, and that seuen of them came forth of the Caue of *Pacaricambo*, by reason whereof, all other men ought them tribute and vassalage, as their progenitors. Besides they said and affirmed, that they alone held the true religion, and knew how God should be serued and honoured: and for this cause they should instruct all men. It is a strange thing, the ground they giue to their customes and ceremonies. There were in *Cusco* aboue *foure hundred Oratories*, as in a holy land, and all places were filled with their misteries. As they continued in the conquests of Prouinces, so they brought in the like ceremonies and customes. In all this Realme the chiefe Idols

400. Oratories in *Cusco*.

they

they did worship, were *Viracocha*, *Pachayachachic*, which signifies *the Creator* of the World, and after him, *the Sunne*. And therefore they said, that the Sunne receiued his vertue and being from the Creator, as the other Idols doe, and that they were intercessors to him.

Of the first *Ingua*, and his Successors. *Chap.* 20.

THe first man which the *Indians* report to be the beginning and first of the *Inguas*, was *Mangocapa*, whom they imagine, after the deluge, to haue issued forth of the Caue of *Tambo*, which is from *Cusco* about fiue or sixe leagues. They say that hee gaue beginning to two principall Races or Families of the *Inguas*, the one was called *Hanancusco*, and the other *Vrincusco*: of the first came the Lords which subdued and gouerned this Prouince, and the first whom they make the Head and Stemme of this Familie, was called *Ingaroca*, who founded a Familie or *Aillo*, as they call them, named *Viçaquiquirao*. This although he were no great Lord, was serued notwithstanding in vessell of gold and siluer. And dying, he appointed that all his treasure should be imployed for the seruice of his Body, and for the feeding of his Familie. His Successor did the like: and this grew to a generall custome, as I haue said, that no *Ingua* might inherit the goods and house of his Predecessor, but did build a new Palace. In the time of this *Inguaroca*, the *Indians* had Images of gold; and to him succeeded *Yaguarguaque*, a very old man: they say, hee was called by this name, which signifies *teares of blood*, for that being once vanquished and taken by his Enemies, for griefe and sorrow hee wept bloud. Hee was buried in a Village called *Paullo*, which is vpon the way to *Omasuyo*: he founded a Familie called *Aocuillipanaca*. To him succeeded his sonne *Viracocha Ingua*, who was very rich, and made much vessell of gold and siluer: he founded the Linage or Familie of *Cocopanaca*. *Gonçales Piçarro* sought out his body, for the report of the great treasure buried with him, who after hee had cruelly tormented many *Indians*, in the end he found it in *Xaquixaquana*, where as they said *Piçarro* was afterwards vanquished, taken, and executed by the President *Guasca*. *Gonçales Piçarro* caused the body of *Viracocha Ingua* to be burnt; the *Indians* did afterwards take the ashes, the which they preserued in a small vessell, making great sacrifices thereunto, vntill *Polo* did reforme it, and other Idolatries which they committed vpon the bodies of their other *Inguas*, the which hee suppressed with an admirable diligence and dexteritie, drawing these bodies out of their hands, being whole, and much imbalmed, whereby hee extinguished a great number of Idolatries which they committed. The *Indians* tooke it ill, that the *Ingua* did intitle himselfe *Viracocha*, which is the name of their God: and he to excuse himselfe, gaue them to vnderstand, that the same *Viracocha* appeared to him in his dreame, commanding him to take this name. To him succeeded *Pachacuti Ingua Yupangui*, who raigned seuentie yeeres, and conquered many Countries. The beginning of his conquests, was by meanes of his eldest brother, who hauing held the gouernment in his fathers time, and made warre by his consent, was ouer-throwne in a battaile against the *Changuas*, a Nation which inhabites the Valley of *Andaguaylas*, thirtie or fortie leagues from *Cusco*, vpon the way to *Lima*. This elder brother thus defeated, retyred himselfe with few men. The which *Ingua Yupangui*, his younger brother seeing, deuised and gaue forth, that being one day alone and melancholy, *Viracocha* the Creator spake to him, complayning, that *though hee were vniuersall Lord and Creator of all things, and that he had made the Heauen, the Sunne, the World, and Men, and that all was vnder his command, yet did they not yeeld him the obedience they ought, but contrariwise did equally honour and worship the Sunne, Thunder, Earth, and other things, which had no vertue but what he imparted vnto them:* giuing him to vnderstand, that in heauen where hee was, they called him *Viracocha Pachayachachic*, which signifieth *vniuersall Creator*; and to the end the *Indians* might beleeue it to be true, he doubted not although hee were alone, to raise men vnder this title, which should giue him victorie against the *Changuas*, although they were then victorious, and in great numbers; and make himselfe Lord of those Realmes, for that hee would send him men to his aide inuisibly, whereby he preuayled in such sort, that vnder this colour and conceit, he began to assemble a great number of people, whereof he made a mightie Armie, with the which he obtayned the victorie, making himselfe Lord of the whole Realme, taking the gouernment from his father and brother. Then afterwards he conquered and ouer-threw the *Changuas*, and from that time commanded that *Viracocha* should be held for vniuersall Lord, and that the Images of the Sunne and Thunder, should doe him reuerence and honor: And from that time they began to set the Image of *Viracocha* aboue that of the Sunne and Thunder, and the rest of the *Guacas*. And although this *Ingua Yupangui* had giuen Farmes, Lands, and Cattell to the Sunne, Thunder, and other *Guacas*, yet did he not dedicate any thing to *Viracocha*, saying, that he had no neede, being vniuersall Lord and Creator of all things. Hee informed his Souldiers after this absolute victorie of the *Changuas*, that it was not they alone that had conquered them, but certaine bearded men, whom *Viracocha* had sent him, and that no man might see them but himselfe, which were since conuerted into stones; it was therefore necessarie to seeke them out, whom he would know well. By this meanes he gathered together a multitude of stones in the Mountaines, whereof he made choice, placing them for *Guacas*, or Idols, they worshipped and sacrificed vnto; they called them *Pururaucas*, and carried them to the warre with great deuotion, beleeuing for certaine, that they had gotten the victorie by their helpe. The imagination

and

and fiction of this *Ingua* was of such force, that by the meanes thereof hee obtayned goodly victories: He founded the Familie called *Tuacapanaca*, and made a great Image of gold, which hee called *Indyllapa*, which he placed in a Brancard of gold, very rich, and of great price, of the which gold the *Indians* tooke great store to carry to *Xaxamalca*, for the libertie and ransome of *Atabalpa*, when the Marquesse *Francis Piçarre* held him prisoner. The Licenciate *Polo* found in his house in *Cusco*, his seruants and *Mamacomas*, which did seruice to his memorie, and found that the body had beene transported from *Patallacta* to *Totocache*, where the *Spaniards* haue since founded the Parish of Saint *Blaise*. This body was so whole and preserued with a certaine Rosin, that it seemed aliue, he had his eyes made of a fine cloth of gold, so artificially set, as they seemed very naturall eyes, he had a blow with a stone on the head, which he had receiued in the warres, hee was all grey and hayrie, hauing lost no more haire then if he had dyed but the same day, although it were seuentie and eight yeeres since his decease. The foresaid *Polo* sent this body with some others of the *Inguas*, to the Citie of *Lima*, by the Vice-royes command which was the Marquesse of *Canette*, and the which was very necessarie to roote out the Idolatrie of *Cusco*. Many *Spaniards* haue seene this body with others in the Hospitall of Saint *Andrew*, which the Marquesse built, but they were much decayed. *Don Philip Caritopa*, who was grand-child or great grand-child to this *Ingua*, affirmed that the treasure hee left to his Familie was great, which should bee in the power of the *Tanacenas*, *Amaro*, *Toto*, and others. To this *Ingua* succeeded *Topaingua Yupanqui*, to whom his sonne of the same name succeeded, who founded the Familie called *Cupac Aillo*.

TO this latter *Ingua* succeeded *Guaynacapa*, which is to say, *A young man, rich and valiant*, and so was he in truth, more then any of his Predecessors, or Successors. He was very wise, planting good orders throughout his whole Realme, he was a bold and resolute man, valiant, and very happy in warre. He therefore obtayned great victories, and extended his Dominions much farther then all his Predecessors had done before him; he dyed in the Realme of *Quitto*, the which he had conquered, foure hundred leagues distant from his Court. The *Indians* opened him after his decease, leauing his heart and entrailes in *Quitto*, the body was carried to *Cusco*, the which was placed in the renowmed Temple of the *Sunne*. Wee see yet to this day many Cawseys, Buildings, Fortresses, and notable workes of this King: hee founded the Familie of *Teme Bamba*. This *Guaynacapa* was worshipped of his subiects for a god, being yet aliue, as the old men affirme, which was not done to any of his Predecessors. When hee dyed, they slue a thousand persons of his household, to serue him in the other life, all which dyed willingly for his seruice, insomuch that many of them offered themselues to death, besides such as were appointed: his riches and treasure was admirable. And forasmuch as the *Spaniards* entred soone after his death, the *Indians* laboured much to conceale all, although a great part thereof was carried to *Xaxamalca*, for the ransome of *Atabalpa* his sonne. Some worthy of credit, affirme that he had aboue three hundred sonnes and grand-children in *Cusco*. His mother called *Mamaoella* was much esteemed amongst them. *Polo* sent her body with that of *Guaynacapa* very well imbalmed to *Lima*, rooting out infinite Idolatries. To *Guaynacapa* succeeded in *Cusco* a sonne of his called *Titocussiguelpa*, who since was called *Guaspar Ingua*, his body was burned by the Captaines of *Atabualpa*, who was likewise sonne to *Guaynacapa*, and rebelled in *Quitto* against his brother, marching against him with a mightie Armie. It happened that *Quisquis* and *Chilicuchi*, Captaines to *Atabualpa*, tooke *Guaspar Ingua* in the Citie of *Cusco*, being receiued for Lord and King (for that he was the lawfull successor) which caused great sorrow throughout all his Kingdome, especially in his Court. And as alwayes in their necessities they had recourse to sacrifices, finding themselues vnable to set their Lord at libertie, aswell for the great power the Captaines had that tooke him, as also, for the great Armie that came with *Atabualpa*, they resolued (some say by the commandement of this *Ingua*) to make a great and solemne sacrifice to *Viracocha Pachayachachic*, which signifieth *vniuersall Creator*, desiring him, that since they could not deliuer their Lord, he would send men from Heauen to deliuer him from prison. And as they were in this great hope, vpon their sacrifice, newes came to them, that a certaine people come by Sea, was landed, and had taken *Atabualpa* prisoner. Hereupon they called the *Spaniards Viracochas*, beleeuing they were men sent from God, aswell for the small number they were to take *Atabualpa* in *Xaxamalca*, as also, for that it chanced after their sacrifice done to *Viracocha*, and thereby they began to call the *Spaniards Viracochas*, as they doe at this day. And in truth, if we had giuen them good example, and such as we ought, the *Indians* had well applyed it, in saying they were men sent from God. It is a thing very well worthy of consideration, how the greatnesse and prouidence of God, disposed of the entrie of our men at *Peru*, which had beene impossible, were not the dissention of the two Brethren and their Partisans, and the great opinion they had of *Christians*, as of men sent from Heauen, bound (by the taking of the *Indians* Country) to labour to win soules vnto Almightie God.

Of the greatest and most famous *Ingua* called *Guaynacapa*. ch. 22.

Guaynacapa worshipped for a god.

His 300. sonnes &c.

Spaniards esteemed men sent from God.

Peru could not haue beene conquered but by diuision of themselues.

Of the last Successors *Ingas*. *Chap.* 23.

THe rest of this subiect is handled at large by the *Spanish* Writers in the Histories of the *Indies*, and for that it is not my purpose, I will speake onely of the succession of the *Ingas*. *Atabualpa* being dead in *Xaxamalca*, and *Guascar* in *Cusco*, and *Francis Picarre* with his people hauing seised on the Realme, *Mangocapa* sonne to *Guaynacapa* besieged them in *Cusco* very straightly: but in the end he abandoned the whole Country, and retyred himselfe to *Vilca Bamba*, where he kept himselfe in the Mountaines, by reason of the rough and difficult accesse, and there the Successors *Ingas* remayned, vntill *Amaro*, who was taken and executed in the market place of *Cusco*, to the *Indians* incredible griefe and sorrow, seeing iustice done vpon him publiquely whom they held for their Lord. After which time, they imprisoned others of the Linage of these *Ingas*. I haue knowne *Don Charles*, grand-child to *Guaynacapa*, and sonne to *Polo*, who was baptized, and alwayes fauoured the *Spaniards* against *Mangocapa* his brother, when the Marquesse of *Canette* gouerned in this Country *Sarritopaingua*, went from *Vilcabamba*, and came vpon assurance to the Citie of *Kings*, where there was giuen to him the Valley of *Yucay*, and other things, to whom succeeded a daughter of his. Behold the succession which is knowne at this day of that great and rich Familie of the *Ingas*, whose raigne continued aboue three hundred yeeres, wherein they reckon eleuen Successors, vntill it was wholly extinguished. In the other Linage of *Vrincusco*, which (as we haue said before) had his beginning likewise from the first *Mangocapa*, they reckon eight Successors in this sort: To *Mangocapa* succeeded *Cinchoraca*, to him *Capac Yupangui*, to him *Lluqui Yupangui*, to him *Maytaca paest Tarcoguamam*; vnto whom succeeded his sonne, whom they name not, to this sonne succeeded *Don Iean Tambo*, *Maytapanaça*. This sufficeth for the originall and succession of the *Ingas*, that gouerned the Land of *Peru*, with that that I haue spoken of their Lawes, Gouernment, and manner of Life.

Pedegree of *Vrincusco*.

Of the manner of the *Mexicans* Commonweale. *Chap.* 24.

ALthough you may see by the Historie written of the Kingdome, succession, and beginning of the *Mexicans*, their manner of Commonweale and Gouernment, yet will I speake briefly what I shall thinke fit in generall to bee most obserued: whereof I will discourse more amply in the Historie. The first point whereby wee may iudge the *Mexican* gouernment to bee very politike, is the order they had and kept inuiolable in the election of their King: for since their first, called *Acamapach*, vnto their last, which was *Motecuma*, the second of that name, there came none to the Crowne by right of succession, but by a lawfull Nomination and Election. This election in the beginning was by the voice of the Commons, although the chiefe men managed it. Since in the time of *Iscoalt* the fourth King, by the aduise and order of a wise and valiant man, called *Tlacael*, there were foure certaine Electors appointed, which (with two Lords or Kings subiect to the *Mexican*, the one of *Tescuco*, and the other of *Tucuba*) had power to make this election. They did commonly choose young men for their Kings, because they went alwayes to the warres, and this was in a manner the chiefe cause why they desired them so. They had a speciall regard that they should bee fit for the warres, and take delight and glorie therein. After the election they made two kindes of feasts, the one in taking possession of the Royall Estate, for the which they went to the Temple, making great ceremonies and sacrifices vpon the *Harth*, called *Diuine*, where there was a continuall fire before the Altar of the Idoll, and after some Rhetoricians practised therein, made many Orations and Speeches. The other feast, and the most solemne, was at his Coronation, for the which hee must first ouercome in battell, and bring a certaine number of Captiues, which they must sacrifice to their gods; hee entred in triumph with great pompe, making him a solemne reception, aswell they of the Temple, who went all in procession, sounding on sundrie sorts of instruments, giuing Incense, and singing like secular men, as also the Courtiers, who came forth with their deuises to receiue the victorious King. The Crowne or royall Ensigne was before like a Myter, and behinde it was cut, so as it was not round, for the forepart was higher, and did rise like a point. The King of *Tescuco* had the priuilege to crown the King of *Mexico*. In the beginning when the *Mexicans* were but poore and weake, the Kings were very moderate in their expenses and in their Court, but as they increased in power, they increased likewise in pompe and state, vntill they came to the greatnesse of *Motecuma*, who if he had had no other thing but his house of Beasts and Birds, it had beene a proud thing, the like whereof hath not beene seene: for there was in this house all sorts of fish, birds of *Xacamamas*, and beasts, as in an other *Noahs* Arke; for Sea fish, there were Pooles of salt-water; and for Riuer fish, Lakes of fresh-water; birds that doe prey were fed, and likewise wilde beasts in great abundance: there were very many *Indians* imployed for the keeping of these beasts: and when he found an impossibilitie to nourish any sort of fish, fowle, or wilde beast, he caused the Image or likenesse to be made, richly cut in precious stones, siluer, or gold, in marble, or in stone: and for all sorts of entertainments, he had his seuerall Houses and Palaces, some of pleasure, others of sorrow and mourning, and others to treat of the affaires of the Realme. There was in this Palace many Chambers, according to the qualitie of the Noble men that serued him, with a strange order and distinction.

Royall Diadem. See the picture storie.

House of liuing Creatures.

His Palaces.

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THe *Mexicans* haue beene very curious, to diuide the degrees and dignities amongst the noble men and Lords, that they might distinguish them to whom they were to giue the greatest honor. The dignitie of these foure Electors was the greatest, and most honorable, next to the King, and they were chosen presently after the Kings election. They were commonly brothers, or very neere Kinsmen to the King, and were called *Tlacochcalcatl*, which signifies *Prince of darts*, the which they cast, being a kinde of armes they vse much. The next dignitie to this, were those they doe call *Tlacateccatl*, which is to say, *Cremmcisers or Cutters of men*. The third dignitie were of those which they called *Ezuahuacatl*, which signifies, *A shedder of bloud*. All the which Titles and Dignities were exercised by men of warre. There was another, a fourth intituled, *Tlilancalqui*, which is as much to say, as, *Lord of the blacke house*, or *of darkenesse*, by reason of certaine Inke wherewith the Priests anointed themselues, and did serue in their Idolatries. All these foure Dignities were of the great Counsell, without whose aduise the King might not doe any thing of importance: and the King being dead, they were to choose another in his place out of one of those foure Dignities. Besides these, there were other Counsels and Audiences, and some say there were as many as in *Spaine*, and that there were diuers Seates and Iurisdictions, with their Counsellors and Iudges of the Court, and others that were vnder them, as *Corrigidors*, chiefe Iudges, Captaines of Iustice, Lieutenants, and others, which were yet inferior to these, with a very goodly order. All which depended on the foure first Princes that assisted the King. These foure onely had authoritie and power to condemne to death, and the rest sent them instructions of the Sentences they had giuen. By meanes whereof they gaue the King to vnderstand what had passed in his Realme.

Of the Titles and Dignities the *Indians* vsed. *Chap.25.*
Foure Electors.
Men-cutters.
Bloud-shedders.
Lords of darkenesse.
Other Officers.
See the picture histories.

There was a good order and settled policie for the Reuenues of the Crowne, for there were Officers diuided throughout all the Prouinces, as Receiuers and Treasurers, which receiued the Tributes and Royall Reuenues. And they carried the Tribute to the Court, at the least euery moneth; which Tribute was of all things that doe grow or ingender on the Land, or in the water, aswell of Iewels and Apparell, as of Meat. They were very carefull for the well ordering of that which concerned their Religion, Superstition, and Idolatries: and for this occasion there were a great number of Ministers, to whom charge was giuen to teach the people the custome and ceremonies of their Law. Hereupon one day a christian Priest made his complaint that the *Indians* were no good Christians, and did not profit in the Law of God; an old *Indian* answered him very well to the purpose, in these termes: *Let the Priest* (said he) *imploy as much care and diligence to make the* Indians *Christians, as the Ministers of Idols did to teach them their ceremonies; for with halfe that care they will make vs the best Christians in the world, for that the Law of Iesus Christ is much better; but the* Indians *learne it not, for want of them to instruct them.* Wherein he spake the very truth, to our great shame and confusion.

Priests and Teachers of the Law.

THe *Mexicans* gaue the first place of honour to the profession of Armes, and therefore the Noble-men are their chiefe Souldiers, and others that were not noble, by their valour and reputation gotten in warres, came to Dignities and Honors, so as they were held for Noble-men. They gaue goodly recompences to such as had done valiantly, who inioyed priuiledges that none else might haue, the which did much incourage them. Their Armes were of Rasors of sharpe cutting flints, which they set on either side of a staffe, which was so furious a weapon, as they affirmed that with one blow, they would cut off the necke of a Horse. They had strange and heauy Clubs, Lances, fashioned like Pikes, and other manner of Darts to cast, wherein they were very expert; but the greatest part of their combate was performed with stones. For defensiue armes they had little Rondaches or Targats, and some kinde of Morions or Head-pieces inuironed with feathers. They were clad in the skinnes of Tigres, Lions, and other sauage beasts. They came presently to hands with the Enemie, and were greatly practised to runne and wrestle, for their chiefe manner of combate, was not so much to kill, as to take Captiues, the which they vsed in their sacrifices, as hath beene said. *Motezuma* set Knight-hood in his highest splendor, ordayning certaine militarie orders, as Commanders, with certaine markes and ensignes. The most honorable amongst the Knights, were those that carried the crowne of their haire tied with a little red Ribband, hauing a rich plume of feathers, from the which, did hang branches of feathers vpon their shoulders, and rolls of the same. They carried so many of these rolls, as they had done worthy deeds in warre. The King himselfe was of this order, as may be seene in *Chapultepec*, where *Motezuma* and his sonnes were attyred with those kindes of feathers, cut in the Rocke, the which is worthy the sight. There was another order of Knight-hood, which they called the *Lions* and the *Tigres*, the which were commonly the most valiant and most noted in warre, they went alwayes with their Markes and Armories. There were other Knights, as the *Grey Knights*, the which were not so much respected as the rest: they had their haire cut round about the eare. They went to the warre with markes like to the other Knights, yet they were not armed, but to the girdle, and the most honorable were armed all ouer. All Knights might carry gold and siluer, and weare rich Cotton, vse painted and gilt vessell, and carry shooes after their manner: but the common people might vse none but earthen vessell, neither might they carry

How the *Mexicans* made war, and of the Orders of knighthood. *Chap.26.*
Their Armes.
Eagle-orders.
Order of Lions and Tigres.
Gray Knights.
Knights priuiledges.

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carry shooes, nor attire themselues but in *Nequen*, the which is a grosse stuffe. Euery order of these Knights had his lodging in the Pallace noted with their markes: the first was called the *Princes lodging*, the second of *Eagles*, the third of *Lyons and Tigers*, and the fourth of the *grey Knights*. The other common officers, were lodged vnderneath in meaner lodgings: and if any one lodged out of his place, he suffred death.

Of the great order and diligence the *Mexicans* vsed to instruct their youth. *Chap.* 27.

THere is nothing that giues me more cause to admire, nor that I finde more worthy of commendations and memory, then the order and care the *Mexicans* had to nourish their youth: for they knew well, that all the good hope of a Common-weale, consisted in the nurture and institution of youth, whereof *Plato* treates amply in his bookes *De Legibus*: and for this reason they laboured and tooke paines to sequester their children from delights and liberties (which are the two plagues of this age) imploying them in honest and profitable exercises. For this cause there was in their Temples, a priuate house for children, as Schooles, or Colledges, which was seperate from that of the yong men and maides of the Temple, whereof we haue discourst at large. There were in these Schooles a great number of children, whom their fathers did willingly bring thither, and which had teachers and masters to instruct them in all commendable exercises, to be of good behauiour, to respect their superiours, to serue and obey them, giuing them to this end, certaine precepts and instructions. And to the end they might be pleasing to Noblemen, they taught them to sing and dance, and did practise them in the exercise of warre; some to shoote an Arrow, to cast a dart or a staffe burnt at the end, and to handle well a Target and a Sword. They suffered them not to sleepe much, to the end they might accustome themselues to labour in their youth, and not be men giuen to delights. Besides the ordinary number of these children, there were in the same Colledges, other children of Lords and Noblemen, the which were instructed more priuately. They brought them their meate and ordinary from their houses, and were recommended to ancients and old men to haue care ouer them, who continually did aduise them to be vertuous and to liue chastely; to be sober in their diet, to *fast*, and to march gravely, and with measure. They were accustomed to exercise them to trauell, and in laborious exercises: and when they see them instructed in all these things, they did carefully looke into their inclination: if they found any one addicted vnto warre, being of sufficient yeares, they sought all occasions to make triall of them, sending them to the warre, vnder colour to carrie victuals and munition to the Souldiers, to the end they might there see what passed, and the labour they suffered. And that they might abandon all feare, they were laden with heauie burthens, that shewing their courage therein, they might more easily be admitted into the company of Souldiers. By this meanes it happened, that many went laden to the Armie, and returned Captaines with markes of honour. Some of them were so desirous to be noted, as they were either taken, or slaine: and they held it lesse honourable to remaine a prisoner. And therefore they sought rather to be cut in peeces, then to fall captiues into their enemies hands. See how Noblemens children that were inclined to the warres were imployed. The others that had their inclination to matters of the Temple; and to speake after our manner, to be *Ecclesiasticall men*, hauing attained to sufficient yeares, they were drawne out of the colledge, and placed in the Temple, in the lodging appointed for religious men, and then they gaue them the *order of Ecclesiasticall men*. There had they *Prelates and Masters*, to teach them that which concerned their profession, where they should remaine being destined thereunto. These *Mexicans* tooke great care to bring vp their children: if at this day they would follow this order, in building of houses & colledges for the instruction of youth, without doubt Christianitie should flourish much amongst the *Indians*. Some godly persons haue begunne, and the King with his Counsell haue fauoured it: but for that it is a matter of no profit, they aduance little, and proceede coldly.

See the picture story. Colledges.

Their employments and trials.

The baine of Plantations is expectation of present and externall gain.

Plaies and dances. Military games.

We haue not discouered any Nation at the *Indians*, that liue in communalties, which haue not their recreations, in plaies, dances, and exercises of pleasure. At *Peru* I haue seene plaies in manner of combats, where the men of both sides were sometimes so chafed, that often their *Pulla* (which was the name of this exercise) fell out dangerous. I haue also seene diuers sorts of dances, wherein they did counterfait and represent certaine trades and offices, as shepheards, labourers, fishers, and hunters, and commonly they made all those dances, with a very graue sound and pase: there were other dances and maskes, which they called *Guacones*, whose actions were pure representations of the deuill. There were also men that dance on the shoulders one of another, as they doe in *Portugall*, the which they call *Paellas*. The greatest pars of these dances, were superstitions, and kindes of Idolatries: for that they honoured their Idols and *Guacas* in that manner. For this reason the Prelates haue laboured to take from them these dances, all they could: but yet they suffer them, for that part of them are but sports of recreation: for alwayes they dance after their manner. In these dances, they vse sundry sorts of instruments, whereof, some are like Flutes, or little *Canons*, others like Drums, and others like Cornets: but commonly they sing all with the voyce, and first one or two sing the song, then all the rest answer them. Some of these songs were very wittily composed, containing Histories, and others were full of

Idoll games *Exo.* 32. a thing vsuall to Heathens, as their Comedies, &c. manifest. Musicke.

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superstitions, and some were meere follies. Our men that haue conuersed among them, haue laboured to reduce matters of our holy faith to their tunes, the which hath profited well: for that they employ whole dayes to rehearse and sing them, for the great pleasure and content they take in their tunes. They haue likewise put our compositions of Musicke into their Language, as Octaues, Songs, and Rondels, the which they haue very aptly turned, and in truth it is a goodly and very necessary meanes to instruct the people. In *Peru*, they commonly call Dances *Taqui*, in other Prouinces, *Areitos*, and in *Mexico*, *Mitotes*. There hath not beene in any other place any such curiositie of Playes and Dances, as in New *Spaine*, where at this day we see *Indians* so excellent Dancers, as it is admirable. Some dance vpon a Cord, some vpon a long and streight stake, in a thousand sundry sorts; others with the soles of their feet and their hammes, do handle, cast vp and receiue againe a very heauy blocke, which seemes incredible but in seeing it. They doe make many other shewes of their great agilitie, in leaping, vaulting, and tumbling, sometimes bearing a great and heauy burthen, sometimes enduring blowes able to breake a barre of Iron: But the most vsuall exercise of recreation among the *Mexicans* is the solemne *Mitotte*, and that is a kind of dance they held so braue and so honourable, that the King himselfe danced, but not ordinarily, as the King *Don Pedro* of *Arragon* with the Barber of *Valencia*. This Dance or *Mitotte*, was commonly made in the Courts of the Temple, and in those of the Kings houses, which were more spacious. They did place in the midst of the Court two Instruments, one like to a Drumme, and the other like a Barrell made of one piece, and hollow within, which they set vpon the torme of a man, a beast, or vpon a Pillar.

Curious Dancers.

Great agility.

These two Instruments were so well accorded together, that they made a good harmony: and with these Instruments they made many kinds of Ayres and Songs. They did all sing and dance to the sound and measure of these Instruments, with so goodly an order and accord, both of their feet and voyces, as it was a pleasant thing to behold. In these Dances they made two Circles or Wheeles, the one was in the middest neere to the Instruments, wherein the Ancients and Noblemen did sing and dance with a soft and slow motion; and the other was of the rest of the people round about them, but a good distance from the first, wherein they danced two and two more lightly, making diuers kinds of paces, with certayne leaps to the measure. All which together made a very great Circle. They attyred themselues for these Dances with their most precious apparell and Iewels, euery one according to his abilitie, holding it for a very honourable thing: for this cause they learned these Dances from their infancie. And although the greatest part of them were done in honour of their Idols, yet was it not so instituted, as hath beene said, but only as a recreation and pastime for the people. Therefore it is not conuenient to take them quite from the *Indians*, but they must take good heed they mingle not their superstitions amongst them. I haue seene this *Mitotte*, in the Court of the Church of *Topetzotlan*, a Village seuen leagues from *Mexico*: and in my opinion, it was a good thing to busie the *Indians* vpon Festiuall dayes, seeing they haue need of some recreation: and because it is publike, and without the preiudice of any other, there is lesse inconuenience, then in others which may be done priuately by themselues, if they tooke away these.

To the Reader.

READER, I here present vnto thee the choisest of my Iewels. My trauelling fancie hath inuited many Readers to many my labours in strange births already. Quæ regio in terris nostri non plena laboris? Iaponian *and* China *rarities, so remote from our world, are neere to our worke, and their characters communicated here to the Reader; not their arts alone. Thou hast here also* Indostan, Arabike, Persian, Turkish, *add other Letters, and not onely the transcript from their languages. As for translations and collections, thou hast them here also out of the* Hebrew, *Auncient and Moderne* Greeke, Abassine, Tartarian, Russian, Polonian, Ægyptian, *and innumerable other Nations* Christian, Iewish, Mahumetan, Ethnike, Ciuill, Barbarian *and* Sauage, *innumerable wayes diuersified. Yet all these in letters, or characters. In hieroglyphicall mysticall pictures the ancient* Ægyptians *and* Ethiopians, *haue by way of Emblemes obscurely and darkly deliuered their obscure mysteries, vncertaine, waxenly, pleant conceits to the world; some of which our Pilgrimage hath mentioned. But a Historie, yea a Politicke, Ethike, Ecclesiastike, Oeconomike History, with iust distinctions of times, places, acts and arts, we haue neither seene of theirs, nor of any other Nation, but of this, which our light and slight apprehensions terme not barbarous alone, but wilde and sauage. Such an one we here present, a present thought fit for him whom the senders esteemed the greatest of Princes, and yet now presented to thy hands before it could arriue in his presence. For the* Spanish *Gouernour hauing with some difficultie (as the* Spanish *Preface imports) obtained the Booke of the* Indians, *with* Mexican *interpretations of the Pictures (but ten dayes before the departure of the Ships) committed the same to one skilfull in the* Mexican *language to be interpreted; who in a very plaine stile and verbatim performed the same, vsing also some* Morisco *words, as* Alfaqui *and* Mezquitas *(for Priest and Temples) import. This Historie thus written, sent to* Charles *the fifth Emperour, was together with the Shippe that carried it taken by* Frenchmen *of war, from whom* Andrew Theuet *the* French *Kings Geographer, obtained the same: after whose death,*

Maſter Hakluyt *(then Chaplaine to the* Engliſh *Embaſſadour in* France*) bought the ſame for* 20. French *crownes, and procured Maſter* Michael Locke *in Sir* Walter Raleighs *name to tranſlate it. It ſeemes that none were willing to be at the coſt of cutting the Pictures, and ſo it remained among ſt his papers till his death, whereby (according to his laſt will in that kinde) I became poſſeſſour thereof, and haue obtained with much earneſtneſſe the cutting thereof for the Preſſe. The rather was I eagerly vehement herein, as being a thing deſired by that moſt induſtrious Antiquary, indicious Scholler, Religious Gentleman, our Eccleſiaſtike Secular, the Churches champion, Sir* Henry Spelman, *Knight; whom for honors ſake I name, that his name may honour our ruder lines; a name ſo fitting to the Man, as one which can, in regard of his wiſe* ſpell *and ſcience in diuine & humane learning, and is ready, with maine courage and alacritie to ſhew himſelfe the Churches Man, and to exhibit himſelfe in deede whatſoeuer any* man *can* ſpell, *out of* Spel-man. *The commending from ſuch a friend (let the Muſes impetrate pardon for ſo bold a name) was a commanding vnto me, which here I againe commend to Him and thee.*

Sir. Hen. Spelman.

It is diuided into three parts; the firſt being the Annales and Mexican *Chronicle: the ſecond, their Exchequer or the Accounts of their ſeuerall Tributes paid them from the Nations and peoples tributary, whereby may be ſeene the Naturall riches of thoſe parts peculiarly ſorted: the third the* Mexican *Oeconomie and Policie in warre and peace, religious and ſecular, their priuate and publike rites from the grant of the wombe, to the wombe of the graue. Obſcure places I haue explained (beſides what before in* Acoſta *thou haſt read) comparing the tranſlation with the originall, adding many of mine owne: and perhaps there is not any one Hiſtory of this kinde in the world comparable to this, ſo fully expreſſing ſo much without Letters; hardly gotten, and eaſily loſt, that thou muſt here finde it.*

CHAP. VII.

The Hiſtory of the Mexican *Nation, deſcribed in pictures by the* Mexican *Author explained in the* Mexican *language; which expoſition tranſlated into* Spaniſh, *and thence into* Engliſh, *together with the ſaid Picture-hiſtorie, are here preſented.*

§. I.

The Mexican *Chronicle.*

HEre beginneth the Hiſtorie and foundation of the Citie of *Mexico*, founded and inhabited by the *Mexicans*, who at that time were called *Metici*; whoſe originall beginning of being Lords, and their acts and liues are declared briefely in this Hiſtorie, according as it is ſignified and ſet out ſucceſſiuely by the pictures and paintings following.

In the yeare 1324. after the comming of our Lord and Sauiour Ieſus Chriſt, the *Mexican* people firſt arriued at the place of the Citie of *Mexico*, and becauſe they liked not the greatneſſe and the ſituation of that place, after that they had trauailed in their Iournies, and wandered many yeares from Country to Countrey, & in ſome of them had made their abode, for ſome yeares, being come from far Countries in following their Iournies, and not being contented with the other places where they had made their abode, they came and ſetled themſelues in the place of *Mexico*. The which place at that time was all drowned with water, and was couered with great bogs and bankes of mooriſh ſhegs and bulruſhes, which they call *Tuli*, and it had *Carizales*, and great plats of dry ground couered with ſhrubbes, buſhes, and briars like woods. And through all the ſpace of that place there went a ſpring & ſtreame of fair cleeer water which was free from all ſegges and buſhes, which water ſtreame went through it croſſewiſe, in manner of Saint *Andrewes* croſſe, as it is ſhewed in the picture: and about the middle of that place of that water-ſtreame, the *Metici* found a great rocke of ſtone, and growing thereon a great Tree or buſh called *Tunal*, wherein a great Eagle *Caudal* had her haunt and abode for her foode, ſo as all about that place was ſcattered full of bones and feathers of diuers Birds and Foules of diuers colours. And they hauing gone throughout all that place and Countrie thereabout, and finding it very fruitfull and full of wilde beaſts, wilde Foules, Birds, and Fiſhes, and things of the water, wherewith to ſuſtaine themſelues and to profit themſelues in their buſineſſe in dealing with the Townes thereabouts, and finding the water-courſes of that place ſo commodious, and that their Neighbours could not trouble nor hurt them, and for other things and cauſes to their good liking they determined to paſſe no further on their iourneyes in trauelling, but to ſettle them-

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themſelues and dwell ſtill. And according to their determination, they did ſettle themſelues there effectually. And made themſelues a ſtrong Citie of defence with bankes and walles about the waters, and on the plats of ground among the Segges and Buſhes of *Tulis* and *Carrizales*. And for a beginning of that their ſeate and habitation, it was determined by them, to giue name and title to that place, calling it *Tenultitlan*. By reaſon and cauſe of the *Tunal* growing out of the Rocke (for *Tenuchtitlan* interpreted in our *Caſtilian Spaniſh* Tongue is *Tunal growing vpon a Rocke.*)

The armie of the *Mexican* people had with them for chiefe Gouernours ten perſons named, *Ocelopan, Quapan, Acacitli, Ahuexolt, Tenuch, Tecinquh, Xomimitl, Xocoyol, Xuihcaqui, Atotetl*, as it is ſhewed in the Pictures. And hauing ſo ſetled themſelues, they did chuſe *Tenuch* for their chiefe Gouernour and Lord to gouerne them, as a perſon eſpecially choſen thereto and fit for it, hauing in him all parts and abilitie to exerciſe Lordſhip. And they appointed the other chiefe Gouernours, that they ſhould be Agents and Captaynes, Gouernours vnder him.

And after ſome yeeres were paſſed of their dwelling in that place, and the people multiplyed, the Citie likewiſe was named *Mexico*, ſo named and deriued of the *Mexicans*, calling it the place of ſetling of the *Mexican* people.

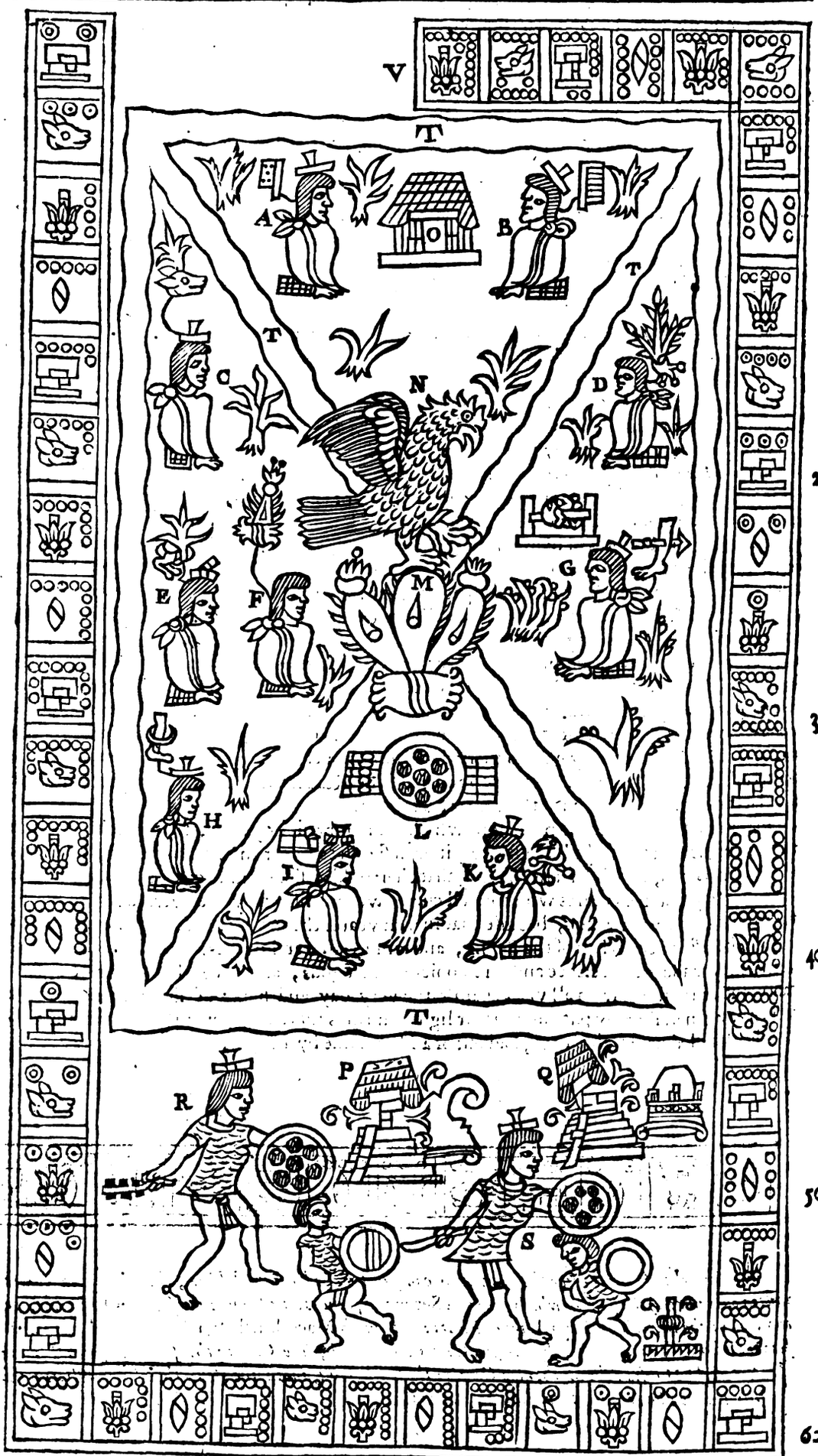
And when the people were ſomewhat multiplyed like bold and warlike people, they tooke beginning of couragious mindes in preuayling ouer their Neighbours, and ſo ſhewed themſelues in force of armes, whereby they ſubdued and made tributarie to them two Townes next adioyning to *Mexico*, named *Colhuacan*, and *Tenaincan*; as likewiſe is ſet forth in the pictures: the which doings paſſed in the time of the gouernment of the chiefe Lord *Tenuch*, which was the ſpace of fiftie one yeares, at the end whereof he died.

Tenuchtitlan. Mexican Lords *Tenuch* choſen chiefe Lord. *Mexico. Colhuacan* and *Tenaincan* ſubdued.

Concerning the Pictures of blew in the margents of this Hiſtorie, it is to be vnderſtood that euery ſeuerall ſpace or partition doth ſignifie one yeare, and they bee the numbring of yeares: it is to be vnderſtood that euery ſeuerall ſpace or partition ſignifie the one ſeuerall yeare, and ſo they accounted & numbred euery yeare ſeuerally, proceeding by the number of rundles or pricks therein contained, beginning at one, and proceeding to thirteene rundles. And from thence they began againe at the beginning in their accompt from one point or rundle, and ſo accordingly they did proceede in numbering againe, till they came to thirteene. And although that in the partitions or ſpaces ſeuerally there be diuers ſeuerall figures, yet the principall accompt of numbering is that accompt of the pictures or rundles therein contained. And although the names of the yeares that they giue to euery partition from the number of the firſt point till the thirteenth be to ſome purpoſe, yet for to aduertiſe the Reader thereof; here is made by it ſelfe a declaration of the names, with their interpretations.

In the order and rule of the partitions which are numbred for yeares, that partition where there is a branch with a foote like a flower, it doth ſignifie a bitter and vnfortunate yeare which the *Mexicans* had, and did feare, ſaying that their predeceſſours time out of minde did giue them warning that ſuch yeares which befell euery two and fiftieth yeare were dangerous, and vnfortunate, and bitter yeares, becauſe that in ſuch yeares there were floods generally, and likewiſe darkeneſſe of the eclips of the Sunne, and vniuerſall earthquakes. And likewiſe in ſuch yeares they made great ſacrifice and ceremonies to their gods, and gaue themſelues to repentance, and did abſtaine from all vices againſt the very day and houre of ſuch a yeare. In the which day generally they put out all their lights and fires till that day were paſt; and being paſſed they kindled new lights being had out of a Mountaine by a Prieſt.

This is a weeke of yeares after the Mexican *computation (all coloured blew, the* Mexican *names written ouer in red) the firſt of which they call* Setuchtli, *that is, one Conie: the ſecond* Omeacalt, *or two Canes: the third* Yeyteepatl, *three Flints: the fourth* Macuilituchtli, *which ſignifieth foure houſes: the fifth* Criquacenacatl, *that is fiue Conies: the ſixth, ſixe Canes: the ſeuenth, ſeuen Flints: the eight, eight Houſes: the ninth, nine Conies: the tenth, ten Canes: the eleuenth, eleuen Flints: the twelfth, twelue Houſes: the thirteenth, thirteene Conies.*



This Picture presents the number of 51. yeares: that is, the time of Tenuchs reigne: in this wheele or square (which, as all the like representing yeares, are in the originall picture coloured blew) The pictures of men signifie the ten Lords or Governours before mentioned; their names are inscribed in the originall pictures, which here we have by the letters annexed directly to a following glosse. A. *Acasitli.* B *Quapan.* C *Ocelopan.* D *Aguexotl.* E *Tecinenb.* F *Tenuch.* G *Xominith.* H *Xocoyol.* I *Xiuhcaqui.*

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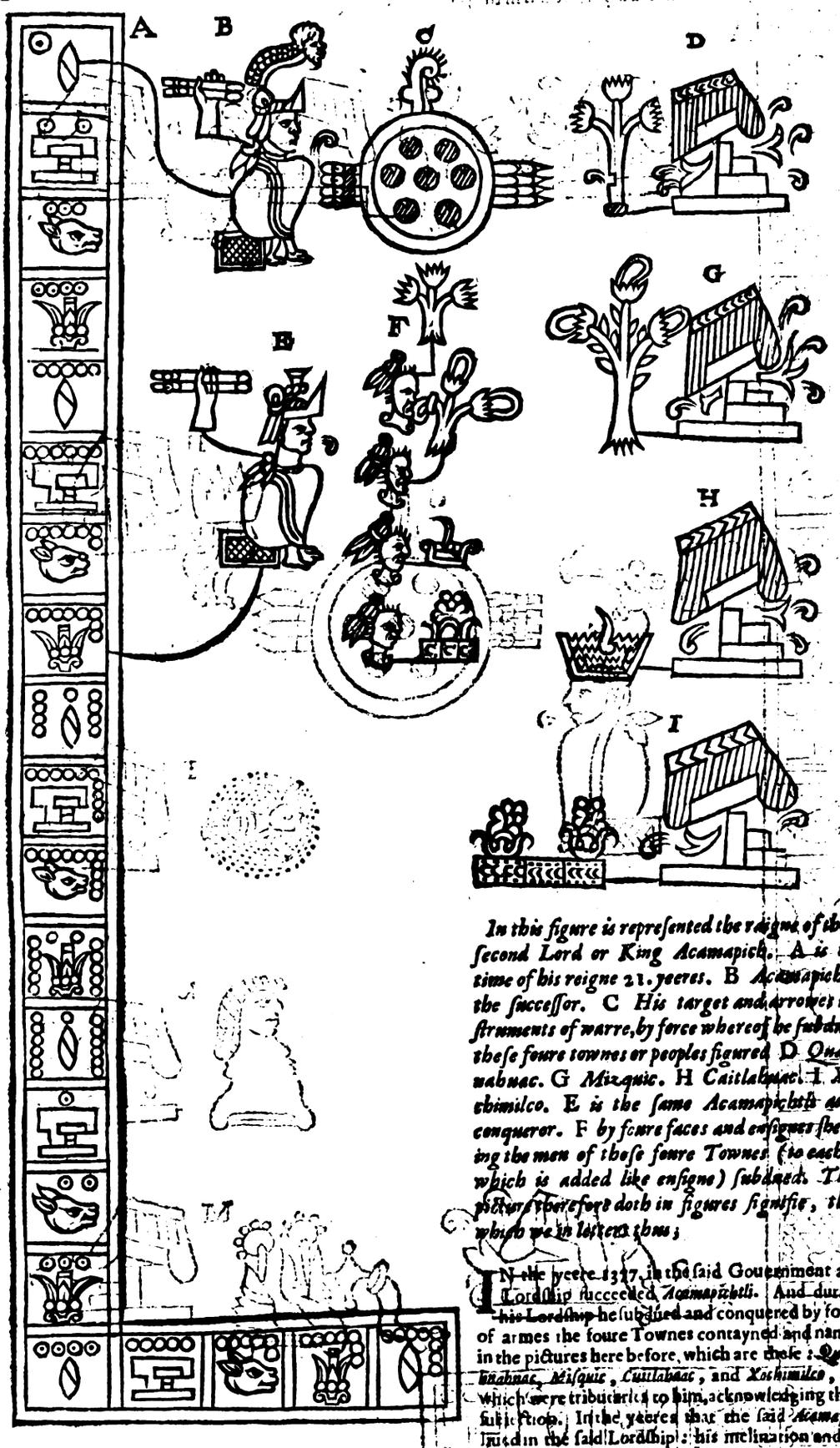
caqui. K Azatli. L Tenochtitlan, representing the armes which they vse din the conquest of that place, which they sid instituted. is M the Tunal (painted greater) growing out of a Rock. N the Eagle. O their seting or habitation. P the people of Colhuacan Q Tenayucca: both which Nations R Tenuch conquered by force of armes, as appeareth S their subiection or bringing vnder. T is the blue square and Saint Andrewes crosse. The former relation doth more fully lay open these things.



In this figure is represented the reigne of their second Lord or King Acamapich. A is the time of his reigne 21. yeeres. B Acamapichtli the successor. C His target and arrowes instruments of warre, by force whereof he subdued these foure townes or peoples figured D Quauhnahuac. G Mizquic. H Caitlahuac. I Xochimilco. E is the same Acamapichtli as a conquerer. F by foure faces and ensignes shewing the men of these foure Townes (to each of which is added like ensigne) subdued. This picture therefore doth in figures signifie, that which we in letters thus;

IN the yeere 1327. in the said Gouernment and Lordship succeeded *Acamapichtli*. And during his Lordship he subdued and conquered by force of armes the foure Townes contayned and named in the pictures here before, which are these: *Quauhnahuac*, *Misquic*, *Caitlahuac*, and *Xochimilco*, the which were tributaries to him, acknowledging their subiection. In the yeeres that the said *Acamapich* ruled in the said Lordship: his inclination and vo-

Was to haue many wiues, the which were daughters of all the principall men of *Mexico*, by whom he had many sons which were the beginning and increase of many *Caciques*, and Captaines, and warlike people, by meanes of whom the Citie of *Mexico* was enlarged and augmented in great might, as is signified hereafter in the discourse, by the pi-

ctures, with their declarations. The two pictures with their titles & names of *Acamapich* be one same thing to diuers effects, for the first sheweth his beginning and succession of the said Lordship, and the second sheweth the yeere after his succession in the said Lordship, when hee began to conquer and subdue the said foure Townes. And in the said Lordship he had his course one and twentie yeeres, at the end whereof the said *Acamapich* dyed and departed this present life, the which said departure was in the yeere 1398.

A 21. yeeres. B *Towne and People of Tolsitlan.* C *Quauztitlan.* D *Chalco.* H *Tulancinco.* I *Xaltocan.* K *Otumpa.* L *Acolma.* M *Tezcuco.* E *The Cutter hath set letters to diuers figures whereof*

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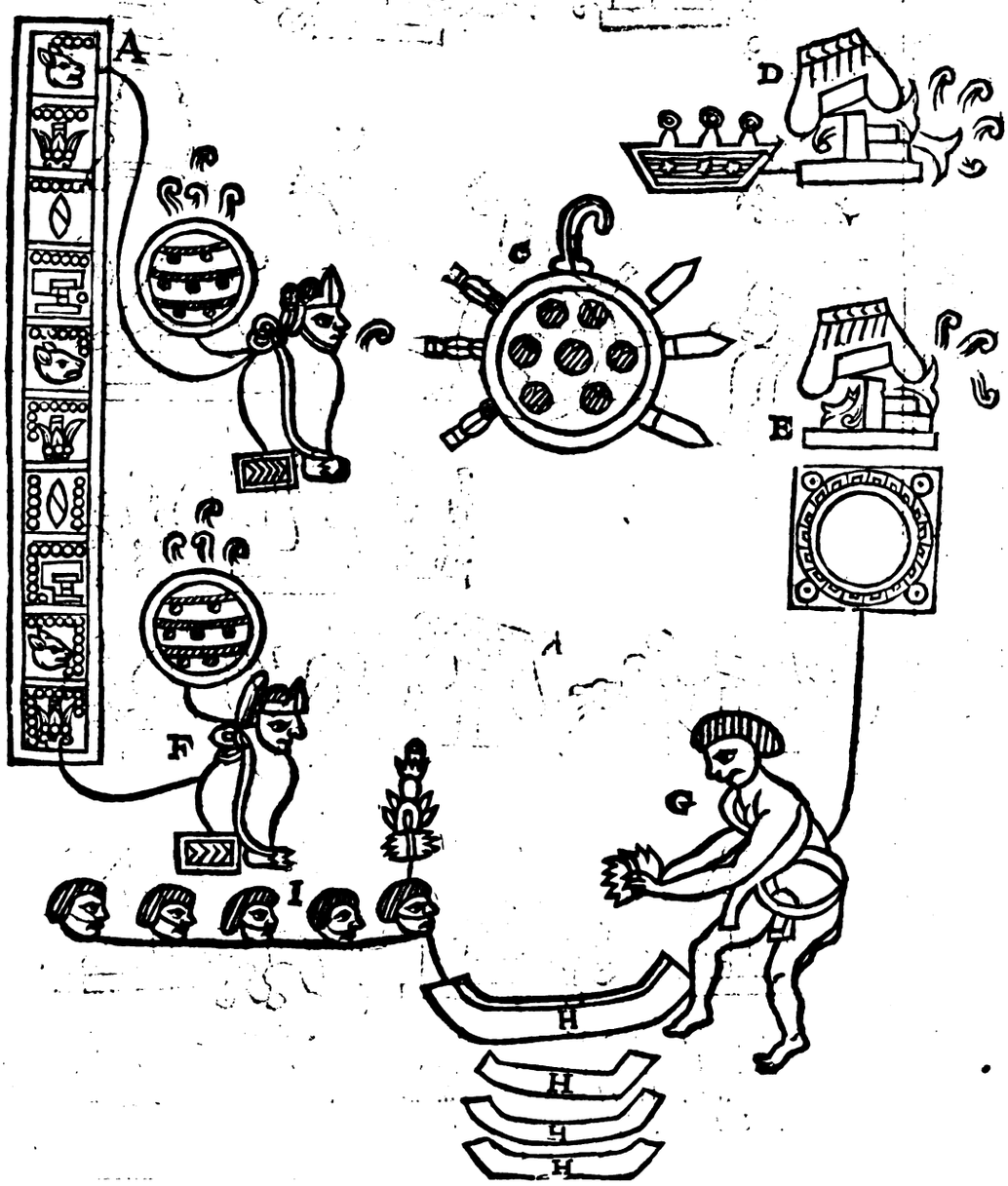
whereof I can giue no interpretation: and such is this, except perhaps it signifieth that in his seuenth yeere he began his conquests. For I doe here interpret diuers in which the Spanish is silent, if the coniecture seeme easier. F is King Huiçilihuitl. G the instruments of warre.

IN the yeere 1396. in the said Lordship succeeded *Huiçilihuitl* sonne of *Acamapich*, and during the time of his reigne in his Lordship, he conquered by force of armes eight Townes, which are contayned in the pictures here before, with the names of the same Townes intituled, the which were made tributarie to the *Mexican* Lordship acknowledging seruitude. The said *Huiçilihuitl* was valiant in warres, and inclined to haue many wiues by whom he had many sons, wherewith the power of the *Mexicans* was augmented. The time of the Lordship and life of the said *Huiçilihuitl* therein was 21. yeeres, at the end whereof he dyed and departed this present life, according as by the pictures of blue are numbred.

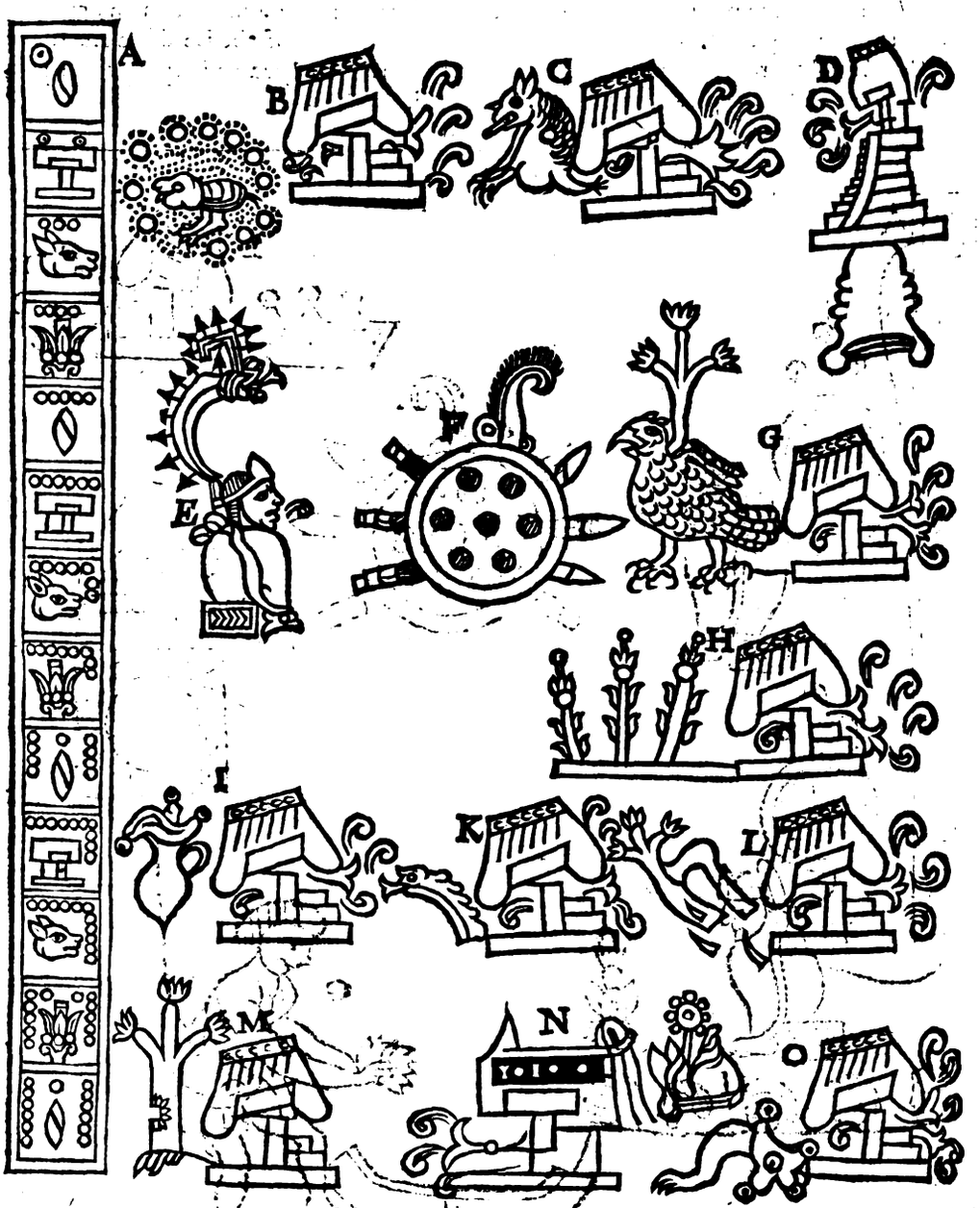


A tenne yeeres. B Chimalpupuca. C Target and Darts, to intimate his forcible conquest of D Tequixquiac and E Chalco. F sheweth his death. G the Townes of Chalco in rebellion. H the foure Canoas and I the fiue men aboue said of Mexico, which the Rebels slue. You see this King and euery other both King and Towne distinguished by speciall Armes or Scutchions, with other particulars, which here and in all the rest I leaue to each Readers owne industrie and search.

IN the yeere 1470. after the death of *Huicilihuitl* succeeded *Chimalpupuca* in the said Lordship of *Mexico*, sonne of the said *Huicilihuitl*, and during his time hee subdued by force of armes the Townes of *Tequixquiac*, and *Chalco*, which *Chalco* is a great Towne and acknowledging ser-

uitude

uitude: they paid tribute to the Lordſhip of *Mexico*, according as the pictures doe ſhew. And hauing the ſaid Townes thus in ſubiection, at the end of certaine yeeres the ſaid Towne of *Chalco*, being mightie, rebelled againſt the *Mexicans*, and in the rebellion there grew danger to the *Mexicans*, inſomuch that they ſlue fiue of them, and brake them foure Canoas, according as here is ſignified by the pictures. The time of the life and Lordſhip of the ſaid *Chimalpupuca* was ten yeeres, at the end whereof hee dyed, according as is numbred by the blue pictures in the margent. And likewiſe the ſaid *Chimalpupuca*, in the time of his life had many wiues and ſons; for it was accounted a matter of reputation.



The explanation of the firſt Table A 13. yeeres. Yzcoatci. F *by force of Armes (ſignified by this Target and Darts) ſubdued the Townes and Territories of* B *Azcapucalco.* C *Coyoacan.* D *Teocalhuyacan.* G *Guaguacan.* H *Tlacopan.* I *Aſtacuihuayan.* K *Mixcoac.* L *Quauximalpan.* M *Quauhtitlan.* N *Tupan.* O *Acolhuacan.*

IN the yeere 1427. in the ſaid Dominion of *Mexico*, after the death of *Chimalpopuca*, ſucceeded *Yzcoatçi*, Sonne of *Acamapich*, which had beene Lord of *Mexico*, and during his time hee conquered by force of Armes foure & twentie Townes which are here pictured, which Townes he made ſubiect to the Lordſhip of *Mexico*, at one inuaſion which he made; for he was as valiant and warlike in Armes as the ſaid *Acamapich*, and was a man of good iudgement, and wiſe in many matters, and by his good induſtries he ſubdued the ſaid Townes which gaue him tribute, and did acknowledge ſeruitude. The ſaid *Yzcoatçi* had many Concubines, by whom he had ſeuen Sonnes and Daughters and he reigned in the ſaid Lordſhip thirteene yeeres at the end whereof the ſaid *Yzcoatçi* dyed and departed this preſent life.

In

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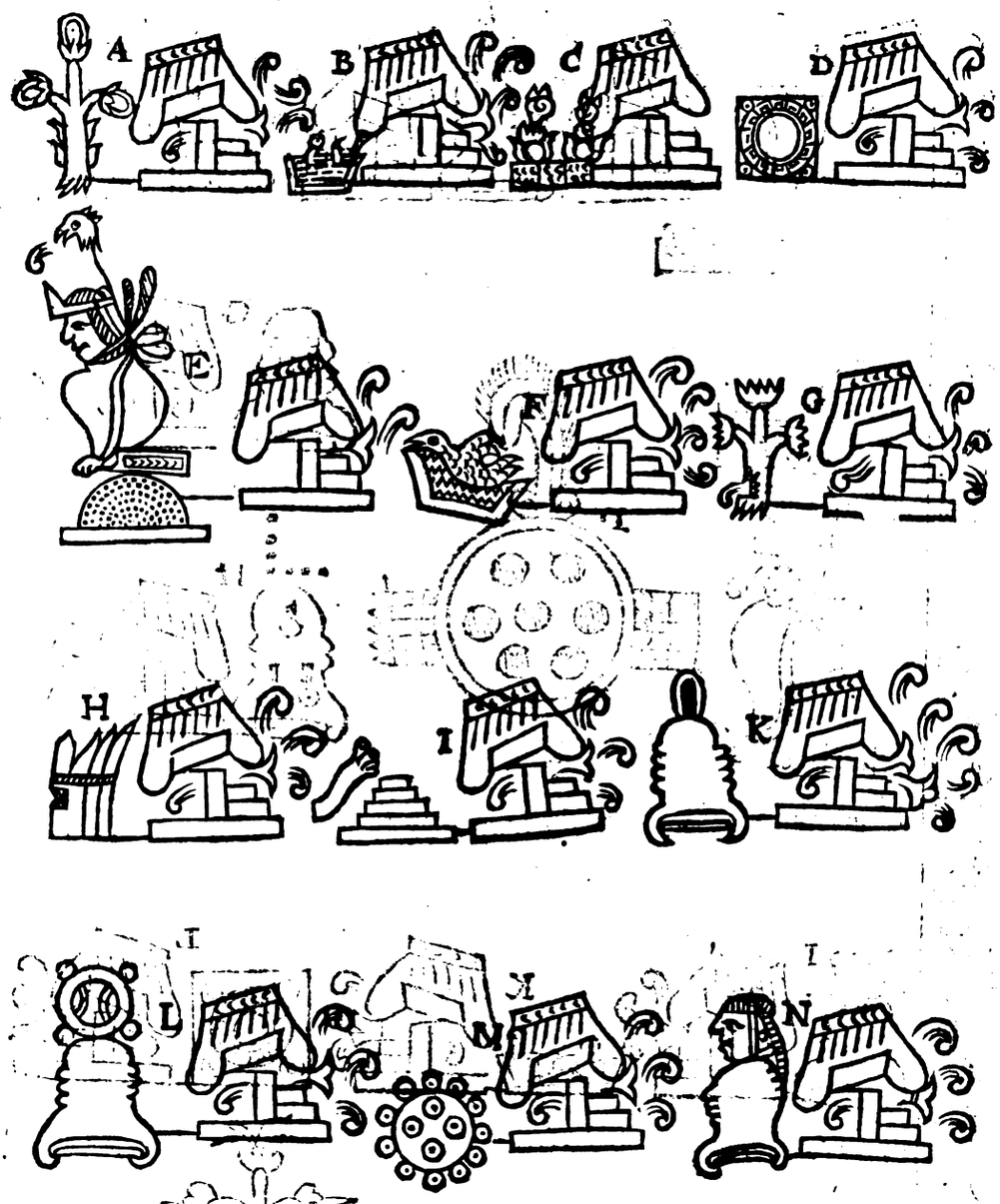
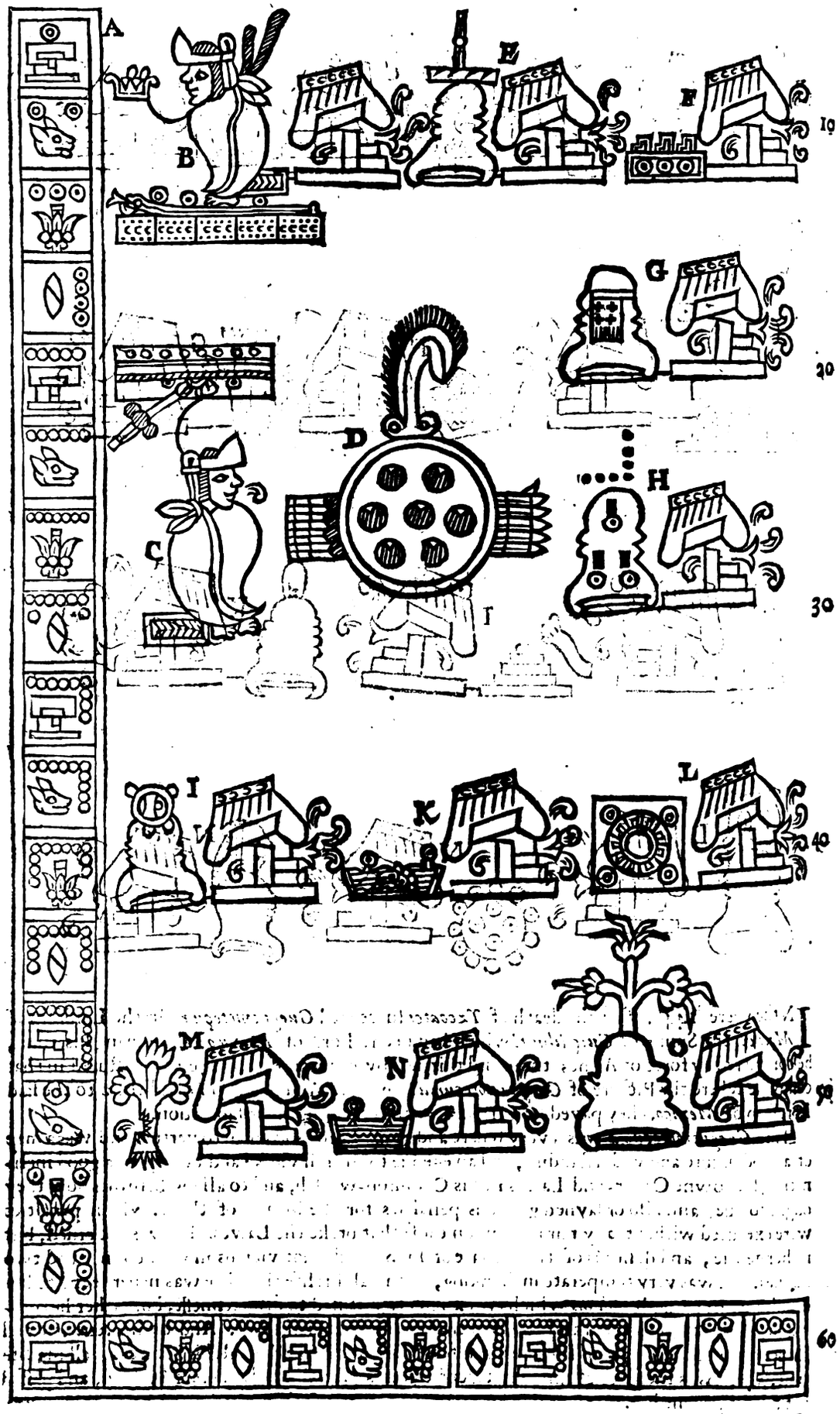
In the other Table (in the originall being another Page) follow A *Mizquic* B *Cuitlahuac.* C *Xochimilcopa.* D *Chalco.* E *Quauhtlatoa the Lord of Tlatilulco; the Towne also added.* F *Huitzilopan.* G *Quauhnahuac.* H *Cuecalan.* I *Caqualpan.* K *Iztepec.* L. *Xiuhtepec.* M *Tealan.* N *Tepequacuilco.*



IN the yeere 1440. after the death of *Yzcoatçi* succeeded *Gueguemoteçuma* in the Lordship of *Mexico*, the Sonne of *Cuiçilihuitl* which had beene Lord of *Mexico*: and during his time, he conquered by force of Armes three and thirtie Townes (according as they are pictured in that compasse where the Picture of *Gueguemoteçuma* standeth.) And hauing subdued them to the said Lordship of *Mexico*, they payed him tribute, acknowledging their subiection.

This *Gueguemoteçuma* was a very seuere and graue Lord, and giuen to vertue, and was a man of a good nature and vnderstanding, and an enemie to all euill vices: and beeing of a good inclination, set downe Orders and Lawes in his Common-wealth, and to all his Seruants how they ought to liue, and also ordayned grieuous penalties for the breach of them: which penalties were executed without any remission vpon those that brake the Lawes. He was not cruell, but rather gentle, and desirous of the welfare of his Subiects, not vicious in women; hee had two Sonnes, hee was very temperate in drinking, for in all his life time hee was neuer seene to bee drunke as the naturall *Indians* which are extremely inclined to drunkennesse, but rather he commanded him to be corrected and punished that committed such a fact. And by his seueritie and Iustice and good example of life, hee was feared and reuerenced of all his Subiects, all his life time, which was the space of nine and twentie yeeres. At the end whereof he dyed, and passed out of this present life.

A *nine and twentie yeeres.* C *Huehuemotecçuma.* D *by force of Armes subdued* B *Lord Atonal and his Towne* Coyxtlahuacan. E *Mamalhuaztepec.* F *Tenanco.* G *Tetzcotzinco.* H *Chiconquiahco.* I *Xiuhtepec.* K *Totolapan.* L *Chiulco.* M *Quauhnahuac.* N *Atlatlauhcan.* O *Huaxtepec.*



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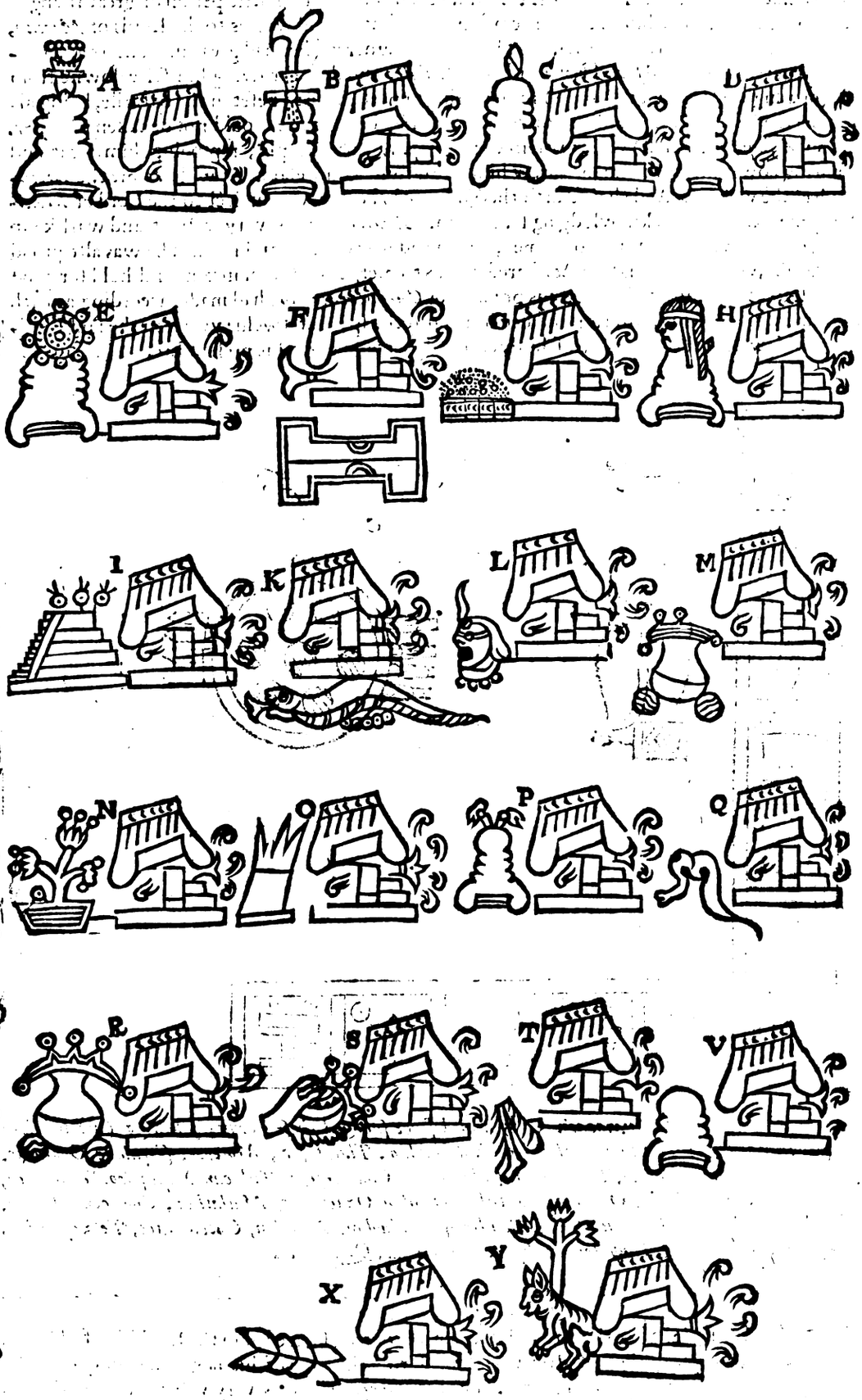
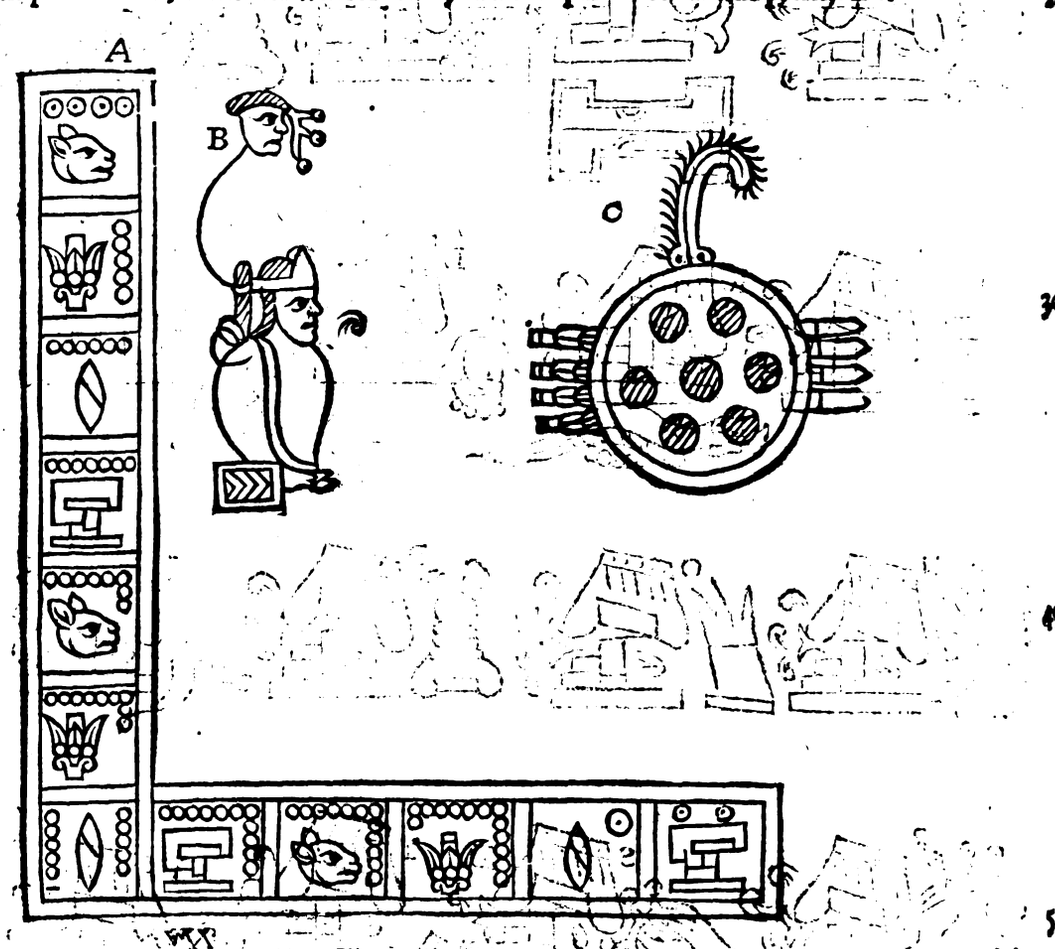
In the second Table. A *Yanhtepec.* B *Tepuztlan.* C *Tepatzcinco.* D *Tacapiehtlan.* E *Toaltepec.* F *Tlacheo.* G *Tlalcocauhtitlan.* H *Tepequacuilco.* I *Quiyanteopan.* K *Chontalcoatlan.* L. *Hucipuchtlan.* M *Atotonilco.* N *Axocopan.* O *Tulan.* P *Xilotepec.* Q *Yzquincuitlapilco.* R *Atotonileo.* S *Tlapacoyan.* T *Chapolixtla.* V *Tlatlanhquitepec.* X *Cuetlaxtlan.* Y *Quanhtochco.*



IN the yeere 1479. after the death of *Gueguemotezuma*, succeeded in the Lordship of *Mexico* *Axayacaci* sonne of *Teçoçomoctliquieto*, which was the sonne of *Yzcoalt* Lord of *Mexico*. And during the time that the said *Axayacaci* was Lord, he conquered and won by force of armes seuen and thirtie Townes, as hereafter are pictured and named. Amongst which Townes hee subdued vnder his Lordship by force of armes the Towne of *Tlatilulco*, a thing of great importance. *Moquihuix* was Lord of *Tlatilulco* at that time, who being a mightie person of great strength and of a proud nature, began to giue occasion of dissention and warres to the Lords of *Mexico*, hauing heretofore held them for friends: by occasion whereof hee had great incounters and battailes, wherein the said *Moquihuix* Lord of *Tlatilulco* dyed in throwing himselfe downe from a *Cu* (or a high *Mezcita*, or Temple) for he seeing himselfe so hard beset in the battaile, being almost ouercome, entred into a *Mizcita* to saue himselfe, because hee would not be taken prisoner. And an *Alfaqui* (or Priest) which was in the *Mezquito*, or Temple, reprouing him for it and imputing cowardise vnto him, he threw himselfe downe as aforesaid. At which time the *Mexicans* had the victorie. And thenceforth the Towne of *Tlatilulco* was subiect to the Lord of *Mexico*, paying tribute and acknowledging subiection. *Axayacaci* was very valiant and warlike in armes, and was viciously giuen to women, hauing had many wiues and sonnes: he was also proud and warlike, whereby all his subiects feared him extremely: hee did maintaine and hold for good all the Lawes and Ordinances that his predecessor *Gueguemotezuma* had made, according as hath beene mentioned in his Historie; and hee continued the space of twelue yeeres in the said Lordship of *Mexico*, at the end whereof he dyed and departed out of this present life.

See the storie before in *Acosta*.

Tlatilulco subdued before as *Acosta* saith the *Mexicans* were subiect to them.



A twelue yeeres. B *Axayacaci*. C *by armed force subdued these Townes following (not as before expressed in picture) Tlatilulco, Atlapulco, Xalatlanbio, Tlacotepec, Motepec, Cupulnac, Ocoyacac, Quanhpanoayan, Xochiacan, Teotenanco, Caliymayan, Cinacantepec, Tulucan, Xiquipilco, Tenancinco, Tepeyacac, Tlaxmaloyan, Oztoma, Xacotitlan, Ocuilan, Ozteticpac, Matlatlan, Cuezcomatlyacac, Tecalco, Cuetlaxtlan, Puxcauhtlan, Alcuilizapan, Tlaolan, Mixtlan, Cuecaloztoc, Tetzapotitlan, Miquizetlan, Tamuoc, Tampatel, Tuchpan, Tenexticpac, Quauhtlan.*

IN the yeere 1482. after the end and death of *Axayacaci*, succeeded in the Lordship of *Mexico*, *Tiçoçicatzi*, sonne of the said *Axayacaci*, and during the time of his raigne he conquered and got by force of armes fourteene Townes. The said *Tiçoçicatzi* was very valiant and warlike in armes, and before that he succeeded in the Lordship of *Mexico*, he had done dangerous feates of valiantnesse in his owne person in the warres, whereby hee obtayned the title of *Tlacatecatl*, which

Tiçocicatzi.

Title *Tlacatecatl* that is, *Great Captaine.*

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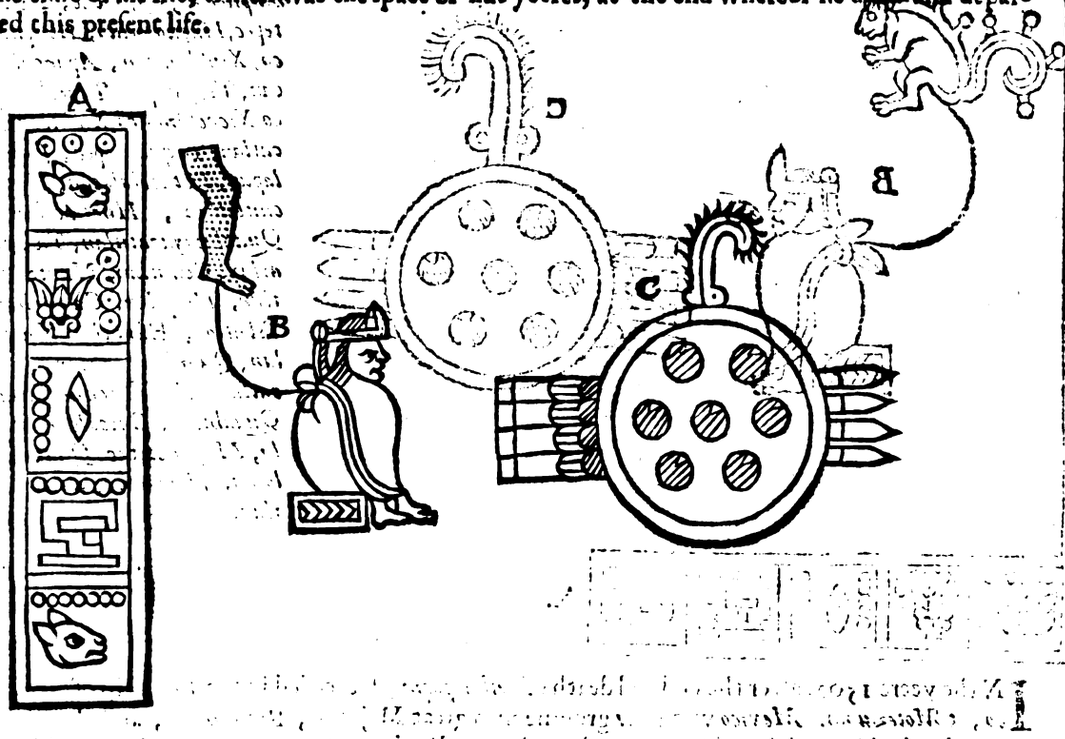
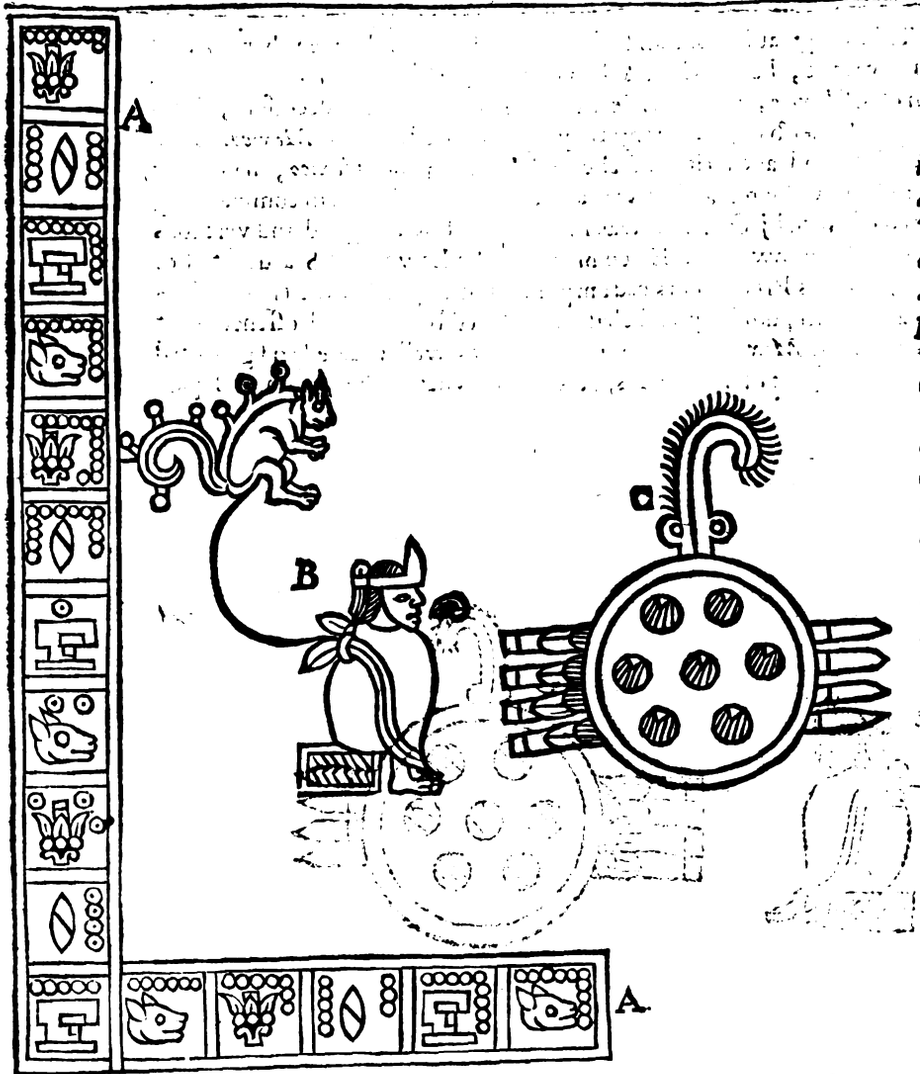
which they esteemed for a Title of great honour and estate: and it was a degree whereby that the Lordship of *Mexico* being vacant, he which had the same degree and title succeeded in the place of the same Dominion of *Mexico*, which title in like manner his Predecessors, Brothers, and Father, and Grand-father had, whereby they came to bee Lords of *Mexico*. Also the said *Tiecicatzi* by the estate and authoritie of the said Lordship of *Mexico*, had many Wiues and Sonnes which hee had by them, and he was a graue and seuere man in commanding and was feared and reuerenced of his Subjects, hee was likewise enclined to good and vertuous things, and was good for his Commonwealth. He commanded the Lawes and Statutes to bee kept and approoued for good, that his Predecessors had amplified and kept since the time of *Gueguemotezuma*. And he was zealous in punishing and chastning the euill vices and offences that his Subjects committed. And so the *Mexican* Commonwealth was well ordered and gouerned the time of his life, which was the space of fiue yeeres, at the end whereof he died and departed this present life.



A *Fiue yeeres.* B *Ticocicatzi* C *by armes subdued these Townes, Tonabymoquezayan, Toxico, Ecatepec, Zilan, Tecaxic, Tuluca, Tancuitlan, Tlapan, Atezcahuacan, Mazatlan, Xochiyetla, Tamapachco, Ecatlyquapochco, Miquetlan.*

IN the yeere 1485. after the death of *Tizizocatzi*, succeeded *Ahuizotzin*, brother to his Predecessor *Tizozicatzi*, in the Signorie of *Mexico*. And during the time of his Lordship, he conquered by force of armes fiue and fortie Townes, according as hereafter are pictured and named. The said *Ahuizotzin* was like to his Predecessor and Brother *Tizizocatzi* in valiantnesse and feates of warre, whereby he got the title of *Tlacatecatl*, which signifieth a *great Captaine*, and from the same title he came to be Lord of *Mexico*. The said *Ahuizotzin* was by nature of a good inclination, and giuen to all vertue, and likewise in the course of his life hee had his Commonwealth ruled and gouerned well, and he fulfilled and kept the Lawes and Statutes that his Predecessors had maintayned since the time of *Gueguemotezuma*. And as the state of the Lordship of *Mexico* was brought to great Majestie, and had the greatest part of this *New Spaine* subiect, acknowledging their seruice, and by the great and rich tributes which they gaue the said *Mexican* Lordship, came to much renowme and mightinesse. And he like a mightie and great minded Prince, gaue great things and preferments to his seruants, and he was temperate of condition and mercifull, whereby his seruants loued him exceedingly, and yeelded him great reuerence. And likewise hee had many wiues, and children by them, because it was a thing adioyned to the Lordship, and a point of great estate. He was of a merrie condition, whereby his seruants did feast him continually in his life time with great and diuers kindes of feasts, and musick, and songs, and instruments, as well in the night as in the day: for in his place the Musicians and Singers neuer ceased with many Instruments of musicke. The course of his life in that Signorie was sixteene yeeres, at the end whereof he dyed and passed out of this present life.



A sixteene yeres. B Auizotzin. C conquered by armes the townes following, Tzicconc, Tlappan, Molanco, Amaxtlan, Zapotlan, Xaltepec, Chiapan, Tototepec, Xochtlan, Xolochtlylan, Coxaquanbtenanco, Cocohuipilecan, Coyuacac, Acatepec, Huexolotlan, Acapulco, Xinbhuacan, Apancalecan, Tecpatepec, Tepechiapco, Xicochimalco, Xiubtecacatlan, Tequantepec, Coyolapan, Tzatchlalocan, Tecuitlatlan, Huehuetlan, Quauhxayacatitlan, Tzhpatlan, Comitlan, Nauzintlan, Huipilan, Cahualan, Tztatlan, Huixtlan, Xolotlan, Quauhnacaztlan, Macatlan, Ayanbtechiuitlatla, Quauhtlan, Cuecalcuitlapilla, Mapachtepec, Quauhpilolan, Tlacotepec, Mizquitlan.

Motezuma. IN the yeere 1502. after the end and death of *Auiçoçin*, succeeded in the Lordship of *Mexico*, *Motezuma*. *Mexico* was now growne into great Majestie, Renowme, and Authoritie: and he by his grauitie and seueritie enlarged exceedingly the State and Dominion of *Mexico*, yea a great deale more then his Predecessors. *Motexzeuma* was the sonne of *Axayaçapi*, which had beene Lord of *Mexico*, and before hee came to the said Lordship hee had the deserts of a worthy Captaine and a valiant man in warres, whereby hee had the title of *Tlacatecal*, and so hee succeeded in the Lordship of *Mexico*, as is before rehearsed, and being in the said Lordship he did greatly increase the *Mexican* Empire, bearing the rule ouer all the Townes in this *New Spaine*, insomuch that they gaue and payed him great tributes of much riches and value: He was feared very much of all his seruants, and likewise of his Captaines and Principals, insomuch that not one when they had any businesse with him, for the great reuerence they had him in, durst for feare looke him in the face, but that they held downe their eyes and their head low and enclined to the ground, and many other extraordinarie respects and ceremonies they did vnto him for the Maiestie he represented vnto them, not mentioned here for auoyding of tediousnesse. After *Motezuma* had succeeded in the said Lordship, hee conquered foure and fortie Townes hereafter named; and hee subdued them vnder his Lordship and Empire, and in their acknowledging of seruitude all the continuance of his life, they payed him many and great tributes, as hereafter by their pictures and declarations is made manifest.

His weale and greatnesse.

Maiestie.

Conquests.

Wisdome and learning.

Motecçuma was by nature wise, and an Astrologer, and a Philosopher, subtile and skilled generally in all artes, aswell of warres as all other matters temporall. And for his grauitie and estate he had of his Lordship the beginning of an Empire, according as his seruants did reuerence him with great honor and power, that in comparison of him, not one of his predecessors came to halfe so much estate and Majestie.

Lawes.

The Statutes and Lawes of his Predecessors, since the time of *Gueguemotecçuma* vntill his time, he commanded to bee kept and wholly fulfilled with great zeale. And because hee was a man so wise, by his good nature he ordayned and made other Statutes and Lawes which he thought defectiue for the execution of the former, not abrogating any, all which were for the welfare and good gouernment of his Commonwealth and Subjects. Hee was inclined to kepe many houses and women, which were daughters of the Lords his Subjects and Confederates; and by them he had many children; and to haue so many wiues was for to set forth his Majestie the more, for they hold it for a point of great estate. Among which the daughters of the Lords of great au-

Many women, some wiues, some Concubines.

thoritie

thoritie he held for lawfull wiues, according to their rights and ceremonies, and them hee kept within his Palaces and dwelling houses; and the children that came of them were had in reputation as more lawfull children then the others which hee had by the other women. It were a large historie to tell the order he had in keeping of them, and conuersation with them. And because this present historie is but briefe, it is left vnrehearsed.

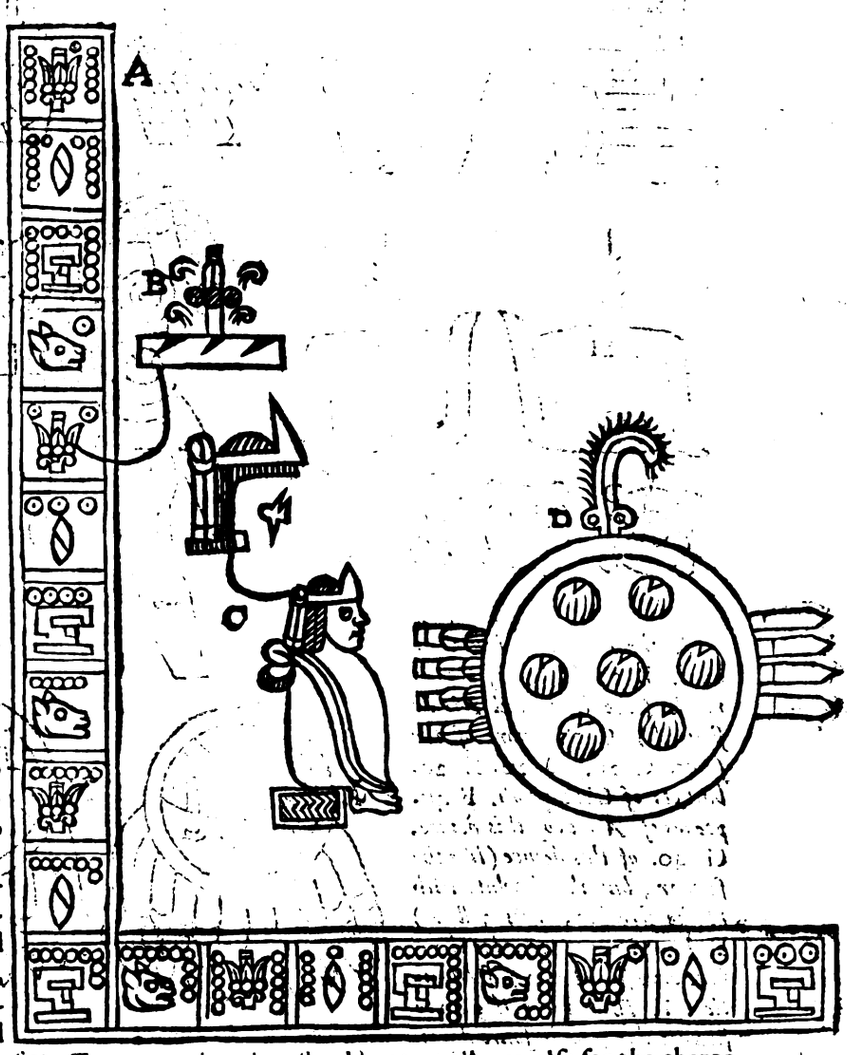
See before in *Acosta*, and after in *Gomara* more large relations of *Mutezuma*, in a wilde kind of state and maiestie, equalling in many things, in some exceeding most Princes of the elder world.

The quantitie, value, and number of the tributes and kindes of things that his subiects did pay for tribute vnto him, shall be seene and vnderstood hereafter, as by the pictures and declarations is signified. And he made a straight order that the tributes which they payed him, should be fulfilled according as they were leuied by him; for the fulfilling whereof he had in all his subiect-townes his *Calpixques* and Factors, which were as Gouernors, that ruled, commanded, and gouerned them; and hee was so much feared that none durst disobey nor transgresse his will and commandement, but that they were kept and wholly fulfilled, because he punished and corrected the rebels without remission.

First notice of the *Spaniards*.

And in the sixteenth yeere of the reigne of *Motezuma*, the *Mexicans* had knowledge of certaine *Spaniards*, which were discouerers of this *New Spaine*, that at the end of twelue moneths there should come a fleet of *Spaniards* to ouercome and conquer this Country; and the *Mexicans* kept account thereof, and they found it to bee true, for at the end of the said twelue moneths was the arriuall of the said fleet at a Hauen of this *New Spaine*, in the which fleet came *Don Ferdinando Cortes*, Marques *del Valle*, which was the seuenteenth yeere of the reign of *Motezuma*; and in the eighteenth yeere he made an end of the continuance of his Lordship and Raigne: in the which yeere he dyed and departed this present life. At the time when *Motezuma* came to his gouernment, he was fiue and thirtie yeeres old little more or lesse, so that at his decease he was three and fiftie yeeres of age. And straightway in the yeere after his death, this Citie of *Mexico*, and other Townes adioyning, were ouercome and pacified by the said Marques *del Valle*, and his Confederates. And so this *New Spaine* was conquered and pacified.

Mutezumas death.



A *The number of 19. yeeres (18. yeeres of his raigne, and that other which followed in his Successor, wherin Mexico was conquered, as you may see in the next chapter)* B *the fourth yeere of his raigne in which hee began his conquest.* C *Motezuma.* D *the instruments of warre by which hee conquered Achiotlan, Zozolan, Nochiztlan, Tecutepec, Zulan, Tlaniztlan, Huilotepec, Yepatepec, Yxsatlalocan, Chichibualtatacala, Tecaxic, Tlachinoltepac, Xoconochco, Zinacantlan, Huiztlan, Piaztlan, Molanco, Zaquantepec, Pipyoltepec, Hueyapan, Tecpatlan, Amatlan, Caltepec, Pantepec, Teoazinco, Tecozahtla, Teochiapan, Zacatepec, Tlachquiyahco, Malinaltepec, Quimichtepec, Tzquintepec, Zenzontepec, Quetzaltepec, Cuezcomayxtlahuacan, Huexolotlan, Xalapan, Xaltianbnizco, Yoloxonecuila, Atepec, Mictlan, Yztitlan, Tliltepec, Comaltepec.*

These townes were gouerned by the *Casiques* & Principals of *Mexico*, appointed by the Lords of *Mexico*, for the good defence and gouernment of the naturall people, and for the securitie of the Townes, that they should not rebell, as also for the charge they had to gather and command to be gathered the Rents and Tributes, that they were bound to giue and pay to the Dominion of *Mexico*.

Citlaltepec, Quanhtochco, Mixcoatl, Tlacatecth a Gouernour, *Zompanco, Xaltocan, Tlacatecth* a Go-

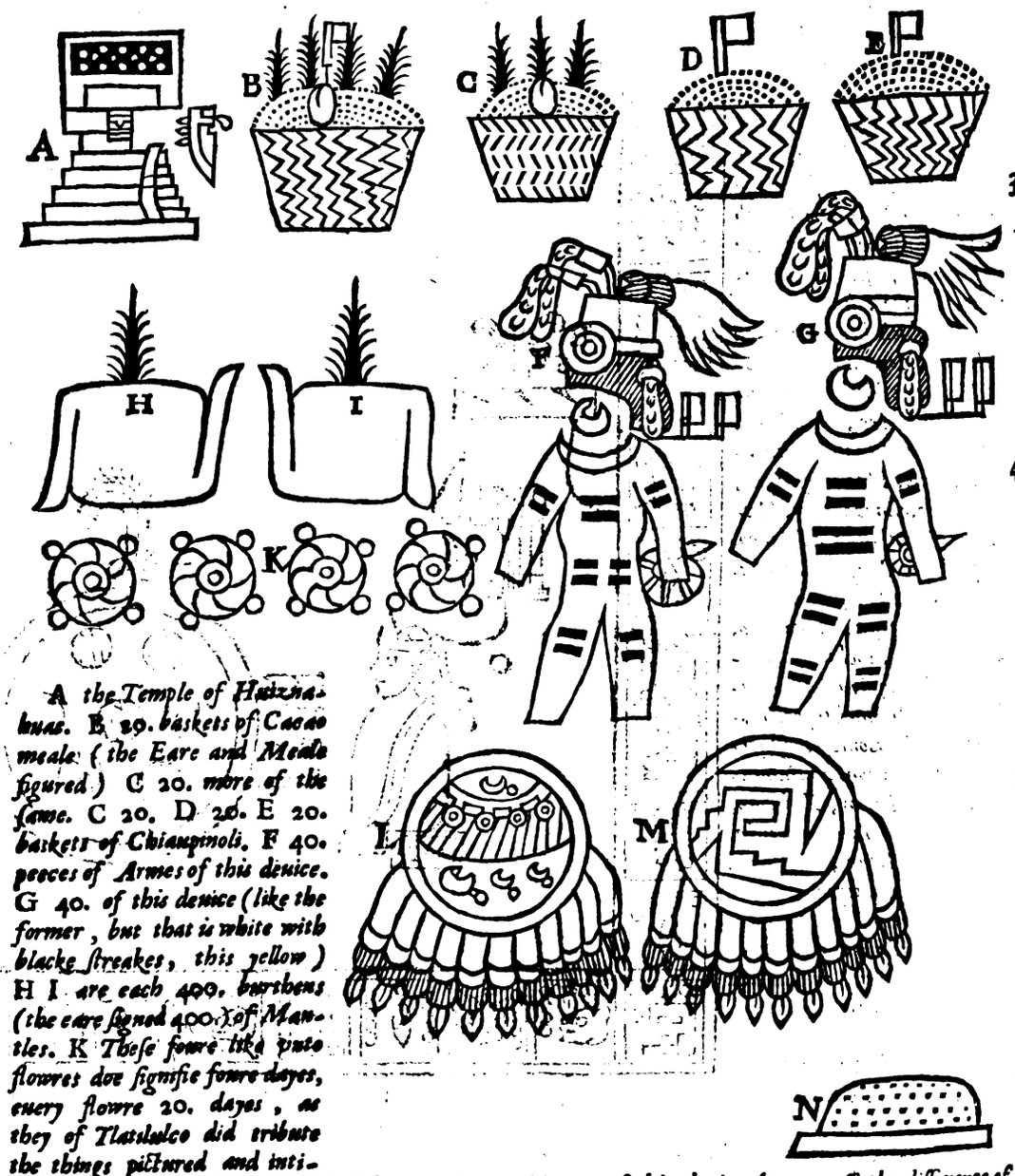
Gouernour, *Acalhuacan, Tlacochtecatl* a Gouernour, *Huexac, Yztayocan, Coatitlan, Huixachtitlan, Tlacatecatl* a Gouernour, *Tlacochtecatl* a Gouernour, *Zozolan, Poetepec, Coatlayancham, Acolnahuac, Puputlan, Yztacolco, Chalcoatenco, Tlacochtecatly* a Gouernour, *Tlacatecatl* a Gouernour, *Oztoma, Atzacan, Atlan, Omequuh, Tezcacoacatl* a Gouernour, *Tlilancalqui* a Gouernour, *Xoconochco, Tecapotitlan.*

§. II.

The second part of this Booke contayning the particular Tributes which euery Towne subdued paid vnto the Lords of Mexico.

HEre follow pictured and intituled the kinds of things, that they of *Tlatilulco* (which at this day is called by the *Spaniards*, Saint *Iames*) did pay in tribute to the Lords of *Mexico*, and the said tribute summed here, is that which followeth.

They were charged for tribute, alwayes to repaire the Church called *Huiznahuac*. *Item*, fortie great Baskets (of the bigneſſe of halfe a Bushell) of *Cacao* ground, with the Meale of Maiz (which they called *Chiampinoli*) and euery Basket had sixteene hundred Almonds of *Cacao*. *Item*, other fortie Baskets of *Chiampinoli*. *Item*, eight hundred burthens of great Mantels. *Item*, eightie pieces of Armour, of slight Feathers, and as many Targets of the same Feathers, of the deuices & colours as they are pictured. All the which tribute, except the said armes and targets they gaue euery 24. dayes, and the said armes and targets they gaue for tribute but once in the whole yeere. The said tribute had his beginning since the time of *Quauhtlatoa* and *Moquihuix*, which were Lords of *Tlatilulco*. The Lords of *Mexico*, which first enioyned to those of *Tlatilulco*, to pay tribute, and to acknowledge their subiection, were *Yzcoatçi* and *Axiacaçi*.



A the Temple of Huiznahuac. B 20. *baskets of Cacao meale (the Eare and Meale figured)* C 20. *more of the same.* C 20. D 20. E 20. *baskets of Chiampinoli.* F 40. *peeces of Armes of this deuice.* G 40. *of this deuice (like the former, but that is white with blacke streakes, this yellow)* H I *are each* 400. *burthens (the eare signed* 400.*) of Mantles.* K *These foure like vnto flowres doe signifie foure dayes, euery flowre* 20. *dayes, as they of Tlatilulco did tribute the things pictured and intituled by taxation of the Lords of Mexico.* L 40. *Targets of this deuice (to expresse the difference of colours*

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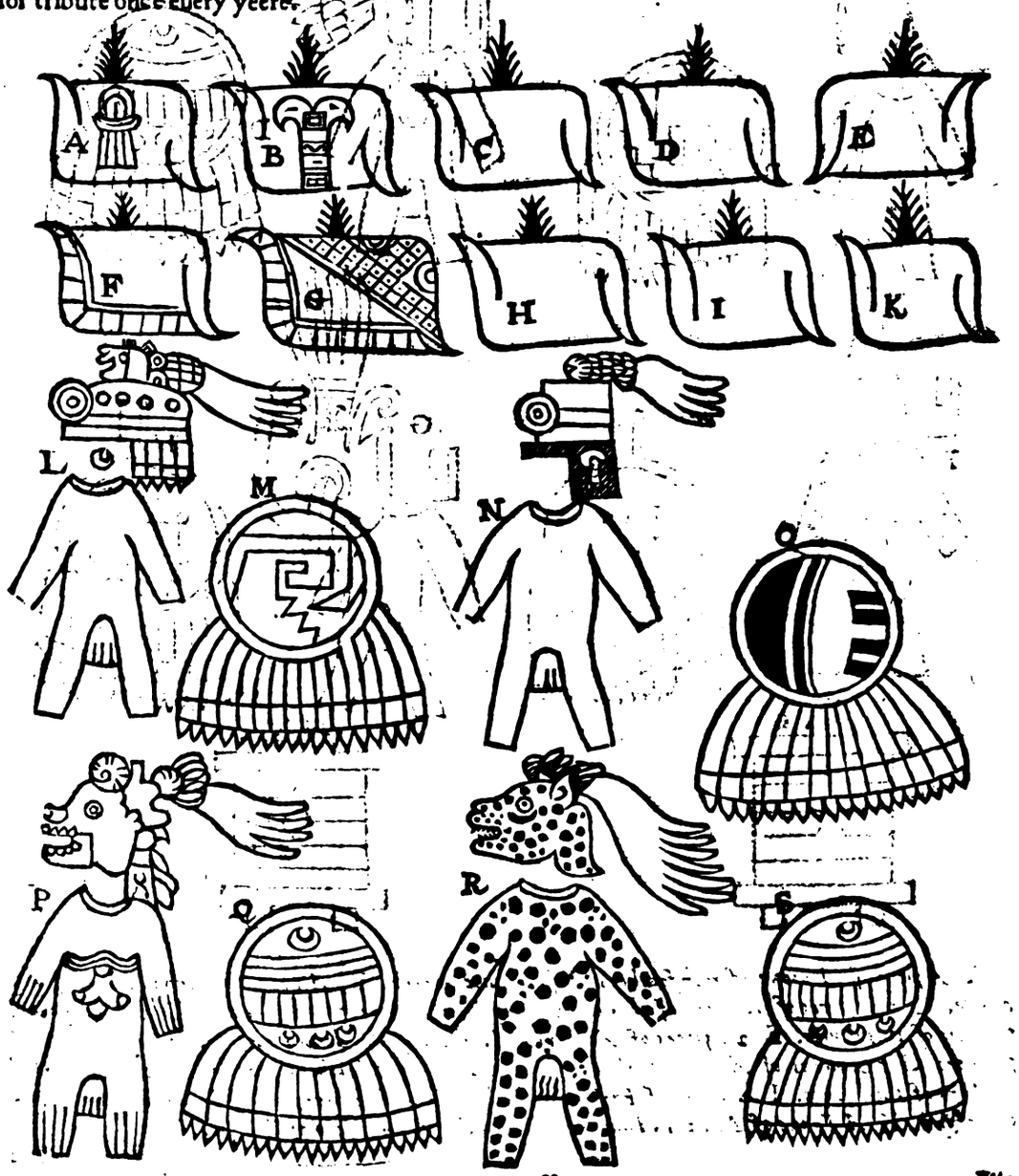
colours in each particular were too tedious.) N Tlatilco. The names of Quauhtlatoa and Moquihuix Lords of Tlatilulco are added, because in their times it began; as also of Tenuxtitlan; Itzcuac and Apayauan to intimate that these two Lords of Mexico or Tenuxtitlan subdued them. The Pictures of them (as of many Townes before) were omitted: being but such descriptions of men and Townes as you haue seene alreadie.

THe Townes pictured in the two Pieces following, and summed heere be twentie three Townes as appeareth by their Titles, and they had a chiefe Gouernour appointed by the Lords of *Mexico*, called *Petlacalcatl*, although neuertheleſſe, euery Towne had his *Calpixque*, which is at it were a Steward or Bayliffe, whoſe charge was to gather the Rents & tributes that the ſaid Townes did tribute to the Dominion of *Mexico*, and all the ſaid Stewards came to the ſaid *Petlacalcatl* as their Gouernor, and the things and kinds that the ſaid townes did tribute, are theſe which follow, 2400. burthens of great Mantels of twiſted Yarne. Eight hundred burthens of little Mantles, rich attyre, of the colours as they are pictured. Foure hundred burthens of *Maxtlac*, which ſerued for little clothes. Foure hundred burthens of *Huipiles* and *Naguas*, all the which they gaue for tribute euery ſixe moneths.

Item, They gaue fiue pieces of Armour, of rich Feathers, and as many Targets of the colours and deuices as they are pictured.

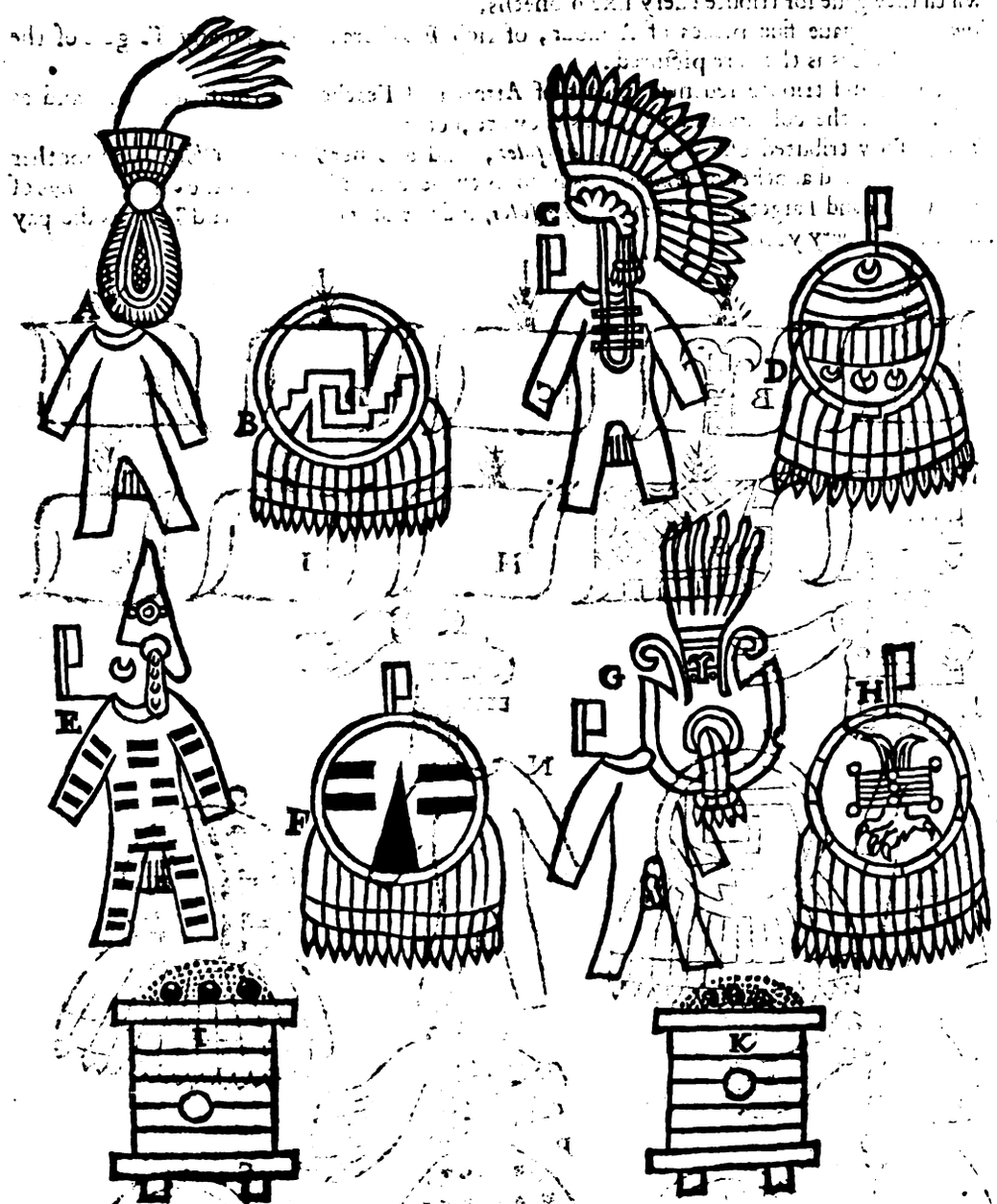
Item, They did tribute ſeuentie pieces of Armour of Feathers of ſmall account, and as many Targets of the colours and deuices as they are pictured.

Item, They tributed one *Troxe* of *Friſoles*, and another *Troxe* of *Chian*, and another *Troxe* of Mayz, and another of *Bnastle*, which is the ſeed of *Bletes*. All the which things of the ſaid Armour and Targets, and *Troxes* of *Friſoles*, and the other ſeeds the ſaid Townes did pay for tribute once euery yeere.



Pethacalcatl a Governour (the pictures of men and townes are heere and in the following omitted, being no other then as you haue already seene). The townes are Xacalpan, Tepico, Tepetlaculco, Tacolapan, Teporlpan, Tequenecan, Huicilo Pochco, Colhuacinco, Cuetlan, Tequapulan, Olac, Atapan, Cuitlahuac, Tezcacoa, Mezquic, Atchopanco, Itzapolitlan, Xoc, Topac, Tamalca, Thecoxinoch, Nextitlan.

A 400. burthens of Maxtlac of this worke, which be little clothes. B 400. burthens of Nagua, and Huipiles of this worke. C 400. burthens of great Mantels. D 400. burthens of great Mantels. E 400. burthens of great Mantels. F 400. burthens of little Mantels, of this worke each division of seuerall colours, Red, Blue, Yellow, Greene. G 400. burthens of little Mantels of this worke. H 400. burthens of great Mantels. I 400. burthens of great Mantels. K 400. burthens of great Mantels. L A piece of Armour of this deuice of rich Feathers yeerely. M A Target of rich Feathers of this deuice. N A piece of Armour of this deuice of rich Feathers yeerely. O A Target of rich Feathers of this deuice. P A piece of Armour of rich Feathers of this deuice yeerely. Q A Target of rich Feathers of this deuice. R A piece of Armour of rich Feathers, of this deuice yeerely. S A Target of rich Feathers of this deuice.



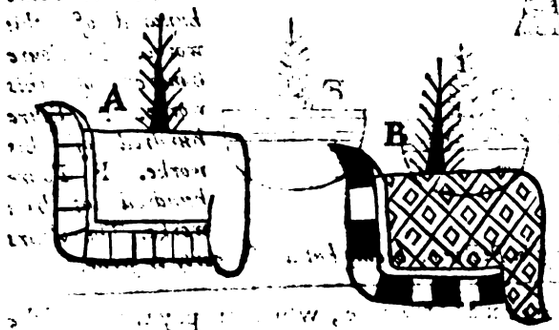
A A piece of Armour of rich feathers of this deuice yeerely. B A Target of rich feathers of this deuice. C 20. pieces of Armour of this deuice yeerely, they were of red feathers. D 20. Targets of feathers of this deuice. E 20. pieces of Armour of feathers of this deuice yeerely. F 20. Targets of feathers. G 20. pieces of Armour of this deuice, blue, of light feathers yeerely. H 20. Targets of feathers of this deuice. I A Troxe of Frisoles and Chian, one of the one kind and, and another of the other kind. K A Troxe of Maiz, and another of Guzmili, which is seed of Blastes.

The

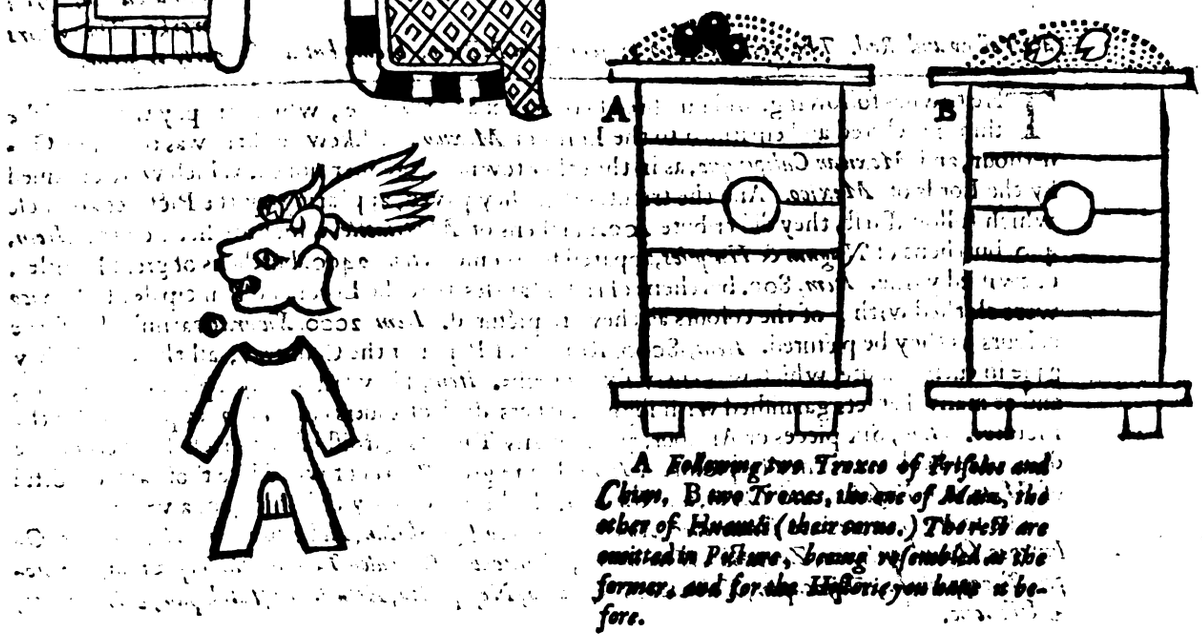
THese Townes pictured and named, enduring and summed heere, are six and twentie townes, wherein from the time of their conquests by the Lords of *Mexico*, they had set *Calpixques*, as it were Bayliffes in euery of them, and in the principall Towne a Gouernour that rule aboue all the rest, because he should maynteine them in peace and iustice, and make them performe their tributes, and that they should not rebell. The tributes that all the said townes hereafter conteyned, did pay together, are these which follow.

Two thousand burthens of great Mantels twisted. *Item*, 1200. burthens of *Cuachtli*, which be rich Mantels, wherewith the Lords and *Casiques* were clothed of the colours as they are pictured. *Item*, 400. burthens of *Maxtlatl*, which be little clothes. *Item*, 400. burthens of *Huipiles* and *Nagua*, all the which they paid for tribute ewice a yeere. *Item*, they gaue more tribute three pieces of Armour garnished with rich feathers, and as many Targets of the colours and deuices as they are pictured, the which they gaue in the space of one yeere. *Item*, one hundred pieces of Armour garnished with feathers of small value, and as many Targets of the deuices and colours as they are hereafter pictured, the which they tributed onee a yeere. *Item*, foure great *Troxes* of wood, full, the one of *Frisoles*, and another of *Chian*, and another of Maiz, and another of *Guauti*, which is the seed of *Blethos*. Euery *Troxe* might contayne foure or fiue thousand *Hanegas*, the which they tributed once a yeere.

Acolmecalt. Calpixque. Acolhuacan, Huiciltepe, Tolquiaco, Tlachyahualco, Tepechpa, Aztaquemeca, Teocalco, Tenanitla, Zenpoalan, Tepetlaoztoc, Achnatepec, Tiçatep, Coatlan, Txquenecan, Matixco, Tenextzalapan, Tyzaucan, Tepetlapan, Calchmalco, Tecoyncan, Tlaquilpan, Quauhquemican, Epaçoncan, Ameyalco, Quauhyocan, Ecatepec.



A 400. *burthens of Mantels of this colour (red) and worke (edged Blue, Greene, Red, and Yellow)* B 400. *bundles of Mantels of this worke (Blacke and White)* C *Twentie pieces of Armes of rich feathers of this worke.*



A *Following two Troxes of Frisoles and Chian,* B *two Troxes, the one of Maiz, the other of Huauti (their corne.) The rest are omitted in Picture, being resembled to the former, and for the Historie you haue it before.*

THe townes pictured and named, and numbred here are sixteene townes, the which townes did pay for tribute to the Lords of *Mexico*, the things pictured and intituled. And because they should be well ruled and gouerned, the Lords of *Mexico* had set *Calpixques* in euery town, and aboue all them for Gouernour, a principall man of *Mexico*; the *Calpixques* also were men of *Mexico*: which was done by the said Lords for the securitie of the townes, that they should not rebell, and also because they should minister Iustice, and liue in policie. And the said Tributes that the said townes gaue as appeareth by the said Pictures, and summed heere, are those which follow.

First, they did tribute twelue hundred burthens of great Mantels of twisted Yarne.

Item, Eight hundred burthens of small white Mantels, of the apparell which they did weare.

Item, Twelue hundred burthens of small white Mantels, richly wrought, which is apparell that the Lords and *Casiques* did weare.

Item, Foure hundred burthens of *Maxtlatle*, which are small clothes that they weare.

Item,

Item, Foure hundred burthens of *Huipiles* and *Nagua*, which is apparell for women, all the which they tribute twice a yeere, so that they gaue tribute euery sixe moneths.

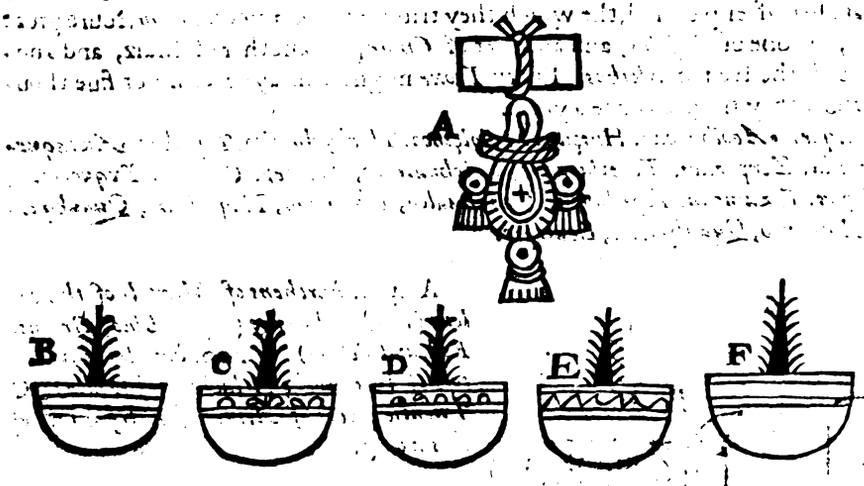
Item, They did tribute eight pieces of Armour, and as many Targets garnished with rich feathers of diuers colours as they are pictured, the which they paid for tribute onnce a yeere.

Item, Foure great *Troxes* of wood, full of *Maiz* and *Frisoles*, and *Chian*, and *Huauli*, which is the seed of *Blethos*, euery *Troxe* might contayne 5000. *Hanegas* or Bushels, the which they did tribute once a yeere.

Item, Eight Reames of Paper, of the Countrey, which they tributed twice a yeere; so that in all it was euery yeere sixteene thousand sheets of Paper.

Item, In euery tribute 2000. *Xicaras*, or drinking Cups, which they gaue euery 2 yeere.

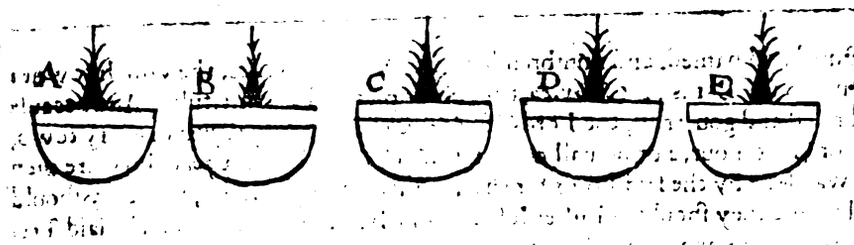
The Townes were *Quauhnahuac*, *Tepoztlan*, *Chimalco*, *Huiccolapan*, *Acatlipan*, *Xochitepec*, *Miacatlan*, *Molotla*, *Cuezlan*, *Xiuhtepec*, *Xoxutla*, *Amaqueztitlan*, *Yztlan*, *Quauquecon*, *Tzicpetlan*, *Atlichololoyan*.



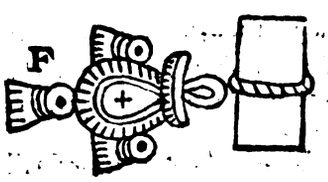
A Eight thousand sheetes of Paper, of the Countrey. B Foure hundred *Xicaras*, or Cup-dishes of this worke. C Foure hundred of this worke. D Foure hundred of this worke. E Foure hundred of this worke. F Foure hundred of his worke. The colours are Yellow and Red. The rest need no presenting in Picture, being but as formerly is seene.

THe townes following, and numbred here are six and twentie, which did pay tribute of the things pictured and entituled to the Lords of *Mexico* and likewise there was resident a Gouernour, and *Mexican Calpixque*, as in the other townes afore mentioned, which were ordained by the Lords of *Mexico*. And the tributes that they payed, appearing by the Pictures are these which follow. First, they did tribute 400. burthens of *Maxtlatle*, which are little clothes. *Item*, 400. burthens of *Nagua* & *Huipiles*, apparell for women. *Item*, 2400. burthens of great Mantles, of twisted yarne. *Item*, 800. burthens of rich Mantles, that the Lords and Principals of *Mexico* were clothed with, of the colours as they are pictured. *Item*, 2000. *Xicaras* varnished, of the colours as they be pictured. *Item*, 8000. Reames of Paper of the Countrey, all the which they gaue in euery tribute which was euery six moneths. *Item*, They tributed 40. pieces of Armour, and as many Targets garnished with flight feathers died of diuers colours, as appeareth by the Pictures. *Item*, Six pieces of Armour, and as many Targets garnished with rich feathers of the deuices and colours as they be pictured. *Item*, Foure great *Troxes* of wood like those aforesaid, ful of *Maiz* and *Frisoles*, and *Chian*, and *Guauli*, all the which they tributed once a yeere.

The townes names are *Huaxtepec*, *Xoxhimilcaçinco*, *Quauhtlan*, *Achichinccpan*, *Anenicquilco*, *Olintepec*, *Quauhnitlyxco*, *Zompanco*, *Huitzilapan*, *Tlaltitcapan*, *Coacalco*, *Tzamatitla Tepoztlan*, *Tanhtepec*, *Tacapichtla*, *Thyacapan*, *Xalentzo*, *Tecpazino*, *Nepopoalco*, *Atlatlanca*, *Tetolapan*, *Amilxinco*, *Atlhuelic*.



A B C D E are each of them foure hundred *Xicaras* or Cup-dishes.



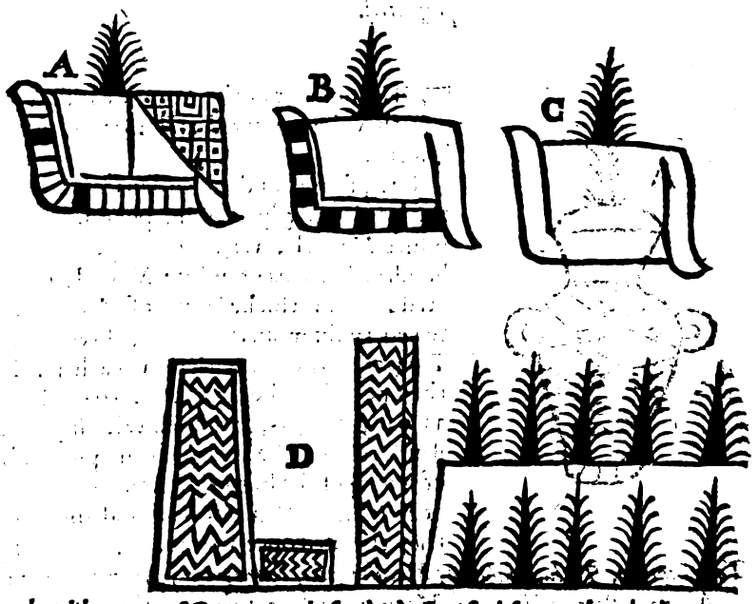
F Eight thousand sheets of Paper, the Pictures of the rest are omitted.

The

THe Townes pictured and named here are seuen, which paid tribute to the Lords of *Mexico*, as in the other parts aforesaid haue beene mentioned, and the things they tributed are these that follow.

First, Foure hundred burdens of Mantels of rich workes; and foure hundred burdens of plaine Mantels, of the color as they be pictured. *Item*, Foure thousand *Petates*, which are Mats, and other foure hundred backes with their seates made of Segs and other Herbs, the which they did tribute euery six moneths. *Item*, Two peeces of Armour, and as many Targets garnished with rich Feathers of the deuices and colours as they be pictured. *Item*, Fortie peeces of Armour, and as many Targets, garnished with sleight Feathers. *Item*, Foure great *Troxes* of wood of the bignesse of those aforesaid, full of *Maiz*, *Frisoles*, *Chian* and *Guantly*, which they gaue for tribute once a yeare.

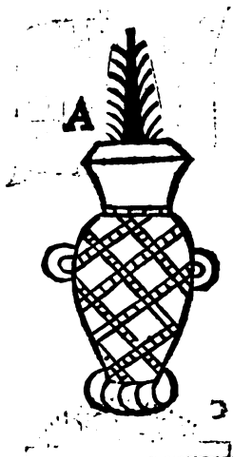
The Townes are *Quauhtitlan, Tehuiloyocan, Ahuexoyocan, Xalapan, Tepoxaco, Cuezcomo huacan, Xiloçinco.*



A Foure hundred burthens of Mantles of this worke (coloured with Red, Tellow, &c.) B Foure hundred burthens of Mantles of this worke (Blacke and White.) C Foure hundred burthens of this worke (all White.) D Foure thousand Mats & foure thousand Backes: the number is intimated by the figures following, somewhat like eares of Corne, eachof which significth foure hundred.

THe Townes pictured and named are tenne, which did paie tribute to the Lords of *Mexico*, as afore said, and the things that they did tribute doe follow.

First, eight hundred burdens of rich Mantles, and wrought as appeareth by the titles and pictures. *Item*, Foure hundred burdens of white Mantles, with their border of blacke and white. *Item*, Eight hundred burdens of white Mantles. *Item*, Foure hundred burdens of *Nagnas* and *Huipiles*. *Item*, Foure hundred great Pots of thicke Honie of *Magues*; all the which they tributed euery sixe moneths. *Item*, They did tribute two peeces of Armour, garnished with rich Feathers, and as many Targets of rich Feathers, of the deuices as they be pictured and intituled. *Item*, Fortie peeces of Armour, garnished with slight Feathers, and as many Targets, of the deuices as they are pictured. *Item*, Foure great *Troxes* of wood, of the bignesse of those that are signified in the parts before, the one of *Maiz*, and the other of *Frisoles*, another of *Chian*, and another of *Guantli* seede of *Bledos*. All the which they tributed once a yeare. The Townes are *Axocopan, Atenco, Tetepanco, Xochichuca, Temohuayan, Tezcatepec, Myzquiauhuala, Tzanyquitpan, Tlaahuilpan, Tecpatepec.*



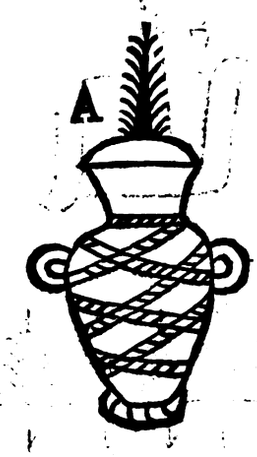
A *Foure hundred Pots of thicke Honie of Magues: this is for the newell figure pictured, the rest not, being as the former in their forme.*

THe number of the Townes ensuing, are seuen, and they did tribute to the Lords of *Mexico*, after the order declared in the parts aforesaid; and the things which they did tribute are those which follow.

First, Foure hundred burdens of Mantels of rich workes, which was apparell that the Lords and *Caciques* did put on. *Item*, Foure hundred burdens of white Mantels, with their borders of white

white and black. *Item*, Eight hundred burdens of great Mantels of twiſted Yarne. *Item*, Foure hundred burdens of Chalk; all the which they did tribute euery ſix moneths. *Item*, they did tribute two peeces of Armour garniſhed with rich Feathers, and two Targets, as appeareth by the deuices and pictures. *Item*, Fortie peeces of Armor, and as many Targets garniſhed with ſlight Feathers, as appeareth by the pictures, deuices and titles. *Item*, Foure great *Troxes* of wood, of the bigneſſe of thoſe before, the one full of *Maiz*, another of *Friſoles*, another of *Clian*, and another of *Guiauti*; all of the which they did tribute once a yeare. The Townes are *Atotonilco*, *Guapalcalco*, *Quecalmacan*, *Acococlco*, *Tehuchuec*, *Otlazpan*, *Xalac*.

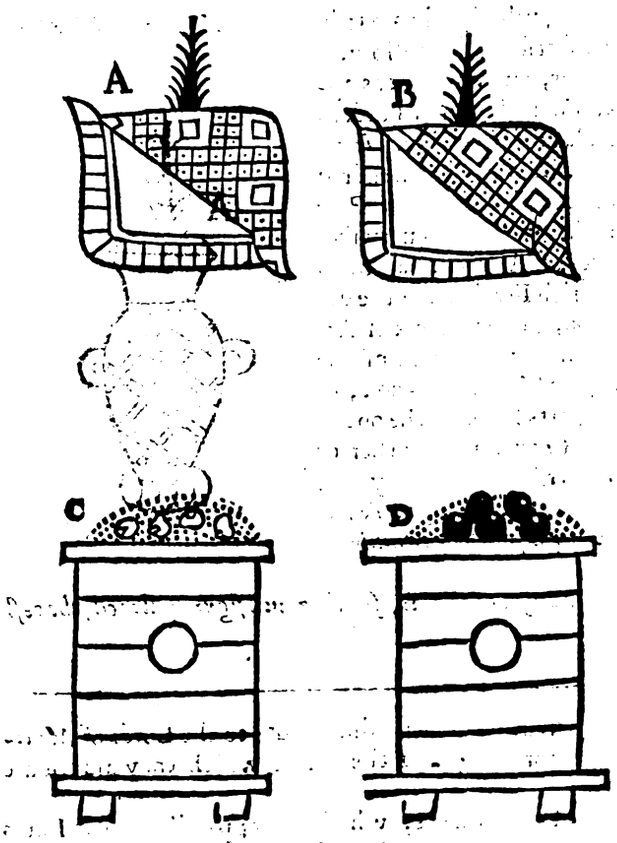
A 400. *burthens of Chalke or Lime: the marke on the top ſignifieth* 400. *the figure is the forme of their burthen. Other figures neede not be preſented.*



THe number of the Townes following, are nine, according as they be pictured and named. And they paid tribute as followeth.

Firſt, foure hundred burdens of Mantels of rich workes, which the Lords and *Caſiques* did put on. *Item*, Foure hundred burdens of white Mantels, with their edge of white and blacke. *Item*, eight hundred burdens of white Mantels of *Enequen*. *Item*, Foure hundred Pots of thicke Honie of *Maguez*. All the which they tributed euery ſix moneths. *Item*, Two peeces of Armour, and as many Targets, garniſhed with rich Feathers, of the colours and deuiſes as they be pictured & intituled. *Item*, threeſcore peeces of Armor, and as many Targets, garniſhed with ſlight Feathers, of the colours and deuiſes as they be entituled and pictured. *Item*, Foure great *Troxes* of wood, of the bigneſſe aforeſaid full, the one of *Mays*, and another of *Friſoles*, another of *Chian*, and another of *Guauly*. All the which they tributed once a yeare. The Townes are *Hueypuchtla*, *Xalac*, *Tequixquiac*, *Tetlapanaloyan*, *Xicalhuacan*, *Xamoyocan*, *Acayocan*, *Tezcatepetenco*, *Atocpan*.

A 400. *Pots of Honie of Maguez, paid euery ſix moneths.*



THe number of the Townes following be ſix: and they paid tribute as followeth.

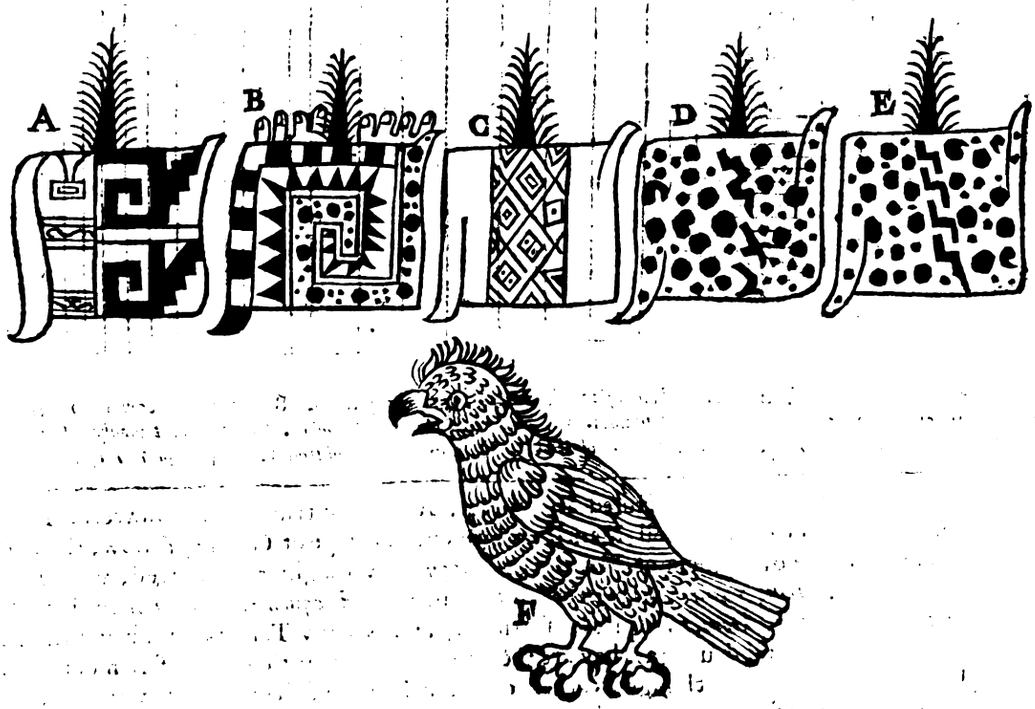
Firſt, Eight hundred burdens of rich Mantels apparel that the Lords of *Mexico* did cloath themſelues with, as appeareth in the ſaid ſide by the pictures and titles. *Item*, One thouſand ſix hundred burdens of white Mantels of *Enequen*; all the which they did tribute to the Lords of *Mexico* euery ſix moneths. *Item*, Foure peeces of Armour, and as many Targets, garniſhed with rich Feathers of the colours and deuiſes as they are pictured and intituled. *Item*, Foure great *Troxes* of wood, of the bigneſſe of the other, full of *Maiz*, *Friſoles*, *Chian*, and *Guauly*. All the which they did tribute once a yeare. The Townes are *Atotonilco*, *Acaxochitla*, *Xuachquecaloyan*, *Huejapan*, *Itzihuinquilocan*, *Tulancingo*.

A *Foure hundred burthens of rich Mantles of this worke.* B *Foure hundred burthens of rich Mantels of this worke.* C *Two troxes, one of Mays, the other of Chian.* D *Two troxes, the one of Friſoles, the other of Guauſi Other pictures are omitted, being like the former.*

The

THe number of the Townes are seuen: and they paid tribute as followeth. First, 400. burthens of very rich *Naguas* and *Huipiles*, which is apparell for women. *Item*, 400. burthens of rich Mantels, Lords apparell. *Item*, 400. burthens of *Naguas* wrought. *Item*, 800. burthens of rich Mantels. *Item*, 400. burthens of rich small Mantels. *Item*, 400. burthens of Mantels drawne through the middle with red: all the which they tributed euery sixe moneths.

Item, A liuing Eagle, two, three, or more, according as they could finde them. *Item*, two pieces of Armour and two Targets, garnished with rich feathers, of the deuice and colour as they are pictured. *Item*, Foure great *Troxes* of wood, full of *Maiz*, *Frisoles*, *Chian*, and *Gnauth*: all the which they tributed once a yeere. The townes names are *Xilotepec*, *Tlachco*, *Tzayanalquilpa*, *Mychnaloyan*, *Tepetitlan*, *Acaxochytla*, *Tecocauhtlan*.



A 400. *burthens of very rich Naguas and Huipiles.* B 400. *burthens of rich Mantels of this worke.* C 400. *burthens of Naguas of this worke.* D 400. *burthens of rich Mantels of this worke.* E 400. *burthens of rich Mantels of this worke.* F *A liue Eagle that they brought in euery tribute, sometimes three, other times foure, and other times more or lesse.*

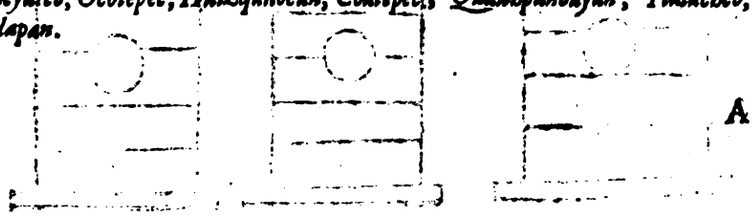
THe number of the Townes following are thirteene. And they payed tribute as followeth.

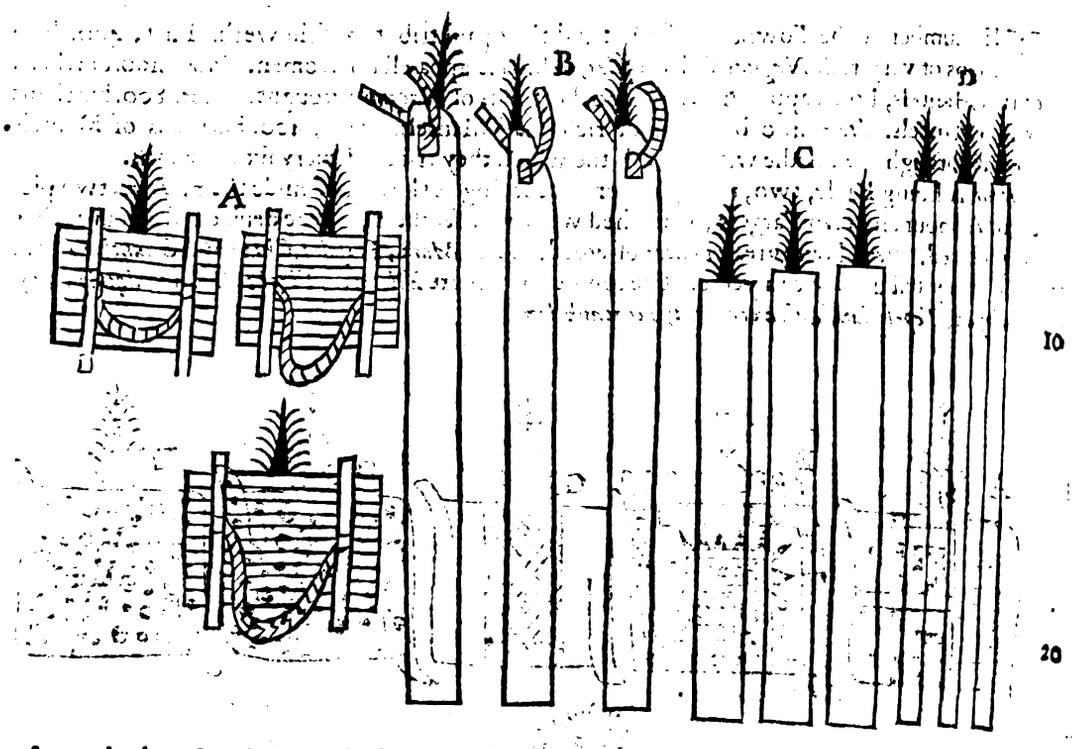
First, 800. burthens of rich small Mantles of this worke, as they be pictured. *Item*, 800. burthens of small, of *Enequen*: all the which they did tribute euery sixe moneths.

Item, A piece of Armour and a Target garnished with rich feathers. *Item*, Fortie pieces of Armour and as many Targets garnished with slight feathers: the which Armour they tributed once a yeere.

Item, Foure great *Troxes* of wood of the bigneſſe aforesaid, full of *Maiz*, *Frisoles*, *Chian*, and *Gnautly*, which likewise they tributed once a yeere.

Item, 1200. burthens of wood, which they tributed euery foure dayes. *Item*, 1200. great Beames of Timber, which they tributed euery foure dayes. *Item*, 2400. great Boards or Planks, which they tributed euery foure dayes. The Townes are, *Quahueocan*, *Teepa*, *Chapolnoloyan*, *Tlalatlauco*, *Atzaxochic*, *Ameyalco*, *Ocotepec*, *Huizquilocan*, *Coatepec*, *Quauhpanoayan*, *Tlalachco*, *Chichiquauhtla*, *Huitziçilapan*.

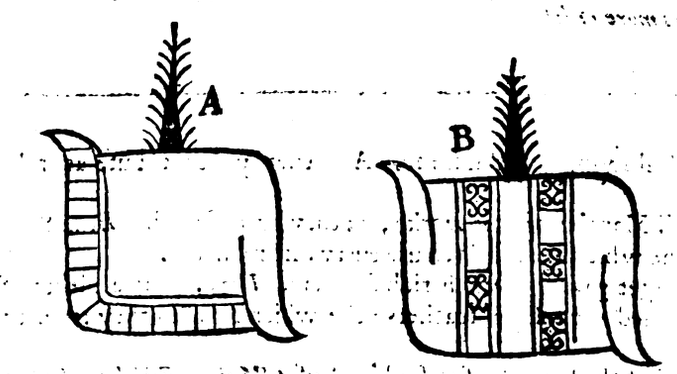




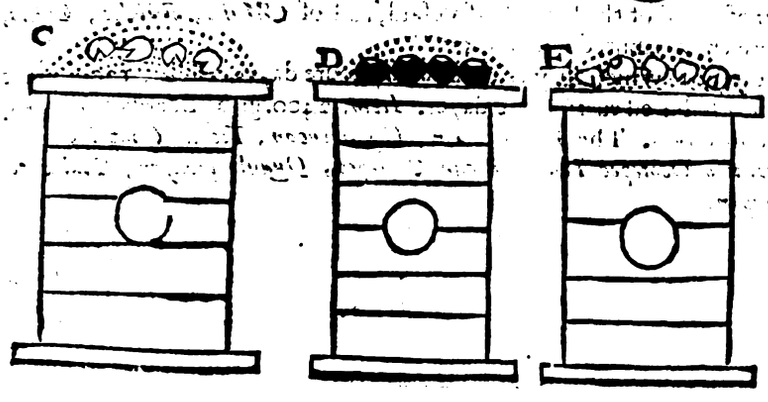
A 400. *burthens of wood.* A 400. *burthens of wood.* A 400. *burthens of wood.* B 400. *great beames, or pieces of timber.* B 400. *great beames.* B 400. *great beames.* C 400. *great plankes of timber.* C 400. *great plankes of timber.* C 400. *great boards of timber.* D 400. *quarters of timber.* D 400. *quarters of timber.* D 400. *quarters of timber.*

THe nnmber of the townes pictured are twelue. And they tributed as followeth. First, 400. burthens of Cotton-wooll, Mantles white with an edge of Greene, Yellow, Red, and Oliue colour. *Item*, 400. burthens of Mantles of *Enequen*, wrought and spotted, with Red, White and Blacke. *Item*, 1200. burthens of white Mantles of *Enequen*: all the which they tributed euery six moneths. *Item*, two pieces of Armour, and as many Targets garnished with rich feathers of the colours and deuices as they are pictured. *Item*, twentie pieces of Armour, with as many Targets, garnished with slight feathers of the colours and deuices as they are pictured. *Item*, six great *Troxes* of wood of the bigneſſe aforesaid, full of *Frisoles*, *Maiz*, *Chian*, and *Guautly*: All the which they tributed once a yeere.

The townes names are *Tuluca*, *Calimahuacan*, *Xicultepec*, *Tepeilhuacan*, *Mytepec*, *Capultepan*, *Metepec*, *Cacalomacn*, *Calymayan*, *Teotenanco*, *Zepemaxalco*, *Zoquiznco*.



A 400. *burthens of Cotton-wooll-mantles of this worke.* B 400. *burthens of Mantles of Enequen, of this worke.*



C *Two Troxes, the one of Maiz, and the other of Chian.* D *Two Troxes of Frisoles & Guautly.* E *Two Troxes, the one of Maiz, and the other of Chian.*

The

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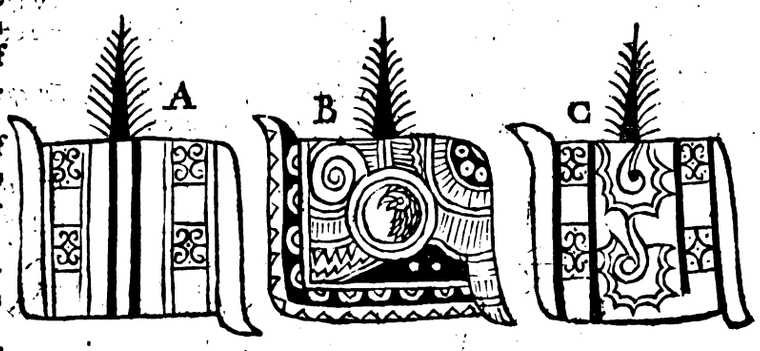
THe number of the townes intituled and pictured, are sixe. And they paid tribute as followeth.

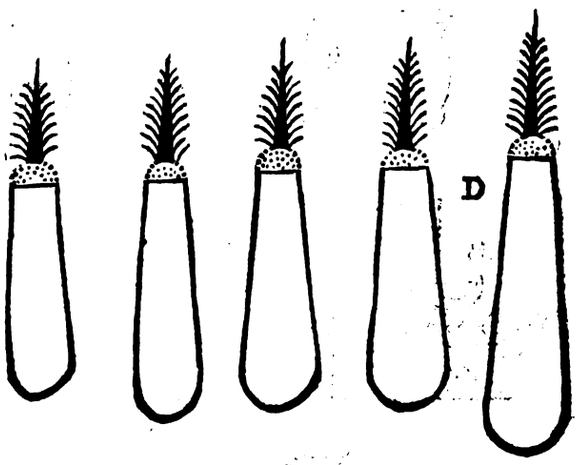
First, they did tribute 800. burthens of rich Mantels of *Enequen*, of the workes as they be pictured A.



Item, 400. burthens of Cotton-wooll, Mantles rich, of the worke as they be pictured. B.

Item, 400. rich Mantles of *Enequen*, of this worke pictured. C.

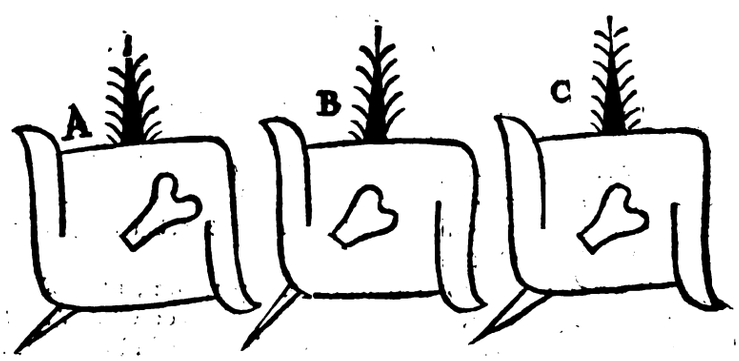
Item, 2000. Loaues of fine white Salt refined & made in long moulds, as letter D each of which signifie 400. (as the Eare aboue declares.) It was spent only for the Lords of *Mexico*, all the which they tributed euery sixe moneths.



Item, a piece of Armor with a Target of rich feathers, of the colours and deuices as they be pictured. *Item*, Twentie pieces of Armour, and as many Targets garnished with slight feathers of the deuices and colours as they are pictured. *Item*, Foure great *Troxes* of wood, of the bigneſſe of those before full of *Maiz*, *Friſoles*, *Chian*, and *Guauly*. All the which they tributed once a yeere.

The Townes, *Oculan*, *Tenantinco*, *Tequaleyan*, *Tenasinho*, *Coatepec*, *Zimozcac*.

THe number of the townes pictured are three. And they paid tribute as followeth. First, 1200. burthens of great white Mantles of *Enequen*, A B C.



Item, 400. burthens of wrought Mantles of *Enequen*, all the which they tributed euery sixe moneths.

Item, They tributed once a yeere eight great *Troxes* of wood, of the bigneſſe aforesaid, two of *Maiz*, two of *Friſoles*, two of *Chian*, and two of *Guauly*. The townes were *Malynalco*, *Zonpalnacan*, *Xocotlan*.

THe number of the Townes following are ten, of a hot Countrey, and they paid tribute as followeth.

First, 400. burthens of rich Mantles made of Cotton-wooll, of the worke as they be pictured. *Item*, 400. burthens of *Naguas* and *Huipiles*. *Item*, 1200. burthens of white Mantles of smooth and safe *Enequen*. All the which they did tribute euery six moneths.

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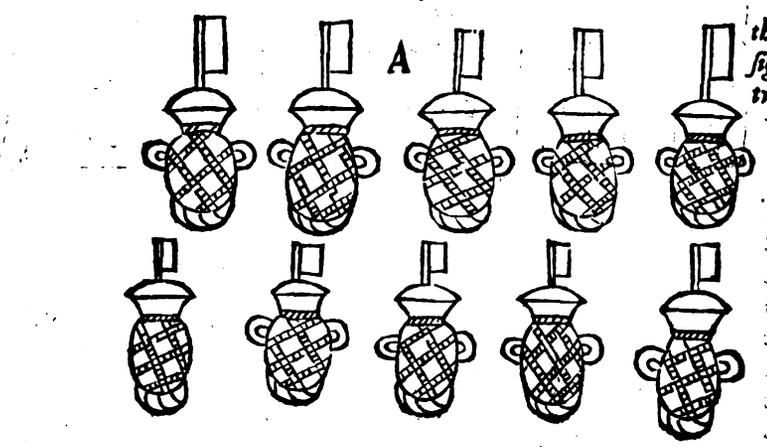
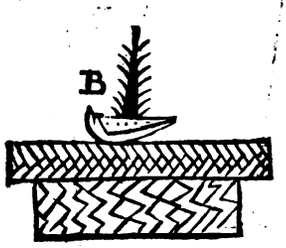
Item, 200. pots of Bees Honey. *Item*, 1200. *Xicaras* varniſhed Yellow. *Item*, 400. Baskets of white *Copale* for perfumes. *Item*, 8000. lumpes of vnrefined *Copale*, wrapt in the leaues of a Palme tree. All the which they tributed euery 400. dayes. *Item*, Two pieces of Armour, and as many Targets garniſhed with rich feathers, of the deuice and colour as they are pictured. *Item*, Two great *Troxes* of wood of the bigneſſe of thoſe aforeſaid, full, the one of *Maiz*, and the other of *Chian*. All the which they doe tribute once a yeere.

The Townes are, *Tlachco, Acamylixtlahuacan, Chontalcoatlan, Teticpac, Nochtepec, Teotlixtocan, Tlamacazapan, Tepexahnalco, Tzicapuçalco, Tetenanco.*



A 200. *pots of Honey, the marke ouer each pot ſignifieth the number of twentie.*



B 400. *Baskets of Copall refined.*

C 8000. *lumps of Copall vnrefined, wrapped in the leaues of a Date Tree: the vpper Figure ſignifieth the Copall, the later (like a Purſe with three Taſſells or Targets annexed) is the Character of eight thouſand, as before in the ſheets of Paper is ſeene.*

THe number of the Townes of the hot Countrey pictured, are fourteene Townes. And they paid tribute as followeth,

Firſt, 400. burthens of quilted Mantles, *Item*, 400. burthens of Mantles ſtriped with blacke and white. *Item*, 400. burthens of rich Mantles. *Item*, 400. burthens of *Naguas* and *Huipiles*. *Item*, 400. burthens of white Mantles. *Item*, 1600. burthens of great Mantles. All the which they did tribute euery ſixe moneths.

Item, They tributed 100. Hatchets of Copper. *Item*, 1200. *Xicaras* of yellow varniſh. *Item*, 200. pots of Bees Honey. *Item*, 400. little baskets of white *Copall* for Perfumes. *Item*, 8000. lumps of *Copall* vnrefined, which was ſpent likewiſe for Perfumes. All the which they tributed euery foure dayes.

Item, Two pieces of Armour, with their Targets garniſhed with rich feathers of this deuice, as they be pictured. *Item*, Twentie pieces of Armour with their Targets, garniſhed with ſlight feathers.

Item, Fiue ſtrings of rich Bead-ſtones, which they call *Chalchihuitl*. *Item*, Foure great *Troxes* of wood, of the bigneſſe of thoſe before full of *Maiz*, *Friſoles*, *Chian*, and *Guauly*; all the which they tributed once a yeere.

The Townes names are *Tepequacuilco, Chilapan, Ohnapan, Huitzoco, Tlachimalacac, Yoallan, Cocolan, Atenanco, Chilacachapan, Telogoapan, Oztoma, Ychcliteopan, Alahuiztlan, Cuçalan.*

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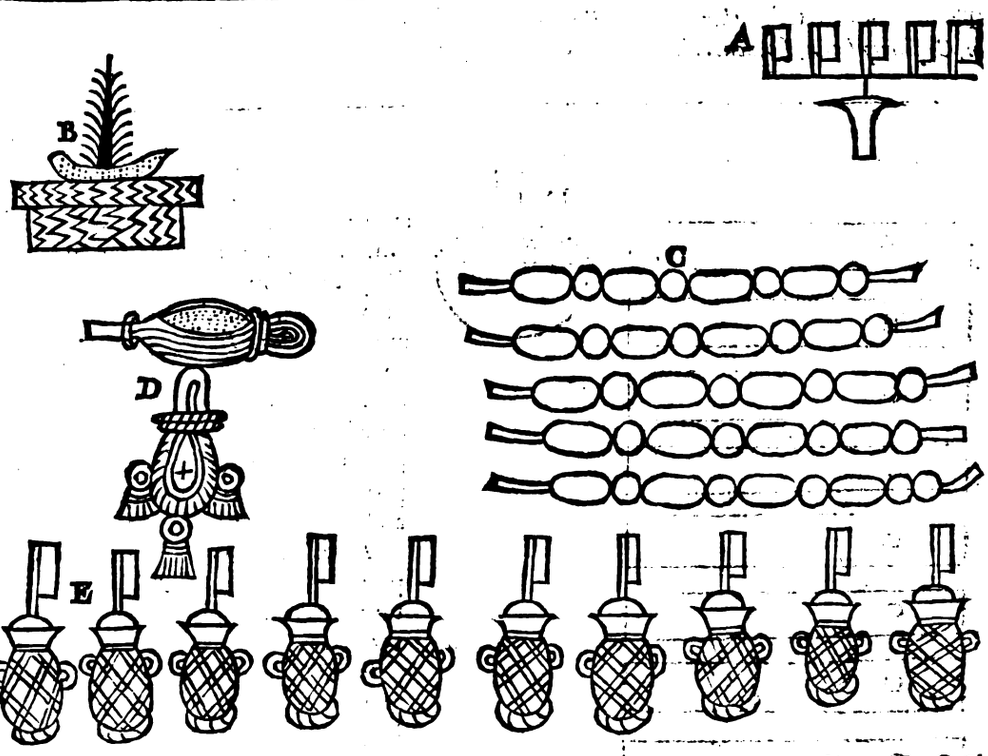
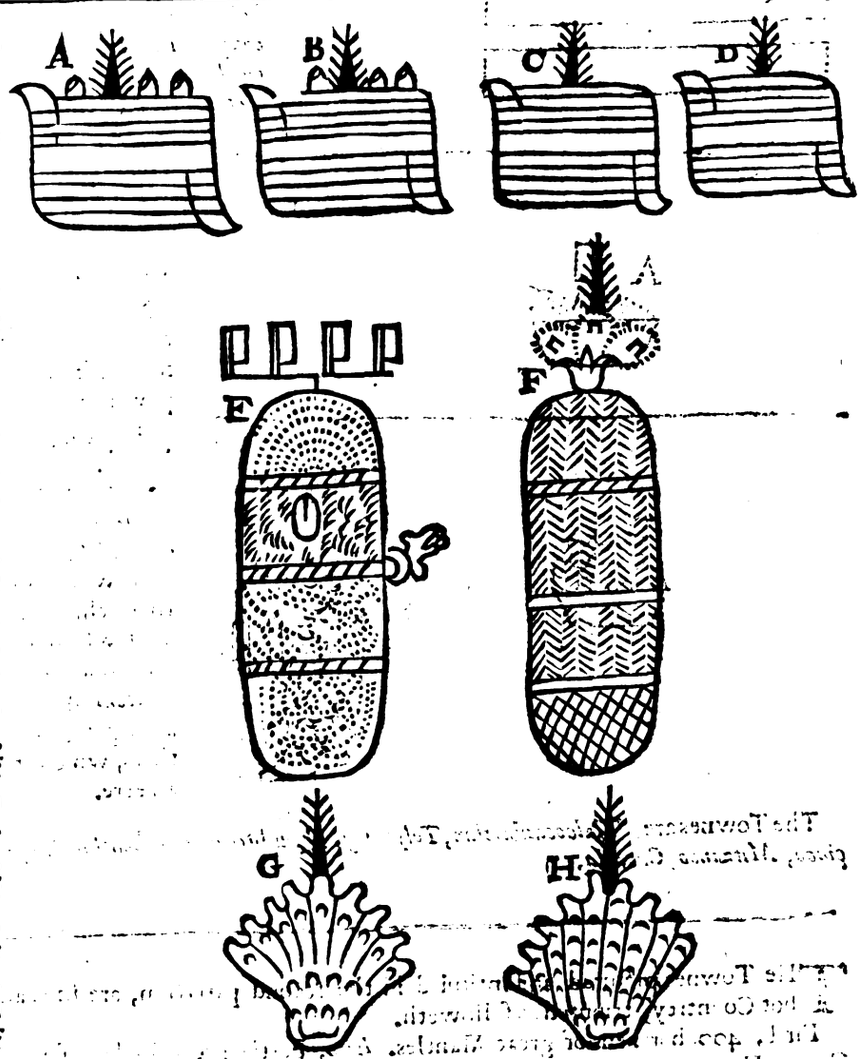


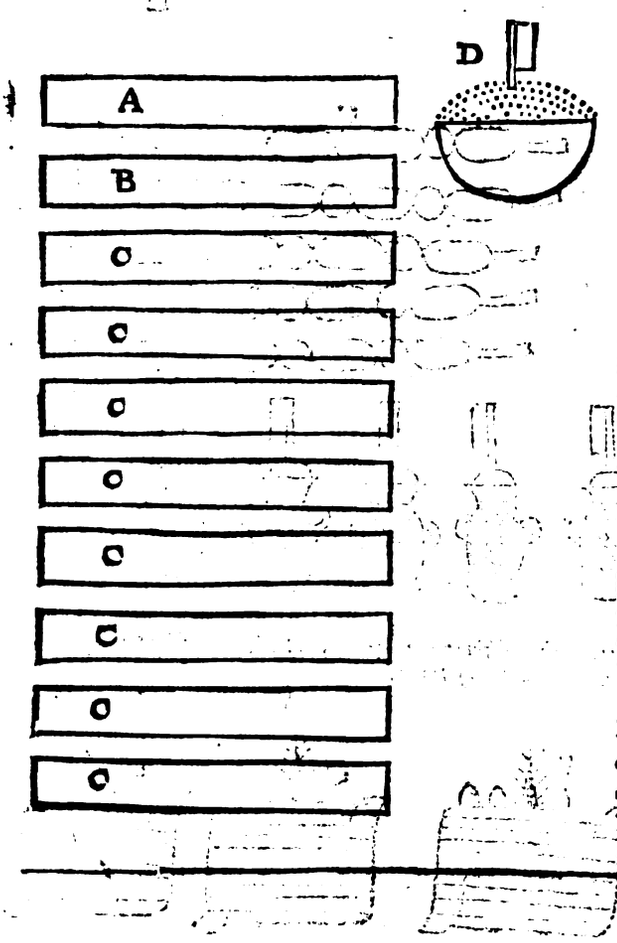
A *The Hatchets, the forme below, the number above, each signifying* 20. B 400. *little Baskets of white Copall,* C *Five strings of stones.* D 8000. *lumps of Copall unrefin.d.* E 200. *Pots of Honey.*

THe number of the Townes of the hot Countreies pictured, and intituled in the next diuision, are twelue. And they paid tribute as followeth.

First, sixteene hundered burthens of great Mantles, listed with Orange-tawnie, as is seene in the letters *A B C D* each marked 400. *Item*, 1400 burdens of great Mantles of twisted yarne. *Item*, 400. burthens of *Cacao*, of brown colour, as in letter *E. Item*, 400. packes of Cotton-wooll, marked Letter *F. Item*, 400. *Conchas*, which are red shels of the Sea, (marked *G H*, each 400.) after the fashion of *Veneras*, all the which they tributed euery six moneths.



The townes are *Cihuatlan, Colima, Panotlan, Nochcoc, Yztapan, Petlatlan, Xihuacan, Apancalcan, Cocohuipilcan, Coyncuc, Zacatulan, Xolochuthyan.*

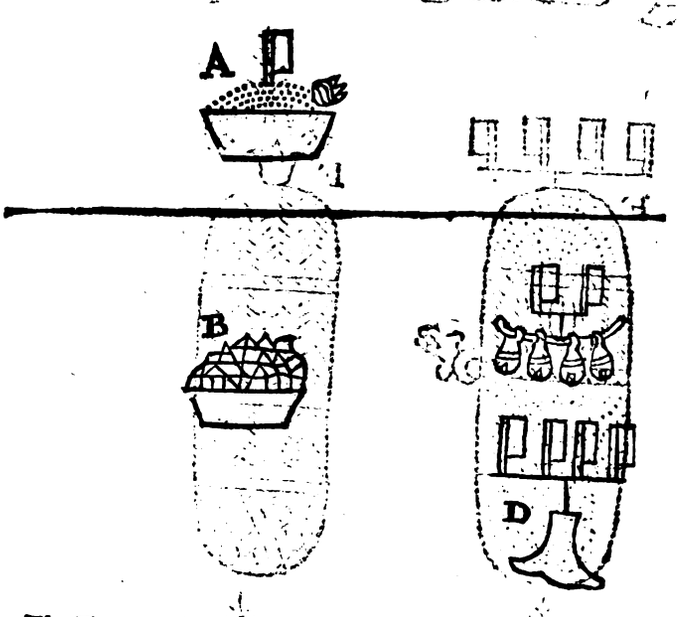


THe number of the Townes, of the hot Countreyes pictured following are 14. and they payed tribute as followeth. Firſt, 400. burthens of *Naguas* and *Huipiles*. *Item*, 400. burthens of Mantles ſtriped with red. *Item*, 800. burthens of great Mantles. *Item*, 800. *Xicaras*, which they call *Tecomates* of the beſt, wherein they drinke *Cacao*, all the which they tributed euery ſixe moneths. *Item*, Two pieces of Armour, with their Targets garniſhed with rich feathers of the deuice and colour as they are pictured.

Item, Twenty *Xicaras* full of Gold in powder, and euery *Xicara* might contayne two handfuls, with both hands letter *D*.

Item, tenne Plates of Gold of foure fingers broad, and three quarters of a yard long, and as thicke as Parchment figured heere, *A B C*, all the which they tributed once a yeere.

The townes names *Tlapan, Xocotlan, Ychcatepecpan, Amaxac, Ahuacatla, Acococzpan, Yoalan, Ocopapan, Huitzamela, Acuitlapan, Malynalicpec, Totomixtlahuacan, Tetepanco, Chipetlan.*



THe towne named, is called *Tlalcocauhtitlan*, a hotte towne with the other ſeuen townes in the firſt partition, did pay tribute as followeth.

Firſt, 400. burthens of great Mantles.

Item, 100. pots of Bees hony.

Item, Twentie pannes of *Tecoçahuitl*, which is a yellow varniſh wherewith they painted themſelues (here figured, Letter *A*) which they tributed euery ſix moneths.

Item, A piece of Armour with a Target garniſhed with rich feathers, which they tributed once a yeere.

The Townes are, *Tlalcocauhtitlan, Tolymany, Quauhtecoma, Ychcatlan, Tepoztitlan, Achnaçinco, Mitzinco, Cacatla.*

THe Townes pictured and intituled in the ſecond partition, are ſixe, and they being of a hot Countrey, tributed as followeth.

Firſt, 400. burthens of great Mantles. *Item*, Fortie great Belles of Copper. *Item*, Foure Copper Hatchets: both repreſented in the Picture, *C* Bels *D* Hatchets.

Item,

Item, One hundred Pots of Bees Honie: all the which they tributed euery six moneths. *Item*, A peece of Armour with a Target of rich Feathers. *Item*, A little Panne full of small Turkes Stones: figured letter *B*. All the which they tributed once a yeare. Turkey stones.

The Townes names are *Quiauhteopan*, *Olynalan*, *Quauhtzecomatla*, *Qualac*, *Tchcatla*, *Xala*.

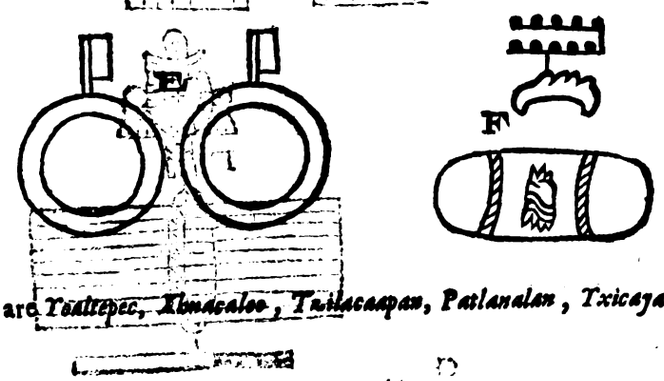
THe Townes pictured and intituled in the third partition, are six Townes of the hot Coun-
10. trie; and they did tribute as followeth.

First, 400. burdens of great Mantels. *Item*, 100. Pots of Bees Honie, which they tributed euery sixe moneths. *Item*, A peece of Armour with his Target garnished with rich Feathers, of the deuice and colour as it is pictured. *Item*, Fortie Plates of Gold, of the bignesse of a Cake, and a finger thicke, figured letter *E*. Each Cake with his vane intimating twenty. Cold.

Item, Tenne halfe faces of rich blew Turkey Stones. Turkey stones.

Item, A great Trusse full of the said Turkey Stones, figured letter *F*. All the which they tributed once a yeare.

20.



30.

The sixe Townes are *Tealtepec*, *Ihuacalco*, *Tzilacaapan*, *Patlanalan*, *Txicayan*, *Tchcaatoyac*.

THe number of the Townes following are six, and they paid tribute as followeth. First, 800. burdens of great Mantels, which they tributed euery six moneths. *Item*, they tributed two peeces of Armour with their Targets, garnished with rich Feathers of the colours as
40 they are pictured. *Item*, Eight great *Troxes*, of the bignesse of those before, full of *Maiz*, *Frizoles*, *Chian*, and *Guautly*. *Item*, Foure great *Troxes* of wood, of the said bignesse, full of *Maiz*, All the which they tributed once a yeare. The Townes are *Chalco*, *Tecmilco*, *Tepuztlan*, *Xocoyoltepec*, *Malynaltepec*, *Quauxumulco*.

THe number of the Townes of the hot Countries pictured in the next partition are two and twenty: and in euery Towne there was placed *Mexican calpixques*, and the same order, rule, and gouernment as in the other Townes and Prouinces heretofore declared. And so is it to
50 be vnderstood was the state and gouernment of all the other Townes hereafter named, though for breuities sake it is not rehearsed any more. And the things which these Townes did pay for tribute to the Lords of *Mexico*, are these following.

First, They tributed 4000. burdens of Lime. *Item*, 4000. burdens of Masse Cane Staues, which they called *Otlatl*. *Item*, 8000. burdens of Canes, whereof the *Mexicans* made Darts for the wars. *Item*, 800. Deere Skins. *Item*, 8000. burdens of *Acayatl*, which are Perfumes which the *Indians* vse for the mouth. *Item*, 100. *Cacaxtles*, which are frames like to Pannels, where with the *Indians* carry burdens on their backes: all the which they tributed euery foure dayes. *Item*, Foure great *Troxes* of wood of the measures and greatnesse of those before declared, full, two with *Maiz* and two with *Frisoles*, the which they tributed once a yeare.

60 The Townes names are *Tepeacan*, *Quechulac*, *Tecamachalco*, *Acatzinco*, *Tecalco*, *Tecohinanco*, *Quauhtinchan*, *Chietlan*, *Quatlatlanhcan*, *Tepixic*, *Tizucan*, *Quauhquechulan*, *Teonochtitlan*, *Huehuetlan*, *Tetenhco*, *Coix-Teopantlan*, *xinco*, *Xpatlan*, *Nacochtlan*, *Chilteopintlan*, *Oztotlapechco*, *Atczcahuacan*.

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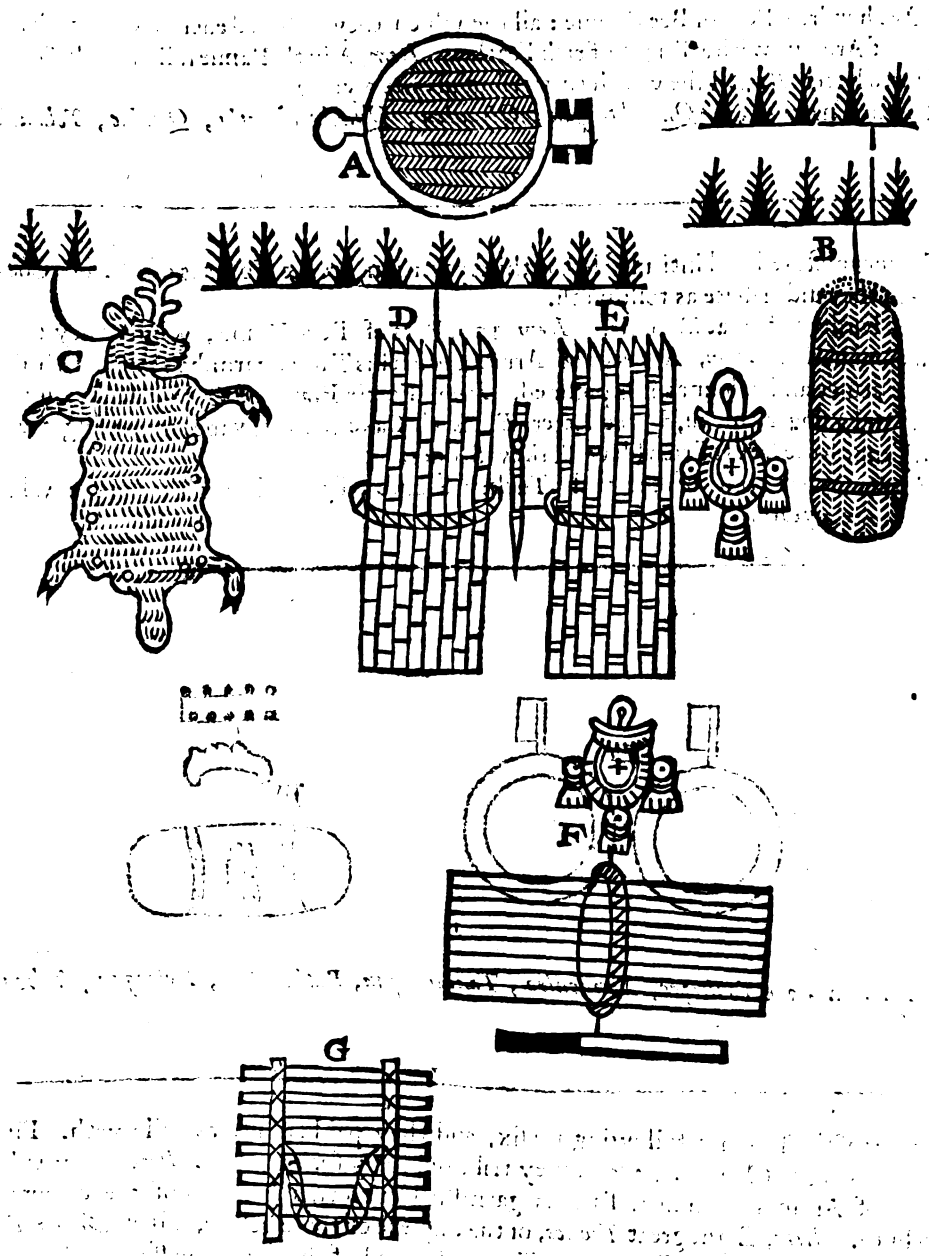

A A Target and Club which they vsed for a Sword, garnished with Rasors points. B 4000. *burthens of Lime.* C 800. *Deere skinnes.* D 4000. *burthens of Cane Staues.* E 8000. *burthens of Canes to make Darts.* F 8000. *burthens of Acayetl.* G 200. *Cacaxtles.*

THe number of the Townes of the warme and temperate Countries pictured and intituled in the next figures are eleuen: and that which they did tribute followeth.

First, 400. burdens of quilted Mantels of rich worke. *Item*, 400. burdens of Mantels striped red and white. *Item*, 400. burdens of Mantels striped red and blacke.

Item, 400. burdens of *Maxtlaetl*, which serued the *Indians* for little cloathes, or girdles.

Item, 400. burdens of *Quipiles*, and *Naguas*. All the which they tributed to the Lords of *Mexico* euery six moneths.

Item, They tributed two pieces of Armour, and as many Targets, garnished with rich Feathers, of the colours and deuises as they are pictured; letter *A*.

Item, Two strings of the Bead-stones of *Chalchihuitl*; rich Stones, greene: letter *B*. *Item*, 800. hands full of large and rich greene Feathers, which they call *Quecalj*, letter *D*. *Item*, A peece of *Tlalpilony* of rich Feathers, which serued for a royall Banner, of the fashion pictured: letter *F*.

Cochinilla. *Item*, Fortie sacks of Graine, which they call the Graine of *Cochinilla*: Letter *C*. *Item*, Twenty *Xicaras* of Gold in dust, of the finest: letter *E*. All the which they tributed once a yeare.

Gold.

The

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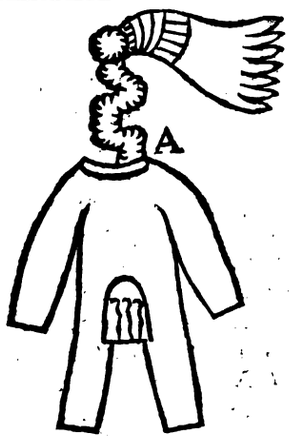
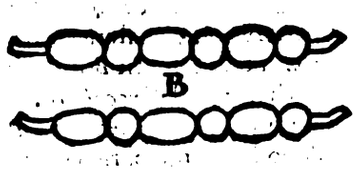
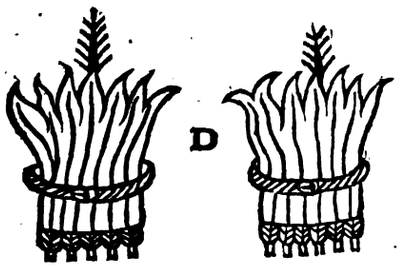
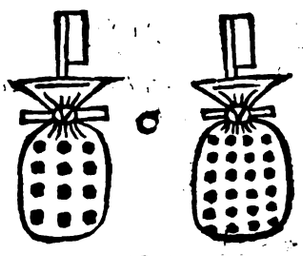
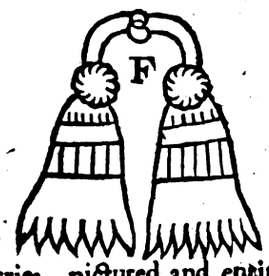
The Townes names are *Coayxtlahuacan, Texopan, Tamaçoladan, Zancuitlan, Tepuzcululan, Nochiztlan, Xaltepec, Tamaçolan Mictlan, Coaxomalo, Cuicatla.*









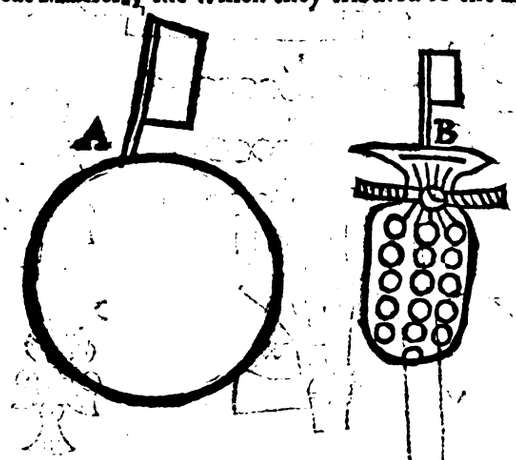


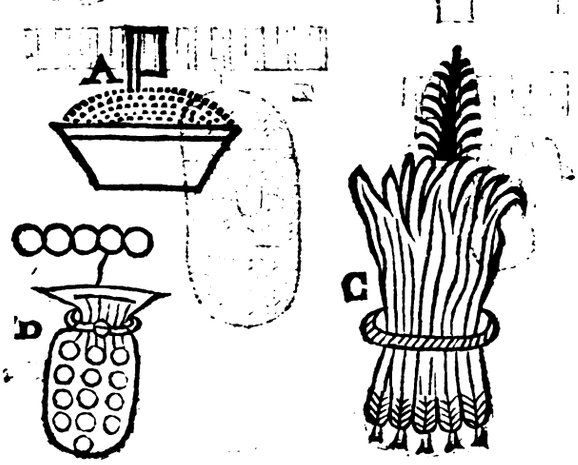
THe number of the Townes of warme and temperate Countries, pictured and entituled in the next diuision, are eleuen Townes: And they tributed as followeth.

First, They did tribute 400. burthen of quilted Mantels of rich worke. *Item*, 800. burthens of great Mantels, the which they tributed to the Lords of *Mexico* euery six moneths. *Item* They tribnted foure great *Troxes* of wood, of the bigneſſe of thoſe aforeſaid, full, two of them with *Maiz*, another with *Friſoles*, and another with *Chian*. *Item*, Twenty plates of fine Gold, of the bigneſſe of a middle diſh, and an inch thicke: letter *A*. *Item*, Twenty ſackes of Graine of *Cochinilla*: letter *B*. All the which they did tribute once a yeare. The Townes are *Coyolan, Etlan, Quauxilotitlan, Guauxacac, Camotlan, Teocuitlatlan, Quauhzontepec, Octlan, Tetitpac, Tlalcuechahuayan, Maculxochic.*

Gold.

Cochinilla.





TLachquiarico, *Achiotlan*, and *Capotlan*, are three Townes in the warme Countries. And the things which they did tribute to the Lords of *Mexico*, are thoſe that follow. Firſt, 4. burdes of great Mantels, which they did tribute euery ſix moneths. *Item*, They tributed a piece of Armor with a Target, garniſhed with rich Feathers of the colours pictured. *Item*, Twenty *Xicaras* full of fine Gold in powder: letter *A*. *Item*, Fiue Sacks of Graine of *Cochinilla*: letter *D*. *Item*, 400. hand fuls of rich greene Feathers, which they call *Quetzaly*: letter *C* al the which they tributed once a yeare.

Warme Countries.

Gold.

Cochinilla.

The

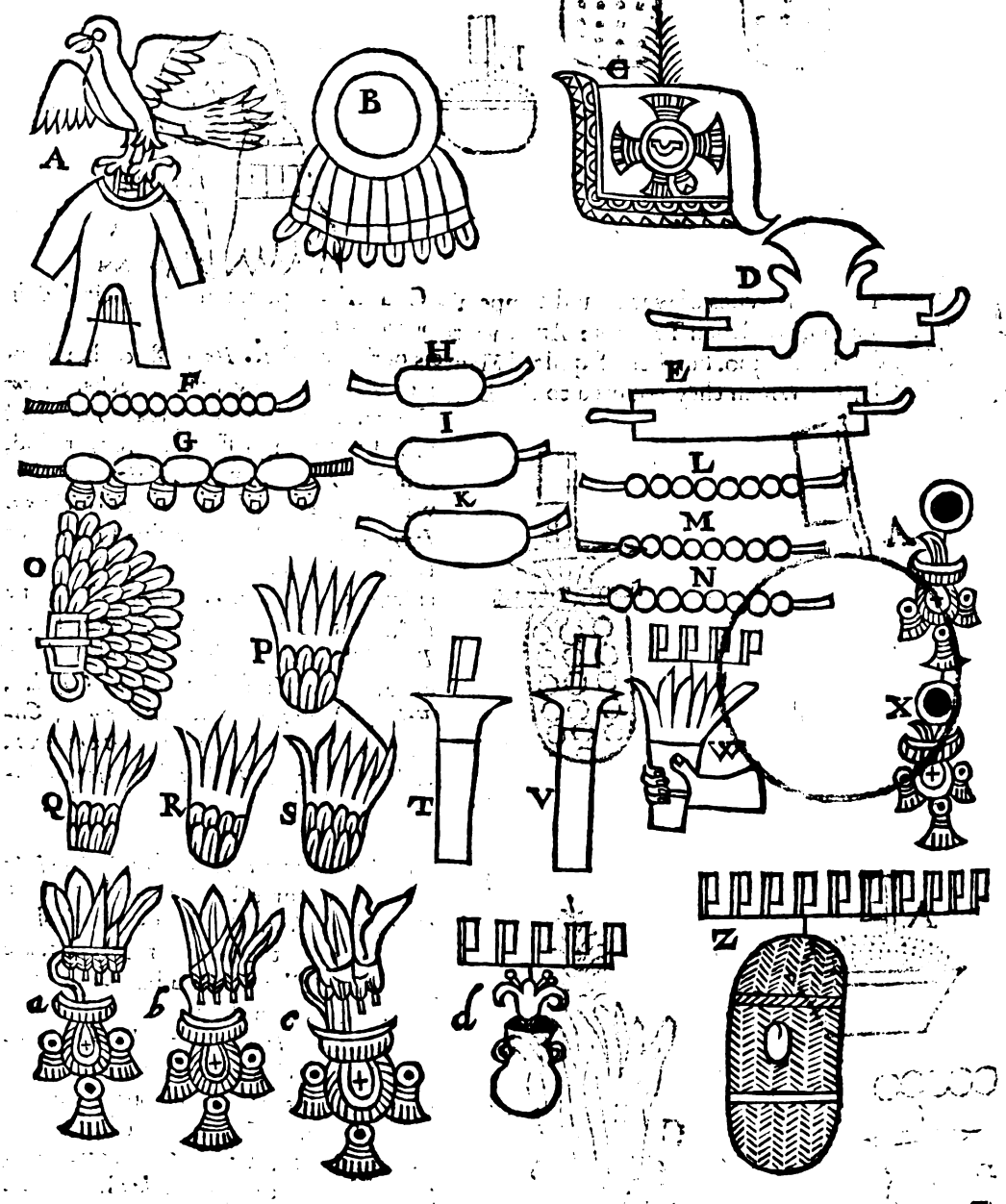
THe number of the Townes of warme and temperate Countries, pictured and intituled in the next figure, are two and twentie. And the things which they did tribute to the Lords of *Mexico*, are these that follow.

First, they did tribute 1600. burthens of rich Mantels, apparell which the Lords and *Casiques* did weare. *Item*, 800. burthens of Mantels listed with red, white, and greene. *Item*, 400. burthens of *Naguas* and *Huipiles*: all the which they tributed euery sixe moneths. *Item*, They tributed a piece of Armour with a Target garnished with rich feathers, with this deuice of a Bird and colours as are pictured letter *A*. *Item*, a Target of gold, letter *B*. *Item*, a deuice for Armour like a wing of rich yellow feathers, letter *O*. *Item*, a Diadem of gold of the fashion as is pictured letter *D*. *Item*, a border of gold for the head of a hand breadth, and of thickneſſe as parchment, letter *E*. *Item*, two strings of Beades, and a collar of gold *F G*. *Item*, three great rich stones of *Chalchihuitl H I K*. *Item*, three strings of round beades rich stones of *Chalchihuitl L M N*. *Item*, foure strings of beades of *Chalchihuitl*, rich stones. *Item*, twentie *Beçotes* of cleere Amber garnished with gold, letter *T*. *Item*, other twentie *Beçotes* of *Beriles* or cristall *V*. *Item*, 80. handfuls of greene rich feathers, which they call *Quecaly W*. *Item*, foure pieces of greene rich feathers like hands full, garnished with yellow rich feathers *P Q R S*. *Item*, 8000. hands full of rich Turqueſed feathers *a*. *Item*, 8000. hands full of rich red feathers *b*. *Item*, 8000. hands full of rich greene feathers *c*. *Item*, 100. Pots or Cauters of fine liquid Amber *d*. *Item*, 200. burthens of *Cacao*, letter *Z*. *Item*, 1600. round lumps like balls of *Oly*, which is a gumme of trees, and casting the said balls on the ground, they doo leape vp very high, letter *X*. all the which they tributed once a yeere. The Townes are *Tochtepec*, *Xayaco*, *Otlahtlan*, *Coçamaloapan*, *Mixtlan*, *Michapan*, *Ayoçintepec*, *Michtlan*, *Teotilan*, *Oxitlan*, *Tzinacantoc*, *Tototepec*, *Chinantlan*, *Ayoçintepec*, *Cuezcomatitlan*, *Puetlan*, *Tetzcutlan*, *Xxmaxtlan*, *Ayotlan*, *Toztlan*, *Tlacotlalpan*.

Target of gold.

Emerald stones.

Amber. Cristall.



The

THe number of the Townes of the warme Countries, pictured and intituled in the next partition are eight. And the things which they tributed to the Lords of *Mexico*, are these that follow.

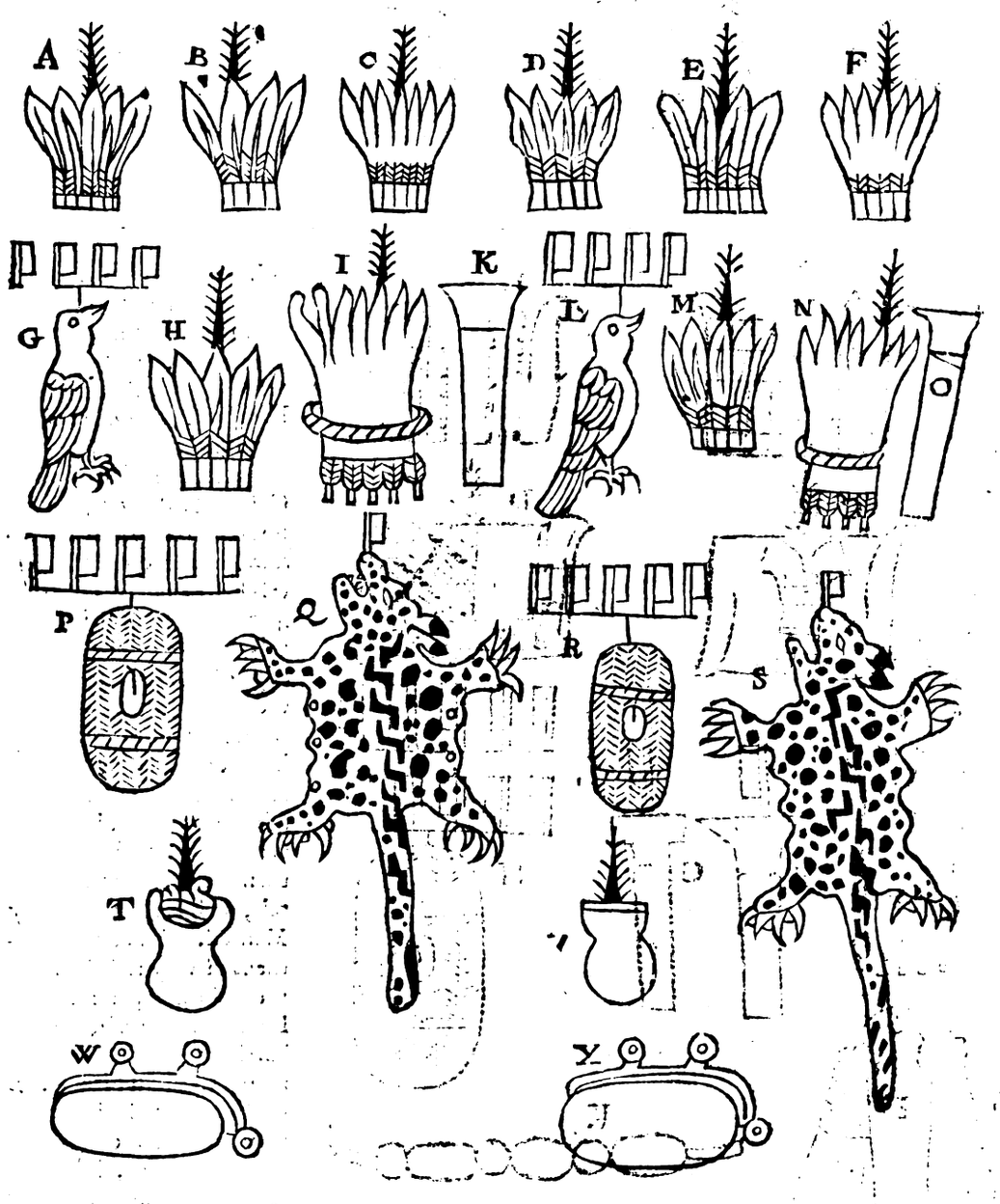
First, two great strings of *Chalchihuitl* rich stones. *Item*, 1400. handfuls of rich feathers blue, red, greene, turkesed, red and greene, as they are pictured in six handfuls, *A B C D E F.*

Item, Foure whole skinnes of birds of rich turkesed feathers, with murry breasts, of the colours as they are pictured *G*. *Item*, other foure whole skinnes of the said birds *L*. *Item*, 800. handfuls of rich yellow feathers *H M*.

Item, 800. hands full of large rich greene feathers, which they call *Queçaly I N*. *Item*, Two *Beçotes* of cleere Amber garnished with gold *K O*. *Item*, 200. burthens of *Cacao P R*.

Item, Fortie Tigres skinnes *Q S*. *Item*, 800. rich *Tecomates* wherein they drinke *Cacao T V*. *Item*, Two great pieces of cleere Amber of the bignesse of a bricke *W X*. All which they tributed euery sixe moneths. Amber.

The Townes names are *Xoconochco*, *Ojotlan*, *Coyoacan*, *Mapachtepec*, *Macatlan*, *Huiztlan*, *Acapetlatlan*, *Huehuetlan*.

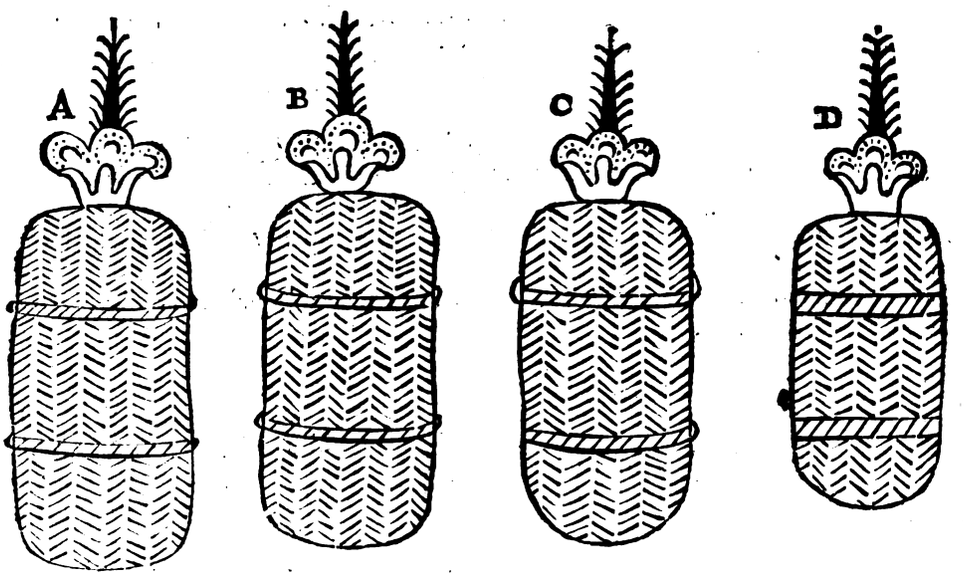


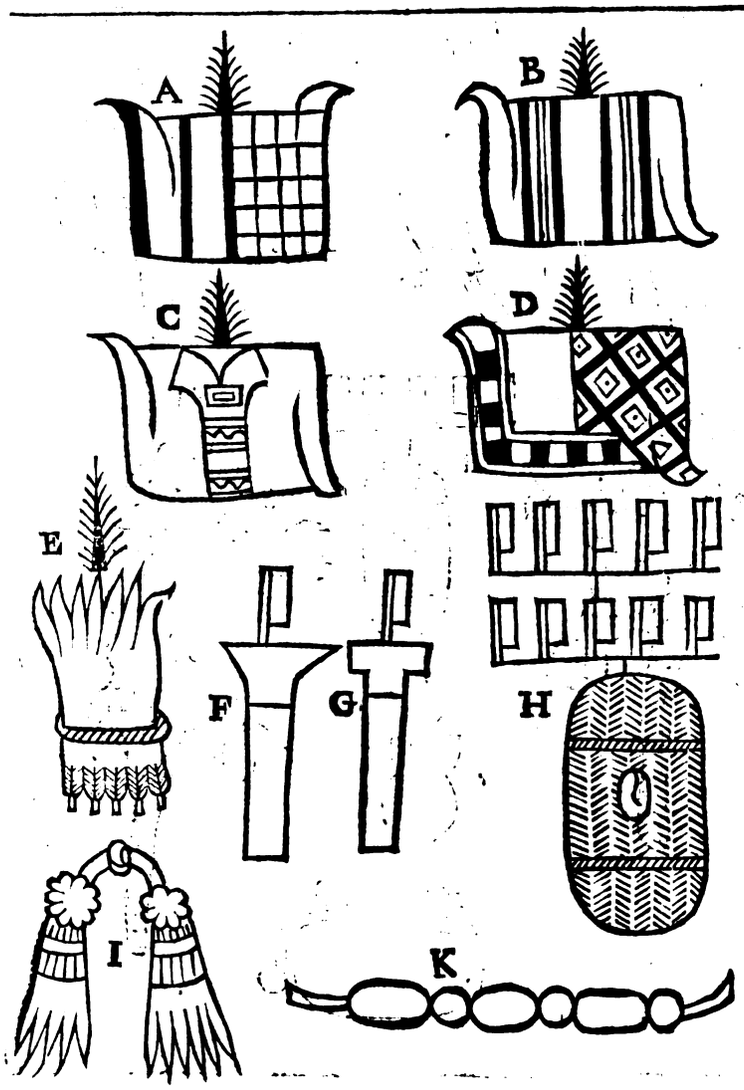
THe number of the Townes of warme and temperate Countryes in the next picture, are seuen. And the things that they tributed to the Lords of *Mexico*, are these that follow.

First, 400. burthens of great Mantels, which they tributed euery sixe moneths. *Item*, Twentie burthens of *Cacao*.

Item,

Cotton wooll. *Item*, 1600. Packs of Cotton wooll (represented *A B C D*. each marked foure hundred) all the which they tributed once a yeere. The Townes are *Quauhtochco*; *Tenhcoltzapotlan*, *Tototlan*, *Tuchcouco*, *Ahnilyzapan*, *Quauhtetelco*, *Tizteyocan*.





THe number of the townes of warme & temperate Countries are sixe; in the next figure. And the things which they tributed to the Lords of *Mexico*, are these that follow.

First, 400. burthens of *Guipiles* & *Naguas*, which is womens apparell *A*. *Item*, 400. burthens of Mantels halfe quilted *C*. *Item*, 400. burthens of litle Mantels, with a white & black edge *B*. *Item*, 400. burthens of Mantels of foure *Braças* euery Mantell, halfe listed with black & white, and halfe after the fashion of net vvorke of blacke and white *D*. *Item*, 400. burthens of great white Mantels, of foure *Braças* euery Mantell. *Item*, 160. burthens of very rich Mantels wrought, apparell for the Lords & *Casiques*. *Item*, 1002 burthens of Mantels listed more with white then with blacke: all the which they tributed euery sixe moneths. *Item*, Two rich pieces of Armor with their targets garnished with rich feathers, according as they are pictured. *Item*, A string of *Chilchihuitl* rich stones *K*. *Item*, 400. handfull of rich large greene feathers, which they call *Quécalj* *E*. *Item*, Twentie *Becotes* of *Beriles* or Cristall shadowed blue, and set in gold *F*. *Item*, Twentie *Becotes* of cleere Amber garnished with gold *G*. *Item*, 200. burthens of *Cacao* H. *Item*, a *Quezalclalpiloni* of rich greene feathers of *Quezalj*, which serued to the Lords of *Mexico* for a Royall Ensigne, of the making as it is pictured *I*. All the which they tributed once a yeere.

Cristall, Amber.

The

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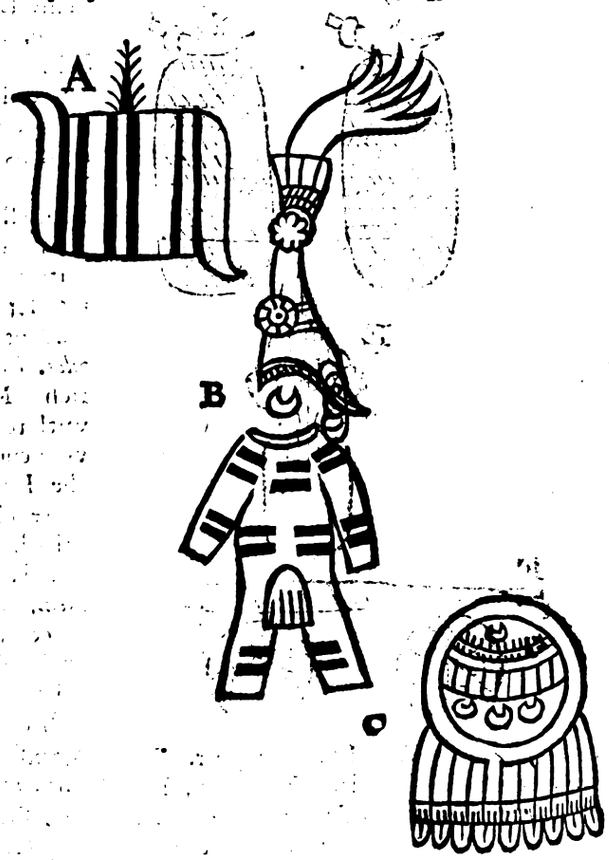
The Townes are *Quetlaxtlan*, *Mictlanquauhtla*, *Tlapanicytlan*, *Oxichan*, *Acozpan*, *Teoxiocan*.

THe number of the Townes, contayned, pictured, and intituled in the next diuision, are seuen Townes. And the things which they tributed to the Lords of *Mexico*, are these that follow.

First, 400. burthens of Mantels listed blacke and white *A*. *Item*, 800. burthens of great white Mantels, the which they tributed euery sixe moneths.

Item, They tributed once a yeere two pieces of Armour with their Targets, garnished with rich feathers of the deuice and sorts as they are pictured. *B* Armour. *C* Shield.

The Townes are *Tlapacoyan*, *Xoloxochitlan*, *Xochiquauhtitlan*, *Tuchitlan*, *Coapan*, *Aztaapan*, *Acaçacatla*.

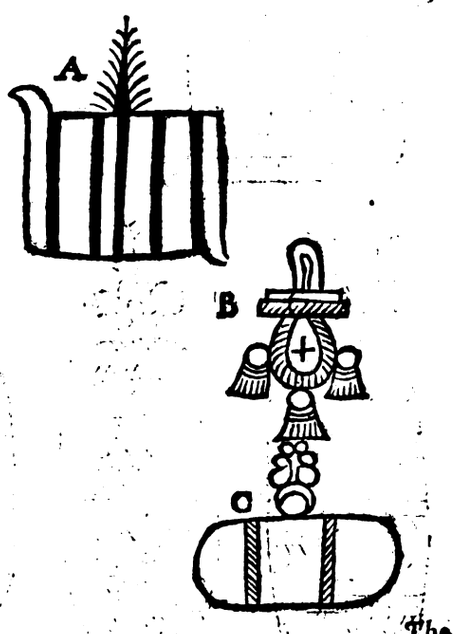


THe number of the Townes pictured next are eleuen. And the things which they tributed to the Lords of *Mexico*, are these that follow.

First, 1600. burthens of Mantels listed blacke and white *A*. *Item*, 8000. loaues or lumps of liquid Amber for perfumes, which they call *Xochiococotl* (*B* is 8000. *C* the lump of Amber) all which they tributed euery sixe moneths.

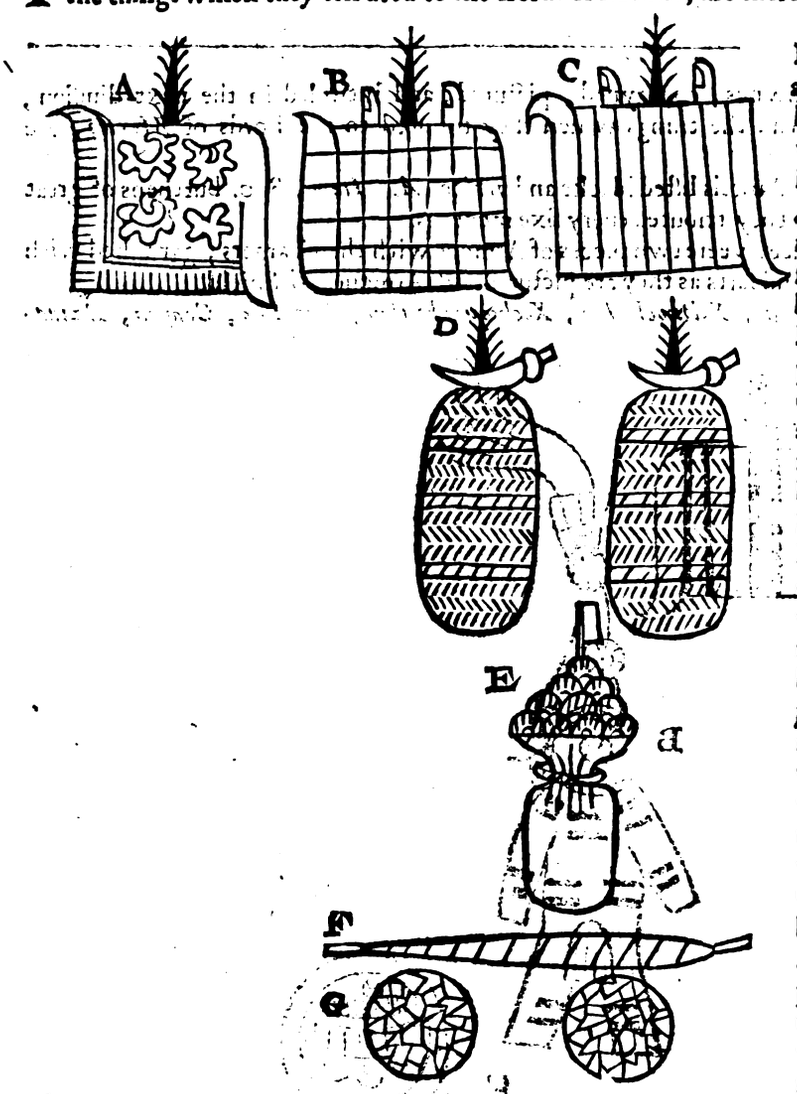
Item, They tributed two pieces of Armour with their Shields, garnished with rich feathers, of the fashion as they are pictured, which they tributed once a yeere.

The Townes are *Tlatlauhquitepec*, *Atenco*, *Teznitlan*, *Ayntuchco*, *Tayauquitlalpa*, *Xonotla*, *Teotlalpan*, *Tiztepec*, *Ixcoyamec*, *Tzonahuac*, *Caltepec*,



The

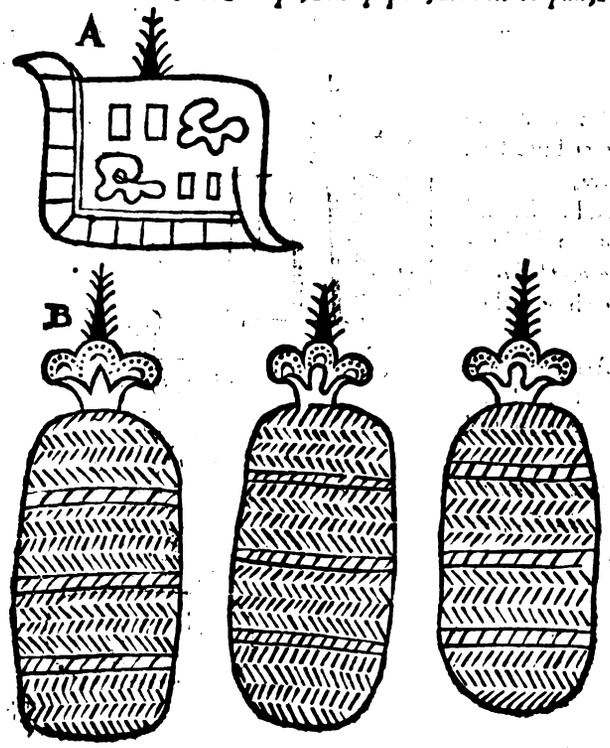
THe number of the Townes pictured and entituled in the next side are seuen Townes. And the things which they tributed to the Lords of *Mexico*, are these which follow.



First, 400. burdens of Mantels like nets of black and white, *B. Item*, 400. burdens of rich Mantels wrought red and white, Lords apparell *A. Item*, 400. burdens of *Maxtlactle*, which serued for small cloathes. *Item*, 400. burdens of great white Mantels of foure bracas a peece. *Item*, 800. burdens of Mantels of eight bracas a peece, listed orange tawnie and white. *Item*, 400. burdens of great white Mantels, of eight bracas a Mantell. *Item*, 400. burdens of Mantels listed, with greene, yellow, and red, letter *C. Item*, 400. burdens of *Naguas* & *Guipiles*. *Item*, 240. burdens of rich Mantels wrought with red, white & blacke; very curious, wherewith the Lords and *Caſiques* were cloathed, all the which apparell they tributed euery six moneths. *Item*, They tributed two pieces of Armour, with their Targets, garnished with rich Feathers of the fashion as they are pictured. *Item*, 800. burdens of dry *Axi*, or West Indian Pepper. *D. Item*, 20. sackes of small white Feathers wherewith they trimmed Mantels. *E. Item*, Two strings of *Chalchihuitl* rich Stones. *Item*, One string of Beades of rich Turkey Stones *F. Item*, Two pieces like Platters decked or garnished with rich Turkey stones. *G.* All the which they tributed once a yeare. The towns names are *Tuchpa, Tlatiçapan, Cichnanteopan, Papantla, Oçelotepec, Miachnaapã, Mitlã.*

Pepper.

Precious Stones.



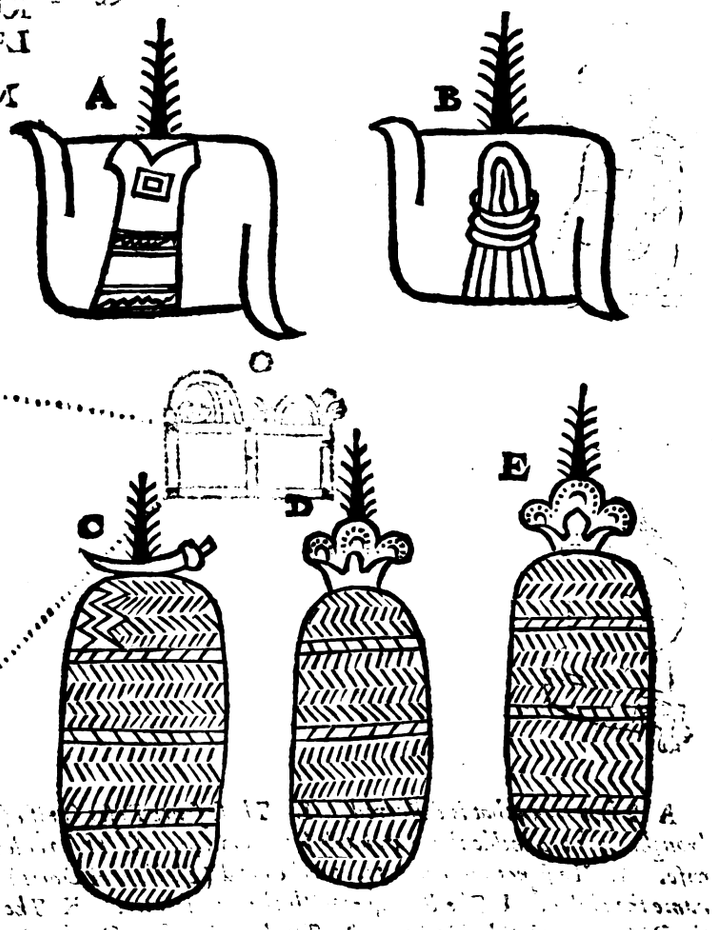
Atlan and *Teçapotitlan* take vp next diuision, which they did tribute to the Lords of *Mexico*. First, 800. burdens of rich Mantels wrought red and white, with an edge of green, red, yellow, and blew. *A. Item*, 400. burdens of *Maxtlactl. Item*, 400. burdens of *Maxtlactl. Item*, 400. burdens of great white Mantels, of foure bracas a Mantell: all the which they tributed euery six moneths. *Item*, They tributed once a yeare 1200. packes of Cotten Woll. lett. *B.*

The

THe Towne of *Oxitipan*, did tribute to the Lords of *Mexico*. First, 2000. burdens of great Mantels of two bracas a Mantell. *Item*, 800. burdens of great Mantels, listed with yellow, blew, red, and greene, of foure bracas a Mantell. All the which apparel they tributed euery six moneths. *Item*. They tributed 400. burdens of *Axi*, which is their Pepper. *A. Item*, A liue Eagle, and some times two or three, as they could catch them. *B*. All the which they tributed once a yeare.

Pepper

CTzicoac, *Molanco*, *Cozcatecutlan*, *Yehoatlan* and *Xocogoran*, paid these tributes to the Lords of *Mexico*. First, 400. burdens of white Mantels with their edge of red, blew, greene and yellow. *Item*, 400. burdens of *Maxtlatle*, which are lesser cloathes *B*. *Item*, 800. burdens of great white Mantels of three bracas euery Mantell. *Item*, 400. burdens of *Naguas* and *Huipiles*, which is womans apparell, *A*. All the which they tributed euery six moneths. *Item*, they tributed two pieces of Armour with their Shields decked with rich Feathers of the fashion that they are pictured. *Item*, 800. packs of Cotten, *D*. *E*. All the which they tributed once a yeare. *Item*, 400 burdens of *Axi* dried *C*.



§. III.

The third part of this Booke containeth the priuate behauiour in Mariages, education of Children, and Trades; with the Martiall, Eccleſiaſtike, and Ciuill policie of the MEXICAN *people.*

A Relation of the manner and cuſtome that the naturall *Mexicans* had when either a Boy or Girle was borne vnto them. The vſe and ceremonies in giuing names to their children, and afterwards to dedicate and offer them either to the Church, or elſe to the warres, according as by the pictures is ſignified, and briefly declared.

The Woman being delidered, they laid the childe in a Cradle, according as is pictured, & foure dayes after the birth of the childe the Midwife tooke it in her armes naked, & brought it forth to the yard of the childe wiues houſe; and in the yard were prepared Bulruſhes or Sedges, which they call *Tule*, and they ſet vpon them a little pan of water, wherein the ſaid Midwife waſhed the ſaid childe: after it is waſhed, three Boyes, which are ſet by the ſaid Bulruſhes, eating toſted *Maiz*, mingled with ſodden *Friſoles*, which they called *Txicue* foode, the which foode made

A kinde of Baptiſme with the naming of their children.

A *The woman that is delinered,* B *Theſe foure Reſes ſignifie foure dayes wherein the Midwife brought forth the childe that was lately borne to waſh.* C *The cradle with the childe.* D *The Midwife.* E *The ſignes, inſtruments, and the bond (Shield and Darts)* F G H *the three Boyes which name the childe.* I *The Bulruſhes with the pan of water.* K *The Broome.* L *The Spindell and the Diſtaffe.* M *The Basket.* N *The high Prieſt.* O *The childe in his cradle which his Parents offer in the Temple.* P *The Maſter or Teacher of boyes and yong men.* Q *The childes Father.* R *The childes Mother.*

ready

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ready, was set in a little pan before the said Boyes, that they might eate it. And after the said bathing or washing, the said Midwife aduertited the said Boyes, that they should with a loud voice giue a new name vnto the childe that she had so washed, and the name that they gaue it was that which the Midwife would impose.

When the childe was brought forth to wash, if it be a man childe they bring him forth with his signe in his hand, and the signe is the Instrument wherewith his Father did exercise himselfe, as well in the Military art, as other arts, as of a Goldsmith, a Grauer, or any other office whatsoeuer: And after they had done all the aforesaid, the Midwife brings the childe to his Mother. And if it be a woman-childe, the signe wherewith they bring her to wash, is a Distaffe, a Spindel, a Basket, and a handfull of Broome; which are the things wherewith she should exercise her selfe, being of age thereto.

And the bond of the Manchilde with a Shield and Darts for a signe which he brings with him when they bring him for to wash; they offer it to that part and place where are likely to happen warres with his enemies, where they burie it vnder ground. And so likewise of the Woman-childe, her bond they buried vnder the *Metate*, which is a stone to grinde Cakes vpon.

And after the aforesaid, at the end of twenty dayes, the childes Parents went with the childe to the Temple or *Mixquiza*, which they called *Calmecac*, and in the presence of the Priests they presented the childe with his offering of Mantels, and *Mastelles* and some meate: And after the childe being brought vp by his Parents, and being of age, they committed the childe to the high Priest of the said Temple, because there he might be taught that hereafter he might be a Priest. Presentation in the Temple

And if the childes Parents were determined that he (being of age) should serue in warlike affaires, then straight way they offered him to the Master thereof, making him a promise of him (the Master of Boyes and yong men they called *Teachcauch* or *Telpuchtlato*) which offering was made with his present of meate and other things for the celebrating thereof. And the childe being of age, they committed him to the said Master.

X

The declaration of the pictures contained in the deuiſon following, wherein is declared at what age, and in what manner the naturall Parents did giue counsell to their children, how they ought to liue, as successiuely is pictured in foure partitions; and so the foure partitions of this side are declared in order which are these that follow. X

1 The first partition, wherein is declared how that the Parents corrected their children, in giuing them good counsell when they were three years of age; and the portion of meate that they gaue them euery meale was halfe a cake of bread.

2 The second partition wherein is pictured in what things the Parents did instruct their children when they were of the age of foure yeares, and how they began to exercise them to serue in small things. And the portion of meate which they gaue them at a meale, was a whole Cake.

A *The Boy his Father.* B *Three yeares of age.* C *A Boy.* D *Halfe a Cake.* E *The Boyes Mother.* F *Halfe a Cake.* G *Girle of three yeares of age.* H *The Father of the Boy.* I *A Boy of foure yeares of age.* K *A Cake.* L *The Mother of the Girle.* M *A Cake.* N *A Girle of foure yeare of age.* * *A Spindell with a locke of cotten woll lying on a Mat.*

3 The third partition, wherein is ſhewed that the Parents did exerciſe their children in bodily labour at fiue yeares of age, in loding their Sonnes with Wood and other things in ſmall burdens, of ſmall weight, and to carry packes of ſmall weight to the *Tyanguez*, or Market place. And they exerciſed their Daughters of that age, in ſhewing them how they ſhould handle the Spindell and Diſtaffe for to ſpin. And their allowance of meate was a whole Cake of Bread.

4 The fourth partition, wherein is pictured how the Parents inſtructed their children of ſix yeares old, and exerciſed and occupied them in bodily ſeruice, that they might profit their Parents in ſome thing, as in the *Tyanguez*, which are Market-places that they might gather from the ground, the cornes of *Maiz* and *Friſoles* that were ſpilt there by him, and other ſmall things that the buyers and others had left and ſpilt there. And this was the Boies worke. But the Girles were put to ſpinne and to doe other profitable ſeruices, becauſe in time to come, by meanes of the ſaid ſeruices and occupations, they ſhould not ſpend their time idelly, and ſhould auoide euill vices that are wont to grow through idleneſſe. And the allowance of meate that they gaue to their children was a Cake and a halfe of Bread.

O *The Father of the Boyes.* P *Two Boyes of fiue yeares of age.* Q *A Cake.* R *A Cake.* S *The Mother of the Girle holding the Spindle and Rocke.* T *A Cake.* V *A Girle of fiue yeares old.* W *The Father of the two Boyes.* *Two Boyes of ſix yeares old.* X *A Cake and a halfe.* Y *The mother of the Girle.* Z *A Cake and a halfe.* *A Girle of ſix yeares old ſpinning Cotton well.*

A Declaration of the figure following, wherein is ſhewed, at what age and in what things the naturall people of *Mexico* did inſtruct their children, and in what manner they corrected them, that they ſhould auoide all idleneſſe, and alwayes ſhould be exerciſed in ſome profitable things, aſſucceſſiuely is pictured in foure partitions.

1 The firſt partition, wherein is pictured how the Parents vſe their children of ſeuen yeares old that is the men children they applyed them in giuing them their fiſhing Nets. And the Mothers did exerciſe their Daughters in ſpinning and in giuing them good counſell that they ſhould alwayes apply and occupie their time in doing ſome thing for to auoide idleneſſe. And the allowance of meate that they gaue to their children at euery meale was a Cake and a halfe of Bread.

A *The Father of the Boyes.* B *Theſe ſeuen ſpots ſhew ſignifie ſeuen yeares.* C D *A Cake and a halfe.* D *A Boy of ſeuen yeares old, whoſe Father ſheweth him how he ſhould fiſh with the net he hath in his hand.* E *The mother of the children.* G *A Girle of ſeuen yeares old, whoſe mother is teaching her to ſpinne.*

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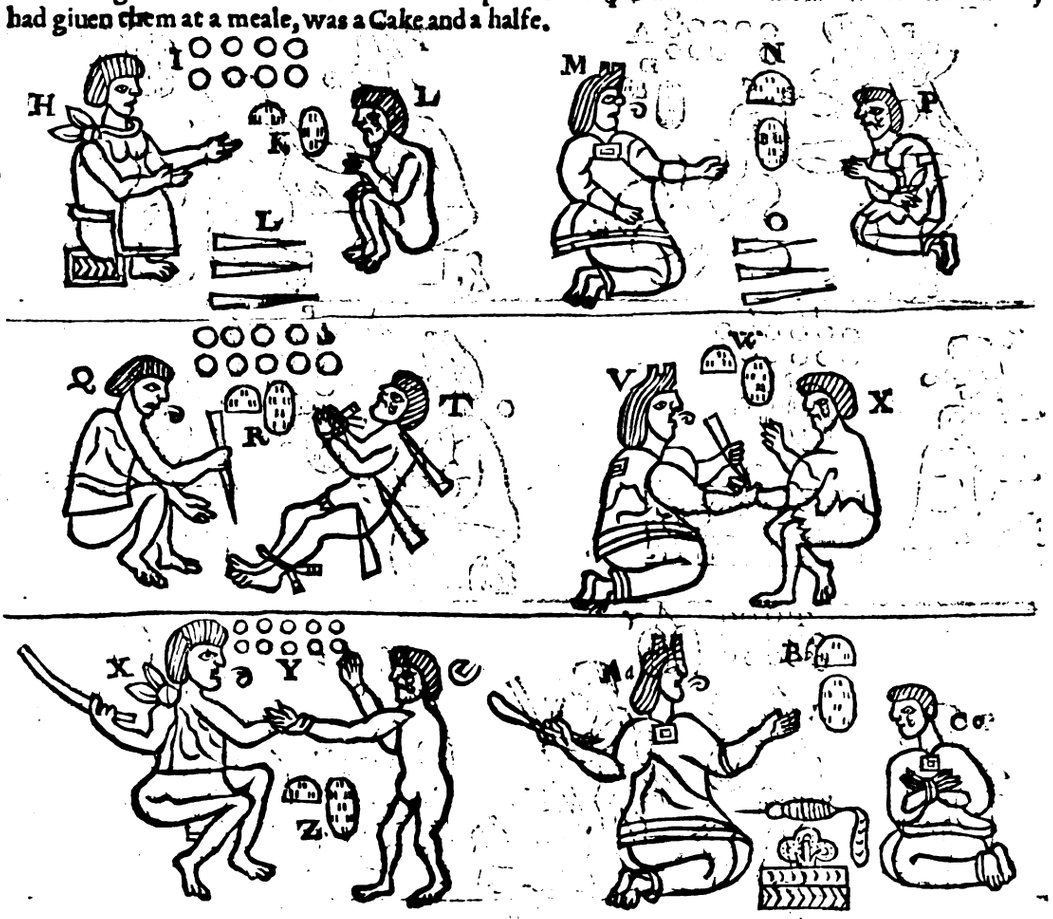
2 The second partition: Wherein is pictured, how the Parents did chasten their children of the age of eight yeeres, in laying before them with terrors and feares the thornes of *Maguez*, that in being negligent and disobedient to their Parents they should bee chastned with the said thornes, and so for very feare they wept, as by the pictures of this partition is signified. And their allowance for a meale, which they gaue them by measure, was a Cake and a halfe.

3 The third partition: Wherein is pictured, how the parents punished their children of nine yeeres of age, because they were disobedient and rebellious to their fathers, they did chastise them with the said thornes of *Maguez*, binding them naked hand and foot, they thrust the said thornes into their body and shoulders. And they prioked onely the wrists and hands of the Girles with the said thornes, as in the said partition is pictured. And their allowance euery meale was a Cake and a halfe of bread.

4 The fourth partition: Wherein is pictured, how the parents chastised their children of ten yeeres of age, that is, being rebellious they did chastise them in beating them with a cudgell, and threatning them otherwise as in the fourth partition is pictured. And the allowance which they had giuen them at a meale, was a Cake and a halfe.



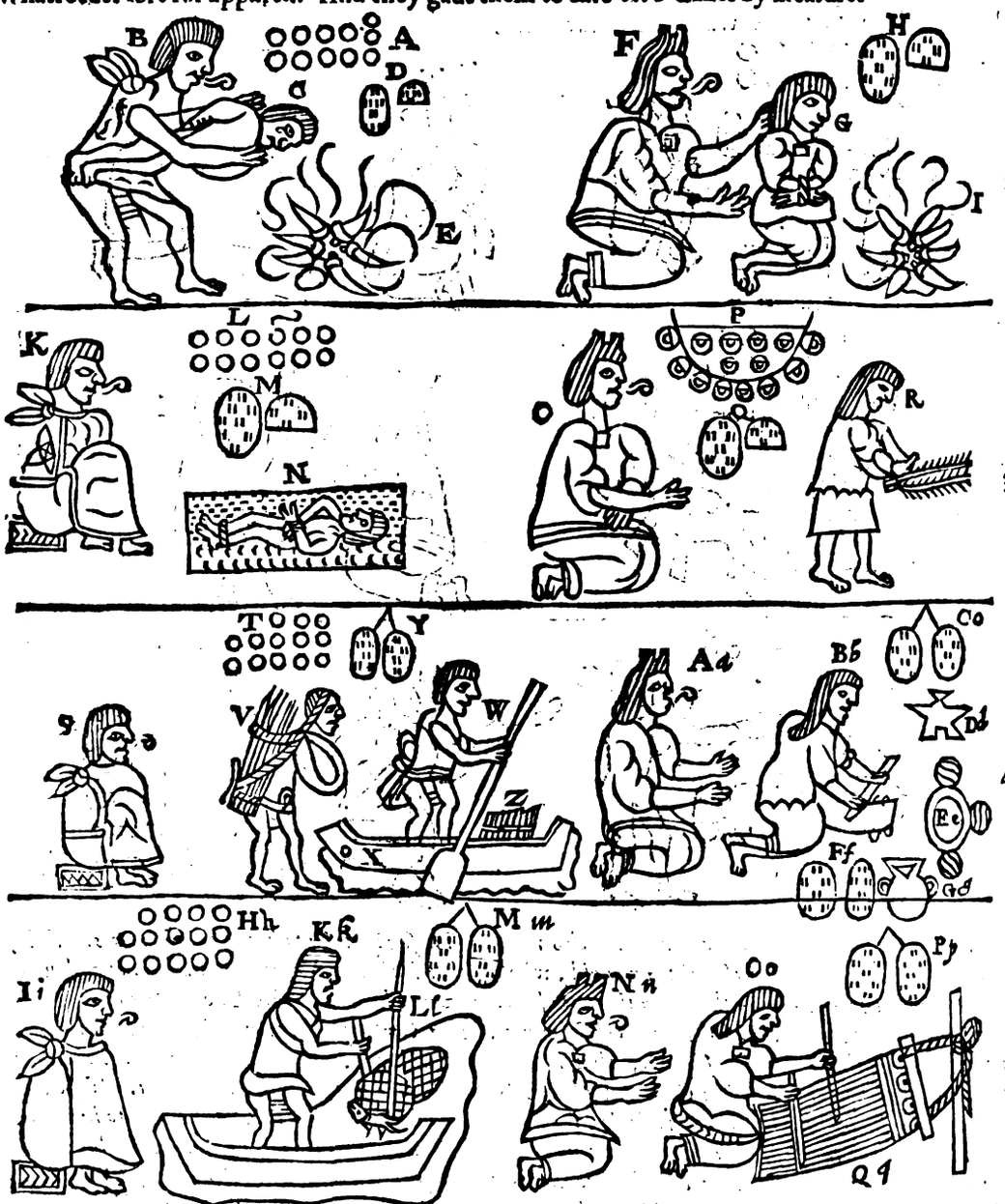
H *The father of the children contayned in this row.* I *These eight spots signifie eight yeeres.* K N *a cake and a halfe.* L *a Boy of eight yeeres old, whose father is threatning him that he be not vnhappy, because he will chastise him in thrusting thornes of Maguez into his body.* M *The mother of the children contayned in this row.* L O *Thornes of Maguez.* P *a Girle of eight yeeres old, whom her mother threatneth her with thornes of Maguez, that shee bee not vnhappy.* Q *The father of the children contayned in this side.* R W *a Cake and a halfe.* S *These nine spots signifie nine yeeres.* T *a Boy of nine yeeres old, because he is incorrectible, his father thrusteth thornes of Maguez into his body.* V *The mother of the children contayned in this row.* X *a Girle of nine yeeres old, that for her negligence and idlenesse, her mother did chastise her in pricking her hands with thornes of Maguez.* Y *These ten spots signifie ten yeeres.* X *The father of the children contayned in this row.* Z B *a cake and a halfe.* A *The mother of the children contayned in this row.* & *a Boy of ten yeeres old, whom his father is chastising with a cudgell staffe.* C *a Girle of ten yeeres, whom her mother is chastising in beating her with a cudgell staffe.*

1 A Declaration of the first partition of the picture following. The Boy or Girle of eleuen yeeres old, which would not bee reformed with wordes nor stripes, their parents did chastise, giuing them into the Nose the smoke of *Axi*, which was a grieuous and cruell torment, to the intent they should be reformed and not be vicious persons and vagabonds, but should employ and spend their time in profitable things. And to the children of that age they gaue bread, which are cakes, by measure, only a cake & a halfe at a meale, because they should not be gluttons.

2 In the ſecond partition; The Boy or Girle of the age of twelue yeeres, which would not receiue quietly counſell nor correction at their Fathers hands; the Father tooke that Boy and tyed him hand and foot naked, and ſtretched him on the ground in a dirtie wet place, where he lay ſo a whole day, becauſe he ſhould be chaſtiſed and feared thereby. And the Girle of that age, her Mother made her ſerue, ſo that in the night before it were day ſhee ſhould ſweepe all the houſe and the ſtreet, and that alwayes ſhee might be occupied in bodily ſeruice. And ſo likewiſe their Parents gaue them meat by meaſure a Cake and a halfe euery meale.

3 In the third partition, the Boy or Girle of thirteene yeeres old, their Fathers employed in bringing wood from the Mountaine, and with a Canoa-boat to bring boughs and other herbs for the ſeruice of the houſe. And the Girles ſhould grinde and make Cakes and other meates for their Parents. And they gaue their children meat by meaſure, two Cakes euery meale.

4 In the fourth partition; The Boy or Girle of fourteene yeeres old, their Parents did imploy in fiſhing in Lakes and Riuers with his Canoa. And the Girle was ſet to weaue yarne of whatſoeuer ſort for apparell. And they gaue them to eate two Cakes by meaſure.

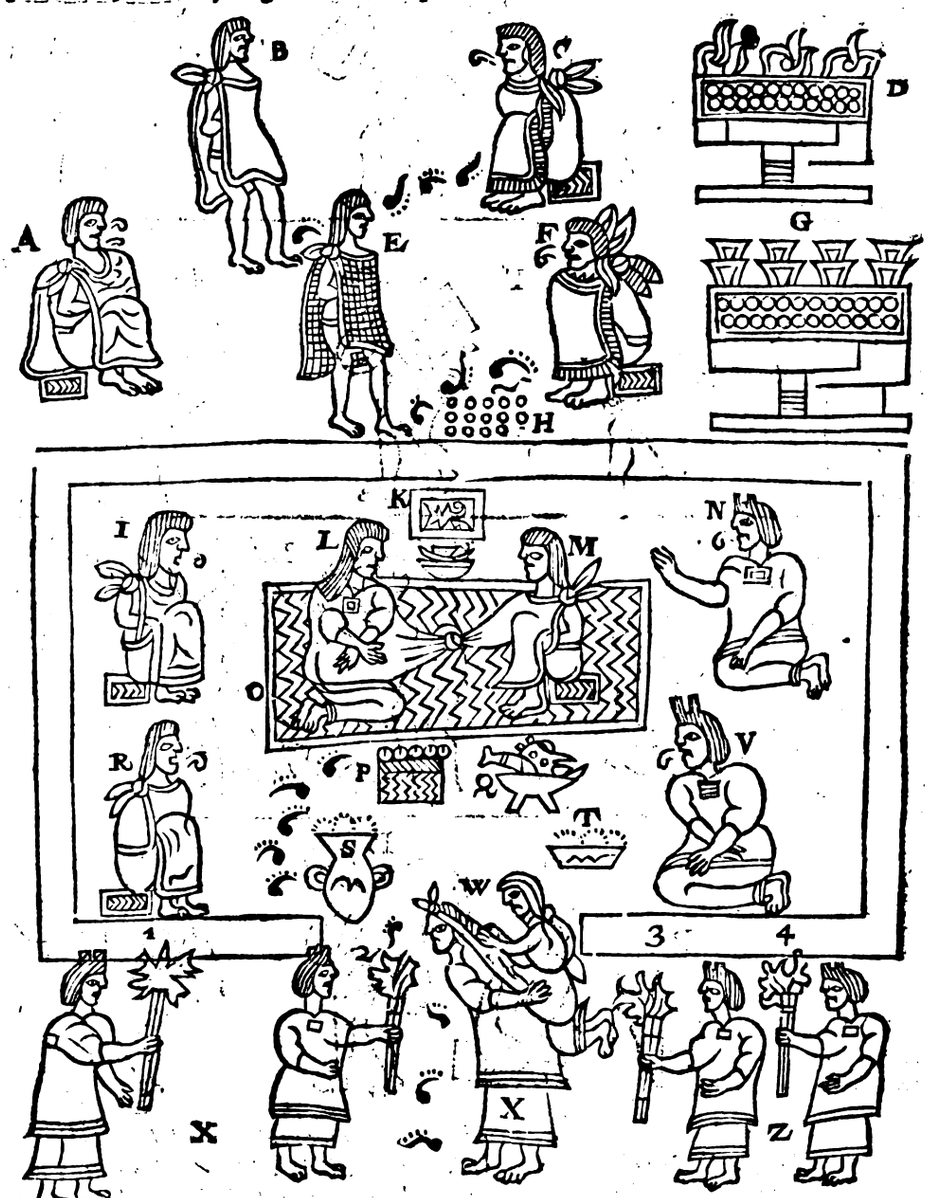


A *Theſe eleuen ſpots of blue ſignifie eleuen yeeres.* B *The father of the children.* C *a Boy of eleuen yeeres old, whoſe father is chaſtiſing him, ſmoking him at the Noſe with* Axi *dried.* D *a Cake and a halfe.* E *a fume or ſmoke of* Axi *or Pepper, which the Cutter hath not ſo well expreſſed.* F *The mother of the children.* G *a Girle of eleuen yeeres old, whoſe mother is chaſtiſing her ſmoking her at the Noſe with Axi.* H *a Cake and a halfe.* I *a perfume of Axi.* K *The father of the children.* L *twelue yeeres.* M *a Cake and a halfe.* N *a Boy of twelue yeeres old, tyed hand and foot and laid a whole day on the wet and moiſt ground.* O *The mother of the children.* P *This picture ſignifieth the night.* Q *a Cake and a halfe.* R *a Girle of twelue yeeres old that is ſweeping in the night time.* S *The father of the children.* T *Thirteene yeeres.* V *a Boy of thirteene yeeres old laden with Sedges.* W *a Boy of thirteene yeeres which carrieth Sedges in his Canoa.* X *a Canoa with burdens of* Z *Canes or Tule.* Y *Two cakes.* Aa *The mother of the children.* Bb *a Girle of thirteene yeeres, which is grinding and making of Cakes, and dreſſing meat.* Cc *Two Cakes.* Dd *a Porenger.* Ee *Comaly* Ff *Two Cakes.* Gg *a pot of boyled meat.* Hh *Fourteene yeeres.* Ii *The father of the children.* Kk Ll *a Boy of fourteene yeeres which goeth a fiſhing with his Canoa.* Mm *Two Cakes.* Nn *The mother.* Oo *a Girle of fourteene yeeres weauing.* Pp *Two Cakes.* Qq *The cloth that ſhee weaueth.*

1 That

1 THat which is pictured in the first partition, doth signifie that the Father hauing two sonnes young men, of yeeres able to serue, brought them to the two houses that are pictured, either to the Masters house that did teach and instruct yong men, or else to the Temple, according as the youths were inclined, and so committed them either to the high Priests, or else to the Master of Boyes to the end they might be taught; the youths being fifteene yeeres of age.

2 In the second partition is pictured, the manner and law they had and kept in their Marriages that they made lawfully. The celebration thereof was, that an *Amanteca* (which is a Broker) carried the Bride on her backe at the beginning of the night, and there went with them foure women with Torches of Pine-tree rosined burning, wherewith they lighted her. And being come to the Bridegroomes house, the Parents of the Bridegroome came out to the Court of the house to receiue her, and they carried her into a Hall or some place where the Bridegroome tarried for her. And the betrothed folkes were set on a Mat with their seates neere a pan of fire, and they tyed the one to the other with a corner of their appatell, and made a perfume of *Copale* to their gods, and two old men and two old women were present as witnesses. Then the married folke dined, and afterwards the old folkes. And when dinner was done, the old men and women separated the married folke by themselues, giuing them good counsell how they should behaue themselues and liue, and how they should maintayne the charge and calling they had taken vpon them, that they might liue with quietnesse.



A *The father of the two youths.* B *a youth of fifteene yeeres old committed to an high Alfaqui or Priest.* C *Tlamacazqui, which is an high Priest.* D *a Temple or Mezquita, which they called Calmecac.* E *a youth of fifteene yeeres, whose father putteth him to a Master to be taught.* F *Tachcauh, a Master.* G *a house where youths are taught and brought vp in.* H *Fifteene yeeres.* I *An old man.* K *The hearth. Copale.* L *The woman.* M *The man.* N *An old woman.* * *The perfume.* O *The Mat.* P *The meat.* Q *The meat.* R *An old man.* S *A Cauter or pot of pulque.* T *The Cup.* V *An old woman.* W *The Bride.* X *These goe lighting the Bride, whom they goe to leaue at the Bridegroomes house in the beginning of the night.* Y *Amanteca which carrieth the Bride on her backe.* Z *These goe lighting of the Bride at the beginning of the night.* 1 *a torch of Pinetree.* 2 *a torch.* 3 *torches of Pinetree.* 4 *torches of Pinetree.*

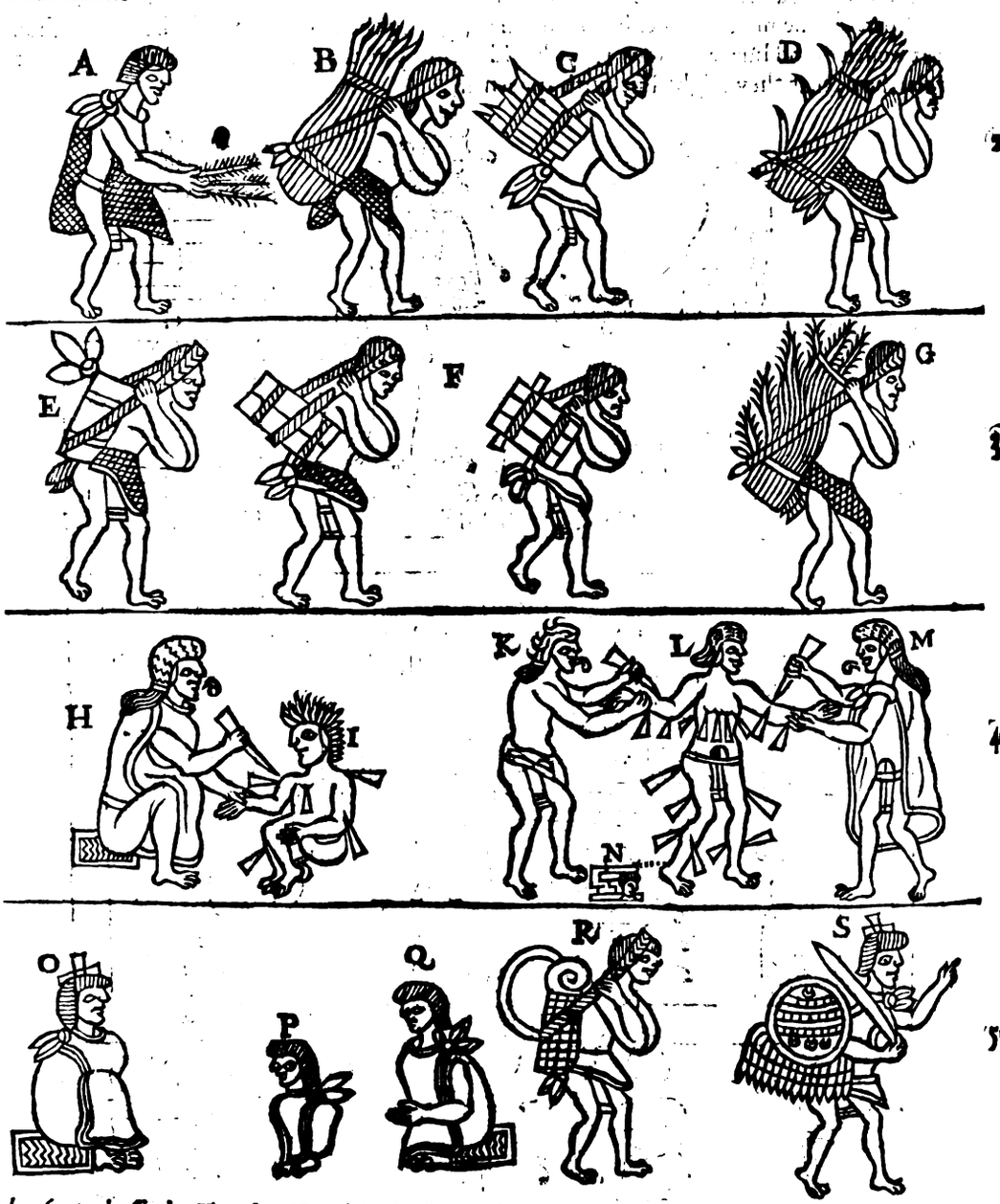
3 When

1 WHen they entred to bee Prieſts, the elder Prieſts occupied them ſtraightway in bodily ſeruices for their Temples, that afterwards they might bee skilfull when they were chiefe Prieſts, that after the ſame order as they had ſerued, they might bring vp the other Nouices that ſhould be after them. Theſe Prieſts are all painted in aſh-colour: Other men in an oliue or tawny.

2 In the ſecond partition is declared wherein the young men were occupied and did ſerue, that thenceforth when they were of yeeres, they might bee skilfull to take charge and command other youths like themſelues, that they ſhould not goe idle nor become vagabonds, but that they ſhould alwayes apply themſelues to things of vertue.

3 In the third partition is declared likewiſe the correction and chaſtiſing, that the chiefe Prieſts did to the Nouice-Prieſts, which were forgetfull and negligent in their ſeruices, and for other faults as they committed, chaſtiſing them according, as is ſhewed by the pictures.

4 In the fourth partition, is declared how the Captaines and warlike men exerciſed the young men which were of age thereto in warlike affaires, according as their fathers did recommend them.



A *Tlamacazcá*, *A nouice Prieſt that is charged to ſweep.* B *A nouice Prieſt that cōmeth from the wood ladē with boughes for to dreſſe the Temple.* C *A nouice Prieſt laden with thornes of Maguez, for to draw bloud with all to offer ſacrifice to the deuill.* D *A nouice Prieſt which is laden with greene cane: for the Temple for to make Skates and Toe.* E *A youth which is laden with a great log to keepe fire in the Temple.* F *Youthes which are laden with logs of wood for to keepe fire in the Temple.* G *A youth laden with boughes for to dreſſe the Temple.* H *This chiefe Prieſt is puniſhing the nouice Prieſt becauſe he was negligent in his office.* I *The nouice Prieſt.* K *The chiefe Prieſt.* L *The nouice Prieſt.* M *Another elder Prieſt. They are puniſhing this nouice Prieſt, pricking him with thornes of Magues throughout his body, becauſe he was arebell and diſobedient and negligent in that he was commanded to doe.* N *This houſe ſignifieth that if the nouice Prieſt went to his houſe to ſleepe three dayes they puniſhed, as is aboue pictured and declared.* O *Tequigna, which is a valiant Warriour.* P *The youth.* Q *The father of the youth that offereth his ſonne to the valiant Warriour, to exerciſe him in warlike affaires, and to carrie him to the warres.* R *The youth who is publike ſeruant to the valiant man that goeth to the warre with him, carrying his baggage on his backe with his owne Armour.* S *Tequima, a valiant man that goeth armed to the warres.*

1. Here

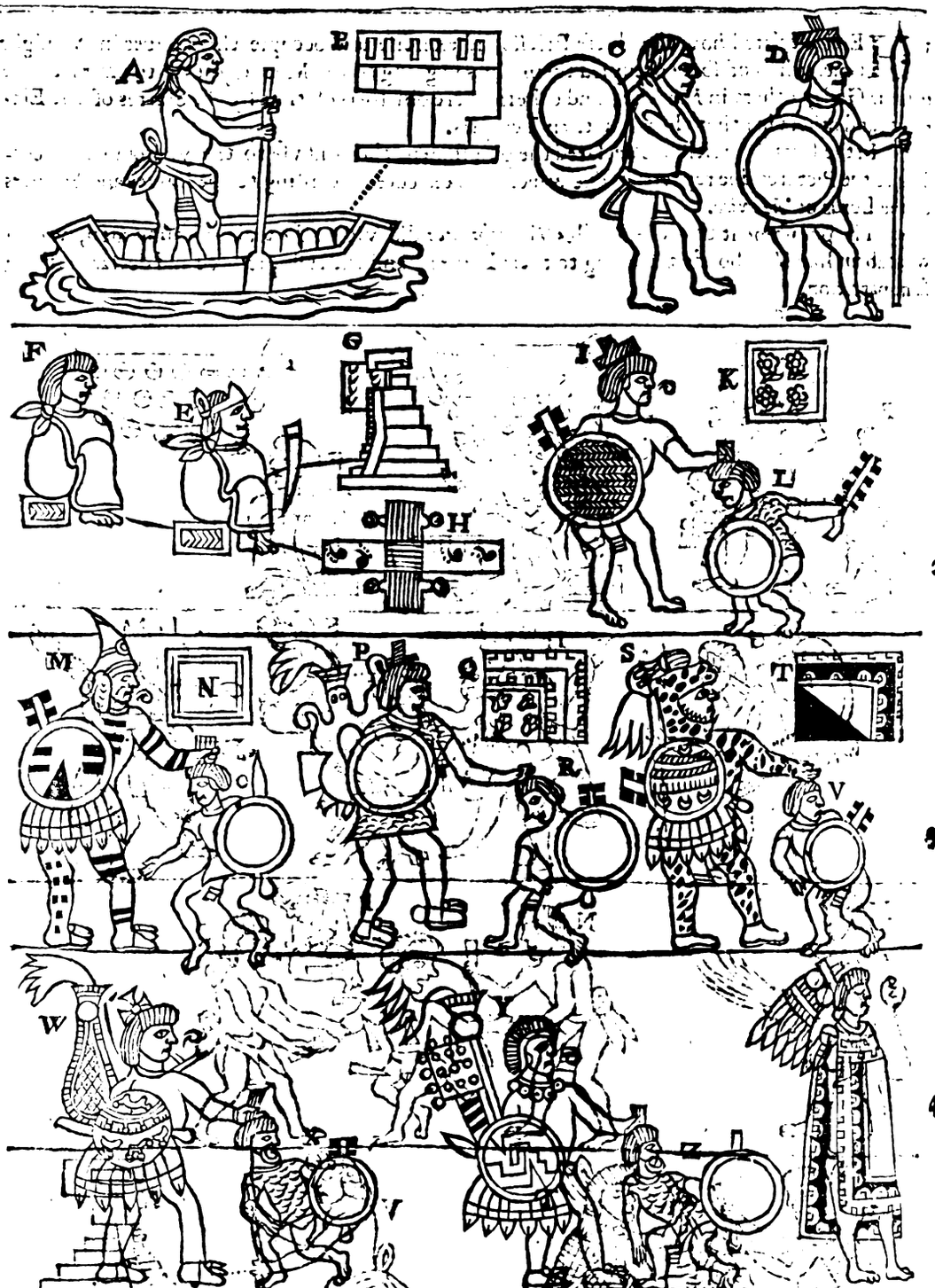
1 HEreis declared how the chiefe Priests did exercise and occupie them selues in the night time, whereof some occupied themselues in going to the Mountaynes, to offer sacrifice to their Gods, others in Musicke, and others were obseruers of time by the Starres of the Element, and others in other things of their Temples.

2 In the second partition is declared the punishment they did vse to the young men, according as the Pictures doe represent. The which was executed according to the Lawes and Statutes of the Lords of *Mexico*.

4 The punishment that the Beadles *Telpuchtlatos* did vse to the vicious young men, which went about like Vagabonds according to their Lawes, and the rest pictured and declared in the same partition.

A chiefe Priest which goeth in the night with his fire burning, to a Mountaine to doe penance. And hee carrieth in his hand a purse of Copaly, which is Perfume to offer Sacrifice to the Deuill. And at his backe Rosen in a vessell for the same Sacrifice, and he carrieth his boughes to beset the place of Sacrifice. And hath after him a novice Priest, which carrieth other things for the Sacrifice. B A novice Priest. C A chiefe Priest, which is playing on the Tepunaztly, which is an instrument of Musicke, and he exerciseth himselfe therein in the night. D This Picture with eyes doth signifie the night. E This Picture with eyes doth signifie the night. F A chiefe Priest which is looking on the flames of the Towers by night, to see what towre it is in the night, which is his charge and office. G A young man that goeth to warre, laden with fusse and instruments of armour. H Telpuchtlato. I The youth. K The woman. L Telpuchtlato. The two Telpuchtlatos, do signifie Beadles to vse youths, that when any youth did fall in loue with any woman, they chastised the young man, throwing burning fire brands at him, and parted their loue. M A chiefe Priest whose office is to sweepe the Temples, or command them to be swept. N A chiefe Priest. O The novice Priest. P The woman. Q A chiefe Priest. The declaration of the pictures of these two chiefe Priests is, that if the novice Priest was negligent or had accesse to any woman, or fell in loue, the chiefe Priests did chastise him, thrusting thornes of Pine-tree made like pricks in all his body. R Telpuchtlato, a Beadle. S The young man. T Trachcauli, the Beadle. By these Pictures is declared that if a young man went about like a Vagabond, the two Beadles did carrell him in pooling and singing his head with fire. V A young man that is occupied in carrying stones with his Canoa to repaire the Temples. X The Temple.

This



This Picture expresseth the Priests employments. A *A noble Priest occupied in carrying of stones in his Canoa, for the reparation of the Temple.* B *The Temple called Ayauhcalli.* C *A noble Priest that goeth to the warre with a chiefe Priest carrying his package.* D *A chiefe Priest that goeth to warre, for to incorage and boldnen the warriours, and to doe other Ceremonies in the warres.*

Their Armes, which signes of Armes were made of more authoritie from degree to degree, according as the worthinesse of the man of warre was knowne, and the number of the Captiues that they tooke. As is shewed sufficiently in the Pictures with their signes and Armes, and fashions of attire, and the degrees whereby they came to be valiant men in warre. The first degree.

E Tecuhtli, *Lord, or Master of the Lords of Mexico.* F *Another chiefe Lord of Mexico, Tecuhtli, or his equall.* G *A Temple called Tlachco.* H *The stone wall of stones and lime and morter of wood.* I *A young man, who if he had taken any Prisoner in the warres, they gaue him for a valiant Knight of those Orders of the quadrant with his following, in token of his valiantnesse.* K *The same said Youth in these Pictures signifieth that he is occupied in repayring the streets and bridges that ioyne to the Temple.* L *A Captiue.* M *This valiant man all in vaine, hauing taken two enemies, they reuested him with the fashion of a warriour he hath on, and more (N) the signe and marke of Quauhtinchan with great consideration of his valiantnesse.* O *A Captiue.* P *This valiant Champion with a new scull of the enemie he hath taken, and his (Q) Mantle of rich worke for warriours that haue taken enemies in the warres.* R *A Captiue.* S *This valiant man with the deuice he hath on, and the signe and marke (T) of enemies, which is, that he had taken foure enemies in the warre.* V *A Captiue.* W *This valiant man with the deuice of water he hath on, and his name Ecoma for his valiant acts, and other like workes of fiue or six enemies taken, and more is the that is aboue mentioned, who had the beginning of his valiant acts in the warres, and so from degree to degree he hath come to this degree.* X *A Captiue.* Y *This valiant man called Quauhtinchan for the deuice of Mixcoatl Quauhtinchan, shewing that he had taken fiue in the warres of Cuba, whereof there are pictures aboue the ensigne of his valiantnesse.* Z *A Captiue.* And *this valiant man called Tlacatecatl, with the fashion of the apparell he hath on, and his tassell and deuise of rich feathers, do shew that he had done all the valiant acts afore pictured and declared, and is knowne to haue more title of valiantnesse of person then are pictured.*

1 THe chiefe Prieſts did exerciſe warlike affaires, & according as they proued in valiant acts, and as the number of the Captiues were that they tooke, ſo the Lords of *Mexico* gaue them titles of honour, and Blaſons of Armes with deuices of their valiantneſſe, as is ſhewed by the Pictures, and by the Armor they haue on. In the third partition are the titles of honour, which they obtayned by the exerciſe of war, whereby they came to a higher degree, the Lord of *Mexico* making them Captains and Generals of the Souldiers. And thoſe of the one ſide ſerued for Meſſingers and Executioners of that which the Lords of *Mexico* determined and commanded, aſwel in things touching the Common-wealth of *Mexico*, as alſo in other townes of their dominions.

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A *A Prieſt that captiued one enemie in the warres.* B *The ſame Prieſt aforeſaid, becauſe he tooke two enemies in the warres, he is rewarded with the deuice of Armour he hath on.* C *The aforeſaid Prieſt, becauſe through his valiantneſſe he tooke three enemies, he is rewarded with the deuice of Armour he hath on.* P P P *Captiues.* D *The ſame Prieſt aboueſaid, becauſe he tooke foure enemies in the warre, for a token of his valiantneſſe, he is rewarded with the deuice of Armour he hath on, blacke and white.* E *The ſame Prieſt becauſe he tooke fiue of his enemies in warres, for a token of his valiantneſſe, he is rewarded with the deuice of Armour he hath on, all red.* F *The ſame Prieſt for that he tooke ſixe enemies in the warres, for a token of his force and valour, the Lord of* Mexico *rewarded him with the deuice of Armour he hath on. His perſon yellow, feathers greene, target red, greene, yellow.* G Quauhnochtli, *an Officer which put Mandats in execution.* H Tlilancalqui, *another kind.* I Atenpanecatl, *a third ſort.* K Eſquagacatl, *a fourth ſort. Theſe foure in this rowe did ſerue for Meſſingers and Executioners of that which the Lords of* Mexico *determined and did command.* L Tlacochcalcatl. M Tezcacoacatl. N Tycocyahuacatl. O Tequiltecatl. *Theſe foure on this rowe are valiant men in warre, and Captaines of the Armies of the* Mexicans *and perſons which executed the charge of Generals ouer the* Mexicans *Armies.*

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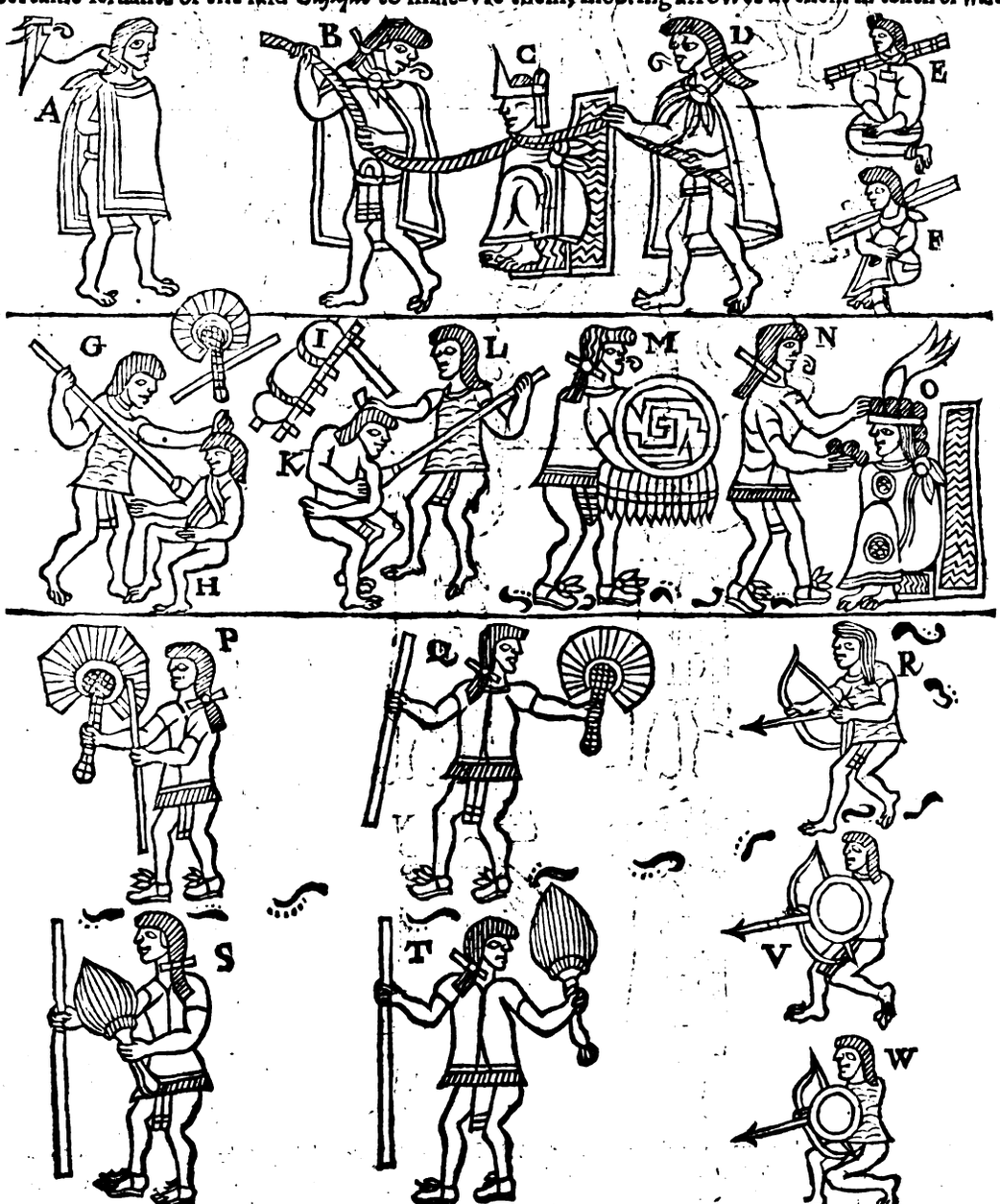
THe *Caſique* (that is, a Lord of a Towne) becauſe hee rebelled againſt the Lordſhip of *Mexico* by the Executioners afore contayned, had a rope caſt about his necke wherewith for his rebellion, he was condemned by the Lords of *Mexico* to die, and his wife and children to be taken and brought priſoners to the Court of *Mexico*. And for the accompliſhing of the condemnation the officers are executing the penalties wherein he was condemned, as is ſignified by the pictures.

2 He together with his ſeruants and towne are condemned to be deſtroyed. And ſo the Executioners, by the commandement of the Lords of *Mexico*, are giuing him to vnderſtand of the ſaid condemnation, in token whereof they marke him with the ſignes that they ſet on his head, and the Target that they preſent him with, becauſe he ſhould not be ignorant of his deſtruction. And the pictures of men with mortall wounds, doe ſignifie that they were Merchants and Occupiers of *Mexico*, which came with things to the Countrie and Towne of the ſaid *Caſique*; and the ſeruants of the *Caſique* aſſaulted them on the high-way, killing them and taking away the merchandiſe they carried, which was the occaſion of the deſtruction of the Towne.

3 In the third partition: The foure Officers or Ambaſſadors of the Lords of *Mexico*, doe ſignifie that they haue warned the ſaid *Caſique* contayned in the ſecond partition before this, as is aboueſaid, at the returning of the Executioners towards *Mexico*, there came out to the high-way certaine ſeruants of the ſaid *Caſique* to miſſe-vſe them, ſhooting arrowes at them in token of war.



A *Huiznahuatlan, officer and executioner as a Sergeant.* B *Executioner.* C *Caſique.* D *Executioner.* E *The wife of the Caſique impriſoned, with a yoke of Iron about her necke.* F *The ſonne of the Caſique taken priſoner with a yoke of Iron.* G *The ſeruant of the Caſique.* H *The merchant.* I *a bundell of merchandiſe.* K *The merchant.* L *The ſeruant of the Caſique.* M *Executioner.* N *Executioner.* O *Caſique.* P *An Executioner or Ambaſſador of the Lord of Mexico.* Q *An Executioner or Ambaſſador of the Lord of Mexico.* R *a ſeruant of the Caſique.* S *An Executioner or Ambaſſador of the Lord of Mexico.* T *An Executioner or Ambaſſador of the Lord of Mexico.* V *a ſeruant of the Caſique.* W *a ſeruant of the Caſique which ſhooteth at the Ambaſſadors of the Lords of Mexico, for more occaſion of warre.*

The

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1 THe *Tequichua* signifieth Spies, sent to the Towne of the *Casique* by the Lord of *Mexico*, that in the night time they might goe and walke it secretly vnknowne to their enemies, to aduertise and giue warning vnto the Souldiers, where they should enter with the battaile. And so the *Tequichua* goe round about the Towne, Houses, Market place, and Church, at the time that they of the Towne are asleepe and at rest, for to finde a place where they may giue the onset with the lesse trouble and resistance.

2 A declaration of the pictures in the second partition. The *Mexican* that is pictured and at his shoulders a Target and Darts, doth signifie the *Mexicans* being mooued to destroy a certaine Towne by warres, because they had rebelled against the Lordship of *Mexico*. And the other three that are pictured and set ouer against the *Mexicans* are seruants of the *Casique*, which doe signifie that the whole Towne of the *Casique* being afraid of the warres and destruction that the *Mexicans* would bring vpon them, they come to *Mexico* to entreat a peace, submitting themselues for seruants of *Mexico*, and protesting to acknowledge the Lordship, by meanes whereof they receiue them in friendship and for their seruants, laying aside that which was determined by their counsell.

The foure valiant men pictured and intituled, with their Speares in their hands, and made readie for the warres, and the deuices of Armour that they haue on, doe signifie that they are Captaines of the *Mexicans* armies.

A *Tequihua.* B *Tequihua.* C *Tiangues, a Marquet place.* D *Tequihua.* E E *houses.* F *Tequihua.* G *a Temple.* H *Tequihua.* I *Tequihua.* K *Tequihua.* L *Tequihua.* This partition(al blue) is the towne of the *Casique* aforecontayned. M N O *these three are seruants of the Casique.* P *Mexicans.* Q *a Target and Darts.* R *Captaine Tlacatecatl.* S *Captaine Tlacochcalcatl.* T *Captaine Huitznahuatl.* V *Captaine Ticocyahuacatl.*

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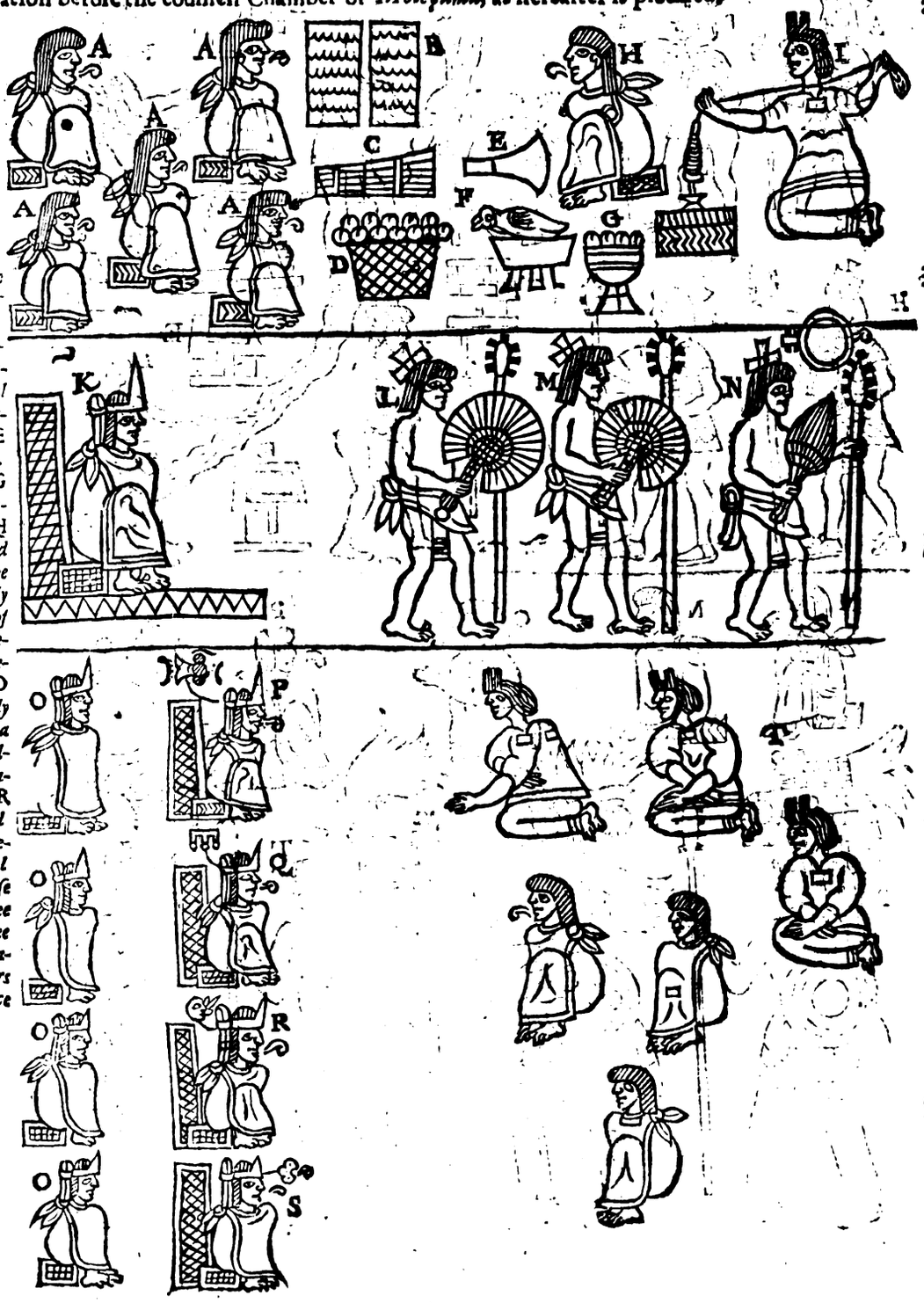
1 HE that is set and at his backe a woman spinning, signifieth that it is his wife new married, and because he had taken the state of matrimonie vpon him, hauing been a Messenger with the rest that are pictured before him, which are fiue, named *Tetpuchtly*, which are Messengers likewise. The married man giueth them a reason why hee leaueth the charge of a Messenger by reason of his marriage, and that hee will rest and leaue off his seruice past. And to please them more, and that they should grant his request, hee maketh them a banquet in giuing them well to eate and drinke, and moreouer the present that hee giueth them is a handfull of perfumes, a copper Hatchet and two Mantels, as by the pictures of these things are intituled. And by this solemnitie the married man is free from the said Office.

2 In the second partition: Hee that is set downe and intituled, doth signifie the Lord of *Mexico*, that when any Messenger *Telpuchtly* pictured in the partition before this had giuen a good account of his office, and hauing taken vpon them the state of marriage, the Lords of *Mexico* from that they were but Messengers, did promote them to a better title and degree, in so much that he made them *Tequihua*, which is signified by the pictures and titles of *Tequihua*, with their Speares and Fannes, giuing them authoritie to bee his Ambassadors and Officers in the warres, which they held for an office of great honour.

3 The *Alcaldes* doe signifie Iustices, appointed by the Lords of *Mexico*, that they should heare matters aswell Ciuill as Criminall. And the pictures of men and women which are before them, are Pleaders and Suitors which doe aske iustice. And the foure pictures that are intituled *Teotli*, that are behinde the *Alcaldes*, are principall young men that ioyne with the *Alcaldes* in their audience, to learne and instruct themselues in matters of iudgement, and afterwards to succeede in the Offices of the *Alcaldes*. From these *Alcaldes* there was an appellation before the counsell Chamber of *Motecçuma*, as hereafter is pictured.



AAAAA *The Telpuchtly or yong men which are officers or messengers.* B *Two mantels.* C *a handful of perfumes.* D *Tamales or bread.* E *a copper hatchet.* F *a boyled hen.* G *Xicara with Cacao to drinke.* H *Telpuchtly maried* I *The wife of the maried Telpuchtly* K *The Lord of Mexico.* L *Tequihua.* N *Tequihua.* OOO *Teotly.* P *Teotly Mixcoatlaylotlac a Iustice like an Alcalde.* Q *Exguagacatl Alcalde.* R *Acatlyacapanecatl Alcalde.* S *Tequixquinahuacatl Alcalde.* T *These sixe pictures three of men and three of women, are pleaders and suitors which aske Iustice of the Alcaldes.*

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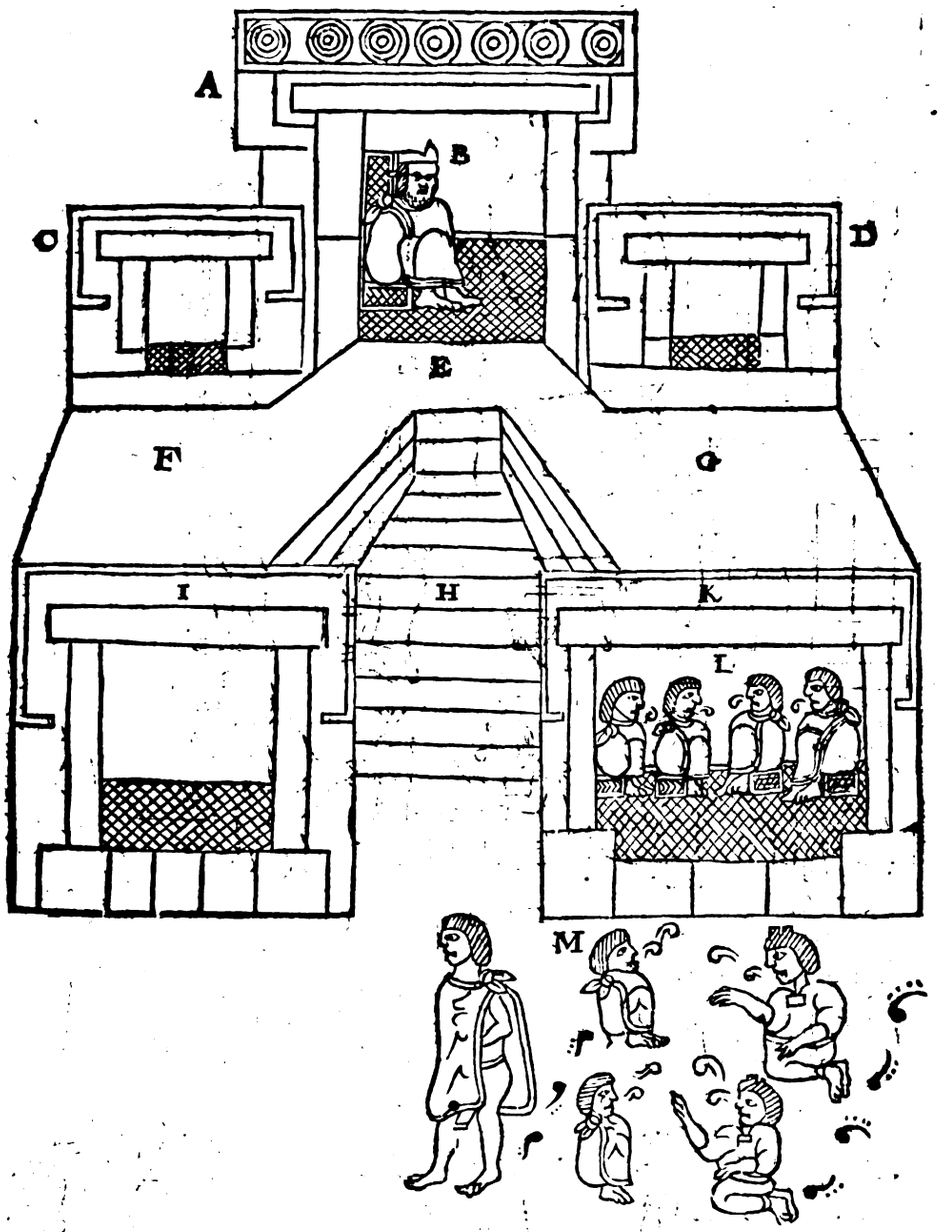
THe fashion of the Counsell Chambers of the Lord or King of *Mexico*, and of his Royall Houses and Courts, and the steps where they entred in, and the Throne and Seate of *Motezuma*, and in the spaces of euery thing is declared and intituled what they signifie, and so in this declaration it is not repeated. But that in one Counsell Chamber, when that by way of offence they were agrieued, and hauing a iust cause not being sentenced and determined by the *Alcaldes*, then by degree of appellation they appealed from the *Alcaldes* before the Counsell. And if it were a matter of importance they appealed from the Counsell Chamber before *Motezuma* the King himselfe, where the matter was concluded.

In the Chamber, that is intituled, The Counsell Chamber of warre, were prouided Captaines and Armies for the warres, as was appointed by *Motezuma*.



A The Throne and Maiestie of Motezuma where he sate on Court-dayes and on iudgement. B Motezuma. C. a house where the Lords of Tenayuca, Chienanbtla, and Colhuacan, were lodged that were friends and confederates of Motezuma. D a house where the chiefe Lords of Tezcucoytacuba were lodged that were Motezuma his friends. E F G The Court of the royall houses of Motezuma. H K These lines that goe vpward are the steps to the Courts of the royall houses of Motezuma. I The counsell chamber of warre. K The counsell chamber of Motezuma. L These foure are as Auditers of the counsell of Motezuma, wise men. M Pleaders and Suitors that in the degree and appellation from the Alcaldes, doe present themselues and appeare before the Auditors of the counsell of Motezuma.

THe father and the sonne that sit against each other face to face, signifie that the father giueth his sonne good counsell, that he be not vicious, laying before him for example, that those which come to vertue come afterwards in credit with the Lords and *Casiques*; in that they giue

them honest offices, and doe vse them to be their Messengers; and they doe admit Musicians and Singers vnto their feasts and weddings for the credit they beare.

2 The pictured in the house, where they meane to talke and prouide for publike affaires, and the Steward that sitteth therein, doth signifie that there are before him weeping, because it hath happened vnto them to be occupied in bodily labour, that the *Coas* and *Guacales* doe represent. And the Steward is giuing them good counsell, and exhorting them to flee idlenesse, is the cause that they come to be Theeues and players at the Ball, and players at *Patol*, after the manner of Dice, from which Games doe spring theft for to satisfie and fulfill such vices.

3 The Carpenter, Lapidarie, Painter, Gold-smith, and garnisher of feathers, signifie that those Artificers teach their sonnes their occupation from their childhood, that when they are men they might follow their Trade, and spend their time in things of vertue, giuing them counsell that of idlenesse commeth euill vices, and so euill tongues, tale-bearing, drunkennesse, and theeuerie, and many other euill vices.

A a Messenger. B C D *The father counselleth his sonne to apply himselfe to all vertue.* E *One hauing a chest, entertayneth a Musician.* F G I *a house where they meet for publike affaires.* H *The Petlacalcatl.* K M *Cod and Guacal.* L N *Youthes.* O *a vagabond.* P *a player at the ball.* Q *a Thiefe.* R *a player at Patol or Dice after their manner.* S *a Carpenter.* T *The Carpenters sonne.* V *a Lapidarie.* W *The Lapidaries sonne.* X *a Painter* Y *The Painters sonne.* Z *a Gold-smith.* & *The Gold-smiths sonne.* Aa *An ill tongued man and tale-bearer.* Bb *An artificer that garnisheth with feathers.* Cc *The artificers sonne.* Dd *a drunkard.* Ee *a drunkard and thiefe, the last worke like a halter seemes to signifie the euill ends which such come to. The particular punishments follow in the next picture.*

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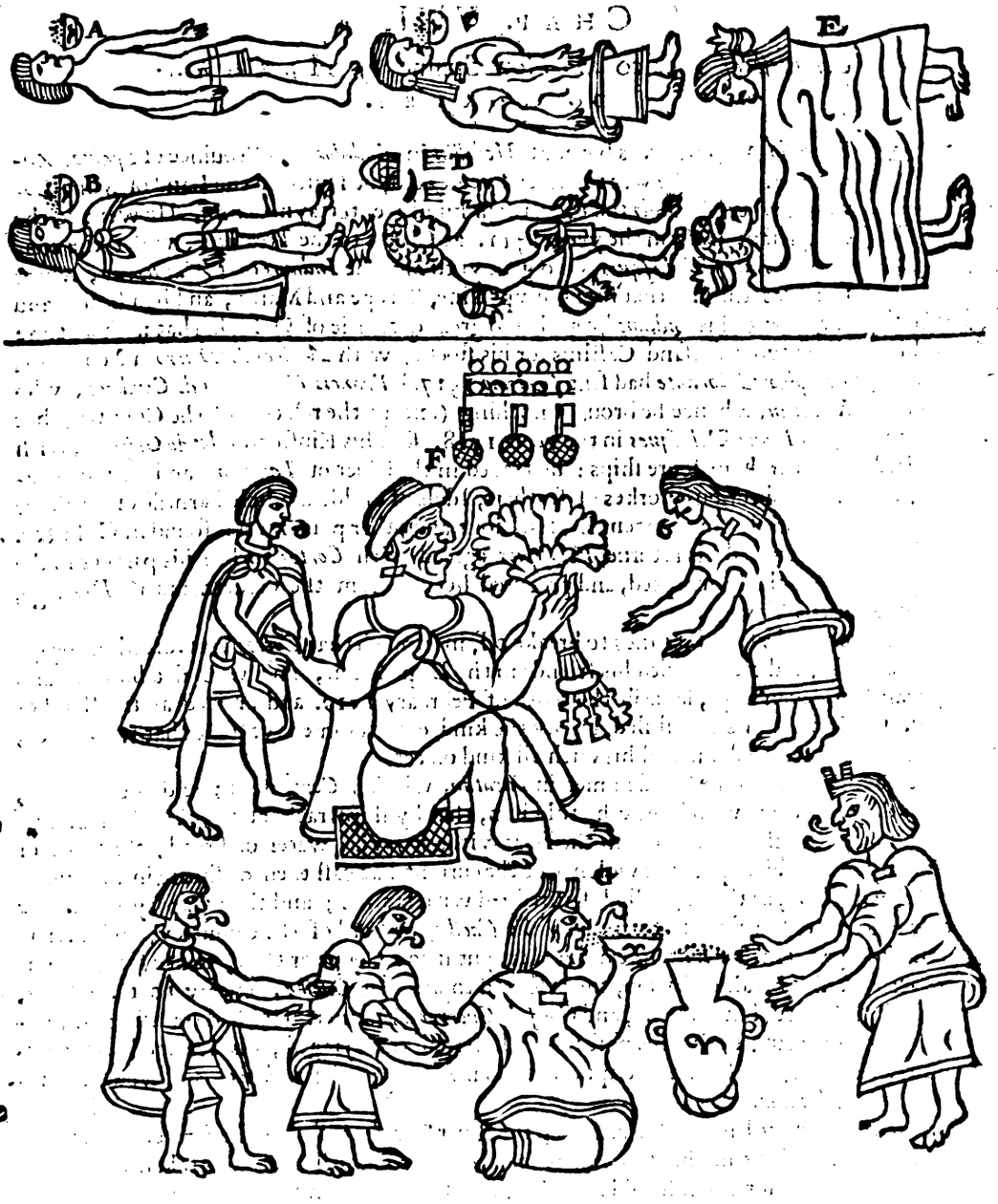

A *These two Pictures signifie that the young men that were drunke with Wine, dyed for that according to the Law.* B *A young man that was drunke.* C *A young woman if shee were drunke with Wine was killed heere according to the Lawes of* Mexico. D *A Thiefe, they stoned him to death according to the Lawes of the Lords of* Mexico. E *These two Pictures layed and couered with clothes, doe shew that if any man had carnall dealing with a married woman, they stoned them both to death, according to the Lawes of the Lords of* Mexico. F *An old man of threescore and tenne yeeres, hath licence to drinke Wine and to bee drunke aswell publikely as secretly because he is so old, and hath Sonnes and Nephewes, at which yeeres Wine and drunkennesse was not forbidden them.* G *An old woman, wife to the old man aboue pictured, had priuiledge to bee drunke as well as her Husband, because shee had children, and childrens children, and to all those of the like age, drunkennesse was not forbidden them.*

CHAP. VIII.

Conquest of Mexico and New Spaine by HERNANDO CORTES.

a *Gomara* his third part of the Conquest of the West *Indies*, translated into *English* by *T. Nicolas*.

HErnando a *Cortes* was borne at *Medellin* in *Andalozia*, a Prouince of *Spaine*, *Anno* 1485. When he was nineteene yeeres old, he sayled to the Iland of Saint *Domingo*, where *Ouando* the Gouernour kindly entertayned him. He went to the conquest of *Cuba* in the yeere 1511. as Clerke to the Treasurer, vnder the conduct of *Iames Velasques*, who gaue vnto him the *Indians* of *Manicoreo*, where hee was the first that brought vp Kine, Sheepe and Mares, and had heards and flockes of them: and with his *Indians* he gathered great quantitie of Gold, so that in short time he was able to put in two thousand Castlins for his stocke, with *Andres de Duero*, a Merchant. At this time *Christopher Morante* had sent (*Anno* 1517.) *Francis Hernandes de Cordona*, who first discouered *Xucatan*, whence he brought nothing (except the relation of the Country) but stripes: whereupon *Iames Velasques* in the yeere 1518. sent his Kinsman *Iohn de Grijalua*, with two hundred *Spaniards* b in foure ships: he traded in the Riuer of *Tauasco*, and for trifles returned much Gold, and curious workes of feathers, Idols of Gold, a whole harnesse or furniture for an armed man of Gold thin beaten, Eagles, Lions, and other pourtratures found in Gold, &c. But while *Grijalua* deferred his returne, *Velasques* agreed with *Cortes* to bee his partner in the Discouery, which he gladly accepted, and procured licence from the Gouernours in *Domingo*, and prepared for the Voyage.

b Of this voyage Reade *P. Martyrs* fourth Decade: and *Gomara part.* 1. & of all which followes in this Chapter. *P. Mart. Dec.* 5. *Gom. vbi supra.* and *Cortes* his owne large narration to the Emperour, *ap. Ramus. Vol.* 3.

Velasques afterward vsed all meanes to breake off, in so much that *Cortes* was forced to engage all his owne stocke, and credit, with his friends in the Expedition, and with fiue hundred and fiftie *Spaniards* in eleuen ships, set saile the tenth of February 1519. and arriued at the Iland of *Acusamil*. The Inhabitants at first fled, but by the kind entertainment of some that were taken, they returned, and receiued him and his with all kind offices.

They told him of certayne bearded men in *Yucatan*, whither *Cortes* sent; and one of them, *Geronimo de Aguilar* came vnto him, who told him, that by shipwracke at *Iamaica*, their Caruell being lost, twentie of them wandred in the Boat without sayle, water or bread, thirteene or fourteene dayes, in which space the violence of the current had cast them on shoare in a Prouince called *Maiya*, where, as they trauelled, seuen dyed with famine; and their Captayne *Valdiuia* and other foure were sacrificed to be Idols by the *Cacike*, or Lord of the Countrey, and eaten in a solemne Banquet, and he with sixe other were put into a Coope or Cage, to bee fatned for another Sacrifice. But breaking Prison, they escaped to another *Cacike*, enemy to the former, where all the rest dyed, but himselfe, and *Gonsalo Guerrer* a Mariner. Hee had transformed himselfe into the *Indian* cut, boring his nose full of holes, his eares jagged, his face and hands painted; married a Wife, and became a Captaine of name amongst the *Indians*, and would not returne with this *Aguilar*.

Cortes with this new Interpreter passed vp the Riuer *Tauasco*, called of the former Discouerer, *Grijalua*; where the Towne that stood thereon, refusing to victuall him, was taken and sacked. The *Indians* herewith inraged, assembled an Armie of fortie thousand, but *Cortes* by his Horse and Ordnance preuayled; the *Indians* thinking the Horse and Rider had beene but one creature, whose gaping and swiftnesse was terrible vnto them, whereupon they submitted themselues. When they heard the Horses ney, they had thought the Horses could speake, and demanded what they said: the *Spaniards* answered, These Horses are sore offended with you, for fighting with them, and would haue you corrected: the simple *Indians* presented Roses and Hens to the beasts, desiring them to eate, and to pardon them.

Indian simplicitie.

Cortes purposed to discouer further Westward, because hee heard that there were Mines of Gold, hauing first receiued their Vassallage to the King his Master, to whom (he said) the Monarchie of the Vniuersall did appertayne. These were the first Vassals the Emperour had in *New Spaine*. They named the towne, where these things were done, *Victorie*, before called *Potonchan*, contayning neere fiue and twentie thousand houses, which are great, made of Lime, and Stone, and Bricke, and some of mud-wals and rafters, couered with straw; their dwelling is in the vpper part of the house, for the moystnesse of the soyle. They did eate mans flesh sacrificed.

Potonchon called *Victory*.

The *Spaniards* sayled Westward, and came to Saint *Iohn de Vlhua*, where *Teudills* the Gouernour of the Countrey, came to him with foure thousand *Indians*. Hee did his reuerence to the Captayne, burning Frankincense (after their custome) and little strawes, touched in the bloud of his owne bodie: and then presented vnto him victuals and Iewels of Gold, and other curious workes of feathers; which *Cortes* requited with a Collar of Glasse, and other things of small value. A woman-slaue, giuen him at *Potonchan*, vnderstood their language, and shee with *Aguilar*, were his Interpreters. *Cortes* professed himselfe the seruant of a great Emperour, which had sent

ſent him thither, whoſe power he ſo highly extolled, that *Teudilli* maruelled, thinking there had beene no ſuch Prince in the World, as his Maſter and Soueraigne, the King of *Mexico*, whoſe Vaſſall he was, named, *Mutezuma*. To him he ſent the repreſentations of theſe bearded men, and their Horſes, Apparell, Weapons, Ordnance, and other Rarities, painted in Cotton-clothes, their ſhips and numbers. Theſe painted Cottons he ſent by Poſts, which deliuered them from one to another with ſuch celeritie, that in a day and night the meſſage came to *Mexico*, which was two hundred and ten miles diſtant. *Cortes* had demanded, whether *Mutezuma* had Gold? *Teudilli* affirmed, and *Cortes* replyed, That he and his fellowes had a diſeaſe of the heart, whereunto Gold was the beſt remedie. *Spaniſh* incurable ſickneſſe.

Mutezuma ſent him many Cotton-clothes of diuers colours, many tuffes of Feathers, two Wheeles, the one of Siluer, with the ſigne of the Moone, and the other of Gold, made like the Sunne; which they hold for Gods, and giue vnto them the colours of the Metals moſt like them. Each Wheele was two yards and a halfe broad. Theſe with other parts of the Preſent were eſteemed worth twentie thouſand Duckets. *Mutezuma* alſo profeſſed ioy, to heare of ſo great a Prince, & ſo ſtrange people, & promiſed prouiſion of all neceſſaries, but was very vnwilling that *Cortes* ſhould come to ſee him, as he pretended. Yet *Cortes* perſiſted in that his deſire of ſeeing *Mutezuma*, that he might further acquaint himſelfe with the knowledge of thoſe parts.

The ſilly *Indians* hauing neuer ſeene ſuch ſtrange ſights, came daily to the Campe to ſee them and when they heard the Ordnance diſcharged, they fell downe flat, thinking the Heauens had falne: the ſhips they thought were the God of the Ayre, called *Quezalcouatl*, which came with the Temples on his backe, for they daily looked for him. Amongſt the reſt, or rather aloofe off from the reſt, were certayne *Indians* of differing habit, higher then the other, and had the griſtles of their Noſes ſlit, hanging ouer their mouthes, and Rings of Iet and Amber hanging thereat: their neather lips alſo bored, and in the holes, Rings of Gold and Turkeſſe-ſtones, which weighed ſo much, that their lips hung ouer their chinnes, leauing their teeth bare. This vglineſſe they accounted gallantry, and ſuch vncouth deformitie to be the only brauery. And thou Gallant, that readeſt and derideſt this madneſſe of *Faſhion*, if thine eyes were not dazeled with lightneſſe (light I cannot call it) of ſelfe-reflected Vanitie, mighteſt ſee as Monſter-like faſhions at home, and a more faſhionly Monſter of thy ſelfe; thy clothes and oathes, thy geſtures and veſtures, make thy naked Deformitie worſe then their thus deformed nakednеſſe: both in deed ſeeme to haue receiued ſome helliſh Character (if there may bee bodily repreſentation) of that olde Serpent in theſe new faſhions, ſtriuing who ſhall ſhape himſelfe, neereſt to that miſſe-ſhapen vglineſſe, wherein the *Indian*-jagges himſelfe out of humane lineaments; the other ſwaggers himſelfe further out of all Ciuill and Chriſtian ornaments. But theſe Faſhion-mongers haue made mee almoſt out of my faſhion, and to forget my ſelfe, in remembring their forgetfulneſſe. Note for faſhion-mongers.

Theſe *Indians* of this New-cut, *Cortes* cauſed to come to him; and learned that they were of *Zempoallan*, a Citie diſtant thence a dayes journey, whom their Lord had ſent to ſee what Gods were come in thoſe *Teucallis*, that is Temples (ſo, it ſeemeth, they called the ſhips:) which held no conuerſation with the other *Indians*, as being not ſubject to *Mutezuma*, but onely as they were holden in by force. He gaue them certaine toyes, and was glad to heare that the *Indians* of *Zempoallan*, and other their Neighbours were not well affected to *Mutezuma*, but readie, as farre as they durſt, to entertayne all occaſions of warre with him. Hee ſayled from thence to *Panuco*, and paſſed the Riuer farther, till he came to a little Towne, where was a Temple, with a little Towre, and a Chappell on the top aſcended by twenty ſteps, in which they found ſome Idols, many bloudy Papers, and much mans bloud, of thoſe which had beene ſacrificed, the blocke alſo whereon they cut open thoſe Sacrifices, and the Razors made of flint, wherewith they opened their breſts, which ſtrucke the *Spaniards* with ſome horrour and feare. They paſſed a little further, and there hauing taken poſſeſſion, in the Emperours name, of the whole Countrey, they founded the Towne *De la vera Crux*, *Cortes* reſigning his authoritie, and Officers being elected; and laſtly, all with generall conſent appointing *Cortes* their Captaine. *Zempoallan.* *Panuco.* *Vera Cruxi*

Cortes went forward to *Zempoallan*, where hee was ſolemnely receiued and lodged in a great houſe of lime and ſtone, whited with playſter, that ſhined in the Sunne, as if it had beene Siluer; ſo did the Siluer-conceits of the *Spaniards* imagine, the deſire of that Metall hauing made ſuch an impreſſion in their imagination, that they told *Cortes* before hee came at it, they had ſeene a houſe with wals of Siluer. Here, and at *Chiauiztlan*, *Cortes* incited them to rebell againſt *Mutezuma*, and to become ſeruants to the *Spaniards*, which they did: and he vnderhand ſo wrought, that *Mutezuma* tooke him for his friend.

All his intent was to fiſh in troubled waters, and to ſee them both by the eares, that hee might watch oportunitie to benefit himſelfe. His owne people rebelled, ſome of whom he chaſtiſed with the halter and the whip for example to the reſt: and after cauſed all his ſhips to bee ſunke cloſely, that they ſhould not minde any returne. He left 150. men for the guard of the new Towne, vnder *Pedro de Henrico*, and with 400. *Spaniards*, fifteene Horſes, and ſixe Peeces of Artillery, and 1300 *Indians*, they went from *Zempoallan*, and came to *Zacotan*, the Lord whereof was *Olintler* the ſubject of *Mutezuma*, who to teſtifie his ioy, and to honour *Cortes*, commanded fifty men to be ſacrificed, whoſe bloud they ſaw, new and freſh.

They

They carried the *Spaniards* on their ſhoulders, ſitting on Beeres, ſuch as whereon they vſe to carry dead men. He bragged as much of the power of *Mutezuma*, as their *Spaniards* of their Emperour. He ſaid he had thirty Vaſſals, each of which was able to bring into the field an hundred thouſand men of Warre, and ſacrificed 20000. men yearely to the gods: in this he ſomewhat exceeded; the other was true, although ſome yeares, the Sacrifices alſo were thought to amount to 50000. This Towne was great, and had thirteene Temples, in each of which were many Idols of ſtone, of diuers faſhions, before whom they ſacrificed Men, Doues, Quailes, & other things, with great perfumes and veneration. Here *Mutezuma* had 5000. Souldiers in Garriſon. *Cortes*, paſſed from thence to *Mexico* by the Frontiers of *Tlaxcallon*, which were enemies to *Mutezuma*, whom he might eaſily haue ouercome, but reſerued, partly for the exerciſe of his Subiects to the Warre, partly for the Sacrifices to his gods.

Bloudy Sacrifices.

These ioyned an hundred and fifty thouſand men againſt *Cortes*, taking him for *Mutezuma's* friend: and yet euery day ſent him Guinney-cockes and Bread, partly to eſpie his ſtrength, and partly in a brauery, leſt their glory ſhould be obſcured in the conqueſt of men already ſtarued. But when in many skirmiſhes and fights they could not preuaile againſt that handfull of *Spaniards*, they thought they were preſerued from harme by inchantments: and ſent him three preſents with this meſſage; That if he were that rigorous god which eateth mans fleſh, he ſhould eate thoſe fiue ſlaues which they brought him, and they would bring him more: if he were the meeke and gentle god, behold Frankinſence, and Feathers: if he were a mortall man, take here Fowle, Bread, and Cherries. At laſt they made peace with him, and ſubmitted their City to him. Their City *Tlaxcallan* was great, planted by a Riuers ſide, which iſſued into the South-Sea. It had foure Streetes, each of which had their Captaine in the time of Warre. The gouernment was an Ariſtocraty, hating Monarchy no leſſe then tyranny. It had eight and twenty Villages, and in them an hundred and fifty thouſand Houſholds, very poore, but good warriors. They had one Market-place ſo ſpacious, that thirty thouſand perſons in a day came thither to buy and ſell by exchange: for money they had none.

Tlaxcallan a great Citie.

Mutezuma had ſent before to *Cortes*, and promiſed tribute to the Emperour, whatſoeuer ſhould be impoſed; onely he would not haue him come to *Mexico*. And now he ſent againe, that he ſhould not truſt that new friendſhip with the beggerly Nation of *Tlaxcallan*; and they againe counſelled him not to aduenture himſelfe to *Mutezuma*. *Cortes* held his determination for *Mexico*, and being accompanied with many of the *Tlaxcaltexas*, he went to *Chololla*, a little from whence *Mutezuma* had prepared an Army to intrap him in the way; but he finding the trechery, it redounded vpon the *Cholollois*, the ſame day they had thought to haue executed the ſame vpon him. For this end they had ſacrificed ten children, fiue males, and as many females, three yeares old, to *Quezalcouatl* their god, which was their cuſtome when they began their Wars. He out-going them in their owne art of ſubtilty, intrapped their Captains in Counſell, and ſent his Army to ſpoile the City, where were ſlaine thouſands. There were twenty Gentlemen, and many Prieſts which aſcended vp to the high towre of their Temple, which had an hundred and twenty ſteps, where they were burned, together with their gods and Sanctuary.

Chololla.

This Citie had twenty thouſand Houſholds within the Wals, and as many in the Suburbs. It ſhewed outward very faire and full of Towres, for there were as many Temples as dayes in the yeare, and euery one had his Towre. The *Spaniards* counted foure hundred Towers. It was the Citie of moſt deuotion in all *India*, whither they trauelled from many places farre diſtant in Pilgrimage. Their Cathedrall Temple was the beſt and higheſt in all *New-Spaine*, with an hundred and twenty ſteps vp to it. Their chiefe god was *Quezalcouatl*, god of the Ayre, who was (they ſay) founder of their Citie being a Virgin, of holy life and great penance. He inſtituted faſting, and drawing of bloud out of their eares and tongues, and left precepts of Sacrifices. Hee neuer ware but one garment of Cotten, white, narrow, and long, and vpon that a Mantle, beſet with certaine red croſſes. They haue certaine greene ſtones which were his, and are kept for great relikes: one of them is like an Apes head. Eight leagues from *Chololla* is the hill *Popocatepec*, or ſmoake-hill, which the Earth ſeemeth to haue erected as a Fort to encounter and aſſault the Ayre: now with ſmoky miſts endeuouring to choake his purer breath, another while with violent flames, and naturall fire-workes threatning to ioyne league with his elder and ſuperiour brother to diſinherit him: ſometimes with ſhowers of aſhes and embers, as it were, putting out the eyes, and ſometimes with terrible and dreadfull thunders, rending the eares of that Airy Element; alwayes (ſuch is the euent of warre) hurting and waſting it ſelfe, to indamage the enemy. The *Indians* thought it a place of Purgatory, whereby tyrannicall and wicked Officers were puniſhed after their death, and after that purgation paſſed into glory. The *Spaniards* aduentured to ſee it, but two onely held on their iourney, and had there beene conſumed, had they not by a Rocke bin ſhadowed from the violent eruption of the fire which then hapned. It chanced that the Earth, weary it ſeemeth of the warre, as hauing ſpent her ſtore and munition, agreed on a truce which continued ten yeares: but in the yeare 1540. it brake forth into more violent hoſtility then before, quaking and renting it ſelfe with vnbridled paſſion: and whereas the Ayre had alwaies a ſnowie Garriſon about her high tops and frontiers, to coole and quench

Store of Temples and deuotions.

Popocatepec a burning Hill.

quench her fiery ſhowers, yet theſe did but kindle a greater flame, the aſhes whereof came to *Huexozinco*, *Quelaxcopan*, *Tepiacuc*, *Chololla* and *Tlazcallan*, and other places, ten, or as ſome ſay, fifteene leagues diſtant, and burned their hearbs in their Gardens, their fields of Corne, Trees and cloathes that they laid a drying. The *Vulcan*, *Crater*, or mouth whence the fire iſſued, is about halfe a league in compaſſe. The *Indians* kiſſed their garments (an honour done vnto their gods) which had aduentured themſelues to this dreadfull ſpectacle.

Cortes drawing neere to *Mexico*, *Mutezuma* feared, ſaying, Theſe are the people which our gods ſaid ſhould come and inherit this Land. He went to his Oratory, and there ſhut vp himſelfe alone, abiding eight daies in praier and faſting, with ſacrifice of many men, to aſſake the fury of his offended deities. The Deuill bids him not to feare, and that he ſhould continue thoſe bloudy Rites, aſſuring him that he ſhould haue the gods *Vitziliputzli* and *Teſcalipuca* to preſerue him, ſaying, That *Quezalcouatl* permitted the deſtruction at *Chololla*, for want of that bloudy ſacrifice. *Cortes* paſſed a Hill ſix miles in height, where, by the difficulty of the paſſage, and of the cold (being alway couered with Snow) the *Mexicans* might eaſily haue preuented his paſſing further. Hence he eſpied the Lake, whereon *Mexico* and many other great Townes did ſtand, *Ixtacpallapan* a Towne of 10000 houſholds, *Coyocan* of ſix thouſand, *Vizilopuchtli* of fiue thouſand. Theſe Towns are adorned with many Temples and Towres, that beautifie the Lake. From *Iztacpalapan* to *Mexico* is two Leagues, all on a faire cauſey, with many draw-bridges, thorow which the water palleth.

Mutezumas religion.

Mutezuma receiued *Cortes* with all ſolemnity on the eight of *November* 1519. into this great Citie, excuſing himſelfe of former vnkindneſſes the beſt he could. Of his houſe, and Maieſtie, and the diuine conceit the people had of him, we ſhall ſpeake after more fully, as alſo of the Temples, Prieſts, Sacrifices and other remarkeable things of *Mexico*.

Mutezuma prouided all things neceſſary for the *Spaniards* and *Indians* that attended them: euen beds of flowers were made, in place of litter for their Horſes. But *Cortes* diſquieted with thoſe thoughts which commonly attend Ambition (diſcontent in the preſent, hopes and feares of the future) vſed the matter ſo, that he tooke *Mutezuma* priſoner, and detained him in the place appointed for the *Spaniards* lodging, with a *Spaniſh* Guard about him, permitting him otherwiſe to deale in all priuate or publike affaires, as before. Hereupon *Cacama* Lord of *Texcuco*, Nephew to *Mutezuma*, rebelled, but by treachery of his owne people was preſented priſoner to *Mutezuma*. He, after this ſummond a Parliament, where hee made an Oration vnto his Subiects, ſaying, [a] That He and his Predeceſſours were not Naturals of the Countrey, but his Fore-fathers came from a farre Country; and their King returned againe, and ſaid, he would ſend ſuch as ſhould rule them. And he hath now ſent theſe *Spaniards*, ſaith he. Hereupon he counſelled them to yeelde themſelues Vaſſals to the Emperour, which they did at his command, though with many teares on his part and theirs, at this farewell of their liberty. *Mutezuma* preſently gaue to *Cortes*, in the name of tribute, a great quantity of Gold and other Iewels, which amounted to ſixteene hundred thouſand Caſtlins of Gold, beſides Siluer.

[a] The like ſpeech he had made at firſt to *Cortes*, who eaſily wrought on that aduantage, applying this Tradition to the *Spaniards*, *Cortes Narrat.*

Cortes had hitherto a continuall victory in *Mexico* without any fight: but news was brought him of *Pamphilo de Naruaes*, who was ſent with eighty Horſe, and ſome hundreths of *Spaniards* by *Velaſques*, to interrupt the proceedings of *Cortes*: who leauing two hundred men in *Mexico*, with two hundred and fifty other came ſuddenly in the night, and tooke *Naruaes* priſoner, and returned to *Mexico* with *Naruaes* his Company, now his followers alſo, where he found his men exceedingly diſtreſſed by the Citizens for a murther committed in the great Temple at a ſolemne Feaſt, wherein a religious dance they were ſlaine, for the rich garments and Iewels they ware, by the *Spaniards*. *Cortes* came in good time for the reliefe of his men: and *Mutezuma* cauſed the *Mexicans* to bridle their rage, which preſently was renewed; and when *Mutezuma*, was againe by his Guardians, the *Spaniards*, cauſed to ſpeake to the people, a blow of a ſtone on his Temples wounded him, whereof three daies after he died.

Mutezumas death.

Cortes had ſome thouſands of the *Tlaxoltecas* to helpe him, but was driuen to flye from *Mexico* with all his *Spaniards* and *Indians*, which he did cloſely in the night, but yet an alarme was raiſed, and the Bridges being broken, much ſlaughter of his people was made by the *Mexicans*, and all his treaſure in manner loſt. They purſued after him alſo, and had two hundred thouſand in the field: when it was *Cortes* his good hap to ſlay the Sandardbearer, whereupon the *Indians* forſooke the field. This battell was fought at *Otumpan*.

At *Tlazcallan*, he and his were kindely entertained; they had prepared before 50000. men to goe to *Mexico* for his helpe, and now they promiſed him all offices of loyalty and ſeruice. With their helpe he ſubdued *Tepeacac*; and built certaine Brigandines, or Frigats, which were carried many leagues on the backes of thoſe *Indians*, and there faſtned and finiſhed, without which he could neuer haue won *Mexico*.

In *Tezcuco* certaine *Spaniards* had beene taken, ſacrificed and eaten, which *Cortes* now reuenged on them. Eight thouſand men had carried the looſe peeces and timber of this Nauie, guarded with twenty thouſand *Tlaxcallans*, and a thouſand *Tamemez*, or Porters (which carried victuals) attending. They calked them with Towe, and for want of Tallow and Oyle, they vſed

Mans

Mans Greaſe, of ſuch as had beene ſlaine in the Warres. For ſo the *Indians* vſed, to take out the Greaſe of their Sacrifices. *Cortes* had here nine hundred *Spaniards*, of which foureſcore and ſix were Horſe-men, three caſt peeces of Iron, fifteene ſmall peeces of Braſſe, and a thouſand weight of Powder, and 100000. *Indian* Souldiers on his ſide. He made a ſluce or trench aboue twelue foot broad, and two fathome deepe, halfe a league long, in which 40000. men wrought fifty dayes. He lanched his Veſſels, and ſoone ouercame all the Canoas of the Lake, of which were reckoned in all fiue thouſand. The *Spaniards* brake the Conduits of ſweet water, wherewith the City was wont to be ſerued.

Quahutimoc, now the new King of *Mexico*, receiuing incouragement from the Deuilliſh Oracle, cauſed to breake downe the Bridges, and to exerciſe whatſoeuer wit or ſtrength could doe in defence of his Citie, ſometimes conquering, ſometimes (as is doubtfull chance of warre) conquered. *Cortes* had in *Tezcuco* ordained a new King, a Chriſtian Indian, of the royall bloud, who much aſſiſted him in this ſiege. The *Spaniards* being Lords of the Lake, and of the Cauſeyes, by helpe of their Galliots and Ordinance, they fired a great part of the Citie. One day the *Mexicans* had gotten ſome aduantage, and thereupon celebrated a Feaſt of Victory. The Prieſts went vp into the Towers of *Tlatelulco*, their chiefe Temple, and made there perfumes of ſweet Gums, in token of victory, and ſacrificed forty *Spaniards* (which they had taken captiues, opening their breſts, and plucking out their hearts) ſprinkling their bloud in the Ayre; their fellowes looking on, and not able to reuenge it. They ſlew likewiſe many *Indians*, & foure *Spaniards of Aluarado's* company, whom they ate in the open ſight of the Army. The *Mexicans* danced, drank themſelues drunke, made bonefires, ſtrucke vp their Drums, and made all ſolemne expreſſings of ioy. Dread, Diſdaine, and all the Furies that Paſſion or Compaſſion could coniure vp, had now filled the *Spaniards* hearts and their *Indian* partakers: and *Cortes*, that hitherto had hoped to reſerue ſome part of the Citie, now did the vtmoſt that Rage aed Reuenge could effect, helped no leſſe within with Famine and Peſtilence, then with Sword and Fire without. At laſt *Mexico* is razed, the Earth and Water ſharing betwixt them what the Fire had left, and all which had ſometime challenged a lofty inheritance in the Ayre. Their King alſo was taken; all that mightie State ſubuerted. And as the *Mexicans* before had propheſied, That the *Tlaxcaltecas* ſhould againe build the Citie, if conquered, for them; if conquerors, for the *Spaniards*: It was re-builded with a hundred thouſand houſes, fairer and ſtronger then before. The Siege laſted three Moneths, and had therein two hundred thouſand *Indians*, nine hundred *Spaniards*, foureſcore Horſes, ſeuenteene Peeces of Ordinance, thirteene Galliots, and ſixe thouſand Canoas. Fiftie *Spaniards* were ſlaine, and ſixe Horſes: of the *Mexicans*, a hundred thouſand, beſides thoſe which died of Hunger and Peſtilence.

This was effected *Anno* 1521. on the thirteenth day of Auguſt, which for that cauſe is kept feſtiuall euery yeare. For the Deſcription of the Country wherein *Mexico* is ſituate. *Cortes* in his *ſecond Narration* to the Emperour ſaith, it is enuironed with hils: (He telleth of ſome hils alſo in his iourney, wherein diuers of his people died with cold) in the middeſt is a plaine of 70. leagues compaſſe, and therein two Lakes which extend the circuit of 50. leagues; the one ſalt, which ebbeth and floweth (an argument for *Patritius* his opinion, that ſaltneſſe is a chiefe cauſe of that viciſſitude of ebbing and flowing, in the Ocean) the other freſh: When the water of the Salt Lake increaſeth, it runneth like a violent ſtreame into the freſh Lake, which when it decreaſeth, is repaired againe by the like iſſue of this into the former.

Nunno di Guſman[b] hath written his expeditiou into *Mechoacan* and other Countries of *New-Spaine* 1530. ſubduing and taking poſſeſſion for the Emperour: He found ſome of them Sodomites, others Sacrificers of mens fleſh, and ſome cloſly practiſing this butchery after they had profeſſed themſelues Chriſtians: none of them which durſt looke a Horſe in the face, but were afraid that that Beaſt would eate them. The ſeuerall peoples by him reckoned, would here be tedious to name; which we may ſay of the like made by *Godoy* and *Aluarado*[c]. Of the Cuſtomes of the Auntient *Mexicans*, one of *Cortes* his Gentlemen hath written a Treatiſe[d] extant in *Ramuſius*, wherein are deſcribed their Citie, Temples, Rites of Sacrifice, and the like; as after followeth out of him and others.

b *N. di Guſ. ap. Ram. vol. 3.*

c *Lit. P. Aluarado & Dieg. Godoy ap. Ram. vol. 3.*

d *Relat. del Temiſtitan ca.*

CHAP.

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CHAP. IX.

Larger Relations of things most remarkeable obserued by the Spaniards *at their first comming*: Cholollas *holies*, Popocatepecs *ashes*, Mutezumas *multiforme magnificence and maiestie*. Mexican *Citie and Temple, with other antiquities gathered out of the Third part of the Historie of* Francis Lopez de Gomara.

* This part of *Lopez* was long since translated and published by *Tho. Nichols*. I haue here in diuers places ameded it by the *Italian* translation of *Agostino di Craualiz*: for the *Spanish* originall I haue not.

Chololla is a Citie as *Tlaxcallan*, and hath but one person who is Gouernour and generall Captaine, chosen by the consent of all the Citizens. It is a Citie of twenty thousand housholds within the wals, and in the suburbs as much more. It sheweth outwards very beautifull, and full of Towers, for there are as many Temples as dayes in the yeare, and euery Temple hath his Tower. Our men counted foure hundred Towers. The men and women are of good disposition, well fauoured, and very wittie. The women are Goldsmiths and also Caruers, the men are warriers, and light fellowes, and good Masters for any purpose: they goe better apparelled then any other *Indians* yet seene. They weare for their vpper garment, cloakes like vnto Moriscos, but after another sort. All the Countrey round about them is fruitfull and errable ground, well watered, and so full of people, that there is no waste ground, in respect whereof, there are some poore which begge from doore to doore. The *Spaniards* had not seene any beggers in that Countrey before they came thither.

Chololla is a Citie of most deuotion and religion in all *India*, it is called the Sanctuary, or holy place among the *Indians*, and thither they trauelled from many places farre distant in Pilgrimage, and for this cause there were so many Temples. Their Cathedrall Temple was the best and highest of all the New *Spaine*, with a hundred and twenty steps vp vnto it, The greatest Idoll of all their gods was called *Quecalcouatle*, God of the Aire, who was (say they) the founder of their Citie, being a Virgin of holy life, and great penance. He instituted fasting, and drawing of bloud out of their eares and tongues, and left a precept, that they should sacrifice but onely Quailes, Doues, and other foule. He neuer ware but one garment of Cotten, which was white, narrow, and long, and vpon that a mantle beset with certaine red crosses. They haue certaine greene Stones which were his, and those they keepe for relickes. One of them is like an Apes head. Here they abode twenty dayes, and in this meane while there came so many to buy and sell, that it was a wonder to see. And one of the things that was to be seene in those faires, was the earthen vessell, which was exceeding curious and fine.

The hill called Popocatepec.

THere is a hill eight leagues from *Chololla*, called *Popocatepec*, which is to say, a hill of smoake, for many times it casteth out smoake and fire. *Cortes* sent thither ten *Spaniards*, with many *Indians*, to carry their victuall, and to guide them in the way. The ascending vp was very troublesome, and full of craggie rocks, They approached so nigh the top, that they heard such a terrible noise which proceeded from thence, that they durst not goe vnto it, for the ground did tremble and shake, and great quantity of ashes which disturbed the way: but yet two of them who seemed to be most hardie, and desirous to see strange things, went vp to the top, because they would not returne with a sleeuelesse answer, and that they might not be accounted cowards, leauing their fellowes behinde them, proceeding forwards. The *Indians* said, what meane these men? for as yet neuer mortall man tooke such a iourney in hand.

These two valiant fellowes passed through the Desart of Ashes, and at length came vnder a great smoake very thicke, and standing there a while, the darkenesse vanished partly away, and then appeared the vulcan and concauity, which was about halfe a league in compasse, out of the which the ayre came abounding, with a great noise, very shrill, and whistling, in such sort that the whole hill did tremble. It was to be compared vnto an Ouen where Glasse is made. The smoake and heate was so great, that they could not abide it, and of force were constrained to returne by the way that they had ascended: but they were not gone farre, when the vulcan began to lash out flames of fire, ashes, and imbers, yea and at the last, stones of burning fire: and if they had not chanced to finde a Rocke, where vnder they shadowed themselues, vndoubtedly they had there beene burned. When with good tokens they were returned where they left their fellowes, the other *Indians* kissed their garments as an honour due vnto gods. They presented vnto them such things as they had, and wondred much at their fact.

Purgatory.

The simple *Indians* thought, that that place was an infernall place, where all such as gouerned not well, or vsed tyrannie in their offices, were punished when they died, and also beleeued, that after their purgation, they passed into glory. This Vulcan is like vnto the Vulcan of *Sicilia*,

it is high and round, and neuer wanteth snow about it, and is seene afarre off in the night, it lasheth out flames of fire. There is neere about this Hill many Cities, and *Huexotzinco* is one of the nigheſt. In tenne yeeres ſpace this ſtrange hill of working did expell no vapour or ſmoke: but in the yeere 1540. it began againe to burne, and with the horrible noyſe thereof, the Neighbours that dwelt foure leagues from thence were terrified, for the eſpeciall ſtrange ſmoakes that then were ſeene, the like to their Predeceſſors had not beene ſeene. The aſhes that proceeded from thence came to *Huexotzinco*, *Quelaxcopan*, *Tepiacac*, *Quiahquechollo*, *Chololla*, and *Tlaxcallan*, which ſtandeth ten leagues from thence, yea ſome ſay, it extended fifteene leagues diſtant, and burned their hearbes in their Gardens, their Fields of Corne, Trees, and cloathes that lay a drying.

He left the way that the *Mexicans* had perſwaded him to come, for it was both euill and dangerous, as the *Spaniard* which went to the Vulcan had ſeene, he went another plainer way, and neerer. He aſcended vp a Hill couered with ſnow, which was foure miles of height, where if the 30000. Souldiers had waited for them, they might eaſily haue taken them, by reaſon of the great cold: and from the top of that Hill, they diſcouered the Land of *Mexico*, and the great Lake, with his Villages round about, which is an exceeding goodly ſight: But when *Cortes* ſaw that beautifull thing, his joy was without compariſon.

There came twelue Lords from *Mexico*, among whom was *Cacama*, Nephew to *Mutezuma*, who was Lord of *Texuco*, a young man of fiue and twentie yeeres of age, whom the *Indians* did much honour: he was carried vpon their ſhoulders, and when they ſet him downe, one went before with a Broome to ſweepe the duſt out of his way. In this order hee came to *Iztacpalapan*. Euery two houres came meſſengers betwixt *Cortes* and *Mutezuma*: then came *Cuetlauac* Lord of that Towne, with the Lord *Culhuacan* his Kinſman to receiue him, who preſented vnto him ſlaues, garments, and feathers, and to the value of foure thouſand Duckets in Gold. *Cuetlauac* receiued all the *Spaniards* into his owne houſe, which hath very faire Lodgings all of ſtone, and Carpenters worke, exceeding well wrought, with high and low roomes, with all kind of ſeruice: The chambers were hanged with cloth of Cotton very rich, after their manner. There were faire Gardens repleniſhed with many ſweet flowres, and ſweet trees garniſhed with Net-worke, made of Canes, and couered with Roſes and other fine hearbes, with ſundry ponds of ſweet water. There was another Garden very beautifull of all ſorts of fruits and hearbes, with a great pond walled with lime and ſtone, and was foure hundred paces ſquare, made with faire ſteps to deſcend vnto the bottome in many places, and was full of diuers kinds of fiſhes, and many kind of water Birds, which ſometimes couered the pond, as Gulo, and Mewes, and ſuch like. *Iztacpallapan* is a Towne of 10000. houſholds, and is planted in a Lake of Salt-water, the one halfe of the Towne built on the water, and the other on the Land.

The ſolemne pompe wherewith *Cortes* was receiued into *Mexico*.

From *Iztacpallapan* to *Mexico* is two leagues all vpon a faire Cauſey, vpon the which eight Horſemen may paſſe on ranke, and ſo directly ſtraight as though it had beene made by line. And whoſoeuer hath good eye-ſight might diſcerne the gates of *Mexico* from thence. *Coyoacan* is a Towne of ſixe thouſand dwellers, *Vizilopuchtli* is of fiue thouſand. Theſe Townes are planted in the Lake, and are adorned with many Temples, which haue many faire Towres, that doe beautifie exceedingly the Lake. There is great conſumption of Salt, which is made there, and from thence is carried abroad to Faires and Markets, which thing was a great rent to *Mutezuma*. Vpon this Cauſey are many drawne Bridges built vpon faire arches, that the water paſſeth thorow.

Cortes paſſed this Cauſey with 400. *Spaniards*, and 6000. *Indians* his friends: their paſſage was with much adoe, by reaſon of the great multitude of *Indians* which came to ſee him, and comming neere the Citie, there adioyned another Cauſey with a broader paſſage, where ſtandeth a ſtrong Bulwarke of ſtone, of the heigth of two fathome with two Towres on each ſide, and two gates very ſtrong. Here at this Fort came three thouſand Courtiers and Citizens to receiue him, and euery of them touched the ground with his right hand and kiſſed it, and paſſed forwards in the order as they came. Theſe ſalutations endured an houre and more. From the Bulwarke the Cauſey lyeth directly, and before the entrance into the ſtreet there is another draw Bridge made of timber ten paces broad, vnder the which the water paſſeth too and fro. At this Bridge came *Mutezuma* to receiue *Cortes* vnder a Canopie of greene feathers and gold, with much Argentery hanging thereat, which Canopie foure Noble-men did carrie. And the two Princes *Cuetlauac* and *Cacama* his Nephewes, did leade him by each arme: all three were rich apparelled and all of one faſhion, except *Mutezuma*, which had a paire of ſhooes of gold beſet with precious Stones, and the ſoles were tyed to the vpper part with latchets, as is painted of the Antikes. His Gentlemen went by two and two, laying downe and taking vp Mandles and Couerlets vpon the ground, becauſe his feet ſhould not touch the ſame: then followed him as in Proceſſion, 200. Noblemen bare-footed, with garments of a richer Liuery then the firſt three thouſand. *Mutezuma* came in the middeſt of the ſtreet, and the others came behind him as nigh the wall as they might, their faces towards the ground, for it was a great offence to looke him in the face. *Cortes* alighted from his Horſe, and according to our vſe went to embrace him, but the Princes who led him

Mutezumas ſtate and Maieſtie.

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him by the armes, would not suffer him to come so nigh, for they held it for sinne to touch him; but yet saluted each one the other.

Cortes put about *Mutezuma* his necke a coller of Margarites, Diamonds, and other stones all of glasse. *Mutezuma* receiued it thankfully, and went before with one of the Princes his Nephewes, and commanded the other to leade *Cortes* by the hand, next after him in the midst of the street: and proceeding forward in this order, then came the Gentlemen in the richest Liuery to welcome him, one by one, touching the ground with their hands, and after returned to their standing. And if the Citizens had come as they requested, all that day would not haue serued for salutations. The coller of glasse pleased well *Mutezuma*, and because hee would not take without giuing a better thing, as a great Prince, hee commanded to be brought two collers of red Prawnes, which are there much esteemed, and at euery one of them hanged eight Shrimps of gold, of excellent workmanship, and of a finger length euery one, he put these collers with his owne hands about *Cortes* his necke, the which was esteemed a most great fauour, yea and the *Indians* maruelled at it. At this time they were come to the street end, which was almost a mile long, broad, streight, and very faire, and full of houses on each side, in whose doores, windowes and tops, was such a multitude of *Indians* to behold the strangers, that I know not who wondred most, our men to see such a number of them, or else they to see our men, their Ordnance and Horses, a thing so strange vnto them. They were brought vnto a great Court or house of Idols, which was the Lodging *Axaiaca*, at the doore whereof, *Mutezuma* tooke *Cortes* by the hand, and brought him into a faire hall, and placed him vpon a rich Carpet, saying vnto him, *Sir, now are you in your owne house, eate and take your rest and pleasure, for I will shortly come and visit you againe.* Such (as you heare) was the receiuing of *Hernando Cortes* by *Mutezuma* a most mightie King, into his great and famous Citie of *Mexico*, the eight day of November, 1519.

Spaniards gilie gawdy glasse for gold and glory.

The house where the *Spaniards* were lodged was great and large, with many faire chambers sufficient for them all: it was neate, cleane matted, and hanged with Cloth of Cotton, and Feathers of many colours, pleasant to behold. When *Mutezuma* was departed from *Cortes*, hee beganne to set his house in order and placed the Ordnance at his doore, and hauing all his things in good sort, he went to a sumptuous Dinner that was prepared for him. Assoone as *Mutezuma* had made an end of his Dinner, hearing that the Strangers were risen from the Table, and reposed a while, then came hee to *Cortes*, saluting him, and sate downe by him. He gaue vnto him diuers Iewels of Gold Place, Feathers, and many Garments of Cotton, both rich, well wouen, and wrought of strange colours, a thing comely, that did manifest his greatnesse, and also confirme their imagination. This gift was deliuered honourably, and then beganne his talke as followeth: *Lords and Gentlemen, I doe much reioyce to haue in my house such valiant men as yee are, for to vse you with courtesie, and intreate you with honour, according to your desert and my estate. And where heretofore I desired that you should not come hither, the onely cause was, my people had a great feare to see you, for your gesture and grimme beards did terrifie them, yea, they reported that yee had such beasts as swallowed men, and that your comming was from Heauen, bringing with you Lightning, Thunder, and Thunder-bolts, wherewith you made the Earth to tremble and to shake, and that yee slue therewith whom yee pleased. But now I doe see and know that you are mortall men, and that yee are quiet and hurt no man: also I haue seene your Horses, which are but your Seruants, and your Gunnes like vnto shooting Trunkes. I doe now hold all for Fables and Lyes which haue beene reported of you, and I doe also accept you for my meere Kinsman. My Father told mee that hee had heard his forefathers say, of whom I doe descend, that they held opinion how they were not Naturals of this Land, but come hither by chance, in companie of a mightie Lord, who after a while that hee had abode here, they returned to their naturall soyle: After many yeeres expired, they came againe for those whom they had left heere behind them, but they would not goe with them, because they had here inhabited, and had Wiues and Children, and great gouernment in the Land. Now these mightie Lords seeing that they were so stubborne, and would not returne with them, departed from them sore displeased, saying, that hee would send his Children that should both rule and gouerne them, in Iustice, Peace, and ancient Religion. And for this consideration, wee haue alwayes suspected and beleeued, that such a people should come to rule and gouerne vs, and considering from whence you come, I doe thinke that you are they whom wee looked for, and the notice which the great Emperour* Charles *had for vs, who hath now sent you hither. Therefore Lord and Captaine, bee well assured, that wee will obey you, if there bee no feyned or deceitfull matter in your dealings, and will also diuide with you and yours all that we haue. And although this which I haue said were not onely for your vertue, fame, and deeds of valiant Gentlemen, I would yet doe it for your worthinesse in the battailes of* Tauasco, Teocazinco, and Chollolla, *being so few, to ouercome so many.*

The Oration of *Mutezuma* to the *Spaniards*.

A strange opinion.

Now againe, if yee imagine that I am a God, and the walls and roofes of my houses, and all my vessell of seruice, to be of pure Gold, as the men of Zempoallan, Tlaxcallan, and Huexozinco, haue informed you, it is not so, and I iudge you to bee so wise, that you giue no credit to such Fables. You shall also note, that through your comming hither, many of my subiects haue rebelled, and are become my

mortall enemies, but yet I purpose to breake their wings. Come feele you my bodie, I am of flesh and bone, a mortall man as other are, and no God, although as a King I doe esteeme my selfe, of greater dignitie and preheminence then others. My houses you doe also see, which are of timber and earth, and the principallest of Masons worke, therefore now you doe both know and see what odious lyers those Tale-bearers were. But truth is is, that Gold, Plate, Feathers, Armour, Iewels, and other Riches, I haue in the Treasury of my Forefathers a long time preserued, as the vse of Kings is, all the which you and yours shall enioy at all times. And now it may please you to take your rest, for I know that you are weary of your iourney. Cortes *with ioyfull countenance humbled himselfe, seeing some teares fall from* Mutezuma *his eyes, saying vnto him, vpon the trust I haue had in your clemencie, I insisted to come both to see, and talke with your Highnesse, and now I know that all are lyes which hath beene told mee. The like your Highnesse hath heard reported of vs, assure your selfe, that the Emperour King of Spaine is your naturall Lord, whom you haue expected, hee is the onely heire from whence your Linage doth proceed, and as touching the offer of your Highnesse treasure, I do most heartily thanke you.*

A louing answere.

After all this communication, *Mutezuma* demanded whether the bearded men which came with him, were either his vassals, or his slaues, because hee would entertayne each one according to his estate. *Cortes* answered, that they were all his brethren, friends, and fellowes, except some that were his seruants.

Then he departed, and went home to his Palace, and there informed himselfe particularly who were Gentlemen, and who were not, and according thereunto, sent euery one particular gift or present. To the Gentlemen he sent his reward by his Comptroller, and to the Mariners and other Seruitors, by a Page of his houshold.

Mutezuma described.

Mutezuma was a man of a small stature, and leane, his colour tawnie as all the *Indians* are. Hee had long haire on his head, fiue little haires vpon him, as though they had beene put in with a Bodkin. His thinne beard was blacke. Hee was a man of a faire condition, and a doer of Iustice, well spoken, graue and wise, beloued and feared among his subiects. *Mutezuma* doth signifie *Sadnesse*.

Cin.

To the proper names of Kings and Lords, they doe adde this syllable *Cin*, which is for courtesie and dignitie, as we vse Lord. The *Turke* vseth *Zultan*. The *Moore* or *Barbarian* calleth his Lord *Mulley*, and so the *Indians* say *Mutezumacin*, His people had him in such reuerence, that hee permitted none to sit in his sight, nor yet in his presence to weare shooes, nor looke him in the face, except very few Princes. Hee was glad of the conuersation of the *Spaniards*, and would not suffer them to stand on foote, for the great estimation hee had of them, and if hee liked any of the *Spaniards* garments, hee would exchange his apparell for theirs. He changed his owne apparell foure times euery day, and hee neuer clothed himselfe againe with the Garments which hee had once worne, but all such were kept in his Guardrobe, for to giue in Presents to his Seruants and Ambassadours, and vnto valiant Souldiers which had taken any enemy Prisoner, and that was esteemed a great reward, and a title of priuiledge. The costly Mantles whereof had beene diuers sent to *Cortes*, were of the same Guardrobe.

Title *Cin.*

Change of Apparell.

His Wardrobe.

His diet-rites.

Mutezuma went alwayes very neate and fine in his attyre. Hee bathed him in his Hot-house foure times euery day. Hee went seldome out of his Chamber, but when hee went to his meate. Hee eate alwayes alone, but solemnely, and with great abundance. His Table was a Pillow, or else a couple of coloured Skinnes. His Chaire was a foure-footed stoole made of one piece, and hollow in the middest, well wrought and painted. His Table-clothes, Napkins, and Towels, were made of Cotton-woolI, very white and new, for hee was neuer serued but once with that Naperie. Foure hundred Pages brought in his meate, all sonnes of great Lords, and placed it vpon a Table in his great Hall. The meate being brought in, then came *Mutezuma* to behold the Dishes, and appointed those Dishes that liked him best, and Chafing-dishes were prepared to keepe that meate warme, and seldome would he eate of any other Dish, except the Lord Steward or Comptroller should highly commend any other Dish.

Magnificent attendance.

His wiues.

Before hee sate downe, came twentie of his Wiues of the fairest and best esteemed, or else those that serued weekly by turne, brought in the Bason and Ewre, with great humblenesse. This done, hee sate him downe, and then came the Lord Steward, and drew a woodden Nette before him, because none should come nigh his Table. And this Noble man alone placed the Dishes, and also tooke them away, for the Pages who brought in the meate, came not neere the Table, nor yet spake any worde, nor no man else.

Bare-foot seruice.

While the Lord *Mutezuma* was at his meate, except some leaster, they all serued him bare-footed. There assisted alwayes somewhat a farre off, sixe ancient and Noblemen, vnto whom he vsed to giue of the Dish that best liked him, who receiued the same at his hand with great reuerence, and eate it incontinent, without looking in his face, which was the greatest humilitie that they could vse before him. Hee had muscke of Fiddle, Flute, and of a

Musicke.

Snaile-

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Snaile-shell, and a Cauldron couered with a skinne, and such other strange Instruments. They had very euill voyces to sing. Alwayes at dinner time he had Dwarfes, crooke-backes, and other deformed counterfeits, all for maiestie and to laugh at; who had their meate in the Hall among the Iesters and Idiots, which were fed with part of the meate that came from *Mutezuma* his table, all the rest of the meate was giuen to three thousand of the guard, who attended ordinarily in the yard or Court, and therefore they say that there was brought for his Table three thousand dishes, and as many pots of wine, such as they vse, and that continually the Buttrey and Pantrey stood open, which was a wonder to see what was in them. The platters, dishes, and cups, were all of earth, whereof the King was serued but once, and so from meale to meale new. He had likewise his seruice of Gold and Plate very rich, but hee vsed not to bee serued with it (they say) because hee would not bee serued twice therewith, the which hee thought a base thing. Iesters. Plate.

Some affirme, that young children were slaine and dressed in diuers kinde of dishes for *Mutezuma* his table, but it was not so, onely of mans flesh sacrificed he fed now and then. The table being taken vp, then came againe the Gentlewomen to bring water for his hands, with the like reuerence as they vsed at the first, and then went they to dinner with the other wiues, so that then the Gentlemen and Pages waited at their course fell. Mans flesh.

When his table was taken vp, and his Seruitors gone to meate, *Mutezuma* sate still: then came in the suiters that had any affaires to deale with him, bare-footed, for all the persons did vse that reuerence, except some Princes his Kinsmen, as the Lords of *Tescuco*, and *Tlacopan*, and a few others: and beeing cold weather, they vsed to weare olde ragged clothes vpon their rich garments. All suiters vsed to make three or foure courtesies, not looking toward his face, and speaking vnto him their heads dowwards, and in that order retyred backe againe. *Mutezuma* answered his suiters very gravely, with low voyce, and in few words, and not to all suiters, for others his Secretaries or Counsellers that stood by, answered for him, and hauing their answere, they returned backwards, not turning their tailes to the Prince. After these businesses done, he vsed some recreation, hearing Iesters or Songs, wherein he delighted much, or else to looke vpon the Players, who play with their feet, as we doe with our hands. These haue a cudgell like vnto a Pastlers rowler, which they tosse high and low as it were a ball in the Ayre, strange to behold. They vse other Playes to passe the time, in such an order, that it seemed maruellous to the lookers on. *Cortes* brought into *Spaine* some of these Players. Also they vse *Matachines*, in such sort they doe play, that there stand each vpon other shoulders, and hee that standeth highest, sheweth many feates. Sometime *Mutezuma* did behold the Players, who played at a game called *Pacoliztli*, which is much like our Tables, and they play with beanes, squared like Dice, which they call *Patolli*, and throw them out of both their hands vpon a matte, or else vpon the ground, where are made certain strikes, vpon which they set downe the chance that is throwne: and at this game they play all that they haue, and many times they value their owne bodies, and play that into captiuitie, and to remayne a slaue, I meane, such as are common Gamesters of small estate. State ceremonies. Iesters and Players. Games.

Sometimes *Mutezuma* went to the Tennis Court. Their ball is celled *Villamaliztli*, and is made of the gumme which commeth from a tree called *Vlli*. This tree groweth in a hot Countrey. The gumme being kneaded together, and so made round, is as blacke as pitch, and somewhat heauie, and very hard for the hand, but yet good and light to rebound, and better then our wind-bals. They play not at Chases, but at Bandy, or at Check, that is, if the ball touch the wall it looseth. They may strike the ball with any part of their body, but there is alwayes a penaltie if they onely strike not with the buttocke or side, which is the finest play: whereof they vse a skinne vpon each buttocke. They play so many to so many for a packe of Mantles, or according to the abilitie of the Players. Also they play for gold and feathers, and sometime for their owne bodies, as they vse at *Patolli*, which is there permitted and lawfull. The Tennis Court is called *Tlacbco*, and is a Hall long and narrow, but wider vpwards, then downewards, and higher on the sides then at the ends, which is an industry for their play. The house is alwayes white and smooth in the side walles they haue certaine stones like vnto Milstones, with a little hole in the middest that passeth through the stone, the hole is so small, that scarcely the ball may passe through, but he that chanceth to strike the ball into the hole, which seldometh happeneth, winneth the game, and by an ancient Law and custome among Tennis Players, he ought to haue the Cloakes of all those that stand and behold the play, on that side that the ball went in, and in some Tennis Courts, the halfe of the garments of them that stand looking on. The Winner is then bound to make certaine Sacrifice to the God of the Tennis play, and to the stone where the ball entred. The beholders of the play would say, that such a Winner should be a Thiefe and an Adulterer, or else that he should die quickly. The Tennis play in *Mexico*.

They vsed in the Temple of the Tennis play, two Images of the *God of the Ball*, which stood vpon the two lower walles. The Sacrifice was celebrated at mid-night, with many Ceremonies and Witch-crafts, and Songs for that purpose. Then came a Priest from the Cathedrall Church, with other Religious persons to blesse the Sacrifice, saying certain deuillish Prayers, and throw- *God of the Ball.*

ing the ball foure times in the Tennis Court. In this order was the Tennis play consecrated, and after this consecration it was lawfull to play, or else not, for this diligence was first to bee done when any Tennis Court or play was newly built. The owner of the Tennis Court also would neuer suffer any to play, vntill he had first offered something to the Idoll, their Superstition was so great.

His Palace.

Mutezuma had many houses as well in *Mexico* as without, for his recreation and pleasure, as also for his ordinary dwelling. To write of all it should bee tedious, but where his continuall abiding was, he named *Topac*, that is to say, *Palace*. And that Palace had twentie doores or gates which had their out-comming into the common streets. It hath three Courts, and in the one standeth a faire Fountaine, many Hals, and a hundred Chambers of twentie three, and thirtie foot long, an hundred Bathes and Hot-houses: and although the building was without nayles, yet very good workmanship. The walles were made of Masons worke, and wrought of Marble, Iaspe, and other blacke stone, with veines of red, like vnto Rubies and other Stones, which glistered very faire: the roofes were wrought of Timber, and curiously carued: the Timber was Cedar, Cypresse, and Pine-tree: the Chambers were painted and hung with Cloth of Cotton, and Cloth made of Conies haire and feathers. The beds were poore and of no value, for they were nothing but Mantles laid vpon Mats, or vpon Hay, or else Mats alone: few men lay within those Houses.

Twentie doores. Three Courts. Hals, chambers, walls, &c.

Multitude of women.

There were a thousand women, and some affirme that there were three thousand, accounting Gentlewomen, Seruants and Slaues: the most were Noblemens Daughters, *Mutezuma* tooke of them for his selfe, those that liked him best, and the others he gaue in mariage to Gentlemen his Seruants. The saying was, that hee had at one time a hundred and fiftie women his wiues with childe, who through the perswasion of the Deuill, tooke Medicines to cast their creatures, because they knew that they should not inherit the State: these his wiues, had many old women for their Guard, for no man was permitted to looke vpon them.

His Armes hee after saith a Conie was his armes, but this Eagle was generall to all the *Mexican* Kings Gryffon-tale.

The shield of Armes that is set in his Palace, and likewise carried to the Warres, is an Eagle soaring vpon a Tigre his tallons, bent as taking prey. Some thinke it is a Gryffon, and not an Eagle. The Griffons in time past, say they, did cause the Vale of *Anaoatlan* to bee dispeopled, for they were great deuourers of men, and that their abiding was in the Mountaines of *Tovacan*: they approue that these Mountaines were called *Cuitlachtepels*, of *Cuitlachtli*, which is a Gryffon, bigger then a Lion: but the *Spaniards* did neuer see any of them. The *Indians* by their old Pictures doe paint those Gryffons to haue a kind of haire and no feathers, and also affirme, that with their tallons and teeth they breake mens bones. They haue the courage of a Lion, and the countenance of an Eagle: they paint him with foure feet, and teeth, with a kinde of downe, more like wooll then feathers, with his beake, tallons, and wings. There are also other Lords that giue the Gryffon in their Armes, flying with a heart in his tallons.

A house of fowle, which were only preserued for their feathers.

Mutezuma had another house, with very good lodgings and faire galleries, built vpon Pillars of Iaspe which extendeth toward a goodly Garden, in the which there are ten ponds or moe, some of salt-water for Sea-fowle, and other some of fresh water for Riuer-fowle, and Lake-fowle, which ponds are deuised with sluces to emptie and to fill at their pleasure, for the cleannesse of the feathers. There is such a number of Fowle that scarcely the ponds may hold them, and of such diuers kindes both in feathers and making, as sure it was an admiration for the *Spaniards* to behold, for the most of them they knew not, nor yet had at any time seene the like. And to euery kind of Fowle they gaue such bayte as they were wont to feede of in the Fields or Riuers. There did belong to that house three hundred persons of seruice some were to clense the ponds: other some did fish for baite: other some serued them with meate: other did loose them and trimme their feathers: others had care to looke to their Egges: others to set them abrood: others cured them when they were sicke: and the principallest Office was to plucke the Feathers: for of them was made rich Mantles, Tapissary, Targets, tuffes of Feathers, and many other things wrought with Gold and Siluer: a most perfit worke.

A house of fowle for hawking and other strange things.

There is another House with large quarters and lodgings, which is called a House for Fowle, not because there are more then in the other, but because they bee bigger and to hawke with all, and are Fowle of rapine, wherefore they are esteemed as more nobler then all the others.

White men.

There are in this House many high Hals, in the which are kept men, women and children: in some of them are kept such as are borne white of colour: which doth very seldome happen: in other some are Dwarfes, Crooked-backes, Burstenmen, Counterfeites, and monstrous Persons, in great number: they say, that they vsed to deforme them when they were Children, to set forth the Kings greatnesse: euery of these persons were in seuerall Halles by themselues.

Wild beasts.

In the lower Halles were great Cages made of timber: in some of them were Lions, in other Tigres, in other Ounces, in others Wolues: in conclusion, there was no foure-footed beast that wanted there, onely to the effect that the mightie *Mutezuma* might say that hee had such

things

things in his house. They were fed with their ordinary, as Ginea cockes, Deere, Dogges, and such like.

There was also in other Hals great earthen vessels, some with earth, and some with water, wherein were Snakes, as grosse as a mans thigh, Vipers, Crocodiles, which they call *Caymanes*, or *Lizarts* of twenty foote long, with such Scales and head as a Dragon hath: Also other little Lizarts, and other venemous Beasts and Serpents as well of the water as of the land, a terrible sight for the lookers on. Snakes, &c.

There were also other Cages for foule of rapine of all sorts, as Hawkes, Kites, Boyters, and at the least nine or ten kinde of Haukes. This house of foule had of daily allowance fiue hundred Gynea cockes, and three hundred men of seruice, besides the Falconers and Hunters, which are infinite. There were many other sorts of Foules that our men knew not, which seemed by their beake and talents good to Hauke withall. Foules of prey

To the Snakes and other venemous Beasts they gaue the bloud of men sacrificed, to feede them, and some say, they gaue vnto them mans flesh, which the great Lizarts doe eate very well. The *Spaniards* saw the floore couered with bloud like a iellie in a Slaughter-house, it stunke horribly. It was strange to see the Officers in this House, how euery one was occupied. Our men tooke great pleasure in beholding such strange things, but they could not away with the roaring of the Lyons, the fearefull hissing of the Snakes and Adders, the dolefull howling and barking of the Wolues, the sorrowfull yelling of the Ownzes and Tigres, when they would haue meate. Most certaine, in the night season it seemed a Dungeon of Hell, and a dwelling place of the Deuill, and euen so it was indeede, for neere at hand was a Hall of a hundred and fiftie foote long, and thirty foote broad, where was a Chappell with the Roofe of Siluer and Gold in leafe Wainescotted, and decked with great store of Pearle and Stone, as Agattes, Cornerines, Emeralds, Rubies, and diuers other sorts, and this was the Oratory where *Mutezuma* prayed in the night season, and in that Chappell the Deuill did appeare vnto him, and gaue him answere according to his prayers. Deuils den.

He had other houses like vnto Barnes, onely for the feathers of foules, and for mantels which proceeded of his rents and tributes, a thing much to be seene: vpon the doores was set his armes, which was a Conie. Here dwelled the chiefe Officers of his house, as Treasurer, Controller, Receiuers and other officers appertaining to the Kings reuenews. *Mutezuma* had no house wherein was not an Oratorie for the Deuill, whom they worshipped for the Iewels there. And therefore those houses were great and large. Store-houses. Officers.

Mutezuma had some houses of Armor, vpon the doores wherof stood a Bowe and Arrows. In these houses was great store of all kinde of Munition which they vse in their wars: as Bowes, Arrowes, Slings, Launces, Darts, Clubbes, Swords and Bucklers, and gallant Targets more trim then strong, Skuls and Splints, but not manie, and all made of wood, gilt or couered with leather. The wood whereof they make their Armour and Targets, is verie hard and strong, for they vse to toast it at the fire, and at their Arrow ends they enclose a little peece of Flint stone, or a peece of a Fish bone called *Labisa*, and that is venemous, for if any be hurt therewith and the head remaine in the wound, it so festereth, that it is almost incurable. The Armory of *Mutezuma*. Wood for Armes.

Their Swords are of wood, and the edge thereof is of flint stone, enclosed or ioyned into a staffe, with a certaine kinde of glew which is made of a roote called *Zacolt*, and *Tenxalli*, which is a kinde of strong sand, whereof they make a mixture, and after kneade it with bloud of Bats or Rearemice, and other Foule, which doth glew maruellous strong, and lightly neuer vncleaueth: of this stuffe, they make nailes, pearcers, and augers, wherewith they bore Timber and stone: with their Swords they cut Speares, yea and a Horse necke at a blow, and made dents into Iron, which seemed a thing vnpossible and incredible. In the Citie no man may weare weapon, but onely in warres, hunting, and among the Kings Guard. Wodden Swords with stone edges.

Besides the foresaid houses, he had manie others for his onely recreation and pastime, with excellent faire Gardens of medicinall Hearbes, sweete Flowers, and Trees of delectable sauour. In that Garden were a thousand personages, made and wrought artificially of leaues and flowers. *Mutezuma* would not permit that in this Garden should be any kinde of pot Hearbes, or things to be sold, saying, that it did not appertaine to Kings to haue things of profit, among their delights and pleasures, for such things (said he) did appertaine to Merchants. Yet notwithstanding he had Orchards with manie and sundrie fruites, but they stood farre from the Citie, and whither seldome times he went. He had likewise out of *Mexico* pleasant houses in Woods and Forrests, of great compasse, enuironed with water, in the which he had Fountaines, Riuers, Ponds with fish, Warrens of Conies, Rockes and couert where were Harts, Bucks, Hares, Foxes, Wolues, and such like, with wildernesse for euerie sort. To these places the Lords of *Mexico* vsed to goe and sport themselues, such and so many were the houses of *Mutezuma*, wherein few Kings were equall with him. The Gardens of *Mutezuma*. Note of a magnificent minde. Houses of pleasure.

He had daily attending vpon him in his priuate Guard, fiue hundred Noblemen and Gentle-

The Court and Guard of *Mutezuma.*

men, and each of them three or foure seruants, and some had twentie seruants or moe, according to his estate: and in this manner he had three thousand men attendant in his Court, and some affirme more, all the which were fed in his house of the meate that came from his table. The seruing men alwaies abode below in the Court all the day, and went not from thence till after Supper.

Great Vassals.

It is to be thought that his Guard was the greater, because the strangers were there, although in effect of truth it is most certaine, that all the Lords that are vnder the *Mexicall* Empire (as they say) are thirtie persons of high estate, who are able to make each of them a hundred thousand men. There are three thousand Lords of Townes, who haue many vassals. These Noblemen did abide in *Mexico* certaine times of the yeare, in the Court of *Mutezuma*, and could not depart from thence without especiall licence of the Emperour, leauing each of them a sonne or brother behinde them for securitie of rebellion, and for this cause they had generally houses in the Citie: such and so great was the Court of *Mutezuma*.

State-caution.

Tributes and subiection of the *Indians* to their King.

There is not in all the Dominions of *Mutezuma* any subiect that paieth not tribute vnto him. The Noblemen pay their tribute in personall seruice. The Husbandmen called *Macehualtin*, with body and goods. In this sort they are either Tenants, or else heires to their possessions. Those which are *heires*, doe pay one third part of all their fruite and commoditie that they doe reape or bring vp, as Dogges, Hennes, Foule, Conies, Gold, Siluer, Stones, Salt, Waxe, Honie, Mantels, Feathers, Cotten, and a certaine fruite called *Cacao*, that serueth for money, and also to eate. Also all kinde of Graine, and Garden Hearbes, and Fruites, whereof they doe maintaine themselues.

Pouerty of the Tenants.

The *Tenants* doe pay monethly, or yearely, as they can agree, and because their tribute is great, they are called slaues, for when they may haue licence to eate Egges, they thinke it a great fauour. It was reported that they were taxed what they should eate, and all the residue was taken from them. They went verie poorely cloathed, yea and the most of their treasure was an earthen Pot, wherein they boiled their Hearbes, a couple of Milstones to grinde their Corne, and a Mat to lye vpon. They did not onely paie this Rent, and Tribute, but also serued with their bodies at all times when the great King should command. They were in such great subiection to their Prince, that they durst not speake one word although their daughters should be taken from them to beused at pleasure. All the aforesaid rents they brought to *Mexico* vpon their backes, and in Boates, I meane so much as was necessarie for the prouision of the House and Court of *Mutezuma*, all the rest was spent among Souldiers, and bartred for Gold, Plate, Precious stones, and other rich Iewels, esteemed of Princes, all the which was brought to the Treasurie. In *Mexico* was large and great Barnes and Houses to receiue and keepe the Corne for prouision of the Citie, with Officers, and vnderofficers, who did receiue the same, and kept account thereof in Bookes of painted figures.

See our picture bookes.

Receiuers.

And in euery Towne was a Receiuer, who bare in his hand a rod or a bush of Feathers, and those gaue vp their accounts in *Mexico*. If any such had beene taken with deceit and falshood, death was his reward, yea and his kinred punished with penalties, as of a linage of a traitour to his Prince. The Husbandmen, if they paid not well their Tribute, were apprehended for the same, and if they were found to be poore through sicknesse and infirmitie, then they were borne withall, but if they were found to be lazie and sloathfull, they should be vsed accordingly: but in conclusion, if they paied it not at a day appointed, then they should be sold for slaues to pay their debt, or else be sacrificed.

Tribute of mens labours.

There were many other Prouinces, which paid a certaine portion, and reknowledged seruice, but this Tribute was more of honour then profit. In this sort *Mutezuma* had more then sufficient to prouide his house and wars, and to heape vp great store in his Treasury. Moreouer, he spent nothing in the building of his houses; for of long time he had certaine Townes that paid no other Tribute, but onely to worke and repaire continually his Houses at their owne proper cost, and paid all kinde of workemen carrying vpon their backes, or drawing in sleds, Stone, Lime, Timber, Water, and all other necessaries for the worke. Like wise they were bound to prouide all the firewood that should be spent in the Court, which was a great thing, and did amount to two hundred and thirty weight a day, which was fiue hundred mens burdens, and some dayes in the winter much more. And for the Kings Chimneys they brought the barke of Oake trees, which was best esteemed for the light thereof, for they were great Sorcerers. *Mutezuma* had one hundred Cities with their Prouinces, of whom he receiued Rents, Tributes, and Vassalage, where he maintained Garrison of Souldiers, and had Treasurers in each of them.

His dominion did extend from the North sea to the South sea, and six hundred miles in longitude within the maine Land, although in very deede there were some Townes, as *Tlaxcallan*, *Mechuacan*, *Panuco*, and *Tecantepec*, which were his enemies, and paid him neither Tribute nor Seruice: but yet the Ransome was much, when any of them was taken. Also there were other Kings and Noblemen, as of *Texcuco*, and *Tlacopan*, which were not in subiection vn-

to

to him, but onely in homage and obedience, for they were of his owne linage, vnto whom *Mutezuma* married his Daughters.

Description of Mexico *as it flourished in those times.*

Mexico at the time when *Cortes* entred, was a Citie of sixtie thousand houses. The Kings house, and other Noblemens houses were great, large, and beautifull, the other were small and meane, without either doores or windowes: and although they were small, yet there dwelleth in some of them, two, three, yea and ten persons, by reason whereof, the Citie was wonderfully replenished with people.

This Citie is built vpon the water, euen in the same order as *Venice* is. All the body of the Citie standeth in a great large Lake of water. There are three sorts of streetes very broad and faire, the one sort are onely water, with many Bridges: another sort of onely earth: and the third of earth and water: that is to say, the one halfe earth to walke vpon, and the other halfe for Boates to bring prouision of all sorts. These streetes are kept alwayes cleane, and the most part of the houses haue two doores, the one towards the Cawsey, and the other towards the water, at the which they take Boate to goe where they list. And although this Citie is founded vpon water, yet the same water is not good to drinke, whereof there is brought by conduit water from a place called *Capultepec*, three miles distant from the Citie, which springeth out of a little hill, at the foote whereof standeth two Statues or couered Images wrought in stone, with their Targets and Lances, the one is of *Mutezuma*, and the other of *Axaiaca* his Father. The water is brought from thence in two Pipes or Canals in great quantity, and when the one is foule, then all the water is conueied into the other, till the first be made cleane. From this Fountaine all the whole Citie is prouided, so that they goe selling the same water from streete to streete in little Boates, and doe pay a certaine tribute for the same. Three sorts of Streetes.

This Citie is diuided into two streetes, the one was called *Tlatelulco*, that is to say, *a little Iland*, and the other *Mexico*, where *Mutezuma* his dwelling and Court was, and is to be interpreted *a Spring*. This streete is the fairest and most principall, and because of the Kings Pallace there, the Citie was named *Mexico*, although the old and first name of the Citie was *Tenuchtitlan*, which doth signifie *Fruite out of stone*, for the name is compounded of *Tetl*, which is, *Stone*, and *Nochtli*, which is a Fruite in *Cuba* and *Hispaniola*, called *Tunas*; the Tree (or to speake properly, the Thistle) that beareth this fruite, is named *Nopal*, and is nothing almost but leaues of a foote broad and round, and three inches thicke, some more, and some lesse, according to the growth, full of thornes which are venemous: the leafe is greene, and the thorne or pricke russet. After that is planted, it encreaseth, growing leafe vnto leafe, and the foote thereof commeth to be as the body of a tree; and one leafe doth onely produce another at the point; but at the sides of the same leaues proceede other leaues. In some Prouinces where water is scant, they vse to drinke the iuice of these leaues. The fruite thereof called *Nochtli*, is like vnto Figges, and euen so hath his little kernels or graines within, but they are somewhat larger, and crowned like vnto a Medler. There are of them of sundry colours, some are greene without, and Carnation like within, which haue a good taste. Others are yellow, and others white, and some speckled: the best sort are the white: it is a fruite that will last long. Some of them haue the taste of Peares, and others some of *Grapes*: it is a cold and a fresh fruite, and best esteemed in the heate of Summer. The *Spaniards* doe more esteeme them then the *Indians*. The more the ground is laboured where they grow, the fruite is so much the better. There is yet another kinde of this fruite red, and that is nothing esteemed, although his taste is not euill, but because it doth colour and dye the eaters mouth, lippes, and apparell, yea, and maketh his vrine looke like pure bloud. Many *Spaniards* at their first comming into *India*, and eating this Fruite, were in a maze, and at their wits end, thinking that all the blood in their bodies came out in vrine: yea and many Phisitions at their first comming were of the same beliefe: for it hath happened, when they haue bin sent for vnto such as haue eaten this fruite, they not knowing the cause, and beholding the vrine, by and by they ministred medicine to stanch the bloud: a thing ridiculous, to see the Phisitians so deceiued. Of this fruite *Nochtli* and *Tetl*, which is a *Stone*, is compounded *Tenuchtitlan*. When this City was begun to be founded, it was placed neere vnto a great Stone that stood in the middest of the Lake, at the foote whereof grew one of these *Nopal* trees, and therefore *Mexico* giueth for armes and deuise the foote of a *Nopal* tree springing from a stone, according to the Cities name. It groweth also in *Bermuda*.

Mexico is as much to say, as *a Spring or Fountaine*, according to the property of the vowell and speech. Others doe affirme, that *Mexico* hath his name of a more ancient time, whose first Founders were called *Mexiti*, for vnto this day the *Indian* dwellers in one streete of this City are called of *Mexico*. The *Mexiti* tooke name of thir principall Idoll called *Mexitli*, who was in as great veneration as *Vitzilopuchtli*, god of the warre. *Mexico* is enuironed with sweet water, and hath three wayes to come vnto it by cawsie, the one is from the West, and that cawsie is a mile and a halfe long. Another from the North, and containeth three miles in length. Eastward The name of *Mexico*.

the

Two Lakes, one salt, the other fresh.

Ebbing and flowing by the winde. Some (as *Patritius*) hence moued, deriue the cause of the Seas flowing from the saltnesse.

Cause of the saltnesse.

the Citie hath no entrie. But Southward the Cawsey is sixe miles long, which was the way that *Cortez* entred into the Citie. The Lake that *Mexico* is planted in, although it seemeth one, yet it is two, for the one is of water saltish, bitter, and pestiferous, and no kinde of fish liueth in it. And the other water is wholesome, good, and sweet, and bringeth forth small fish. The salt water ebbeth and floweth, according to the winde that bloweth. The sweet water standeth higher, so that the good water falleth into the euill, and reuerteth not backward, as some hold opinion. The salt Lake containeth fifteene miles in breadth, and fifteene in length, and more then fiue and fortie in circuit; and the Lake of sweet water containeth euen as much, in such sort, that the whole Lake containeth more then thirtie leagues, and hath about fiftie townes situated round about it, many of which townes doe containe fiue thousand households, and some ten thousand, yea and one towne called *Tezcuco*, is as bigge as *Mexico*. All this Lake of water springeth out of a Mountaine that standeth within sight of *Mexico*. The cause that the one part of the Lake is brackish or saltish, is, that the bottome or ground is all salt, and of that water great quantitie of salt is daily made.

200000. Canoas.

In this great Lake are aboue two hundred thousand little boates, which the *Indians* call *Acalles*, and the *Spaniards* call them *Canoas*, according to the speech of *Cuba* and *Santo Domingo*, wrought like a kneading trough: some are bigger then other some, according to the greatnesse of the body of the tree whereof they are made. And where I number two hundred thousand of these boats, I speake of the least, for *Mexico* alone hath aboue fiftie thousand ordinarily to carry and bring vnto the Citie victuall, prouision, and passengers, so that on the market day all the streets of water are full of them.

The Market place of *Mexico*.

The Market is called in the *Indian* tongue *Tlanquiztli*: euery Parish hath his Market place to buy and sell in: but *Mexico*, and *Tlatelulco* onely, which are the chiefest Cities, haue great Faires and places fit for the same, and especially *Mexico* hath one place where most dayes in the yeere is buying and selling, but euery fourth day is the great Market ordinarily: and the like custome is vsed throughout the Dominions of *Mutezuma*. This place is wide and large, compassed round about with doores, and is so great, that a hundred thousand persons come thither to chop and change, as a Citie most principall in all that Region. Wherefore the resort is from farre parts vnto that place.

Order of Sellers.

Euery occupation and kinde of merchandise hath his proper place appointed, which no other may by any meanes occupie or disturbe. Likewise pesterous wares haue their place accordingly (that is to say) stone, timber, lime, bricke, and all kinde of stuffe vnwrought, being necessarie to build withall. Also Mats both fine and course of sundrie workmanship, also Coales, Wood, and all sorts of earthen vessell, glased and painted very curiously: Deere skinnes both raw and tanned in haire and without haire, of many colours, for Shoomakers, Bucklers, Targets, Jerkins, and lining of woodden Corselets: also skinnes of other beasts and fowle in feathers readie dressed of all sorts, the colours and strangenesse thereof was a thing to behold. The richest merchandise was Salt, and Mantels of cotton wooll of diuers colours, both great and smal, some for beds, others for garments and clothing, other for tapissarie to hang houses, other cotten cloth for lining breeches, shirts, table clothes, towels, napkins, and such like things.

The diuers wares.

There were also Mantels made of the leaues of the tree called *Metl*, and of Palme tree, and Cony haire, which are well esteemed, being very warme, but the Couerlets made of feathers are the best: they sell threed made of Cony haire, pieces of linnen cloth made of cotton wooll, also skaines of threed of all colours: also it is strange to see the great store of fowle, some wilde, some tame, some water fowle, and other some of rapine. All the brauerie of the Market, is the place where gold and feathers ioyntly wrought is sold, for any thing that is in request is there liuely wrought in gold and feathers, and gallant colours.

Indian workemanship.

The *Indians* are so expert and perfect in this science, that they will worke or make a Butter-flie, any wild Beast, Trees, Roses, Flowers, Herbs, Rootes, or any other thing, so liuely, that it is a thing maruellous to behold. It hapneth many times that one of these workmen in a whole day will eate nothing, onely to place one feather in his due perfection, turning and tossing the feather to the light of the Sunne, into the shade or darke place, to see where is his most naturall perfection, and till his worke be finished he will neither eate nor drinke. There are few Nations of so much patience. The Art or Science of Gold-smiths, among them is the most curious, and very good workmanship engrauen with

Gold-smiths artifices.

tooles made of flint, or in mold. They will cast a platter in mold with eight corners, and euery corner of seuerall metall, that is to say, the one of gold, and the other of siluer, without any kind of solder: they will also found or cast a little caldron with loose handles hanging thereat, as wee vse to cast a bell: they will also cast in mold a fish of metall with one scale of siluer on his backe, and another of gold: they will make a Parret or Popinjay of metall, that his tongue shall shake, and his head moue, and his wings flutter: they will cast an Ape in mold, that both hands and feet shall stirre, and hold a spindle in his hand seeming to spin, yea and an Apple in his hand, as though he would eate it. Our *Spaniards* were not a little amazed at the sight of these things. For our Gold-smiths are not to be compared vnto them. They haue skill also of Amell worke, and to set any precious stone. But now as touching the Market, there is to sell Gold, Siluer, Copper, Leade, Latton, and Tin, although there is but little of the three last metals mentioned. There are

pearles,

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pearles, precious stones, diuers and sundrie sorts of shells, and bones, spunges and other Pedlers ware, which certainly are many and strange sorts, yea, and a thing to laugh at their Haberdash toyes and trifles. There are also many kinde of Hearbs, Roots, and Seedes, as well to bee eaten, as for medicine, for both men, women, and children, haue great knowledge in hearbs, for through pouertie and necessitie, they seeke them for their sustenance and helpe of their infirmities and diseases. They spend little among Physicians, although there are some of that Art, and many Apothecaries, who doe bring into the market Ointments, Sirrops, Waters, and other drugs, fit for sicke persons: if they cure all diseases almost, with hearbs, yea, as much as for to kill Lice, they haue a proper hearbe for the purpose.

The seuerall kindes of meates to bee sold are without number, as Snakes without head and taile, little Dogs gelt, Moles, Rats, long Wormes, Lice, yea and a kinde of earth, for at one season in the yeere they haue Nets of maile, with the which they rake vp a certaine dust that is bred vpon the water of the Lake of *Mexico*, and that is kneaded together like vnto Oas of the Sea: they gather much of this victuall, and keepe it in heapes, and make thereof Cakes like vnto brick-bats: they sell not onely this ware in the Market, but also send it abroad to other Faires and Markets afarre off: they eate this meate with as good stomacks as wee eate cheese, yea and they hold opinion that this skum or fatnesse of the water, is the cause that such great number of fowle commeth to the Lake, which in the winter season is infinite. All the Sellers pay a certaine summe for their shops or standings to the King, as a custome, and they to bee preserued and defended from theeues: and for that cause there goe certaine Sergeants or Officers vp and downe the Market to espie out malefactors. In the middest of the Market standeth a house which may bee seene throughout the Faire, and there sitteth twelue ancient men for Iudges to dispatch Law matters: their buying and selling is to change one ware for another, as thus, one giueth a Hen for a bundell of *Maiz*, other giue Mantels for Salt, or money which is *Cacao*; and this is their order to chop and change: they haue measure and strike for all kinde of Corne, and other earthen measures for Hony and Wine, and if any Measure bee falsified, they punish the offenders; and breake their measures.

Victuall of diuers sorts.

Bartering.

The Temple is called *Teucalli*, that is to say, *Gods House*; *Teul*, signifieth *God*; and *Calli* is a *House*, a name very fit, if that house had beene of the true God. The *Spaniards* that vnderstand not the language, doe pronounce and call those Temples *Cues*, and the God *Vitzilopuchtli*, *Vchilobos*. There are in *Mexico* many Churches with Towres for their Parishes and Streets, wherein are Chappels and Altars where the Images and Idols doe stand, and those Chappels doe serue for buriall places of their Founders; for others are buried in the ground about them or Church-yards. All their Temples are of one fashion, therefore it shall bee now sufficient to speake of the principall Church. This Temple is square, and doth containe euery way as much ground as a Crosse-bow can reach leuell: it is made of stone, with foure doores that abutteth vpon the three Cawseys, and vpon another part of the Citie, that hath no Cawsey but a faire street. In the middest of this Quaderne standeth a mount of earth and stone, square likewise, and fiftie fathom long euery way, built vpward like vnto a Pyramide of *Egypt*, sauing the top is not sharpe, but plaine and flat, and ten fathom square: vpon the West side, were steps vp to the top, in number an hundreth and fourteene, which being so many, high, and made of good stone, did seeme a beautifull thing. It was a strange sight to behold the Priests, some going vp, and some downe with ceremonies, or with men to be sacrificed. Vpon the top of this Temple are two great Altars, a good space distant the one from the other, and so nigh the edge or brim of the wall, that scarsly a man may goe behinde them at pleasure. The one Altar standeth on the right hand, and the other on the left: they were but of fiue foot high, each of them had the backe part made of stone, painted with monstrous and foule figures, the Chappell was faire and well wrought of Masons worke and timber, euery Chappell had three lofts, one aboue another, sustayned vpon pillars, and with the height thereof it shewed like vnto a faire Towre, and beautified the Citie afarre off: from thence a man may see all the Citie and Townes round about the Lake, which was vndoubtedly a goodly prospect. And because *Cortes* and his companie should see the beautie thereof; *Mutezuma* brought him thither, and shewed him all the order of the Temple, euen from the foot to the top. There was a certaine plot or space for the Idoll Priests to celebrate their seruice without disturbance of any. Their generall prayers were made toward the rising of the Sunne. Vpon each Altar standeth a great Idoll. Beside this Towre that standeth vpon the Pyramide, there are fourtie Towres great and small belonging to other little Temples which stand in the same circuit, the which although they were of the same making, yet their prospect was not Westward, but other wayes, because there should be a difference betwixt the great Temple and them. Some of these Temples were bigger then others, and euery one of a seuerall God, among the which there was one round Temple, dedicated to the God of the aire, called *Quecalcouatl*, for euen as the aire goeth round about the Heauens, euen for that consideration they made his Temple round. The entrance of that Temple had a doore, made like vnto the mouth of a Serpent, and was painted with foule and deuillish gestures, with great teeth and gums wrought, which was a thing to feare those that should enter in thereat, and especially the Christians

The great Temple of *Mexico*.

Chiefe Temple described.

Two Altars.

Fortie towres.

Seuerall Temples to seuerall gods.

A strange doore.

vnto

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vnto whom it represented very Hell, with that vgly face and monstrous teeth.

There were other *Teocalles* in the Citie, that had the ascending vp by steps in three places: all these Temples had houses by themselues with all seruice, and Priests and particular Gods. At
Temple-halls. euery doore of the great Temple standeth a large Hall and goodly Lodgings, both high and low round about, which houses were common Armories for the Citie, for the force and strength of euery Towne is the Temple, and therefore they haue there placed their store-house of munition.
Idoll-holes. They had other darke houses full of Idols, great and small, wrought of sundrie metals, they are all bathed and washed with bloud, and doe shew very blacke through their daily sprinkling and
Bloudie walls. anointing them with the same, when any man is sacrificed: yea, and the walls are an inch thicke
Deuillish Priests. with bloud, and the ground is a foot thick of bloud, so that there is a deuillish stinch. The Priests or Ministers goe daily into those Oratories, and suffer none others but great personages to enter in. Yea, and when any such goeth in, they are bound to offer some man to bee sacrificed, that those bloudie Hangmen and Ministers of the Deuill may wash their hands in bloud of those so sacrificed, and to sprinkle their house therewith.

For their seruice in the Kitchin they haue a Pond of water that is filled once a yeere, which is brought by conduit from the principall Fountaine. All the residue of the foresaid circuit serueth for places to breede fowle, with Gardens of herbs and sweet trees, with Roses and flowers for the Altars. Such, so great and strange was this Temple of *Mexico*, for the seruice of the Deuill
5000. residents. who had deceiued those simple *Indians*. There doth reside in the same Temple continually fiue thousand persons, and all they are lodged and haue their liuing there, for that Temple is marueilous rich, and hath diuers Townes onely for their maintenance and reparation, and are bound to sustaine the same alwayes on foot. They doe sowe Corne, and maintayne all those fiue thousand persons with bread, fruit, flesh, fish, and fire-wood, as much as they neede, for they spend more fire-wood then is spent in the Kings Court: these persons doe liue at their hearts ease, as seruants and vassals vnto the Gods.

The Idols of *Mexico*. 2000. gods. The Gods of *Mexico* were two thousand in number, as the *Indians* reported, the chiefest were *Vitzilopuchtli*, and *Tezcatlipuca*, whose Images stood highest in the Temple vpon the Altars: they were made of stone in full proportion as bigge as a Giant. They were couered with a lawne, called *Nacar*. These Images were beset with pearles, precious stones, and pieces of gold, wrought like birds, beasts, fishes, and flowres, adorned with Emeralds, Turquies, Calcedons, and other little fine stones, so that when the lawne *Nacar* was taken away, the Images
A wicked attyre. seemed very beautifull to behold. The Image had for a girdle great Snakes of gold, and for Collars and Chaines about their necks, ten hearts of men made of gold, and each of those Idols had a counterfait visard with eyes of glasse, and in their necks death painted: each of these things had their considerations and meanings. These two Gods were brethren, for *Tezcatlipuca* was the God of Prouidence, and *Vitzilopuchti* God of the Warres, who was worshipped and feared more then all the rest.

There was another God, who had a great Image placed vpon the top of the Chappell of Idols, and he was esteemed for a speciall and singular God aboue all the rest. This God was made of all kinde of seedes that groweth in that Country, and being ground, they made a certaine paste, tempered with Childrens bloud, and Virgins sacrificed, who were opened with their Rasors in the breasts, and their hearts taken out, to offer as first fruits vnto the Idoll. The Priests and Ministers doe consecrate this Idoll with great pompe and many ceremonies. All the *Comarcans* and
A mad offering. Citizens are present at the consecration, with great triumph and incredible deuotion. After the consecration, many deuout persons came and sticked in the dowie Image precious stones, wedges of gold, and other jewels. After all this pompe ended, no secular man may touch that holy Image, no nor yet come into his Chappell, nay scarsly religious persons, except they were *Tlamacaztli*, who are Priests of order. They doe renew this Image many times with new dough, taking away the old, but then blessed is he that can get one piece of the old raggs for reliques, and chiefly for Souldiers, who thought themselues sure therewith in the warres. Also at the consecration of this Idoll, a certaine vessell of water was blessed with many wordes and ceremonies, and that water was preserued very religiously at the foot of the Altar, for to consecrate the King when he should be crowned, and also to bless any Captaine generall, when he should be elected for the warres, with onely giuing him a draught of that water.

The Charnell house, or place of sacrificed mens Sculls. Without the Temple, and ouer against the principall doore thereof, a stones cast distant, standeth the Charnell house onely of dead mens heads, prisoners in warres, and sacrificed with the knife. This monument was made like vnto a Theater, more larger then broad, wrought of lime and stone, with ascending steps, in the walls whereof was grafted betwixt stone and stone a Scull, with the teeth outwards. At the foot and head of this Theater, were two Towres, made
Terrible spectacle. onely of lime and sculls, the teeth outward, and this wall hauing no other stuffe, seemed a strange sight. At and vpon the top of the Theater, were seuentie Poles, standing the one from the other foure or fiue foot distant, and each of them was full of staues from the foot to the top. Each of these staues had others made fast vnto them, so that euery of them had fiue sculs broched through the Temple. *Andrew de Tapia* did certifie me, that he and *Gonçalo de Umbria* did reckon

ron them in one day, and found a hundred thirtie and sixe thousand sculls on the poles, staues, and steps. The other Towres were repleniſhed out of number, a moſt cruell cuſtome, being onely mens heads ſlaine in ſacrifice, although it hath a ſhew of humanitie for the remembrance there placed of death. There are alſo men appointed, that when one ſcull falleth, to ſet vp another in his place, ſo that the number may neuer want.

Other Mexican *Antiquities, Letters, Numbers, Yeers, Dayes, Weekes, &c.*

THere hath not beene found Letters at any time in the Weſt India, *onely in new* Spaine *were vſed certaine figures which ſerued for letters, with the which they kept in memorie and preſerued their Antiquities. The figures that the* Mexicans *vſed for letters are great, by reaſon whereof they occupie great Volumes: they engraue them in ſtone or timber, and paint them vpon walls, and alſo vpon a paper made of cotton wooll, and leaues of the tree* Metl. *Their bookes are great and folded vp like vnto our broad cloathes, and written vpon both ſides. There are ſome bookes rolled vp like a piece of ſtannell. They pronounce not* v, g, r, ſ, y, *therefore they vſe much* p, c, l, x. *This is the* Mexican *ſpeech, and* Nahual, *which is the beſt, playneſt, and the moſt eloquent, in all new* Spaine. *There are ſome in* Mexico *that doe vnderſtand each other by whiſtling, which is ordinarily vſed among Lowres, and Theeues, a ſpeech truly to wonder at, and none of our men could come to the knowledge thereof.*

Their reckoning by numbers was in this ſort.

Ce,	One,	*Chicoace,*	Six,	*Matlactlioce,*	Eleuen,	*Matlactlichicoace,*	Sixteene,
Ome,	Two,	*Chicome,*	Seuen,	*Matlactliome,*	Twelue,	*Matlactlichicome,*	Seuenteene,
Ei,	Three,	*Chicuei,*	Eight,	*Matlactlomei,*	Thirteene,	*Matlactlichicuei,*	Eighteene,
Naui,	Foure,	*Chiconaui,*	Nine,	*Matlactlinaui,*	Fourteene,	*Matlactlichiconaui,*	Nineteene,
Macuil,	Fiue,	*Matlac,*	Ten,	*Matlactlinaui,*	Fifteene,	*Cempoalli,*	Twentie.

Euery number is ſimple vntill you come to ſixe, and then they count, ſixe and one, ſixe and two, ſixe and three. Ten is a number by himſelfe, then you muſt count ten and one, ten and two, ten and three, ten and foure, ten and fiue. Then you count, ten, fiue, and one; ten, fiue, and two; ten, fiue, and three. Twentie goeth by himſelfe, and all the greater numbers.

The Mexican *yeere is three hundreth and ſixtie dayes, for they haue in their yeere eighteene moneths, and euery moneth containeth twentie dayes. They haue other fiue odde dayes, which goeth by themſelues, in the which they vſed to celebrate great feaſts of cruell and bloudy ſacrifice, with much deuotion. And reckoning after this ſort, they could not chooſe but erre, for they could not make equall the punctuall courſe of the Sunne. Yea the Chriſtian yeere is not perfect, although wee haue learned Aſtronomers. But yet theſe ſimple* Indians *went neere the marke.*

The names of the moneths. Tlacaxipeualiztli, Tozcutzli, Huei Tozcuztli, Toxcalt, Ecalcoaliztli, Tocuilhuicintli, Hueitecuilhuitl, Miccailhuicintli, Veymiccailhuitl, Vehpaniztli, Pachtli, Huei Pachtli, Quecholli, Panquecaliztli, Hatemuztli, Tititlh, Izcalli, Coa Vitleuac.

The names of Dayes, were Cipactli, A Spade; *Hecatl,* Aire or Winde; *Calli,* A Houſe; *Cuetz Pali,* A Lizzart; *Couatl,* A Snake; *Mizquintli,* Death; *Macatl,* A wilde Hart; *Teohtli,* A Cony; *Atl,* Water; *Izcuyntli,* A Dogge; *Ocumatli,* An Ape; *Malinalli,* A Broome; *Acatlh,* A Caue; *Ocelotl,* A Tigre; *Coautli,* An Eagle; *Cozcaquahutl,* A Buzzard; *Olin,* A Temple; *Tepatlh,* A Knife; *Quiauitl,* Raine; *Xuchitl,* A Roſe.

Although theſe twentie names ſerue for the whole yeere, and are but the dayes of euery moneth, yet therefore euery moneth beginneth not with Cipactli, *which is the firſt name, but as they follow in order, and the fiue odde dayes is the cauſe thereof. And alſo becauſe their weeke is of thirteene dayes, which changeth the names, as by example.* Cecipactli *can goe no further then vnto* Matlactlomeiacatl, *which is thirteene, and then beginneth another weeke: and we doe not ſay* Matlactlinaui Ocelotl, *which is the fourteenth day, but we ſay* Ceocelotl, *which is one, and then reckon the other ſixe names vnto twentie. And when all the twentie dayes are ended, begin againe to reckon from the firſt name of the twentie, but not from one, but from eight. And becauſe ye may better vnderſtand the matter, here is the example.*

Cecipactli, Omohecatl, Ei Calli, Naui Cuezpali, Macuilcoatl, Chicoacen Mizquintli, Chicome Macatl, Chicuei Tochtli, Chiconauiatl, Matlaciz Cuintli, Mailactlioce Ocumatli, Matlactliome Malinalli, Matlactlomei Acatlh. *The next weeke following doth begin his dayes from one. And that one is the fourteenth name of the moneth and of the dayes, and ſaith:* Ceotelotl, Omecoautli, Eicozcaquahutli, Naui Olui, Macuil Tecpatl, Chicoacen Quiauitl, Chicome Xuchitl, Chicoei Cipactli. *In this ſecond weeke,* Cipactli *came to fall on the eight day, being in the firſt weeke the firſt day.* Cemacatl, Ometochtli, Eiatl, Naui Izcuintli, Macuil Ocumatli. *And ſo proceede on to the third weeke, in the which this name* Cipactli *entreth not, but* Macatl, *which was the ſeuenth day in the firſt*

first weeke, and had no place in the second, and is the first in the third. The reckoning is no darker then ours, which we haue in a, b, c, d, e, f, g. For they also change with time, and run in such sort, that a, which was the first letter of this moneth, commeth to be the fift day of the next moneth, and the third moneth he counteth to be the third day, and so orderly doth the other sixe letters.

The accounting of yeares.

These Mexicans had another order to reckon their yeeres, which exceeded not aboue foure in number, as one, two, three, foure, wherewith they account a hundred, fiue hundred, a thousand, and as many moe as they list. Those foure figures or names, are, Tochtli, Acatlh, Tecpatlh, Calli, and doe signifie a Cony, a Cane, a Knife, and a House, saying: Ce Totchtli, One yeere; Ome Acatlh, Two yeeres; Ei Tecpatlh, Three yeeres; Naui Calli, Foure yeeres; Macuil Tochtli, Fiue yeeres; Chioacen Acatlh, Sixe yeeres; Cicome Tecpatlh, Seuen yeeres; Chicuei Calh, Eight yeeres; Chiconaui Tochtli, Nine yeeres; Matlactli Acatlh, Ten yeeres; Matlactlioce Tecpatlh, Eleuen yeeres; Matlactliome Calli, Twelue yeeres; Matlactliomei Tochtli, Thirteene yeeres. So that the reckoning passeth not aboue thirteene, which is one weeke of the yeere, and endeth where he began.

The second weeke. Ce Acatlh, one yeere; Ome Tlepatlh, two yeeres; Ei Calli, three yeeres; Naui Tochtli, foure yeeres; Macuil Acatlh, fiue yeeres; Chioacen Tecpatlh, sixe yeeres; Chicome Calli, seuen yeeres; Chicuei Tochtli, eight yeeres; Chiconaui Acatlh, nine yeeres; Matlactli Tecpatlh, ten yeeres; Matlactlioce Calli, eleuen yeeres; Matlactliome Tochtli, twelue yeeres; Matlactliomei Acatlh, thirteene yeeres. The third weeke of yeeres. Ce Tecpatlh, one yeere; Ome Calli, two yeeres; Ei Tochtli, three yeeres; Naui Acatlh, foure yeeres; Macuil Tecpatlh, fiue yeeres; Chioacan Calli, sixe yeeres; Chicome Tochtli, seuen yeeres; Chicuei Acatlh, eight yeeres; Chiconaui Tecpatlh, nine yeeres; Matlactli Calli, ten yeeres; Matlactliome Tochtli, eleuen yeeres; Matlactliome Acatlh, twelue yeeres; Matlactliomei Tecpatlh, thirteene yeeres.

The fourth weeke. Ce Calli, one yeere, Ome Tochtli, two yeares; Ei Acatlh, three yeares; Naui Tecpatlh, foure yeares; Macuil Calli, fiue yeares; Chioacen Tochtli, six yeares; Chicome Acatch, seuen yeares; Chienei Tecpatlh, eight yeares; Chiconaui Calli, nine yeares; Matlactli Tochtli, ten yeares; Matlactlioce Acatlh, eleuen yeares; Matlactliome Tecpatlh, twelue yeares; Matlactliomei Calli, thirteene yeares. Each of these weekes, which our men call Indition, doth containe thirteene yeares, so that all the foure weekes make two and fiftie yeares, which is a perfect number in their reckoning, and is called the yeare of grace, for from fiftie two yeares, to fiftie two yeares, they vsed to make solemne feasts, with strange Ceremonies, as hereafter shall be declared. And when fiftie two yeares are ended, then they begin againe, by the same order before declared, vntill they come to as many moe, beginning at Ce Tochtli, and so forward. But alwayes they begin at the Conie figure. So that in the forme of reckoning they keepe and haue in memory, things of eight hundred and fiftie yeares: and by this Chronicle they know in what yeare euery thing happned, and how long euery King reigned: how many children they had, and all things else that importeth to the estate of the gouernment of the Land.

The Indians beleeued that fiue ages were past, which they called Sunnes.

The Indians of Culhua did beleeue that the Gods had made the World, but they knew not how, yet they beleeued that since the creation of the world foure Sunnes were past, and that the fift and last is the Sunne that now giueth light to the World. They held opinion that the first Sunne perished by water, and at the same time all liuing creatures perished likewise. The second Sunne (say they) fell from the heauens, with whose fall all liuing creatures were slaine, and then (said they) were many Giants in that Countrey, and certaine monstrous Bones, which our men found in opening of graues, by proportion whereof, some should seeme to be men of twenty spans high. The third Sunne was consumed by fire, which burned day and night, so that then all liuing creatures were burned. The fourth Sunne finished by tempest of Ayre or Winde, which blow downe Houses, Trees, yea and the Mountaines and Rockes were blowen a sunder, but the linage of Mankinde perished not, saue that they were conuerted into Apes. And touching the fift Sunne, which now raigneth, they know not how it shall consume: But they say, that when the fourth Sunne perished, all the world fell into darkenesse, and so remained for the space of fiue and twenty yeares continually, and at the fifteenth yeare of that fearefull darkenesse, the Gods did forme one man and woman, who brought forth children, and at the end of the other ten yeares, appeared the Sunne which was newly borne vpon the figure of the Conie day, and therefore they begin their account of yeares at that day, and reckoning from the yeare of our Lord 1552. their age or Sunne is 858. so that it appeareth that they haue vsed many yeares their writing in figures: and they had not onely this vse from Cetocli, which is the beginning of their yeare, moneth, and day, of their fifth Sunne, but also they had the same order and vse in the other foure Sunnes which were past: but they let many things slip out of memory, saying, that with the new Sunne, all other things should be likewise new. They held also opinion, that three dayes after this last Sun appeared, all the gods did dye, and that in processe of time, the gods which now they haue, and worship were borne.

The Coronation of the Kings of Mexico.

Although one brother was heire to another among the Mexicans, and after their decease, did inherit the Sonne of the eldest Brother, yet they tooke no possession of the state or name of King, vntill they were annointed and crowned openly.

At soone as any King of Mexico deceased, and his Funerals ended, then were called to Parliament the Lord of Tezcuco, and the Lord of Tlacopan, who were the chiefest estates, and then in order all other Noblemen, who owed any seruice to the Mexican Empire. And being come together; if any doubt of the inheritance

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heritance of the Crowne happened, then the matter was decided with all haste: then the new King being knowne, he was stripped starke naked, except a cloath to couer his priuie parts, and in this sort was carried among them, to the great Temple of Vitzilopuchtli with great silence, and without any ioy or pleasure: Two Gentlemen of the Citie, whose office it was, led him vp the staires of the Temple by the armes, and before him went the Princes of Tezcuco and Tlacopan, who that day did weare their robes of Coronation, wherevpon was painted their armes and title. Verie few of the Laitie went vp into the Chappels, but onely those that were appointed to attire the new King, and to serue in other Ceremonies, for all the residue stood vpon the steps and below, to behold the Coronation. These Magistrates being aboue in the Chappell, came with great humilty and reuerence, kneeling downe vpon their knees before the Idoll of Vitzilopuchtli, and touched the earth with one finger, and then kissed the same. Then came the high Priest cloathed in his pontificall vestments, with many others in his company, who did weare Surplices: and without speaking any word, they painted or coloured the Kings person, with Inke made for the purpose, as blacke as any coale. After this Ceremonie done, they blessed the annointed King, and sprinkled him foure times with a certaine holy water, that was made at the time of consecration of the God, made of dowe or paste, with a sprinkle made of bowes of Cane leaues, Cedar, and Willow leaues. Then they put vpon his head, cloth painted with the bones and sculs of dead men, and next they cloathed him with a blacke garment, & vpon that another blew, and both were painted with the figures of dead mens sculs and bones. Then they put about his necke certaine laces, whereat did hang the armes of the Crowne. And behinde his back they did hang certain little bottels full of powders, by vertue whereof he was deliuered from pestilence and diseases, according to their opinion: yea, and thereby Witches, nor Witchcrafts could not hurt him, nor yet euill men deceiue him. In fine, with those relicks he was sure from all perill and danger. Vpon his left arme they bound a little bagge of Intense, and then brought vnto him a chaffing-dish of imbers made of the barke of an Oke tree. Then the King arose, and with his owne hand threw of the same Incense, into the chaffing-dish, and with great reuerence brought the same to the god Vitzilopuchtli, and after he had smoaked him therewith, he sat him downe, then came the high Priest and tooke his oath to maintaine the religion of the gods, to keepe also all the lawes and customes of his predecessours, to minister iustice, and not to aggranate any of his vassals or subiects, and that he should be valiant in the warres, that he should cause the Sunne to giue his light, the clouds to yeelde raine, the riuers to runne, and the earth to bring forth all kinde of graine, fruites, and other needefull hearbs and trees. These and many other impossible things the new King did sweare to performe: and then he gaue thankes to the high Priest, and commended himselfe to the gods, and to the lookers on, and they who brought him vp in the same order, carrieth him downe againe. Then all the people cried, the Gods preserue the new King, and that he may raigne many yeares in health with all his people. But then some began to dance, other to play on their instruments, shewing outwardly their inward ioyes of heart. And before the King came to the foote of the steps, all the Noblemen came to yeelde their obedience, and in token of louing and faithfull subiects, they presented vnto him Feathers, strings of Snaile-shels, Collers, and other Iewels of Gold and Siluer, also Mantels painted with death, and bare him company vnto a great hall within the compasse of the Temple, and there left him. The King sitteth downe vnder his cloath of estate, called Tlacatecco, and in foure dayes departeth not out of the circuit of the Temple, the which hee spends in prayers, sacrifice, and penance; he eates then but once a day, and euery day he bathes himselfe, and againe in the night in a great pond of water, and then lets himselfe bloud in his eares, and senseth therewith the god of water, called Tlaloc: he likewise senseth the other Idols, vnto whom he offereth Bread, Flowers, Papers, and little Canes, died in the bloud of his owne tongue, nose, hands, and other parts of his body. After the foure dayes expired, then come all the Noblemen to beare him company to his Pallace, with great triumph and pleasure of all the Citie, but after his consecration few or none dare looke him in the face.

The ointment.

And now with the declaration of the Acts and Ceremonies that the Mexican Kings are crowned, I shall not needs to rehearse of other Kings, for generally they all doe vse the same order, sauing that other Princes goe not vp to the top of the Temple, but abide at the foote of the steps to be crowned, and after their Coronation they come to Mexico for their confirmation, and then at their returne to their Countrey, they made many drunken feasts and banquets.

The opinion of the Mexicans concerning the Soule.

The Mexicans did beleeue that the Soule was immortall, and that they receiued either ioy or paine according to their deserts and liuing in this world, vnto which opinion all their religion did attaine, and chiefly appeare at their burials. They held for an assured [illegible], that there were nine places appointed for soules, and the cheefest place of glory to be neere vnto the Sunne, where the soules of those which were good men slaine in the warres, and those which were sacrificed were placed, and that all other sorts of euill persons their soules abode on the earth, and were deuided after this sort, children that were dead borne went to one place, those which died of age or other disease went to another, those which died of sudden death to another, those which died of wounds or contagious diseases went to another place, those which were drowned went to another, those which were put to death for offence by order of Iustice, as for robbery and adultery to another: Those which slew their Fathers, Mothers, Wiues or Children, to another place by themselues: also those who slew their Masters or any religious person went to another place. The common sort of people were buried, but Lords and rich men had their bodies burned, and their ashes buried. In their shrowdes they had a great difference, for many dead bodies were buried better apparelled

Nine places for Soules.

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led then when they were on line. Women were shrowded after another sort. And hee that suffered death for adultery, was shrowded like vnto the God of lecherie, called Tlazoulteutl; he that was drowned like vnto the god of water, named Tlacoc; and he that died with drunkennesse was shrowded like vnto the god of wine, called Ometochtli. But the Souldier had an honorable shrowde like vnto the attire of Vitzilopuchtli, and the like order in all other sorts of deaths.

The buriall of Kings in *Mexico.*

When any King of Mexico happened to fall sicke, they vsed forthwith to put a visor vpon the face of Tezcatlipuca, or Vitzilopuchtli, or some other Idoll, which Visor was not taken away, vntill they saw whether the King did amend, or else dye: But if he chanced to dye, then word was sent throughout all his Dominions to bewaile his death, and also other postes were sent to call the Noblemen that were his nighest kinsmen, and to warne them within foure daies to come vnto his buriall.

The dead body was laid vpon a faire Mat, and was watched foure nights, with great lamentation and mourning: then the body was washed, and a locke of haire cut from the crowne of his head, which was preserued as a great relicke, saying, that therein remained the remembrance of his soule. This done, a fine Emerald was put in his mouth, and his body shrowded in seuenteene rich Mantels, of colours, both rich and costly wrought. Vpon the vpper Mantle was set the deuise or armes of Vitzilopuchtli or Tezcalipuca, or some other Idoll, in whom the King had great confidence in his life time, and in his Temple should the body be buried. Vpon his face they put a visor, painted with foule and Deuilish iestures, beset with many Iewels, Precious stones, and Pearles, Then they killed his slaue, whose office was to light the Lampes, and make fire vnto the gods of his Pallace. These things done, they carried the dead body vnto the Temple: some followed him with dolefull tune, others sung the death of the King by note, for so was the custome.

The Noblemen and Gentlemen of his household carried Targets, Arrowes, Mases, and Enfignes to throw into the fire where the body should be buried in the Temple. The high Priest and all the Clergie receiued him at the Temple gate, with a sorrowfull song, and after he had said certaine words, the body was throne into a great fire made for the purpose, with all the Iewels that he had about him, and all the other things which was brought to honour the buriall: also a Dogge newly strangled with an Arrow, which was to guide him his way. In the meane while that the King and Dogge were burning, the Priests sacrificed two hundred persons, howbeit in his Ceremonie there was no ordinary taxe, for sometimes they sacrificed many moe: they were opened with a Rasor of flint in the breasts, and their hearts taken out and throwne into the fire where the Kings body was. These miserable persons being sacrificed, and their bodies throwne into a hole; they beleeued assuredly that those should serue for his slaues in another world: some of them were Dwarffes, monstrous and deformed persons, with some women. They placed about the dead body of the King before his buriall, Roses, Flowers, and sundrie dishes of meate and drinke, and no creature durst touch the same, but onely the Priests, for it seemed to be an offering.

The next day following, all the ashes were gathered together, and the teeth with the Emerald that was in his mouth, the which things were put into a Chest, painted on the inside with horrible figures of deuils, and the locke of haire which was cut from his crowne, and another locke of haire which was preserued from the time of his birth. Then the Chest was locke, and an Image of wood made and cloathed like vnto the Kings person, which was set on the top of the Chest. The obsequies endured foure dayes, in the which the wiues and daughters of the King offered great offerings at the place where his body was buried, and before the Chest and his Image.

On the fourth day after the buriall, fifteene slaues were sacrificed for his soule; and on the twentieth day, other fiue persons were also sacrificed; likewise on the sixtie three and fourescore, which was like vnto the yeares minde.

The order of buriall of the Kings of *Michuacan.*

The Kingdome of Michuacan *is almost as great as the Empire of* Mexico, *and when any King of that Countrey happened to be visited with sickenesse, and brought to such extremitie, that hope of life were past, according to the opinion of Phisitions, then would he name and appoint which of his Sonnes should inherite the estate; and being knowne, the new King or heire, incontinent sent for all the Gouernours, Captaines, and valiant Souldiors, who had any office or charge to come vnto the buriall of his Father, and he that came not, from thenceforth was held for a Traitour, and so punished. When the death of the old King was certaine, then came all degrees of Estates and brought presents to the new King, for the approbation of his Kingdome, but if the King were not throughly dead, but at the point of death, then the gates were shut in, and none permitted to enter; and when his life was departed, then began a generall cry and mourning, and they were permitted to come where their dead King lay, and to touch him with their hands: this being done, the carkasse was washed with sweete waters, and then a fine shirt put vpon him, and a paire of shooes made of a Deere skinne put on his feete, and about his ankles were tied certaine Bels of Gold, about his wristes of his hands were put Manyllas of Turkies, and other Bracelets of Gold, likewise about his necke they hung other collers of precious stones, and gold, and rings in his eares, with a great Turkise in his nether lippe. Then his body was laid vpon a large beere, whereon was placed a good bed vnder him: on his one side lay a Bowe with a quiuer of Arrowes, and on his other side lay an Image made of fine Mantels of his owne stature or bignesse, with a great tuffe of fine feathers, shooes vpon his feete, with Bracelets, and a coller of gold. While his worke was a doing, others were busied in washing the men and women*

men which should be slaine for to accompany him into Hell: these wretched folke that should be slaine were banqueted and filled with drinke, because they should receiue their death with lesse paine. The new King did appoint those who should dye for to serue the King his Father, but yet many of them had rather haue beene without his seruice, notwithstanding some simple fooles esteemed that odious death for a thing of immortall glory. First, seuen Gentlewomen of noble parentage were appointed to dye, the one to haue the office of keeper of his Iewels which he was wont to weare, another for the office of Cup-bearer, another to giue him water with a Bason and Ewer, another to giue him alwayes the Pimpall, another to be his Cooke, and another to serue for Laundresse. They slew also many woman-slaues, and free maidens, for to attend vpon the Gentlewomen, and moreouer, one of euery occupation within the Citie. When all these that were appointed to dye were washed, and their bellies full with meate and drinke, then they painted their faces yellow, and put garlands of sweete flowers vpon each of their heads. Then they went in order of procession before the beere whereon the dead King was carried, some went playing on Instruments made of Snailes shels, others played vpon bones and shels of Sea-turtils, others went whistling, and the most part weeping: the Sonnes of the dead King and other Noblemen carried vpon their shoulders the Beere where the Course lay, and proceeded with an easie pace toward the Temple of the god Curicaueri: his kinsmen went round about the Beere, singing a sorrowfull song. The officers and houshold seruants of the Court with other Magistrates and Rulers of iustice bare the Standarts and diuers other armes.

About midnight they departed in the order aforesaid, out of the Kings pallace, with great light of fire brands, and with a hoarse noise of Trumpets and Drummes. The Citizens which dwelt where the Corse passed, attended to make cleane the streete. And when they were come to the Temple, they went foure times round about a great fire made of the wood of Pine tree, which was prepared to burne the dead body: then the Beere was laid vpon the fire, and in the meane while that the body was burning, they mawled with a club those which had the Garlands, and afterward buried them by foure and foure, as they were apparelled behinde the Temple.

The next day in the morning, the ashes, bones and Iewels, was gathered and laid vpon a rich Mantle, the which was carried to the Temple gate, where the Priests attended to blesse those deuellish relickes, whereof they made a dough or paste, and thereof an Image which was apparelled like a man, with a visor on his face, and all other sorts of Iewels that the dead King was wont to weare, so that it seemed a gallant Idoll. At the foote of the Temple staires, they opened a graue ready made, which was square, large, and two fadom deepe, it was also hanged with new Mats round about, and a faire bed therein, in the which a religious man placed the Idol made of ashes, with his eyes toward the East part, and hung round about the wals, Targets of Gold and Siluer, with Bowe and Arrowes, and many gallant tuffes of Feathers, with earthen vessels, as Pots, Dishes, and Platters, so that the graue was filled vp with houshold stuffe, Chests couered with Leather, Apparell, Iewels, Meate, Drinke, and Armor. This done, the graue was shut vp, and made sure with beames, boords, and flored with earth on the top.

All those Gentlemen which had serued or touched any thing in the buriall, washed themselues, and went to dinner in the Court or yard of the Kings house without any table, and hauing dined, they wiped their hands vpon certaine locks of Cotten woll, hanging downe their heads, and not speaking any word, except it were to aske for drinke. This Ceremonie endured fiue dayes, and in all that time no fire was permitted to be kindled in the Citie, except in the Kings house and Temples, nor yet any Corne was ground, or Market kept, nor none durst goe out of their houses, shewing all the sorrow that might be possible for the death of their King.

Iudges. In Mexico were twelue Iudges, who were all Noblemen, graue, and well learned in the Mexican Lawes. These men lined onely by the rents that properly appertaine to the maintenance of Iustice, and in any cause iudged by them, it was lawfull for the parties to appeale vnto other twelue Iudges, who were of the Princes blood, and alwayes abode in the Court, and were maintained at the Kings owne cost and charges. The inferiour Iudges came ordinarily once euery moneth to consult with the higher. And in euery fourescore dayes came the Iudges of euery Prouince within the Mexican Empire, to consult with the Iudges of Mexico, but all doubtfull causes were reserued to the King, onely to passe by his order and determination. Painters. The Painters serued for notaries, to paint all the cases which were to be resolued, but no suite passed aboue fourescore dayes without finall end and determination. There were in that Citie twelue Sergeants, whose office was to arrest, and to call parties before the Iudges. Sergeants. Their garments were painted Mantels, whereby they were knowne a farre off. Prisons. The Prisons were vnder ground, moist and darke, the cause whereof, was to put the people in feare to offend. Witnesses and oathes. If any witnesse were called to take an oath, the order was, that he should touch the ground with one of his fingers, and then to touch his tongue with the same, which signified that he had sworne and promised to speake the truth with his tongue, taking witnesse thereof, of the earth which did maintaine him. But some doe interprete the oath, that if the partie sware not true, that then he might come to such extremitie, as to eate earth. Sometime they name and call vpon the God of the crime, whose cause the matter touched.

Bribery. The Iudge that taketh bribes or gifts, is forthwith put out of his office, which was accounted a most vile and shamefull reproach. The Indians did affirme that Necaualpincinth did hang a Iudge in Tezcuco, for giuing an vniust sentence, he himselfe knowing the contrary. Murther. The Murtherer is executed

Theft. without exception. The woman with childe that wilfully caſteth her creature, ſuffereth death for the ſame. The Theefe for the firſt offence, was made a ſlaue, and hanged for the ſecond. The Traitor to the King and Common-weale, was put to death with extreame torments. The Woman taken in Mans apparell died for the ſame, and likewiſe the Man taken in Womans attire. Euery one that challengeth another to fight, except in the warres, was condemned to dye. In Tezcuco the ſinne of Sodomie was puniſhed with death, and that Law was inſtituted by Necaualpincinth, and Necaualcoio, who were Iudges, which abhorred that filthy ſinne, and therefore they deſerued great praiſe, for in other Prouinces that abhominable ſinne was not puniſhed, although they haue in thoſe places common Stewes, as in Panuco.

Diſguiſe of ſexe.

Duels capitall.

The end of the fift Booke.

ENG.

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AN ALPHABETICALL TABLE OF THE PRINCIPALL THINGS CONTAINED IN THE FIVE BOOKES of the third Part of PVRCHAS his *Pilgrims*.

THe first Number notes the Page, the second Number directs you to the number noted in the back-margent of the Pages, Right against which or betwixt that and the next number, the note is to bee found. Obserue, that whereas many words may bee well written with I. *or with* Y. *the Reader is to looke to both. Obserue also, that Name of* Saints *or* Knights, *are not set vnder* S. *but in the Alphabet of their proper Names.*

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This is so printed at the end of the *Index*, that it may be the better seene.

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